

'Digging Up Culture':

An Ethnography of Culture & Civilisation in Minahasa, Indonesia

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This thesis, in all its parts, is my original work.

Bryan Rochelle 16th June 2009

Abstract

Since Johann Herder's original eighteenth-century use of the concept culture to critique civilisation's universalising trajectory, the concepts culture and civilisation have evolved in relations of interdependent and complementary opposition, in diverse contexts over time. This thesis explores the development of the relationship between these two concepts, linking their evolution within anthropological thought to the historical and contemporary contexts of their usage in Minahasa, northern Sulawesi, Indonesia. The role of culture and civilisation is examined in both colonial and post-colonial contexts, within discourses promulgated by church and state, and everyday discourse. The genealogy of their usage is traced through nineteenth-century missionary and colonial administrative discourse in Minahasa, when civilisation was a key utilitarian concept, into the twentieth-century attention to culture within discourses of Indonesian nationalism and the GMIM (The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa) in northern Sulawesi. This thesis examines how the people of the town of Loloh, within Minahasa, use contemporary Indonesian equivalents of the culture-civilisation nexus – the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* – to make sense of, and orient themselves, in their negotiation of socio-economic, spiritual and cultural change. This is explored through my informants' reflections upon historical processes of change, and contemporary efforts to reconcile certain cultural traditions – articulated as *menggali kembali budaya* (to dig up and bring back culture) – with a modern Christian worldview. This thesis considers how the concepts culture and civilisation, in complementary opposition, have developed as technologies of the self, related to the development of pastoral power, in the production of civilised/modern, Christian subjects in Minahasa. In this context, culture and civilisation are appreciated as concepts with meta-effects, meaningfully realised in everyday life, producing what they delimit and define: culture and civilisation.

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents
Frank and Clasina Quakernaat,
Henry and Elvera Marinoni,
and my parents Lorraine and Frank Rochelle,
whose vision and endeavour have made mine possible.

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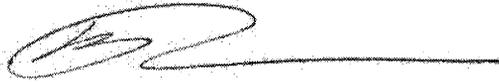
Minahasa Raya – all of Tomohon – as well as the staff of the Catholic Seminary, Pineleng.

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THIS THESIS, IN ALL ITS PARTS, IS MY ORIGINAL
WORK.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized, cursive 'B' followed by a horizontal line extending to the right.

BRYAN ROCHELLE

16TH JUNE 2009

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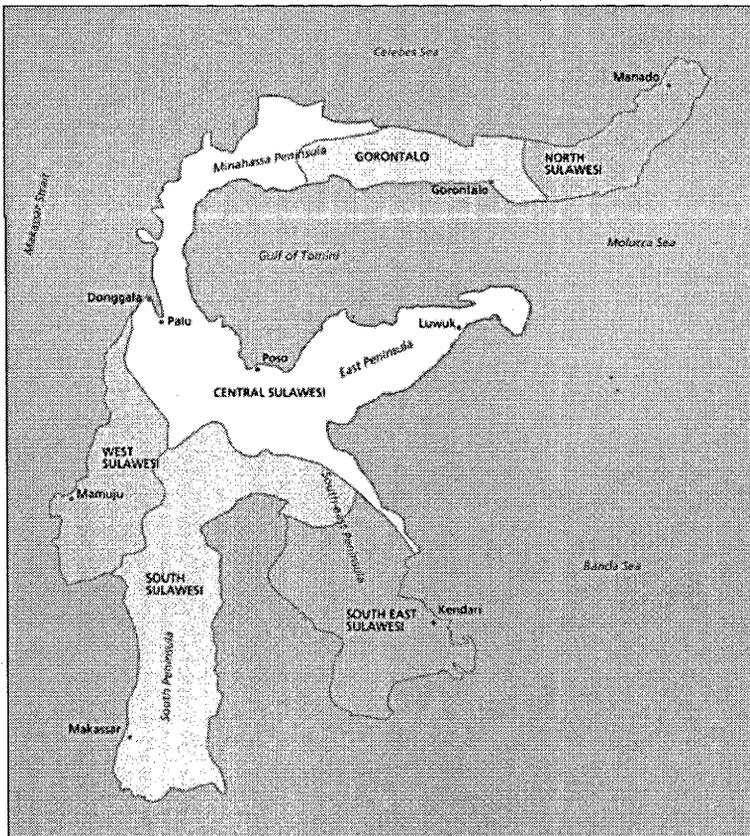
MAPS

QuickTime™ and a decompressor are needed to see this picture.

Map of Indonesia showing contemporary provinces

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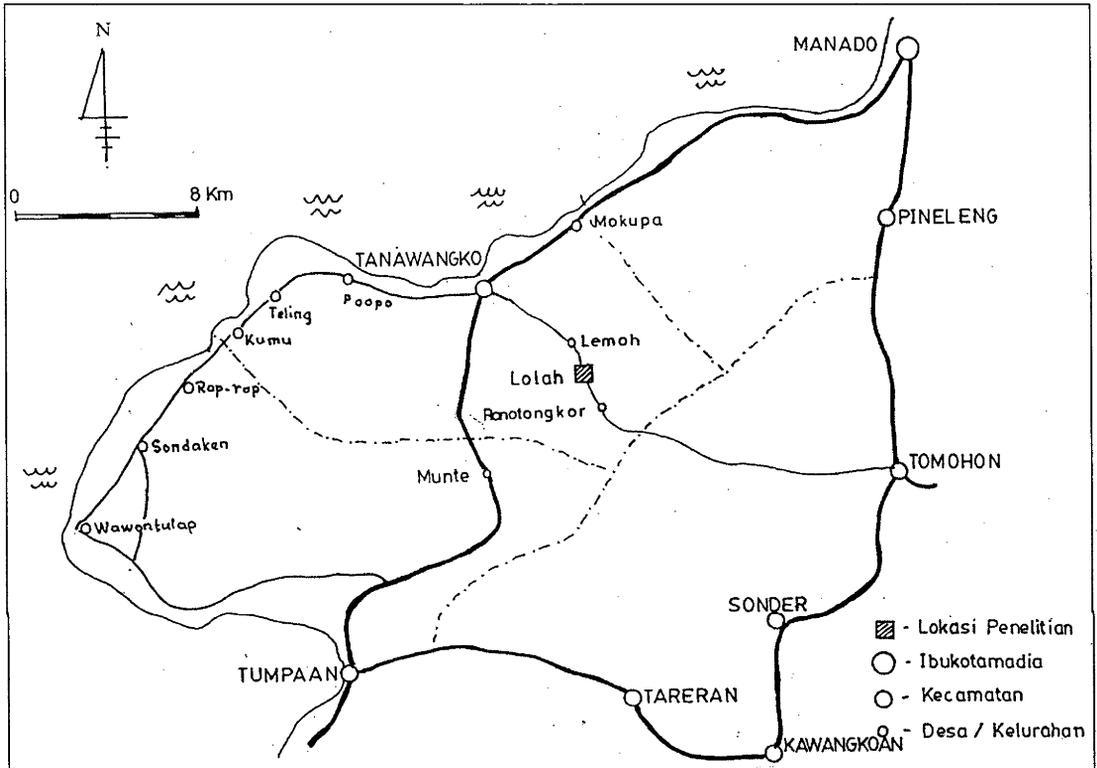
<http://images.google.co.id/imglanding?q=indonesia%20map%20political&imgurl=http://www.topnews.in/files/indonesia-map1.gif> (10/2/2010))



Map of Sulawesi

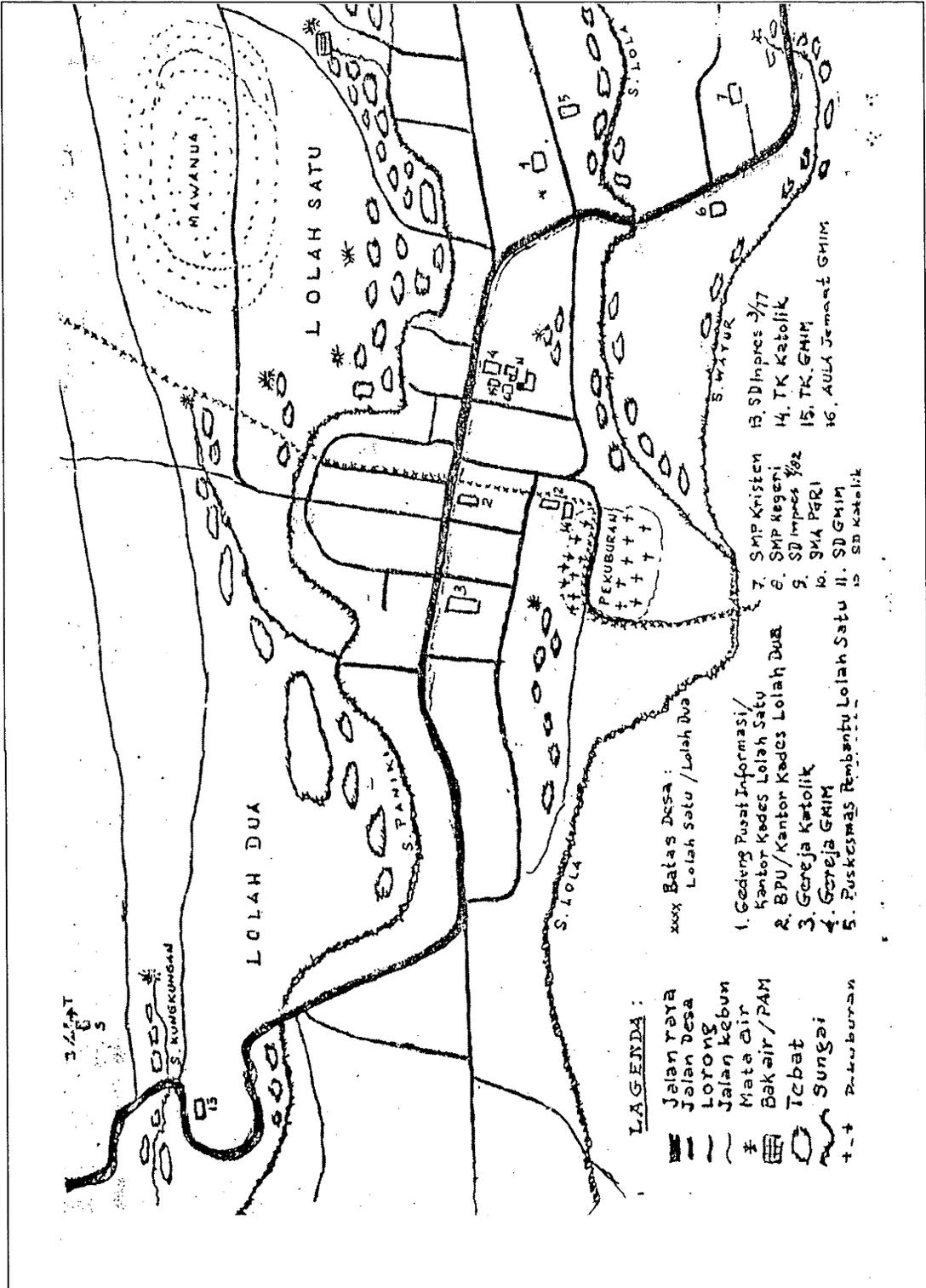
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MAPS



Map of research field site in North Sulawesi

(map modified from: Fahrani, Ipak, 2002, *Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi: Kajian Peninggalan Megalitik di Kecamatan Tombariri, Kabupaten Minahasa, Propinsi Sulawesi Utara, No.10*, Kementerian Negara Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi, p.21)



Map of Lolah

(Matau, Petrus, et al., 1995 *Sejarah Desa Lolah: Kecamatan Tombariri*, editor, Petrus Matau, self-published: Lolah, p.56)

INTRODUCTION

The anthropological idea of ‘a culture’ was largely distilled from [its] history of complementary opposition to a civilising process that threatened to make good on its pretensions to universality. The binary contrasts drawn by the Germans in ideological combat with Franco-British ‘civilisation’ became predicates of ‘a culture’ as a scientific object. Perhaps most significantly this included the idea that culture was generated from within, in contrast to the civilisation the French and British were imposing on people.

Culture was the essence of a people’s being, civilisation a process of becoming. The latter is a matter of degree, where culture is a difference in kind. With its own centre of gravity, its own standards of value and its own direction of development, the culture of a people defines their individuality and identity, whereas civilisation is a cross-cultural measure of sophistication...

To summarise the paradox on which anthropology was founded: the idea of culture as an anthropological object constituted by and for itself developed out of a relationship between European cultural orders – and more specifically, out of the interdependence of their differences (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming).¹

This thesis is an exploration of the relationship of ‘complementary opposition’ between the concepts ‘culture’ and ‘civilisation’, and the importance of their interdependence within anthropological thought and in the lives of my informants in the town of Loloh within the District of Minahasa, North Sulawesi Province, Indonesia.

This focus was inspired during my ethnographic fieldwork by the everyday discursive use of the concept culture in various, yet consistent, relationships of contrast to the

¹ This quote is taken from a paper presented by Marshall Sahlins in Taipei, October 2008, entitled ‘The Whole is a Part: Intercultural Politics of Order and Change’, and is as yet unpublished. I am grateful to Marshall Sahlins for sharing this paper with me and for allowing me to reference his work here.

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related concepts civilisation or modernity. The contemporary juxtaposing of culture and civilised/modern in Lolah shared similarities with the moment when this tension was first articulated in anthropological thought by the German philosopher Johann Herder – the principal German philosopher Marshall Sahlins references above – who championed the relative value of different cultures, especially German, in opposition to French civilisation’s universalising trajectory. As I researched the history of anthropological thought in its engagement with different peoples in different parts of the world, and anthropology’s development as a discursive domain and eventual discipline of philosophy within the evolving institutions of European states, I was fascinated by what appeared to be a constant yet evolving complementary opposition, an apparent interdependence, between the two concepts culture and civilisation. I set out to explore the links and evolution of the interdependence between these two concepts from its origins in Herder’s eighteenth-century juxtaposition to their articulation within the context of my field site in Lolah in the early twenty-first century.

As such, I examine the evolution of the concept culture within anthropological thought, from Herder’s initial juxtaposition, into the development of an academic discipline of ‘anthropology’ in the late nineteenth-century, when the complementary opposition between culture and civilisation was fundamental to E. B. Tylor’s philosophy. I follow the development of the concepts culture and civilisation over time within the changing contexts of people’s lives in northern Sulawesi, from the introduction of the concepts through missionary and colonial intervention in the region in the mid-nineteenth-century, and then through the late colonial era and post-colonial Indonesia. This is prerequisite to the use, understanding and articulation of these concepts, and the contemporary Indonesian conceptual equivalents, within northern Sulawesi and Indonesia today, using my field site as a case study. On the one hand, this is pursued through a consideration of the ways my informants in Lolah, in their application of these concepts, remember and discuss the changes that have occurred in their and their forebears’ lives. It is also understood in

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the context of various events, especially 'cultural performances', in Lolah and neighbouring towns during my fieldwork in 2005.

I had largely completed the writing of this thesis when I was introduced to an unpublished article by Marshall Sahlins from which the above quote is taken, in which he addresses the same conundrum upon which this thesis is based, challenging anthropologists to contemplate the mutually informing tension inherent within the culture-civilisation 'paradox on which anthropology was founded'. I use the above quote to introduce the internal tensions within the culture-civilisation relationship that this thesis seeks to address. Fundamentally, Sahlins emphasises that the anthropological conception of culture was a product of its critique of civilisation, of the interdependence of the differences between the two domains (German and Franco-British) that produced the concepts. I argue that this dynamic of complementary opposition continues today, that the use of the concept culture invokes its mutually informing and complementary relationship to the concept civilisation.

I have utilized discourse as a methodological approach in my ethnography of the culture-civilisation paradox. In doing so I address a concern of Sahlins as to the inappropriate application of Foucault-inspired ideas or methodologies concerning discourse within anthropology, in explaining the circumstances of those with whom anthropologists work (Sahlins 1999:409-410). I seek to link the study of the conceptual understanding and meaningful articulation of culture in people's lives and how people came to utilise these concepts, in historical and contemporary perspective, in part, through an analysis of discourse.

Thus, I consider how the contrast of culture (initiated by Herder) drawn in opposition to French civilisation "became predicates of 'a culture' as a scientific object" in which "the idea of culture as an anthropological object [became] constituted by and for itself" (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming). I utilise a 'meta' approach to understanding the effects the concepts culture and civilisation (within

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anthropological thought, and beyond the academic discipline of anthropology, in diverse peoples' lives, such as those of my fieldwork context) have in producing the very thing that they delineate. I thus examine the metacultural effects – the realisation of culture itself – through people's discursive use and delineation of 'culture', through their understandings and realisations of what culture *is* and *means* (with a focus upon Lolah-Minahasa and broader Indonesia) in a dialogue of complementary opposition to civilisation. I am particularly attentive to the role of state and church discourses and programs in the facilitation of such meta-discourse.

I examine the contemporary salience of the concepts culture and civilisation, and their contemporary Indonesian equivalents, respectively, *kebudayaan* (culture) and *moderen* (modern) or *modernisasi* (modernisation), through the lens of Foucault's ideas concerning pastoral power. In doing so I test the relevance of pastoral power as a conceptual tool, in the pursuit of understanding how these concepts came to have their present salience within Indonesian, specifically Minahasan, society, and how they have had metacultural effects in the realisation of culture in peoples' lives. I analyse how the development of institutions of both church and state since the early nineteenth-century in Minahasa (through the case study of Lolah) has contributed to the exercise of pastoral power within the population, and how the concepts culture and civilisation have informed the government of selves.²

Correspondingly, I explore how the **“culture of a people defines their individuality and identity”** as a **“difference in kind”**, considering culture (in complementary opposition to civilisation) as a conceptual and experiential tool in the awareness of self, and of self-identification, understood in comparative relation to others (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming). I examine how these concepts were employed within the developing institutions of state and church – in both metropolitan Netherlands and colonial Minahasa – in interventions aimed to order the understanding, and

² Throughout the thesis I use the Foucauldian notion of 'government' (with a lower case 'g') to distinguish it from the term Government (with a capital letter 'G') that concerns the state apparatus. I clarify this distinction further in Chapter Two.

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influence the conduct, of individual's/people's lives. In this light I explore the role of culture and civilisation as conceptual and experiential tools in the understanding and orientation of the self and one's conduct in comparative relation to others, as 'technologies of the self' facilitating the process of individualisation integral to the exercise of pastoral power in metropolitan and colonial-missionary contexts.

I examine "civilisation [as] a cross-cultural measure of sophistication" in the process of comparative differentiation between self and other inferring a difference in one's development, in one's attainment of different levels on a scale of civilisation (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming). Whilst this may involve a qualification of difference between different cultures, it may also be exercised by individuals in comparison with others within *their own* culture 'measuring their degrees of sophistication' in their attainment of civilisational attributes. This self-reflexive and comparative dynamic is explored through historical case studies that concern the attempted production of colonial and missionary subjects in Sulawesi. Its relevance is also examined in relation to contemporary contexts of Protestantism in northern Sulawesi and the modernising agenda of the Indonesian state.

Whilst Sahlins prompts us to consider "civilisation as a process of becoming" opposed to the "essence of a people's being" associated with culture, this is a prompt to evaluate and question the essentialism of this opposition (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming). This thesis examines the possibility that *culture* can also be a process of 'becoming' in contemporary lives. This is explored through examples involving the conscious revitalisation of long marginalised traditions or customs recontextualised through the frame of contemporary understandings of culture – expressed in complementary opposition to civilisation or its more contemporary synonym modernisation.

In light of this, I also consider whether culture, as a concept and experience, is itself inevitably encompassed within civilisation's trajectory, within "civilisation's process of becoming"; as a concept with its own academic discipline in the twentieth-

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century, its ethnographic practice borne of a fascinating history of interventionism, 'objective' rationalism and utility; as a concept with its own conceptual, and experiential utility within civilisation's evolving institutions of understanding and intervention, particularly via the discourses and programs of state and church (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming).

My ethnographic field site of Lolah-Minahasa is where these ideas are contextualized, and the context which inspired the focus of this thesis. Through the example of Lolah I seek to explore the complex of factors in the localised "interdependence of differences" of the culture-civilisation paradox (Marshall Sahlins, forthcoming). This includes the juxtaposition of indigenous/traditional beliefs and practices vis-a-vis Christianity and the Indonesian state, Minahasan and Indonesian identities, and sub-ethnic Tombulu and ethnic Minahasan identities. I examine how this complex of interdependences involves overlapping and coexisting perceptions of culture as both something historical, as belonging to the past, and of culture understood in relation to cultural performances, such as dance and song. Through specific examples and events I explore how the people in Lolah-Minahasa seek to negotiate and reconcile apparent tensions among culture, Christian faith and their modern orientation, in dialogue with understandings of culture and modernity informed by the discourses and programs of church and state. This is explored through the prism of some Tombulu speaking Minahasans' contemporary desires to research, to *menggali kembali budaya* ('dig up and bring back'), certain aspects of indigenous culture.

This appreciation of the interdependence of differences, the complementarity of apparent oppositions, opens a window to the examination of a fundamental concern of this thesis: the way culture and civilisation – as concepts and lived experience – assist people in Lolah (and elsewhere) to negotiate change where established beliefs, practices and sociality are in dialogue with contemporary influences of change: social, economic, political, spiritual-religious, and of course cultural and modernising.

The fieldwork context

The fieldwork component of this ethnography focused upon the town of Lolah, in the District of Minahasa (named after the predominant ethnic group of the region), within the province of North Sulawesi, Indonesia. I conducted research in Lolah throughout the year of 2005, with a follow-up visit in 2008. When I arrived in Manado, North Sulawesi, just prior to the new year of 2004 it had not been my intention to research the interdependent relationship between culture and civilisation, nor was it my original intention to conduct fieldwork in the town of Lolah. Like many post-graduate students of anthropology I shifted my research focus considerably from the intended topic to another during the course of fieldwork. Minahasan culture and its history had not been a major concern of my pre-field preparation due to the predominance of non-Minahasan ethnic groups in my intended field site in islands of the province. I had however undertaken some preliminary ethnographic and historical readings concerning Minahasa, yet when I came to begin my fieldwork in Minahasa I did so with few fixed preconceptions regarding Minahasan culture. I was of course armed with my own anthropological conceptions of what culture as a concept meant, but not necessarily what it meant for Minahasans themselves.

My introduction to Lolah was coincidental to my relationship with Bapak Hendrik Paat, an English language lecturer at one of North Sulawesi's universities, who like many state employees in Indonesia, supplements his public service income by taking other paid employment. During the initial weeks of my fieldwork I engaged Bapak Hendrik to teach me *Bahasa Indonesia* and *Bahasa Manado*.³ We met regularly in Manado where I was residing and pondered language and much else together, as we eagerly discussed each other's countries and cultures. We are the same age, at the time of my research in our early thirties.

³ *Bahasa* is the Indonesian noun for language. *Bahasa Manado* language is also known as *Bahasa Melayu* or more colloquially *Bahasa Pasar* (market), denoting it as a language of the marketplace, of general usage between peoples of different languages.

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Neither of us knew then the extent this dialogue would take, resulting in my living and researching 'culture' in Bapak Hendrik's village, and he eventually accepting a scholarship to further his post-graduate studies in Australia, throughout which our dialogue on culture has continued. Nor did we foresee the depth of our dialogue either, as we almost daily discussed and debated the things we had uncovered in our excavations of culture in Loloh, and Minahasa more generally. I say 'things *we* had uncovered' because there was much about the culture of Loloh that Bapak Hendrik also learnt anew through his participation in my research, as much had been elided over time from popular discourse and knowledge concerning Loloh's history. In our relationship Bapak Hendrik fulfilled roles as teacher and student, as a translator across cultural mores and four languages (*Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Manado, Bahasa Tombulu* and English), as an invaluable local guide and informant, as a scribe and translator of recorded interviews (many of which we conducted together), as generous host and invaluable friend, as collaborator and occasional intentional obscurant of my research, and as a conspirator in philosophising about culture. Our relationship was for all intensive consequences rich and rewarding and the hub of my fieldwork experience. Due to the close nature of our friendship and the regularity with which Bapak Hendrik is referred to in this thesis I use his name Hendrik (with his consent) from this point forth.

It was perhaps during our first conversation that I introduced Hendrik to my anthropologically informed understanding of culture, a version of my own working definition. I was, to quote John Pemberton, "not entirely satisfied by the thought of culture" (Pemberton 1994:18), an ongoing and contentious concern of mine.

Hendrik asked me what I did and I explained that my research concerned 'culture', which led to further questions as to what I meant by culture, and how this related to my intended research project. My response on this early occasion was that I understood culture to roughly equate to the 'way of life' of people, the everything about the how, why and what they do; this was the starting point of our working definition regarding culture. Hendrik translated culture as *kebudayaan* in *Bahasa*

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Indonesia, and we discussed *kebudayaan* and its more colloquial equivalent *budaya*. We referred to an Indonesian-English dictionary (which is limited by its mandate of translation rather than definition) and discovered that *kebudayaan* was closely related to both the English terms culture and ‘civilisation’ (Echols & Shadily 1994:91).⁴ Hendrik deflected the importance of my drawing attention to the dictionary’s association between culture and civilisation, instead emphasising *kebudayaan*, or the simplified and more commonly utilized *budaya*, as the general translation of culture, which I accepted. However, I was intrigued by the linking of these two powerful English language concepts, culture and civilisation, in the one Indonesian word *kebudayaan*, as I was similarly intrigued in the relationship of the two terms in English. *Kebudayaan*, like the English term culture, appeared to similarly have its own tacit association with the term civilisation, an association that also appeared to have been displaced by historical shifts in discourse.⁵ This became food for thought, and as my understanding of the term and its usage became more complex over time, its consideration became an ongoing concern of my fieldwork.

Having introduced myself as an anthropologist, a researcher of culture, culture became a focus of many early discussions with residents of Lolah and other Minahasans. I soon became fascinated by apparent inconsistencies and contradictions within the people of Lolah’s (and broader Minahasa) various representations of what culture meant for them. Culture appeared, on the one hand, to reference something historical, to belong to the past, having negative connotations, and was often discussed in reference to archeological objects of yesteryear. Yet on the other hand culture also appeared to be celebrated in the present day at various events, sponsored by both state and church, where the performance of music, song and dance were commonplace representations of culture. At first glance, the performances seemed to

⁴ Intriguingly, the transitive verb form of *budaya*, ‘membudayakan’, had two meanings: “1. cultivate, develop (art, music, etc...). 2. Civilise, bring into the mainstream of civilisation. – *suku asli* bring the aborigines into the mainstream of civilisation” (Echols & Shadily 1994:91).

⁵ ‘Civilisation’ is translated from English to Indonesian as *peradaban* in Echols & Shadily 1996:115, and in general usage.

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be fusions of indigenous and European traditions, consequent to colonial and missionary influence, rather than celebrations of a distinct 'indigenous culture'. Consistently, discourse about culture invoked references to what was modern or civilised, and comparisons between the present day and past. This included discussion of pre-Christian Lolah in comparison to the present day, involving value judgements on past and contemporary beliefs and practices, and ways of life. The concepts civilised and modern were readily contrast, implicitly and explicitly, to culture. Civilisation, and more commonly modernity, loomed large in people's discourse about culture, affirming the links between culture and civilisation inherent within the Indonesian concept *kebudayaan*.

In the early part of my fieldwork in Minahasa it was the complex of these representations concerning culture that intrigued me, that became a focus of my research, as I sought to clarify – to anthropologise – an appreciation of what *kebudayaan*/culture actually meant (referred to and stood for) to the people of Lolah. Making sense of culture, in its apparent relationship of juxtaposition to the concept civilisation – in Lolah-Minahasa and within anthropological discourse – came to be the focus of my research. I began to consider how the use and meaning of these concepts had evolved over time in Minahasan history, in colonial and post-colonial contexts. I wondered what role the concepts *kebudayaan* and civilisation/modernisation played in contemporary discourse, in assisting the people of Lolah to reconcile 'the old' with 'the new' in the negotiation of modernisation's unfolding progression. I deliberated if, and how, the concept *kebudayaan* worked as a tool for understanding oneself and community in relation to processes of modernisation and change: in the negotiation of beliefs, practices, values, and traditions. This led me to question whether the English concept 'culture' fulfilled a similar role in anthropological discourse to the Indonesian concept *kebudayaan*, in providing the discursive and real means to understand and negotiate change, and what historical, philosophical links might exist between these two linguistic domains.

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I chose to undertake research in Lolah, in part because I was invited to do so by the village head, Ibu Jelly Karungdeng, who was interested in the research into and continuation of Tombulu cultural traditions.⁶ Ibu Jelly's interest was complemented by the intentions of a newly formed church committee, the *Komisi Kebudayaan* or Culture Commission, that sought to *menggali kembali budaya*, translated literally as 'dig up and bring back culture' that had been discontinued or marginalised by modernising processes over time. The head of the *Komisi Kebudayaan*, Pak Petrus Matau, was also eager to discuss research into local history and culture, which he had long taken an interest in researching, including his involvement (co-authored with other community members) in the compilation and publication of a history of Lolah (Matau et al 1995). I was intrigued by people's interest to dig up and bring back culture in Lolah, what elements of their culture people understood as being lost, and what elements they sought to restore. The encouragement of community leaders, Hendrik and other community members, and their demonstrated enthusiasm for collaborative and mutually beneficial research, influenced my decision to undertake research in Lolah.

The ethnographic data from this research is derived from formal interviews and informal discussions, attendance at specific church and state sponsored community events, and general hanging-out with people/informants in Lolah and elsewhere in Minahasa. My research methods included digital recordings of formal interviews with informants. The emphasis of many formal interviews concerned the history of Lolah, with a focus upon the what-why-and-how of changes, from the pre-colonial period to the present day. Digital and transcript copies of these form an archive of this oral history and are maintained and made available to all interested parties by my main

⁶ Ibu Jelly Karungdeng was then the village head for the Government administrative in the village of Lolah Satu, one of two villages that constituted the village of great Lolah, to which I generally refer to in this thesis as the village of 'Lolah', unless otherwise stated.

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informant, Hendrik, who acts as the archive's custodian.⁷ This process was supported by copyright agreements signed by interviewees, Hendrik (as custodian of the archive) and myself.⁸ Digital recordings of certain musical performances were also made and contributed to the archive.

I have used my informants' original names in this thesis, at their request (unless otherwise state) to acknowledge their participation in my research. I have used pseudonyms for several informants whose expressed ideas and/or activities are seen as somewhat controversial by some people in Lolah. I have retained the original name of the village Lolah at my informants' request, and due to the uncontroversial nature of my research data.

Thesis structure

This ethnography unfolds in eight chapters, an introduction and a conclusion. The opening chapter introduces the relationship of complementary opposition between the concepts culture and civilisation, beginning with the original theoretical contrasting of the concept culture in critique of the term civilisation by the German philosopher Johann Herder. It traces a theoretical genealogy from this innovation through the broad discursive domain of anthropological ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries until their consolidation within a treatise (and related discipline) of anthropology by the Englishman E.B.Tylor. A consideration of the morphing of the concept civilisation into the twentieth-century concept of modernisation and associated terms follows. Chapter One also introduces methodological approaches concerning discourse and metacultural discourse.

⁷ Digital copies were also distributed to all interviewees prior to my leaving the field, most of whom had the capacity to play them, or could borrow a portable Compact Disk player from the 'archive' if need be.

⁸ This copyright agreement was drafted in collaboration with Jane Anderson, then Visiting Fellow with AIATSIS (Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies) and a specialist in intellectual property law as it pertains to indigenous knowledge. AIATSIS has stringent ethical guidelines, upon which I based my research methodology. See Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), 2000, *Guidelines for Ethical Research in Indigenous Studies*, available at <http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/10534/GERIS_2007.pdf> (15/6/2009).

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Chapter Two begins to explore the culture-civilisation nexus in the context of historical change in northern Sulawesi. The chapter introduces Michel Foucault's concept of pastoral power as a tool for examining change in Minahasa until the present day. The chapter explores the cooperation between, and influence of, church and state in affecting the civilisation and Christianisation of the people of Minahasa during the nineteenth-century, and the central role of education in producing colonial, Christian subjects – interventions that resulted in the conversion to Christianity of most of the people of the region by the end of that century. Cooperation between state and church organisations in facilitating the exercise of pastoral power is discussed in terms of interrelated developments in the Netherlands and colonial Minahasa during the nineteenth-century.

Chapter Three examines the shift in discourse from the attention to civilisation as a powerful component of colonial-missionary discourse in the nineteenth-century to that of cultural pluralism in early twentieth-century Netherlands East Indies. This attention to pluralism is analysed in relation to the increased application of ethnological ideas and ethnographic knowledge in practical policies of colonial administration and missionisation, using, as case studies, respectively, the Ethical Policy and the development of *adat* law, and Ethical Theology and the utilitarian emphasis of the pluralism that it entailed. These 'ethical' policies are considered in terms of their interventionist intentions in the lives of colonial subjects, intended to effect changes in the conduct, self-perception, responsibilities and (self-) government of subjects.

Chapter Four focuses upon the development of the Indonesian concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* within twentieth-century Indonesian nationalism, especially the discourse of New Order Government⁹ ideologues and policy, and in the complementary writings of a key theologian of Minahasa's largest Protestant church

⁹ I use the capitalised term 'Government' to refer to state, as opposed to my use of the Foucauldian term 'government' elsewhere in this thesis.

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during this period. These concepts, in various juxtapositions, are analysed as meaningful concepts within the lived experiences of Minahasans and Indonesians, especially in terms of their negotiation and understanding of processes of change. This approach provides a foundation for the exploration of historical and contemporary processes of social/ economic/ political/ change in Lolah, and the salience and utility of these concepts in assisting the people of Lolah to understand and orient themselves in relation to these changes.

Chapter Five analyses the history of Lolah from the pre-Christian era to the 1950s via the memories and stories of my informants' in Lolah, especially those whose lives have spanned much of the latter half of the twentieth-century. The importance of the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* in my informants' telling of this history is considered, with attention to the common characterisation of culture as something that belonged in the past, as being something historical. Following my informants' lead, the chapter examines local culture through the lens of marriage and funeral traditions and the development of institutions of church and state, focusing upon the era of the 1950s as a time remembered for its cultural integrity.

Chapter Six concerns an era of change beginning with the violent conflict between the Indonesian national Government and the Permesta forces (circa 1960), and continued throughout the post-1966 New Order Government. This includes the period of new wealth resulting from the boom in clove prices experienced in Lolah between the 1960s and 1980s. The chapter examines the complex of changes in people's lives during this period, including work practices, the delivery of public and religious services, economic changes, experiences of the outside world, and consumerist trends. I discuss the increased capacity and influence of church and state in this era, with emphasis upon the emergence of *moderen*, *modernisasi* and *pembangunan* (development) as key concepts in everyday discourse, contrasted against a perception of *kebudayaan* (culture) viewed increasingly as backward and outdated.

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Chapter Seven examines the reconciliation of the two main trends in the understanding and application of the concept *kebudayaan* within Minahasan and Indonesian society. This refers, on the one hand, to *kebudayaan* as being related to, and belonging to the past, and alternatively of *kebudayaan* as being represented by – and ‘as constituting’ – cultural performance, expressed within certain (especially state sponsored) fora. This is examined within the context of an emerging interest in Tombulu culture, language and identity in the post-New Order period, and the articulation of cultural performances from different parts of Tombulu speaking Minahasa, including Lolah. I use these examples to reflect upon people’s meaningful engagement with, and realisation of self, community, and nation in dialogue with the concepts of *kebudayaan* and *moderen* and the discourses of church and state.

Central to Chapter Eight is a discussion of the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa’s (GMIM) role, and in particular the members of the congregation of Lolah’s own GMIM church, in facilitating reconciliation of old and new beliefs and practices through the discursive and performative defining of *kebudayaan* within church fora. I examine GMIM’s theological and pastoral engagement with indigenous beliefs and practices in Minahasa. This includes examining the mandate of Lolah’s GMIM congregation’s recently formed *Komisi Kebudayaan* (Culture Commission) to reconcile past practices with modern, Christian values via the process of *menggali kembali budaya* (to dig up and bring back culture). I contemplate the efforts of one particular individual, my principal informant Hendrik, in his negotiation of a modern reconciliation of Tombulu culture with Christianity through his writing of ‘contextual liturgy’ for GMIM church services. This provides a final context in which to consider the role of the concepts culture and civilisation/modern as tools/technologies in the understanding and orientation of self and community in processes of change.

A final review of the utility, meaningfulness and value of the concepts culture and civilisation in peoples’ lives within Lolah, in relation to the historical processes – of

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discourse and pastoral power – that have contributed to their contemporary salience, concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

The Complementary Opposition of Culture & Civilisation

This chapter examines the origins and development of the mutually informing concepts 'culture' and 'civilisation' out of the complex of Enlightenment sciences concerning humanity that emerged between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. The relationship between these two concepts has fundamentally informed the way people in diverse contexts conceptually order understandings of humanity in both its diversity and similarity. This is a relationship of complementary opposition that has persisted since at least the Enlightenment, despite evolution in the meaning and use of the concepts and the contexts of their juxtaposition. When one utilises the anthropological concept culture one invariably invokes its complementary opposition to the concept civilisation or synonymous concepts such as modernisation.¹⁰ The chapter establishes the foundation for the ethnographic examination of this hypothesis within the context of the Minahasan people of northern Sulawesi.

I do not intend to present an exhaustive genealogy of the two concepts and their mutually informing evolution, but rather seek to define key moments in a selective history of the thinkers who helped define them, and explore the changing nature of the concepts' juxtaposition. The relationship between these two concepts has been explained as a relationship of opposition whereby culture is understood as a "rarefied cluster of human values" that has "survived in and against the prevailing generality of discourse (civilisation)" (Mulhern 2000:77). In this appraisal culture is articulated in critique of civilisation; a dynamic that continues to characterise the relationship between the two concepts. However, such an appraisal simplifies what has been a complex (evolving) relationship of shifting alignments of agonism and meaning dependant on context, reaching beyond European shores. It also simplifies what may

¹⁰ I explain the relationship between civilisation and modernisation later in Chapter One.

be a complex intersection of different conceptions of culture, what one may define as anthropological and humanist conceptions (which I will explicate in this chapter). The chapter explores how the mutual development of the culture and civilisation concepts has been shaped by tensions between (and evolution of) science, theology and the political theory concerning human development, in dialogue with zones of engagement with non-European peoples in (predominantly) colonial contexts.

Of particular interest to this thesis is the zone of interaction and circulation of these concepts between Europe and northern Sulawesi over time – by people through discourses associated with institutions of state and church. I will explore how the evolving meaning, valuing and use of the concepts culture and civilisation – in colonial and post-colonial contexts via the major institutions circulating these concepts, namely state and church – engaged with, and informed, Minahasans' 'meta-' appreciation of culture and civilisation at different times in their history. In using the term 'meta' I refer to the way the circulation and use of these concepts informed the understanding and articulation of the subjects – culture or civilisation – that they sought to define. I am ultimately interested in how this history has informed present understandings and representations of 'culture' (local and otherwise) and 'civilisation' in the field context of my ethnography. This chapter thus establishes a framework for analysis of the definition and use of the concepts culture and civilisation within historical and contemporary Minahasa, which I will explore in the following chapters. For now, however, I begin with a section on methodology.

Discourse as methodology

In Michael Clifford's (2001) *Political Genealogy After Foucault: Savage Identities*, I find a useful methodological device for examining Enlightenment anthropology, in order to synthesise key discursive traits from the generality of discourse on humanity that attempted to comprehend human universalities in relation to apparent differences. *Political Genealogy After Foucault* is doubly useful here. On the one hand, Clifford outlines a method for analysing 'discourse' via Michel Foucault which is

particularly useful for examining how concepts, and the context of their articulation, come to constitute powerful domains of exclusion and inclusion out of a generality of discourse. Clifford's book also provides an example relevant to my interests, of Hobbes's seventeenth-century philosophising on 'political subjectivity', which both established a 'domain of discourse' on this subject, but also defined and reaffirmed then popular conceptions of 'man' reflecting a schematic rationale that contrasted 'civilised man' as developmentally opposed to 'bruit beasts' or savages.¹¹ Utilising Clifford's ideas in this regard affords both a tool for analysing the manner by which key concepts inform and authorise domains of discourse (such as culture vis-a-vis civilisation in 'anthropology'), and an example of a relevant Enlightenment discursive context in which such concepts were constitutive of a science of humanity - in Clifford's example, that of an emerging political science. Clifford provides a succinct overview of Foucault's concept of discourse:

In *The Order of Things*, Foucault insists that different ways of ordering the world have been dominant in different periods of history. Each order can be understood as a nexus of exclusion. That is, the epistemic formations peculiar to a particular historical period allows certain things to be thought, believed, and said within that formation, and certain other things to be excluded, so as to constitute a relatively autonomous domain: a domain of discourse. The concepts that are allowed to hold sway in each domain, the dominant epistemic themes, the strategies for appropriating and disseminating knowledge, the theoretical choices of science and philosophy are all determined within, and at the same time constitute, the discursive order. Each order is a kind of delimitation that appropriates and organises differences under the identity of the same configuration or discursive practice. By focusing on difference rather than identity, and by casting the nexus of exclusion/inclusion of a given epistemological order genealogically side by side with those of other orders, Foucault is able to show the elements of a discursive formation

¹¹ At various points in this chapter and throughout this thesis I will utilise in era specific contexts the archaic use of the word 'man', such as in the phrase 'science of man', when referencing the more contemporary gender inclusive *humanity*.

to be historically contingent and nonessential modes of evaluation, of giving meaning to the world (Clifford 2001:28).

“Foucault defines discourse as ‘a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation...it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined’ ” (cf Foucault 1972:117, in Clifford 2001:28). For Foucault “it is the *sameness* of statements, their commonality of form, articulation, emergence, and reference, that constitutes the identity of any particular discursive formation” (Clifford 2001:29) Statements limit what can and cannot be said within a discursive domain, excluding possibilities which remain in the ‘void’ of ‘pure difference’ beyond the ordering of relative (included) differences established within the discursive domain (Clifford 2001:29-30). “Discourse, thus, has a sovereignty over what may pass as truth... Discourse is where truth *happens*, rather than where it is discovered, reflected, or revealed. Truth happens as statements bound together by their sameness, constituting a community of truth, a domain of knowledge in which, and only in which, such statements make sense.... The rules of what passes for truth are internal to the discourse itself” (Clifford 2001:30-1).

Domains of discourse transverse the individuality of the speakers, with few statement-makers becoming historically memorable in the generality of discursive reaffirmations. It is these statement-makers, however, who draw our attention to the transformations within discursive domains; they are the boundary pushers and reformers.

Using a Foucauldian approach to analyse the development of the concepts culture and civilisation is useful in establishing how the epistemic themes these concepts came to convey manifest out of the general domains of discourse in which they circulated. It also affords attention to the ‘political’ contexts in which concepts engage and develop, and the relations of power that animate them. Discourse (and domains of discourse) must be considered in relation to the exercise of power; and understood as itself important to the performance of power. Foucault developed his theory of

discourse in consideration of a particular period in time in a particular place, namely post-revolutionary France and Western Europe. His analysis of this period provides the basis for understanding the types of power and government¹² that have developed within the nation-state since this time and continue to animate societies today. It is my intention to examine the role of discourse, and in particular the historical role and utility of the concepts culture and civilisation, within the context of my field site in Indonesia. It is therefore useful to consider the European context in consideration of which Foucault's ideas emerged before applying them cross-contextually to historical and contemporary Indonesia. Clifford provides a useful entry-point to this consideration.

Michael Clifford utilises the example of Hobbes's *Leviathan* and the subsequent philosophising of John Locke as an example of the way in which their ideas on political subjectivity came to "constitute a limited system, a domain of discourse" profoundly influencing discursive truths on this subject until the present (Clifford 2001:33). Pertinent to my discussion here is the intersection of Hobbes's schematic conceptions of 'man' and his relations with 'others', within the general intellectual domain of the Enlightenment. Clifford suggests that "the political and metaphysical orientation of the *Leviathan* stems from its participation in discursive regularities already in place before its emergence" and is "nonetheless an effect of the underlying epistemic configuration of the Enlightenment, just as were the increasing influence of the physical sciences, and the emergence of rationalism" (Clifford 2001:27). In Hobbes's *Leviathan* (first published in 1651) Clifford finds "a particular conception of man, an arbitrary metaphysics that places man somewhere on a continuum between animality and rationality" (Clifford 2001:27). In *Leviathan*, Hobbes presents a 'taxinomia', an algebraic taxonomic tabling, to categorise and order 'man's' differences between, and possible relations with, "a plurality of other physical and natural beings" (Clifford 2001:32-3). Hobbes's taxonomic ordering of 'man' was

¹² I will further address the concept of government used here in Chapter Two.

conceived in relation to perceived limitations of political man's rights in civil society and the limits of sovereign authority, based upon his ability to "make covenant" with other men (Clifford 2001:32-3). His taxonomic continuum polarises those he sees as being incapable or unwilling of leaving a "state of nature" – "bruit beasts" or savages – as diametrically opposed to "civilised" men, willing and capable of forming civil society (Clifford 2001:32). Hobbes's solution was a political subjectivity within the discourse of a social contract in a civil society under a sovereign ruler justified by natural laws ultimately sanctioned by God (Clifford 2001:27). Conceptions of a ever-threatening, degenerative, 'state of nature', in potential opposition to civil society in the ongoing process of its becoming, underpin the political philosophy of Hobbes and John Locke (Clifford 2001:24-5). This is linked to popular degenerative theories of the time that saw 'man' as having degenerated from a civilised state to a state of nature or lower forms of civilisation or savagery – ideas reflecting the prevalence of Biblical interpretations of the state of man, to which I refer later.

The emergence of new political discourses and new political forms of sovereignty in (post-) revolutionary France and elsewhere in Europe from the eighteenth-century onwards co-developed alongside new forms of governmental power in nation-states linked to the development of new disciplinary institutions of the state. This focus occupied much of Foucault's philosophical history of Western Europe. Alongside newly forming political subjectivities in emerging nation-states such as France, the intellectual mix of theology, political philosophy, and developing natural sciences were undergoing significant reformations in increasingly exclusive discursive domains. These domains were significantly influenced by European engagement with and attempts to order knowledge and understanding of both themselves and other peoples from outside Europe. This was in part consequent to European colonial militarism and mercantile expansionism. The broader milieu of discourse in Europe culminated in the emergence of new specialised domains of discourse, developed in dialogue with the process of institutionalisation of new disciplines of ordering knowledge, within institutions of learning and teaching, such as universities. It is

from this intellectual milieu that a concept of ‘anthropology’ as a domain of discourse – as a veritable science of humanity – emerged in which the concepts culture and civilisation became fundamental.

My genealogy of the culture and civilisation concepts in the Enlightenment period of eighteenth-century Europe formally begins with the moment the term culture was first juxtaposed in critique of civilisation by the German philosopher Johann Herder. I then explore how from the eighteenth-century onwards an ever rationalising broad ‘science of man’ developed – a generalised anthropology – constituted by intersecting (sometimes complementing, often competing) and increasingly specialised discursive domains, such as political philosophy, theology, and the natural sciences. This leads to an examination of the importance of the concepts culture and civilisation in the development of the first departments of anthropology in European universities (and universities anywhere), and their saliency in the contemporary discipline. This will provide the foundation to explore in later chapters the use of the concepts culture and civilisation in the generalised everyday discursive context of their use in the lives of people in my ethnographic research field site. This will pay attention to my research subjects’ unique history and contemporary location as citizens within the Indonesian nation-state, and the important role these concepts have had in the definition of peoples’ lives in this locale.

The emergence of an Enlightenment anthropology

Enlightenment discourses signified a radical shift in the meaningful order of man’s place in relation to his cosmology, and corresponding shifts in the appreciation of the utilitarian nature of the world. The new objectivity and self-centred control over things, over nature, rendered the world manipulable and malleable to human influence. ‘Man’, as subject, became the Narcissistic centrifuge of the evolving methods of science. With man’s objectification of knowledge came a corresponding shift in the notion of a modern subjectivity, in which man came to be perceived as an “object of nature, as well as a subject of knowledge”, giving birth to a new

appreciation, a “new science” of man (Taylor 1975:10).¹³ Charles Taylor correlates this to the philosophical emergence of a “ ‘modern’ view of the world” as “an epistemological revolution with anthropological consequences”, related to the “seventeenth-century scientific revolution” in which the ideas of thinkers like Hobbes and Locke affirmatively engaged with the science of Galileo and Newton (Taylor 1975:3-4).

This emerging ‘science of man’ constituted in the broader sense of the word an ‘anthropology’, reflecting the congeries of discursive influences of the times. The Enlightenment domain of discourse was an internationally conversant European philosophical environment, a profoundly ‘inter-disciplinary’ intersection and contestation of discourses informed by medical, biological, historical-cultural, literary-psychological, philosophical and theological, travel and natural history discourses (Zammito 2002:221-22). With Enlightenment anthropology began the gradual disassociation of theology from scientific enquiry, an unfolding dialogue that informed the tenor and substance of the reordering of humanity into a scientific ‘natural history’ of the world. ‘Man’ came to see ‘himself’ not only as part of nature, but in terms of a ‘natural history’, a scientific schematic reordering of ‘his’ place in relation to nature. This was influenced by the development and refinement of taxonomic frameworks for the ordering of perceived human differences and similarities, which included the innovative step of classifying humans in relation to other species, and as a distinct species itself (Zammito 2002:234-35).

¹³ “Following on the seventeenth-century revolution, men came to define themselves no longer in relation to the cosmic order, but as subjects who possessed their own picture of the world within them as well as an endogenous motivation, their own purposes or drives. Along with this new notion of subjectivity went what I called an ‘objectification’ of the world. That is, the world was no longer seen as a reflection of a cosmic order to which man was essentially related, but as a domain of neutral, contingent fact, to be mapped by the tracing of correlations, and ultimately manipulated in fulfilment of human purposes. This vision of an objectified, neutral world was... valued as a confirmation of the new identity before even it came to be important as the basis of our mastery over nature. The objectification extends beyond external nature to englobe human life and society and the result is a certain vision of man, an associationist psychology, utilitarian ethics, atomistic politics of social engineering, and ultimately a mechanistic science of man” (Taylor 1975:539).

This re-ordering of perceived differences and similarities between humans was in part drawn from experiences of European travel and exploitation recorded in then contemporary ‘ethnographic’ literature. The new ethnographic literature of this period had generally been the product of ‘natural scientists’, whose descriptions of peoples encountered during biological data gathering expeditions were common components of their works (Zammito 2002:221-22).¹⁴ Ethnographic observations were often subjected to similar modes of classifications and ordering as the ‘biological’ data. Some authors taxonomically categorised differences between peoples, other authors discriminating whether certain peoples could be considered human. A more common distinction was the differentiation of peoples according to perceived developmental differences, distinguishing people according to categories such as savages, barbarians or civilised peoples. The development of ethnography during this period was both reflective and constitutive of an anthropological desire to order and understand apparent human similarity and difference (Zammito 2002: 235-36).¹⁵

Enlightenment anthropology was influenced by Hobbes’ taxonomic schema (discussed earlier) of humanity oriented from the perspective of an imagined ‘objectified’ self – of someone capable of achieving civility – in a schematic

¹⁴ This literature had been preceded, to an extent, by missionary chronicles of foreign lands and peoples written during the prior, and also corresponding, period of European exploration (I thank Greg Acciaioli for his suggestion in this regard).

¹⁵ “The very idea of ethnography as a source of insight into human nature, and together with *physical* anthropology constituting the same discipline, Robert Wokler argues, is a recent notion. The basis for the confluence was “a new understanding of man as a cultural being constituted through a historical process.” Thus the crucial concern to explain “improvement, refinement, liberty” led to a juxtaposition of the primitive and the civilised. “Comparative and historical methods became inextricable, together contributing to a properly *social* science. A sense of the environmental context of human experience led to a fascination with non-Western cultures and the full-blown pursuit of *ethnography* – a term coined for Germany by August Ludwig von Schlozer precisely in order to raise historical inquiry into the level of true “universal history.” Here lies part of the explanation for the enormous vogue of travel literature. The key idea was that the *synchronic* dispersal of cultural levels demonstrated by the travel literature mirrored faithfully the diachronic evolution of human cultural levels, so the juxtaposition of the “primitives” (Hottentots or Hurons) with contemporary Europeans told the same story of human “civilisation” that could be constructed from the sequence of historical cultures from the ancient Fertile Crescent to the *siècle des lumieres*” (Zammito 2002: 235-36).

relationship to all things that were ‘other’, whether human or otherwise. An emerging anthropological domain of discourse cannot be separated from the broader milieu of discourse of this period, and fundamental concepts that took root at this time. Wolf reminds us that “we owe the notion of ‘ideology’ to the Enlightenment; the concept of ‘culture’, as well as that of ‘society’, derives from efforts to reverse the effects of [the Enlightenment] movement (Wolf 1999:23, comments mine)”.

Johann Herder and culture as critique of civilisation

The eighteenth-century European philosopher Johann Herder profoundly informed anthropology’s evolving domain of discourse. Herder was a principal innovator in the use of culture as a central concept in the ordering of knowledge about humanity, (Williams 1976; Mulhern 2001), influential within German and American anthropological histories (Crehan 2002:42; Gingrich 2005:73). Herder was the first notable philosopher to contrast the concept culture in juxtaposition to civilisation, as a critique of civilisation’s universalising tendencies. Herder is believed to have influenced the ideas of Frans Boas (Gingrich 2005:73)¹⁶, who is widely credited with introducing the concept of the plurality of cultures into the discipline of ‘cultural anthropology’ in North America and beyond (Bennet et al 2005:67).¹⁷ More generally, Herder’s use of the concept culture signified a profound shift in the appreciations of human similarity and difference, influencing subsequent trends in both the ‘humanist’ and ‘anthropological’ conceptions of culture (which I will differentiate shortly).

Cultural plurality is integral to Herder’s writings, albeit articulated within quite different contexts and language to that of Boas in the early twentieth-century.

Herder’s ideas reflect the individualised rationality of the Enlightenment discourses

¹⁶ This is also implied by Stocking (1982:214).

¹⁷ Herder’s conception of culture was also significantly influential on the development of the European movement of *Kulturkritik*, in which ‘culture’ was used and valued as the critical medium for critiquing civilisation’s ‘progress’, a precedent of the twentieth-century Cultural Studies movement (Mulhern 2001).

of this time, yet they also challenged “the invented fiction of the ‘universal, progressive improvement of the world’ ” promoted by the same discourses (Herder 1993:44). Herder was reacting against what he saw was the cynical philosophising of ‘world history’ (especially by French and British philosophers) in terms of ‘progress and development’. He sought to reconcile the science of humanity with spirituality and the unique attributes of a German culture and nation. Franco-British civilisation, on the other hand, was synonymous with the development of the nation-state, new political subjectivities, and a dynamic philosophical-scientific movement that challenged and destabilised the political and philosophical-theological establishment in Europe, including the role of the Church in political affairs. Herder’s valuing of a distinct German national culture, “generated from within”, was articulated in defiance of the threat of its erosion by civilisation’s overwhelming progress, theoretically imposed from without (Sahlins 2008:1-5). Yet, Herder’s culture appreciated the cultures of other peoples and nations as equal in value to his own.

[Herder] emphasised the variety of national characters, seeing each as the unique outcome of a people’s environmental and historical experience, embodied in its own mythology, which was the characteristic religious, aesthetic, and ethical expression of the *Volksgeist*. Never fully commensurable, these national spirits were all equally manifestations of humanity as a whole (George Stocking 1987:20).

Herder’s views concerning a people’s national culture were in distinct contrast to Enlightenment discourses that hierarchised perceived human differences on a progressive scale of relative civilisation. For Herder Enlightenment philosophies lacked an appreciation of “the expressive *pattern of God in all creation*”, which was demonstrated by the diversity of human existence (Herder 1993:44-8). It was the concept of culture that best reflected for Herder a divinely afforded human diversity. Herder’s German national culture was innately Christian, whilst other cultures also deserved respect as expressions of a broader notion of realisable God. For Herder, civilisation’s universalising political orientation and de-sacralizing science devalued the divinity exemplified in human diversity and the unique spirit continued within

each culture/people/nation, restructuring human difference into a utilitarian hierarchy emphasising progress. In contrast, Herder's appreciation of culture was "plural and historically relative" (Mulhern 2000: xvi), a significant innovation in Enlightenment discourses; with long-lasting consequences. His vision of *Kultur* emphasised human 'unity through diversity' ("*in Einheit durch Vielfalt*") (Gingrich 2005:73); which would come to be a unifying motto of both the European Union and Indonesian nation-state in the twentieth-century. Herder critiqued:

The assumption of the universal histories that 'civilisation' or 'culture' – the historical self-development of humanity – was what we would now call a unilinear process, leading to the high and dominant point of eighteenth-century European culture.... he argued, in a decisive innovation, to speak of 'cultures' in the plural: the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation (Williams 1976:79).

Herder's ideas reflect the intellectual milieu in which he wrote, and this was informed in part by the accounts of travellers journeying outside of Europe, and increasing scientific appraisal of these foreign experiences. Like other philosophers of his era, Herder's utilisation of ethnographic material in his 'science of man' – especially in his analysis of languages and consequent innovative theorising about cultural difference – demonstrates the evolving utility and authority of ethnographic knowledge.¹⁸

Ethnography was an important method of empirical data accumulation that informed classificatory theses about humanity. It involved rationalising knowledge about peoples into a schema of universal human sameness, whilst simultaneously ordering and hierarchising perceived differences between peoples into a progressive schema of human development. Europeans classified themselves as enlightened,

¹⁸ See Wilhelm von Humboldt's 'On Language: The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind' (1988), initially published as an introduction to the author's ethno-linguistic study of Old Javanese, *Über die Kavi-Sprache auf der Insel Java* (183-1840).

progressive and civilised, in comparative to others less so. This engaged with the fields of political theory and practice (such as Hobbes and Locke) as well as theological concerns regarding the origin and progression or decline of humanity post-genesis (which I will discuss further later). Herder's work also employed an Enlightenment taxonomic ordering that characterised humanity's diversity as reflecting 'stages of development'. Yet for Herder hierarchical schemata that differentiated and valued 'different' human lives on a scale of development or measure of civilisation was erroneously sympathetic with arguments justifying European subjugation of diverse peoples across the globe.

Men of all the quarters of the globe, who have perished over the ages, you have not lived solely to manure the earth with your ashes, so that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European culture. The very thought of a superior European culture is a blatant insult to the majesty of Nature (Herder cited in Williams 1976:79).

Herder's ideas emphasised an egalitarian morality in which the different stages of development were equally valuable, and unique realisations of God's creation. Belief was an important element of Herder's views on culture. For Herder, God was both the motivating force and the glue that bound humanity into a universal whole, in which each articulation of difference was evidence of the diverse realisation of God in humanity. Enlightenment rationality had re-written "history into an ant's game, an endless striving of isolate tendencies and powers, a chaos, in which one gives up hope in the existence of virtue, purpose, and God" (Herder 1993:44). Herder's concept of culture envisioned mankind's diversity through a developmental paradigm of spiritual progress in which the realisation of one's " 'culture', for it is like the cultivation of soil; or 'enlightenment', for it brings to mind the image of light" (Herder 1993:51) was the individual's realisation of one's self within the pedagogical

traditions of one's culture, and in turn within a divinely unified humanity.¹⁹ It was a spiritual or religious sense that one could talk in terms of a personalised development or self-fulfilment, related to the wellbeing of a universal humanity. Culture was the formative domain in which one learnt and was developed, was the domain where individuals cultivated and experienced self-realisation. Culture was thus educative and spiritual, expressed within a continuity of traditions.²⁰

Influentially, the locus in Herder's model was the individual, whose realisation of culture was a realisation of 'self' expressed within the discursive domains of each individual's culture; their ideas and actions were 'expressions' of their unique cultural contexts. This point is emphasised in Charles Taylor's description of Herder's innovations in terms of 'expressivism' or an 'expressivist anthropology'.²¹ In expressivist anthropology culture is the 'discursive' domain in which one realises oneself as unique vis-a-vis a realisation of the uniqueness of others within their cultural domains.

¹⁹ "This is the genuine sense of 'progress' and 'continuous development,' even if no individual were to prosper from it! The human race enters into the magnificent whole! The human race becomes something about which a shallow [Enlightenment] account of history boasts so much and reveals so little: It becomes the *theatre of a guiding purpose on earth!* It becomes so, even if we are not immediately able to espy its final purpose; it becomes the theatre of God, even if only presented through the *openings and ruins of individual scenes*" (Herder 1993:44).

²⁰ Herder utilised the term *Bildung* to describe an essential, innate quality of difference that defined cultures from each other. "[I]n German, [*Bildung*] can mean 'formation', 'cultivation' or 'education', and has been used in many ways to speak about how we develop as human beings" (Bunge 1993:15). Herder's use of *Bildung*²⁰ has three basic elements: 'tradition' relating to the unique historical circumstances of a person's social life and culture - traditions which are dialogue with other cultures and their histories; 'organic powers' of "individual human beings that enable them to receive that which has been transmitted to them by tradition and to appropriate it in their own unique ways"; and humanity (*Humanität*), by virtue of which "all human beings share a common purpose and direction and... are made in the image of God" (Bunge 1993:15-16). Herder believed *Bildung* was a universal process of forming and reforming traditions anew, in which individuals and cultures were essentially unique, finding "new expression and God's continual guidance in diverse cultures and historical periods", a process to be distinguished from the concept 'progress' within discourse of civilisation, which is a process of betterment in each generation (Bunge 1993:16).

²¹ Both Charles Taylor (1975) and Joel Kahn (1995) utilise the term 'expressivist anthropology' to describe Herder's unique contribution to the science of man, albeit with different emphasis. Taylor developed the notion of 'expressivism' from Isaiah Berlin's reading of Herder. Isaiah Berlin describes 'expressionism' - the term which Taylor modified in order to distinguish expressivism from the twentieth-century art movement (Taylor 1975:13; Berlin 1965: 53-54).

It was Herder and the expressivist anthropology developed from him which added the epoch-making demand that my realisation of the human essence be my own, and hence launched the idea that each individual (and in Herder's appreciation, each people) has its own way of being human (Taylor 1975:15).

Taylor sees this idea as 'quintessentially modern', and "one of the major *idée-forces*" of civilisation thereafter (Taylor 1975:17-8). In its quintessence, it was this self-reflective comparative dynamic that afforded a modern self-awareness, the dynamic whereby the individual looks at an-*other* and expresses or defines oneself in comparative relation to that *other*.

Herder's role in the development of anthropology is important beyond his critical juxtaposition of culture against civilisation. His egalitarian valuing of human diversity, to the point of individual self-realisation, spiritually informed and culturally contingent, influenced subsequent philosophers, specific domains of discourse and the evolving intellectual milieu of (post-) Enlightenment anthropology thereafter.

The tension between theological and scientific concerns that characterised Herder's philosophies would continue to unfold during the nineteenth-century in interesting ways. This tension, I argue later in this chapter, significantly influenced the attention to categories of religion and belief around which the discipline of anthropology came to coalesce its energies in explaining human diversity and similarity during the nineteenth-century and beyond. The problem of hierarchical valuing of comparative human difference and spirituality, and the valuing of progress and civilisation, would preoccupy colonial and missionary discourses and agents in contexts such as northern Sulawesi. These contexts would in turn inform the development of new anthropological ideas.

Culture vis-à-vis civilisation in nineteenth-century European philosophy

Beginning in the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century and progressing through to the twentieth-century, culture comes to stand for a general process of social improvement. Functioning, initially, as a term more or less interchangeable

with civilisation in this regard, its nineteenth-century and twentieth-century development is conditioned by the emergence of an increasing tension between these two terms. Worked through first by German Romanticism [with whom Herder is associated], this history was produced and sustained by a set of antagonisms between, on the one hand, civilisation as a standard of material progress best indexed by the development of industrial production and, on the other, culture as the embodiment of a set of higher standards in whose name material civilisation might be indicted for its shallowness, coarseness, or incompleteness, when viewed from the higher standards of human wholeness or perfection that the notion of culture increasingly came to represent (Bennet et al... 2005:65, comments mine).

The higher standards of human wholeness that culture increasingly came to represent in took several influential and overlapping forms during the nineteenth-century.

In both conceptions – which I describe here as ‘humanist’ and ‘anthropological’ – culture is juxtaposed to civilisation, although with significant differences and important consequences, particularly for the eventual development anthropology as its own academically disciplined discursive domain.

On one hand a ‘humanist’ culture developed, what Williams has summarises as “a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development” (Williams 1976:80). The humanist conception of culture is often associated in English with the writings of Matthew Arnold (Stocking 1982:87 & 201)²², but other national contexts have their champions also, such as the German Friedrich Schiller (Bennet et al 2005:65-66). In humanist culture aesthetics and art play important roles in the self-improvement and ‘enculturation’ of individuals *in* society, and also of society. This process was associated with – as it still is – the development of institutions of public access and improvement, such as public libraries, museums, art galleries, and universities (Bennet et al 2005:65-66). The development of public institutions

²² See George Stocking’s essay, *Arnold, Tylor, and the Uses of Invention* (1982:69-90), for a better appreciation of the separation of these discourses on culture.

characterised the (post-) Enlightenment period of nation-state development within Europe and elsewhere during this period.

Developing state institutions and the discourses they supported were integral to “a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development” within governed populations (Williams 1976:80); institutions reflecting Herder’s expressivism. The discourses/discursive domains that these institutions supported were essential components in the government of populations: in the enculturation of their values, aesthetics, and sensibilities. These institutions had a strong pedagogical emphasis. They can be seen as discursive nodes of authority in the cultivation of ‘intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic’ refinement and self-improvement via the consumption and attainment of ‘culture’; a process in which populations actively engaged. These ‘cultural’ institutions developed alongside other national institutions imbricated in the development of technologies of (self-) refinement and government within populations that inform the contexts of Michel Foucault’s philosophical history of Western Europe, such as, prisons, asylums, and hospitals.²³ I will address this issue of ‘government’ more directly in the following chapter.

The second, albeit related, conception of culture to consolidate during the nineteenth-century was the more scientific anthropological application of the term. Increasingly disciplined throughout the nineteenth-century, an anthropological appreciation of culture came to generally represent a “particular way of life, whether of a people, a period or a group” (Williams 1976:80). This conception was to eventually find its disciplinary domain in the academic discipline of anthropology as it emerged in universities during the late nineteenth-century, and later as Cultural Anthropology in a major twentieth-century movement within the discipline.

²³ For an summary of Foucault’s conceptions on ‘governmentality’ in relation to his wider project, see Mulhern (2000, especially pp.64-69) and Foucault’s original essay, ‘Governmentality’ (1991).

The historian of anthropology, George Stocking, attributes a central role to the English anthropologist E. B. Tylor in the definitive use and dissemination of an anthropological conception of culture during the nineteenth-century. Tylor was the first professor of anthropology at a European (or any) university, at Oxford. Stocking takes pains to show that Tylor's use of concept culture shared a number of similarities with the humanist conception, as well as others (especially Stocking 1982:69-90). Tylor's efforts to delimit anthropology as a discipline, and his positioning of 'culture' as the locus for anthropological enquiry was informed by a broader European intellectual environment of competing philosophical-theological contentions about the origins of humanity in circulation at the time. Tylor was to spend considerable energy countering and refuting in his publications then prevailing ideas about humanity's place in the cosmos. He was writing in the era of radical scientific innovation, primarily associated with the writings of Charles Darwin and other evolutionists whose work engaged in (often contentious) dialogue with theological positions that their innovative ideas challenged.²⁴ This was by no means a new dynamic in philosophy. I have already discussed how Enlightenment political theories – such as those proffered by Hobbes – engaged with notions of politically rational individualism, theological justifications, and a hierarchising of human diversity. Tylor's work, like Darwin's, exhibits a *taxinomia* reflective of the ordering of man in relation to things in Hobbes's *Leviathan* (Darwin 1886).

Much was still at stake in the European cosmology in this period and theological qualification of scientific advances was a consideration of many intellectuals. Biblical understanding of man's ascendancy, as described in Genesis, was being significantly challenged by scientific developments in the anthropological domain of discourse. Mid-nineteenth-century debates concerning the origin of humankind and its process of civilisation saw an engagement between Darwinian evolutionism and theologically aligned 'degenerationist' and the 'developmentalist' philosophical perspectives

²⁴ As with Herder before them, such dialogue was often an internal dialogue within the individual, as with the case of Charles Darwin, who had trained to be a Protestant minister.

(Stocking 1982:69-90).²⁵ These theologically aligned theorists perceived man as having either, respectively, degenerated from a civilised state or progressed from a savage state, through barbarism, into a civilised state (Stocking 1982:69-90). Tylor's writings during the 1860's sought to repudiate the degenerationist theory on human (and moral) decline, as well as refute another group, the then contemporarily influential 'polygenists', who argued that "the races of men were aboriginally distinct and permanently unequal" (Stocking 1982:75-7).²⁶ Such perspectives co-existed alongside other contrary theological views that saw all humans as equal in the sight of God, as per Herder.²⁷ Tylor's ideas shared more in common with those of the developmentalists. Despite Tylor's opposition to the theologically justified positions of influential contemporaries with which his work engaged, their ideas (through Tylor's efforts of refutation) came to inform his own.

Despite (and in part consequent to) Tylor's efforts to counter religious-inspired theories of comparative human development, religion and belief hold a central place in his schema of humanity. Stocking notes that mid-nineteenth-century "Christian belief strongly conditioned" pre-Darwinian British anthropological thought (Stocking 1987:44-45).²⁸ This is reflected in Tylor's schema in *Primitive Culture* which is largely devoted to the ordering of beliefs under categories of religion and animism, as a measure of a culture's relative development. Thus, in refuting theological influence upon scientific ordering of knowledge, he reaffirms religion and spiritual belief as key structuring concepts in systematic differentiation about peoples

²⁵ Stocking notes Darwin's developmentalist views in his recording of his encounter with Fuegians in South America, in reference to 'our ancestors' (Stocking 1982:114).

²⁶ Stocking cites the Archbishop of Dublin Richard Whately as Tylor's principal antagonist, and especially his lecture *On the Origin of Civilisation* (1854), which inspired much later progressionist-degenerationist debate (Stocking 1982:98).

²⁷ Thanks to Alan Rumsey for this insight.

²⁸ "[T]he emergence of the sociocultural evolutionary standpoint that characterised British anthropology after 1860 may be seen as the bringing together of two hitherto separated concerns: on the one hand, a study of the variety of mankind that had yet to free itself completely from the constraints of biblical assumption; and on the other, a study of the progress of civilisation for which a positivistic program was already well established (Stocking 1987:45)."

– a theme that continues to occupy much anthropological discourse today. George Stocking notes this when he poses what “is a very interesting problem in the history of anthropology: the way in which the Bible functioned as a kind of Kuhnian paradigm for research on the cultural, linguistic, and physical diversity of mankind” (Stocking 1982:71).²⁹

In *Primitive Culture* Tylor ordered *cultures* (plural) into a rational schema in which stages of development exhibited by different cultures were understood within the discursive framework of a progressive civilisation. Culture and civilisation were thus meshed, not synonymously, but within a productive tension of their mutual definition. Tylor has this to say in *Primitive Culture*:

Civilisation actually existing among mankind in different grades, we are enabled to estimate and compare it by positive examples. The educated world of Europe and America practically settles a standard by simply placing its own nations at one end of the social series and savage tribes at the other, arranging the rest of mankind between these limits according as they correspond more closely to savage or to cultured life...

Thus a transition from the savage state to our own would be, practically, the very progress of art and knowledge which is one main element in the development of culture (Tylor 1929: 26-27).

Primitive Culture embodied a temporal ordering of human difference along cultural and civilisational precepts. For Tylor, different peoples existed in temporalised stages of development, along an upward oriented path of enculturation into civilisation, their cultural differences reflecting both impediments to, and stages in, their progression. In positing such, Tylor achieved a synthesis of Arnoldian humanism with “the framework of progressive social evolutionism” (Stocking 1982:87).

²⁹ The question of course begs, what other categories of human differentiation and similarity would have otherwise been accentuated: though this not a question pursued here.

Tylor's greater anthropological thesis (of which *Primitive Culture* is definitive) and the conception of culture he invoked provided the foundation for English anthropology and influenced the development of anthropology in other nations, such as in American and Dutch anthropology. Stocking notes the further evolution of the relationship between the terms culture and civilisation in the writings of Franz Boas (utilising examples from writings of 1894 and 1911), whom he describes as a transitional figure in the changes of meaning in 'culture' towards its contemporary anthropological pluralism (Stocking 1982:202-3).

Boas began his career with a notion of culture that was still within the framework of traditional humanist and contemporary evolutionist usage. It was still a singular phenomenon, present to a higher or lower degree in all peoples. By 1911, this meaning...is given instead to 'civilisation'. It would seem that by this time Boas sensed that the word culture was better reserved for the 'cultures' of individual groups (Stocking 1982:203).

Boas's shift in usage towards a pluralist invocation of cultures significantly influenced popular discourse concerning culture during the twentieth-century.³⁰ In this shift the concept culture became increasingly associated with an anthropological perspective on culture, which many in 'the West' imagine others romantically possess (as opposed to themselves) (Kahn 1989:11; Sahlins 1999:401),³¹ rather than the humanist perspective upon culture that had prevailed during the nineteenth-century.

³⁰ "Boas did not, as Tylor has been assumed to have done, offer a definition of an anthropological 'culture'. But what he did do was to create an important portion of the context in which the word acquired its characteristic anthropological meaning. He was a leader of a cultural revolution that, by changing the relation of 'culture' to man's evolutionary development, to the burden of tradition, and to the processes of human reason, transformed the notion into a tool quite different from what it had been before. In the process he helped to transform both anthropology and the anthropologist's world" (Stocking 1982:233). See Stocking (1982:195-233) for analysis of both Germanic philosophical and Tylorian emphasis on Boas' ideas and evolving use of the culture concept in his work.

³¹ For a succinct development of ideas in this regard, see J.Kahn on Boas' shift in appreciation of culture and difference from 19th predecessors (1989:6); the relationship of his ideas to political evolutionist rationalities of natural sciences (1989:7); whose critique was informed by the perception that science is itself a cultural system (1989:8); and the inverse of the possession of culture from a

Close examination of the ideas of Herder and Tylor demonstrates similar yet differentiating use of the concepts culture and civilisation, invoking alternative relations of juxtaposition due to the differences of meaning they attributed to each concept. The two theorists utilise these two concepts in such a way as that they are mutually informing, arguably mutually indispensable. Herder's use of culture is as a direct critique of civilisation, whilst for Tylor the two concepts are complementary yet hierarchically differentiated, possibly symbiotic, but not directly oppositional. This shifting relationship of juxtaposition is important to acknowledge as it recognises both the genealogical links between these two concepts and their ongoing inter-relatedness. It is also important to recognise the mutability in the relationship of these concepts depending on the contexts of their use. Whilst culture invokes a 'rarefied cluster of human values' in juxtaposition to the 'prevailing generality of discourse' that civilisation represents, it does so in diverse contexts and in shifting relations of juxtaposition. This is a component of the saliency of these two concepts and the diverse contexts of their use.

Conclusion: a shift from civilisation to modernisation

Between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries "concepts such as 'civilisation' and 'culture' changed from concepts referring to processes – to progressive developments – into concepts referring to unchanging states (Elias 1998: 230).

Norbert Elias relates this shift in the meaning of the concepts culture and civilisation to developments within the political subjectivity of people within their evolving nation-states, reflecting the increased participation of the middle-class pursuing a certain humanist intellectualism in governing of nation-states. As the middle-classes rose to share social/political/economic power with older aristocratic classes within new Government systems that better represented their class interests, they gradually came to place less emphasis on conceptions of culture and civilisation as "symbolized

humanist perspective, to the previously marginal, now romantically accredited with its possession (1989:11).

by the concept of progress”, instead emphasising essentialised cultural/civilisational values to be found in a nation’s past, and articulated within a discourse of nationalism (Elias 1998:229-230).

Correspondingly, in the early twentieth-century the meaning of the concept culture shifted to a more relativist conception, significantly influenced by Frans Boas’s American Anthropology and the specific contexts of American society. Civilisation as a concept, whilst becoming more static, also underwent a fundamental discursive transformation in terms of its symbolism as a concept of progress. Influenced by developments in social theory, the use and meaning of the word civilisation was largely replaced by ‘modernisation’ as a conceptual process representing progressive (philosophical/ social/ political/ economic)³² improvement and change.

Modernisation discourses were imbued with many of the progressive and universalising qualities attributed in the past to the Enlightenment’s process of civilisation.

The nineteenth-century in Europe saw the association of the concept modern with positive valuations of ‘improved’, ‘satisfactory’ and ‘efficient’, meanings that correlate with the historical evolution of the term civilisation away from its previously synonymous associations with culture.³³ The late nineteenth-century witnesses the first usages of the terms ‘modernise’ and ‘modernist’ (Williams 1976:174-5; Kahn 2001: 656-57).

In Anglophone social science in particular, the term derives much of its meaning from a source that has come to be widely despised, at least by large numbers of

³² Importantly, economic concerns had come to play an increasingly important part of the Enlightenment discourses, which is itself reflected in the meaning and utility of the new uses of the term ‘modern’ ensconced within modernisation discourses.

³³ The English *modern* derives from the French *moderne*, meaning ‘just now’, which in turn derives from the Latin *modernus*, which was used in its time to differentiate the then Christian present from its Roman pagan past. ‘Modern’ was being utilised in sixteenth century Europe in a “new comparative/historical sense” in contrast to matters ‘medieval’. By the eighteenth-century in Europe the term had come to reference architecture, fashion and behaviour (Kahn 2001: 656-57, referencing Williams 1976:174-5).

anthropologists - modernisation theory. The notion of the modern deployed in modernisation theory drew most heavily on a particular liberal and techno-instrumental vision of what was earlier thought of as a civilising process. Here civilisation was understood as a universal trajectory of individual emancipation and constantly evolving rational mastery (Kahn 2001: 657).

Other authors have also commented on the intellectual associations between civilisation and modernity, industrialisation, and mass culture (Mulhern 2001:77; Benhabib 2002:2-3). Kate Crehan defines modernity as both a transformation and as a dynamic; not an unchanging state but a process of change and agency (Crehan 2002: 56), in much the way civilisation was previously intellectually and popularly conceptualised. Modernity, like civilisation, also invokes processes of development. This is most obviously imbued within discourses of comparative 'development' in which the world is contentiously divided into stages of identifiable development – such as undeveloped, underdeveloped and developed – facilitating stereotypes that some peoples/nations/cultures exist in different hierarchised developmental temporalities. This employment of developmental analogies implies temporal disparities between different peoples, resembling the nineteenth-century 'stages of civilisation' discourses with which Tylor wrestled. Significantly, culture and perceived cultural differences, feature significantly in discourses of development, especially in explaining disparities and impediments to its attainment.

Kahn discusses how "the vision of modernity as a process of emancipation and continuous technological change" persisted throughout the twentieth-century in the discourse of commentators both sympathetic and critical of modernisation's ideologies and processes in both colonial and post-colonial contexts (Kahn 2001:657). Anthropologists have been very much involved in this dialogue, often speaking from positions critical of modernisation processes and programs in Third World or the alternatively referenced 'developing country' contexts (Kahn 2001:657). Anthropologists who directly criticise 'development interventions' are informed by commonly held perspectives within the discipline that the cultures of

our research 'subjects' have been involved in long-established dialogues with modernising forces that challenge their cultural continuity or integrity. Cultures of our research subjects have thus regularly been represented in anthropological discourse as having suffered or under threat from the universalising tendencies of modernisation, like civilisation before it. This perception is fostered by anthropology's persistent valuing of cultural plurality, the continued diversity, and more recently the hybridity, of culture, with which the discipline is intimately concerned.

Recent debates concerning the appropriateness of referring to modernity in the plural – that is questioning the appropriateness of referencing the existence of multiple-modernities – again recast the productive juxtaposition of culture and civilisation, as first posited by Herder.³⁴ The intellectual desire to reference multiple-modernities intends to conceptually reframe the diversity of lived experiences of modernity in Asia and elsewhere. It aims to distinguish non-European experiences of modernity from perceived predominant Eurocentric conceptions of modernity and its attendant prejudices. Pro multiple-modernities discourses critique the existence of a universally experienced phenomenon of modernity – a universally similar trajectory of progress, or a universally imagined state of being – which is not necessarily relevant to (nor accurately representative of) diversely articulated localised experiences of modernity. Pluralising modernity thus intends to relativise the term, drawing attention to unique and diversely lived experiences and realities. Kahn notes, however, that the continued use of the concept 'modernity' in referencing its plural form contradictorily reinforces the universal saliency of the concept itself; providing an opportunity to reflect upon the ironies of the pluralising project (Kahn 2001:657-9).

In positing an interior relationship between difference and modernity, I have no intention of denying the existence of what might be called a radical alterity, that is a

³⁴ In particular, I am inspired here by the Englund & Leach (2000) and Kahn (2001) dialogue in *Current Anthropology* on the use of 'modernity' in anthropology.

difference that genuinely lies outside or beyond our economic, political and/or discursive reach. On the contrary, I presume such alterity from the start. But the fact is once we even seek to name that alterity, we thereby begin to integrate it to the self by bringing it back within modernity's reach. And at a very general level it is this process of naming difference, of thereby constructing alterity within modernity, that I see as constitutive of the modern world view (Kahn 1995:20).

Thus, whilst recognising the existence of cultural alterity vis-a-vis modernity/civilisation's rolling trajectory, ala Herder, Kahn also affirms the effect that naming or knowing about others has upon both the namer and the newly known. This works in several ways. Firstly, the process of naming, knowing about and positioning others in relation to one's self, is as much a process of self-realisation as it is of a process of realising about others. Herder, Taylor and Kahn agree on this, and the latter two philosophers see this as constitutive of a 'modern worldview'.

However, secondly and importantly, it is also a process by which knowledge about others is integrated into modernity/civilisation's domain of discourse and understanding, and potential intervention. Knowing about others is a consequence of engagement with and experience of them, which leads to further opportunities of engagement and understanding, which will facilitate more considered methods of intervention. This dynamic of rationality works equally in relation to understanding of others as it does the understanding of one's self. The development of the discipline of anthropology out of more generalised discourse concerning humanity, for example, has brought the culturally defined alterity of other peoples into civilisation-modernity's realm of understanding and influence. Equally important are the ways that other people (non-anthropologists and 'non-western' others) have utilised concepts such as culture and modernity to define themselves, whether through processes of acculturation or resistance in their engagement with others. The case study of Minahasa is a case in point and will be explored at length in this thesis.

Within nation-states more generally, the dynamic of understanding of oneself and others fulfils important functions in dialogue with the institutions of state pedagogy, and the discourses that they facilitate. Here I reference both the humanist institutions of state sponsorship mentioned previously in this chapter, as well as the more disciplinary institutions that have been the concern of Foucault's appreciation of nation-state development and the government of populations. The role of culture as a concept, in its juxtaposed relations with civilisation/modernisation, plays an important role in effecting the governing or 'government' of subjects. I will discuss 'government' at greater length in Chapter Two and its relativity to the contexts of colonial and post-colonial lives in northern Sulawesi.

More pertinent here is to note that the concept culture – in discourse, facilitated by institutions of state, including universities and departments of anthropology – has had 'metacultural' effects.³⁵ That is, its use has informed a discursive domain in which human experience is understood/known through the concept of culture as constituting culture, as an expression of culture itself, whether of oneself or of another. Joel Kahn reminds us that culture is itself a cultural construction (Kahn 1995:128).

³⁵ "Most varieties of discourse identified by the Greek prefix *meta-* (literally, 'after or with') will have one and often two distinctive characteristics. They will be concerned with the most general fundamental problems in their domain – thus, Freud reserved the term 'metapsychology' for his most systematic theoretical accounts of mental life. And they will be more or less strongly reflexive, being themselves a part of what they speak of – thus, 'metafiction' designates a kind of fiction about fiction. Metacultural discourse, then, is that in which culture, however defined, speaks of itself. More precisely, it is discourse in which culture addresses its own generality and conditions of existence. All four terms in this formulation need emphasis. It is *generality* of sense-making activity that is in question, not merely one or another of its many specific varieties, say, religious worship or window-shopping or poetry or adult education. That generality is addressed in its social-historical *conditions of existence*, which may be conceptualised, for example, as 'industrialism', or 'capitalism', or 'modernity'. Metaculture is discourse in the strong sense of that versatile term: a historically formed set of topics and procedures that both drives and regulates the utterance of the individuals who inhabit it, and assigns them definite positions in the field of meaning it delimits. The position of seeing and speaking and writing in metacultural discourse, the kind of subject any individual 'becomes' in practising it, is *culture itself*" (Mulhern 2000: xiv).

In the context of the historical development of the concept culture, metacultural discourse has interesting implications. It implies that the development of the concept culture and its definition and use within particular discursive fields – such as anthropology, but also in everyday life – produce that which it seeks to define. Metacultural discourse within anthropology or more generally within domains where culture is discoursed, has the potential to thus meaningfully inform the meaning and production of culture for those individuals and/or groups who engage in the discourse. This becomes particularly interesting when considering power and discourse, and the informative role of institutions that sponsor particular ‘ways of being’, of understanding one’s reality – such as church and state – informed by conceptions such as civilisation and culture. Analysis of metacultural discourse assists us in linking Herder’s conceptions of culture and civilisation to the everyday use and realisation of culture and modernity within my research field site.

Central to this thesis is this linking of the development of the mutually informing concepts culture and civilisation (and associated concepts such as modernisation) to my ethnographic context: testing through historical and field research the hypothesis established in this chapter of the complementary opposition between the concepts culture and civilisation. Thus, in the following chapters analysis of the concepts and discourse of various agents and institutions in the colonial and post-colonial contexts of northern Sulawesi, especially of state and church, will come into critical focus.

CHAPTER TWO

Pastoral Power & the Nineteenth-Century Civilisation of Northern Sulawesi

This Chapter addresses how the concept civilisation, utilised in interventionist discourses of missionaries and colonial administrators alike, informed the ways colonial subjects in Minahasa – missionaries, colonial administrators and indigenous locals – understood and defined themselves in the nineteenth-century. The chapter explores how an individual's reflexive identification of self and other experienced through the colonial-missionary-indigenous engagement involved a particular form of power: pastoral power. The chapter outlines the development of pastoral power within the Christian pastorate in Europe and its evolution within the apparatus of the modern state in Europe. The unique circumstances of the Netherlands state in the nineteenth-century, in which the state and church cooperated in governing state subjects, is used as a case study for the examination of the pastoral form of power in an evolving modern state.

The chapter then explores the role of pastoral power within the colonial arena of northern Sulawesi. It examines the process of individualisation involved in the missionary conversion of indigenous Minahasans into civilised, Christian subjects, and the congruence of this project with the production of colonial subjects. In doing so, I pay attention to the important place of the concept 'civilisation' in colonial and missionary discourse concerning the processes of civilising and Christianising the indigenous population. This involves consideration of colonial subjects' comparative appreciation of self and others, and of one's relative civilisation/development, involved in this encounter. More generally it develops a conceptual framework for the analysis of cultural change vis-a-vis civilising/modernising influences in both historical and contemporary contexts.

This chapter begins with an explication of the Foucauldian notion of pastoral power and its relevance to this thesis. This is followed by a summation of the cultural and political context of the population of northern Sulawesi prior to, and during, their early engagement with foreigners. The chapter then examines missionary and colonial administrator discursive emphasis upon the civilisation of Minahasa's population during the nineteenth-century.³⁶ Analysis of one Dutch missionary couple's experiences in nineteenth-century Minahasa provides a pertinent case study here. The chapter concludes with a discussion of indigenous acculturation of Christian civilisation, and the central role of education and indigenous competition in this process.

Reassessing pastoral power

The nineteenth-century development of Western European states such as the Netherlands into liberal democracies took place in association with evolving Enlightenment discourses within increasingly sophisticated state apparatuses. Underlying this development was a subtle yet profound shift in the way power was exercised. Michel Foucault represents this shift as a gradual cooption and deployment of 'pastoral power', formerly typical of the Christian Pastorate, into the evolving apparatus of the state in Western Europe between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Herder's national cultures were thus absorbed within broader pan-national state identities, such as the Netherlands and an evolving pan-German state and national identity.³⁷ Herder's conception of culture would come to be associated with the German Romantic movement typified by its philosophical-literary opposition to civilisation's 'inevitable' trajectory. This trajectory was exemplified by the development of the nation-states and their pedagogical and disciplinary institutions, and the Enlightenment discourses that informed them.

³⁶ The Dutch translation of the concept civilisation is *beschaving*.

³⁷ Herder's ideas on national culture would become recontextualised by several German nationalist movements in subsequent years, including, ironically (due to Herder's anti-colonial intentions and egalitarian valuing of culture) by the Nazis in the first half of the twentieth-century (Gingrich 2005:72-73).

The form of power imbued within these institutions employed a pastoral dynamic that had been refined within the Christian pastorate prior to the development of states. It is a form of power that worked to constitute individual subjects within their Christian communities, unique to the Church, with the pastor as an exemplar of spiritual and moral correctness and conduct. Foucault distinguishes the pastoral form of power from other notions of power through its unique characteristics:

This form of power is salvation oriented (as opposed to political power). It is oblationary (as opposed to the principle of sovereignty); it is individualising (as opposed to legal power); it is coextensive and continuous with life; it is linked with a production of truth – the truth of the individual himself (Foucault 1983a:214).

Yet, pastoral power, or more specifically pastoral power as it developed within the Christian pastorate, is:

...not fundamentally or essentially characterized by the relationship to salvation, to the law, and to the truth. The Christian pastorate is, rather, a form of power that, taking the problem of salvation in its general set of themes, inserts into this global, general relationship an entire economy and technique of the circulation, transfer, and reversal of merits, and this is its fundamental point. Similarly with regard to the law, Christianity, the Christian pastorate, is not simply the instrument of the acceptance or generalization of the law, but rather, through an oblique relationship to the law, as it were, it establishes a kind of exhaustive, total, and permanent relationship of individual obedience. This is something quite different from the relationship to the law. And finally, if Christianity, the Christian pastor, teaches the truth, if he forces men, the sheep,³⁸ to accept a certain truth, the Christian pastorate is also absolutely innovative in establishing a structure, a technique of, at once, power, investigation, self-examination, and the examination of others, by which a certain secret inner truth of the hidden soul, becomes the element through which the pastor's power is exercised, by which obedience is practiced, by which the

³⁸ Foucault muses upon the relationship between the pastor, the shepherd, and his flock (Foucault 2007:167-83)

relationship of complete obedience is assured, and through which, precisely, the economy of merits and faults passes. It is not salvation, the law, and the truth, but these new relationships of merits and faults, absolute obedience, and the production of hidden truths, which constitute, I think, what is essential and the originality and specificity of Christianity (Foucault 2007:183).

Essential here is what Foucault calls the 'economy of merits and faults', the dynamic that energises pastoral power. The field and performance of this power is the individual, self-examining and critically reflexive, balancing, embodying a continual assessment of merits and faults, the morality of right action and conduct, informed by the discourses of the Church and the exemplary model of the pastor. The individual thus employs, embodies, self-government, what Foucault calls 'technologies of the self', born from the experience of the Christian pastorate (Foucault 1983b:230-51).

[W]ith the Christian pastorate we see the birth of an absolutely new form of power...we see the emergence of what could be called absolutely specific modes of individualisation...³⁹ implemented by the Christian pastorate and its institutions. What the history of the pastorate involves, therefore, is the entire history of procedures of human individualisation in the West. Let's say also that it involves the history of the subject (Foucault 2007:183-84).

The pastoral form of power gradually evolved from its location within the ecclesiastical institutions of its refinement in Post-Reformation Europe into the multiplying institutions and technical discourses of the modern state. Importantly, the dynamic of individualisation integral to pastoral power was realised by individuals within broader social bodies, and in relations with others. Within the Christian pastorate this was the immediate or greater congregation, within modern states it was the broader population encompassed within it. Foucault outlines the

³⁹ For further explication of the specific modes of individualisation, namely 'analytical identification, subjection and subjectivation', see Foucault 2007:183-84.

change in pastoral power in its shift from the Christian pastorate to the modern state and its relationship to the broader population it entailed.

In a way we can see the state as a modern matrix of individualisation, or a new form of pastoral power.

A few more words about this new pastoral power.

1. We may observe a change in its objective. It was no longer a question of leading people to their salvation in the next world, but rather ensuring it in this world. And in this context, the word *salvation* takes on different meanings: health, well-being (that is, sufficient wealth, standard of living), security, protection against accidents. A series of 'worldly' aims took the place of the religious aims of the traditional pastorate, all the more easily because the latter, for various reasons, had followed in an accessory way a certain number of these aims; we only have to think of the role of medicine and its welfare function assured for a long time by the Catholic and Protestant churches.

2. Concurrently the officials of pastoral power increased. Sometimes this form of power was exerted by state apparatus or, in any case, by a public institution such as the police. (We should not forget that in the eighteenth-century the police force was not invented only for maintaining law and order, nor for assisting governments in their struggle against their enemies, but for assuring urban supplies, hygiene, health and standards considered necessary for handicrafts and commerce). Sometimes the power was exercised by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors and generally by philanthropists. But ancient institutions, for example, the family, were also mobilized at this time to take on pastoral functions. It was also exercised by complex structures such as medicine, which included private initiatives with the sale of services on market principles, but which also included public institutions such as hospitals.

3. Finally, the multiplication of the aims and agents of pastoral power focused on the development of knowledge of man around two roles: one, globalising and

quantitative, concerning the population; the other, analytical, concerning the individual (Foucault 1983a:214-15).

Ideally, within the state, individuals and populations govern themselves: “the government of the self by the self in its connections with relations to others” (Foucault 1997:88). Foucault utilised the concept ‘conduct’ and its various meanings – to conduct, to be a conductor, to act as a conduit, a form of conduct, and so on – to exemplify the role of the individual in the exercise of the new form of pastoral power within the state (Foucault 2007:192-93). In the individual subjects’ exercise of this new form of pastoral power each individual fulfills a pastoral role to each other, albeit some individuals arguably more influential than others. The individual (ensconced within relations of family, community, nation) thus became a locus of pastoral power beyond the self and his religious congregation, as one of a greater population whose welfare and governmental concern they share.

In a series of lectures Foucault gave at the College de France during 1977-78 (from which I have quoted above) he discussed at length the shift in pastoral power from its exclusive domain within the Christian pastorate into its adoption and incorporation as the dominant form of power within the modern state apparatus (Foucault 2007:123-248).⁴⁰ In these lectures – the principal source of his work on pastoral power – Foucault acknowledges that the exercise of pastoral power, following its absorption into state apparatus, persisted in some form within the also evolving apparatus of the Christian pastorate. Foucault’s academic attention to pastoral power thereafter, however, appears to have been subsequently largely attuned to the evolving role and diversification of pastoral power within state apparatuses, in Western Europe in particular, and not to its continued development within church organisations. I am, however, interested in the continued role and development of

⁴⁰ Foucault details at length the role and dynamics of the Pastorate in Western Europe in a series of lectures he gave at the College de France during 1977-78, titled *Security, Territory, Population* (Foucault 2007).

pastoral power within church organisations *alongside* and *in relation to* its increased sophistication within states.

I have several specific concerns with pastoral power that I will address in this thesis. Firstly, I would like to explore the notion that pastoral power has persisted as a powerful dynamic within the apparatus of various pastorates well beyond the eighteenth-century and *into the present* in reference to both European and colonial circumstances. In order to do so I explore the evolving roles, and corresponding shifts in pastoral power, between Government and church in the Netherlands during the nineteenth-century. I extend this focus to the radical environment of missionary and colonial engagement in northern Sulawesi during this era, exploring the links between metropole and colony in the government of the population. In doing so I explore how pastoral power manifest, if at all, within the domain of missionary and colonial influence upon populations in nineteenth-century Minahasa. Consideration will be given to the duality of church and (evolving) state apparatus in influencing the government of both peoples' souls and their welfare in both the Netherlands and colonial Minahasa throughout the nineteenth-century and until the present era.⁴¹

Secondly, in consideration of the duality in the exercise of pastoral power within and between metropolitan and colonial realms, I examine the collusion of colonial state and missionary in their complementary attention to the joint goals of progressing the spiritual and material welfare of colonial subjects. This is related to the complementary goals and processes of Christianisation and civilisation of the population/congregations of Minahasa during the nineteenth-century. I will utilize the example given of a Dutch missionary couples' efforts to instil processes of spiritual and material development in individual missionary subjects.

This leads me to my third and arguably most important concern with pastoral power, in terms of the colonial past and present-day Minahasa: how the concepts culture,

⁴¹ In later chapters I will link this to the present context of my field site of Loloh, Minahasa.

civilisation and modern have informed people's understandings of their (and other peoples') lives. This is related to the discourses of both church and state and the development of these concepts within institutions and agencies of dissemination and intervention (and the intersection of these two domains) in the history of northern Sulawesi since the beginning of the joint colonial-missionary intervention in the early nineteenth-century. Specifically, I am concerned with the intersection of the historical development of the culture-civilisation nexus within European philosophy and its relationship to the 'corresponding' development of pastoral power and technologies of self within evolving church and state apparatus.

As discussed to date, Herder's ideas – his expressivist anthropology – was articulated within an unfolding Enlightenment discursive milieu in which political subjectivity, philosophy, theology, the erosion of the Christian pastorate, and the emergence of nation-states transformed the political/social/cultural/economic environment of Western Europe, with far reaching consequences. Pedagogical and disciplinary institutions of state – fostering technologies of self-awareness, appraisal and government – developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Western Europe undoubtedly engaging with, informing and being informed by concepts and debates involving conceptions of civilisation and cultural pluralism. The academic discipline of anthropology, tracing its culture-civilisation genealogy through competing theories to Herder's anthropology and informed by ethnographic methodologies and knowledge derived from such sources as missionary and naturalist praxis, emerged from this nineteenth-century discursive milieu. Anthropology can be seen within the light of state (and as discussed later in the chapter, church) institutional development and refinement of technologies of the self. Academic anthropology attempted to discipline knowledge of self and other into a schema of relative similarity and difference – a project in which concepts of culture and civilisation were integral. This alternatively engaged, countered and reinforced self-differentiation in relation to perceived cultural differences framed within a hierarchical schema of relative human progress/development. Tylor's *Primitive*

Culture is a case in point, as were the ethnographic methodologies/praxis of the *Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap* (NZG, or Dutch Missionary Society) missionaries such as N.P. Wilken. This chapter demonstrates the use and value of the concept civilisation within nineteenth-century missionary and colonial discourse/policy.

This thesis seeks to explore the relationship between the dynamic of self-realisation in Herder's expressivist anthropology – what Taylor has called a major *idee-force* of civilisation since – and the individualizing technologies of self engaged within the dynamic of pastoral power and government. As discussed in Chapter One, for Herder an individual realised one's self within the pedagogical-*cum*-spiritual traditions of one's culture (or alternatively one's national culture), and in turn in relation to a broader humanity composite of other peoples/cultures/nations. Individuals realised their unique sense of self, "the idea that each individual (and in Herder's appreciation, each people) has its own way of being human" (Taylor 1975:15), in relation to, in awareness of, and comparison to others. This reflexive awareness and comparative valuing of self in relation to others appears to complement the process of individualisation within pastoral power – both in terms of its manifestation in the Christian pastorate and its later articulation as government with the modern state. As such, the *concepts* and *real experience*⁴² of culture and civilisation may work as discursive and experiential tools/technologies in the individualisation of the (state and Christian) subject. Correspondingly, the utility and meaningfulness of the concepts culture and civilisation within the process of individualisation may involve varying degrees of accommodation and/or acculturation of church or state influence or signify resistance to it, or a complex of both. Importantly, I aim to explore how the concepts culture and civilisation help my research informants understand and orient themselves in ongoing processes of change. This involves both orientation of self in relation to perceived others (one's

⁴² I will draw out the relationship between these in Chapter Four.

broader social network and beyond), *and* in terms of one's (and others') relative development/civilisation/modernity.

The case study for consideration of this confluence of expressivist anthropology and pastoral power is the colonial and post-colonial arena of northern Sulawesi, and in its relationship to the Netherlands. I consider what this can tell us about the processes of profound social-political-economic-spiritual and cultural changes that occurred as a result of missionary-colonial engagement with the people of northern Sulawesi during the nineteenth-century. And I use this as a subsequent foundation for exploring my research informants' experiences and understandings of change during the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries in later chapters. However, before beginning an examination of the colonial era it is necessary to describe the social/cultural/political/economic context of the people northern Sulawesi before colonial and missionary intervention, to more clearly explicate subject processes of change.

Pre-Christian Minahasa

This section reconstructs a picture of the people of Minahasa, their way of life, their culture and sociality, from the existing historical record. It is necessary to do so to situate the Minahasans ethnographically in their similarities and differences to others. It is important also to create an image of what the lives of the people of Loloh and Minahasa most likely resembled, which we can later contrast against the later the remembered reconstructions and unfolding changes I encountered in my research in Loloh during 2005. Much of this material comes second-hand from prior historical research undertaken by a range of scholars and derived from the written accounts of ethnographers in various guises: colonial administrators, missionaries, linguists, naturalists and historians.

The people of the region now known as Minahasa arrived from mainland eastern Asia in approximately the second millennium BC, arriving via the Philippines (Schouten 1998:12). Over time these arrivals spread inland to the more fertile and

climatically milder upper valleys and hills of the region, especially favouring settlement around the upland lake, Danau Tondano (Schouten 1998:13). The surrounding area was predominantly dominated by tropical rainforest, running from several active volcanic mountain ranges (which contributed to soil fertility) down to the less climatically hospitable steamy coasts, with routes between the upland and lowland following several large rivers that traversed the two (Schouten 1998:13).

Linguistically, there are generally considered to be eight language groups in the upland and lowland areas, plus the Bajo or Orang Sama, who have long been perceived as nomadic people living on boats and/or islands off the coast.⁴³ Five indigenous languages – Tontemboan, Tondano, Tombulu, Tonsea and Tonsawang – share similarities and are believed to have derived from an Austronesian parent language that Sneddon calls Proto-Minahasan (Sneddon 1978:1-6). These language groups largely inhabited the interior and upland areas of North Sulawesi, divided roughly into cultural-linguistic regions. Such divisions are not always clear-cut, however. Tombulu-speaking people, for instance, have long inhabited upland regions around the present day town of Tomohon and the near-coastal lower hill regions close to what became the port city of Manado. Tombulu-speaking villages, however, can today also be found in the Tontemboan cultural-linguistic region to the south of their ‘nuclear area’.⁴⁴ Similar examples of the geographic intersection of other cultural-linguistic groups can be made, reflecting the patterns of settlement of the region. There are two dialects of Tombulu: Tomohon and the Tara-tara (the latter is nearby to my research field site of Lolah and the Tombulu dialect that the people of

⁴³ The Bajo’s marginal status in terms of recognition as a ‘permanent’ cultural-linguistic group within the region is reflected in regional ethnographic studies that generally focus on Minahasan ethnicity-identity, and has led to their marginalisation within cultural-linguistic frameworks of analysis. Schouten notes, however, that the Bajo have lived along the coast of North Sulawesi since ‘time immemorial’ (Schouten 1998:17). Bajo participation in the broader socio-cultural domain of the region deserves greater consideration to reorient persistent academic exclusion of their role in local history, and beyond. See Zacot (1978) and R.Djohani (1995) for ethnographic considerations of Bajo in northern Sulawesi.

⁴⁴ A term used by Schouten (1998:13)

Lolah speak)⁴⁵ (Sneddon 1978:5).⁴⁶ Three other languages – Bantik, Bentenan (also known as Ratahan), and Ponosakan – along with the proto-Minahasan languages belong to the Philippine linguistic group, which extends down the northern peninsula of Sulawesi to include Mongondow and Gorontalic languages (Schouten 1998:13).

At the beginning of the seventeenth-century the cultural-linguistic regions (contemporarily understood as constituting sub-ethnic groups, such as the Tombulu) of northern Sulawesi were divided into twenty-odd *walak* (Henley 2005:99). These *walak* existed under the suzerainty of a *raja* who controlled the settlements and ports of Manado and Amurang (Henley 2005:99). Each *walak* consisted of any number of villages derived from an original settlement village, which bore the *walak*'s name (Schouten 1998:19). For example, the present day village of Lolah is located in what was once the Tombariri *walak* of the Tombulu ethnicity, although the original settlement village of the name Tombariri has been lost to popular history. The *walak* ranged in size from several hundred to several thousand members across its settlements, which were in constant communication and united politically and ritually (Schouten 1998:19). "Large-scale ceremonies connected with warfare, the averting and combating of disasters, and the founding of new settlements were carried out at the *walak* level" (Schouten 1998:19). *Walak* were endogamous, largely self-sufficient economically, and aggressive towards other *walak* (Schouten 1998:19).⁴⁷

Inter-*walak* warfare took the form of headhunting raids, inspired by various individual or communal purposes, whose victims were generally people living in other *walak*, often at some distance from the raider's home *walak*. Early European

⁴⁵ Occasionally informants in Lolah would suggest that their dialect was different to that of the people of Tomohon.

⁴⁶ Sneddon cites the linguist Adriani as distinguishing between the two dialects of Tombulu, yet does not directly reference an Adriani text.

⁴⁷ See Schouten (1998:19), citing G.A.Wilken (1883:675) and Wenzel (1872:480) in this regard.

reports concerning Minahasa refer to the endemic retributive warfare amongst the various peoples living there. “Headhunting wars, fought between shifting coalitions of scattered village communities, were typically small-scale, intermittent affairs” (Henley 2002:15). Synthesising various historical sources, David Henley presents a picture of pre-nineteenth-century Minahasan sociality as characterised by endemic fear of, and readiness for, violent, punitive engagements with others from outside the *walak* (Henley 2002:16-17). Most villages were fortified (such as Lolah) and the threat of violence complicated agricultural and commercial activity (Henley 2002:17).

New settlements within a *walak* were centred around sacred stones, or *watu tumotowa*, which were placed within a cleared village ‘square’, and formed the spiritual and ritual centre of the village. “The raising up of these stones was one part of the ceremonies customary when founding a settlement. Pieces of fibre or small sticks, representing the auspicious cries of birds heard during the founding ceremony, were buried in the ground near the stones, as were human heads taken during the headhunting raid held to mark the occasion” (Schouten 1998:17). Other sites of spiritual and religious significance in a village were freshwater springs (including a holy spring close to the sacred stones), trees, or other stones of similarly hard quality to the *watu tumotowa* imported from outside the village area; such was the case in Lolah.

Dwellings were made of wood and bamboo built on high piles that served as protection from intruders (movable ladders were used as access and security), and were generally placed close to each other within a village. A number of families resided in a large dwelling divided into nuclear family compartments (Henley 2005:11). During the agricultural seasons villagers tended to live in their field huts, around which vegetables, root crops and fruits were grown. Dry land rice varieties (*ladang*) were the common staple until the late sixteenth-century, when Spanish traders introduced maize to northern Sulawesi, which proved versatile and popular

(Schouten 1998:20,46). Wet rice agriculture dates from at least the late seventeenth-century, with several techniques at use in different areas of Minahasa, with some communities practicing both dry and wet rice techniques (Henley 2005:27-29). The *saguer* palm tree was used for wine and food. Freshwater fishing, hunting for birds, rodents, reptiles and other animals from the forest and waterways were mainly male activities, supplementing agricultural activities undertaken by both men and women. People farmed with simple tools made from bamboo, or iron tools made by local smiths (Schouten 1998:20-21).

Derived largely from missionary accounts from the nineteenth-century we have a picture of Minahasan social structure in the early days of colonial influence.⁴⁸

“Minahasan society was competitive and egalitarian. There was an intimate relationship between these two features, since due to their virtual equality at birth, people could surpass each other on the grounds of certain personal achievements, which were considered the expression of particular values” (Schouten 1998:22). The holding of ‘status feasts’, or *fosso*, was one such mechanism. Ideally, a man performed a series of nine *fosso*, increasing his social status with the performance of each feast. The status of a man’s wife and family, who were also responsible for (and implicated in) the feasts’ performance, was also related to his success in performing the series. With each successful hosting of a feast a man’s status and influence rose, as did that of his kin. The ability to perform a feast was dependant upon a man’s wealth and courage. His courage was measured in part by success in headhunting raids that preceded feasts. A man’s success in headhunting and the feast process reflected his spiritual force,⁴⁹ measured variously as “courage, obstinacy, eloquence, wealth, virility

⁴⁸ For example, Schouten draws heavily on the missionary writings (such as those of J.G.Schwarz and his son J.A.T.Schwarz in her focus on Tontemboan society, amongst others) alongside comparisons with other Austronesian groups in Indonesia (Schouten 1998: chapter II) – as does Henley (1996, 2002, 2005).

⁴⁹ This ‘spiritual force’ had different terms amongst different language groups: namely *keter* (Tontemboan) and *mawai* (Tumbulu) (Schouten 1998:24).

and fertility” (Schouten 1998:22-27).⁵⁰ A man’s success in completing the feast series resulted in his being granted the title of *wa’ilan*, which brought him numerous privileges, especially in the ‘ritual sphere’. (Schouten 1998:28). Achieving the status of *wa’ilan* meant veneration of an individual in the family lineage, potentially for generations to come, due to their extraordinary lifetime achievements; ancestor worship being an important aspect of Minahasan spiritual and ritual practices (Schouten 1998:29). A *wa’ilan* was afforded the status of being buried in a *waruga*:⁵¹ sandstone sarcophagai often decorated with carvings including the depiction of warrior or headhunting scenes (Schouten 1998:29).⁵²

The *wa’ilan* need to be distinguished from the *walian*. The former were (most commonly) men who had achieved high status through the *fosso* process. The *walian*, however, were ritual specialists essential – due to their detailed knowledge “concerning deities and religious conceptions” – for the performance of rituals and other activities (Schouten 1998:22). According to nineteenth-century missionary accounts *walian* amongst the Tombulu were usually men, occasionally women, whilst amongst the Tontemboan *walian* were usually women (Schouten 1998:22). *Walian* were supported by *tona’as*.⁵³ “[I]t was the *walian* (priests), as well as traditional religious rites, ceremonies and procedures carried out by special priests (*tona’as*), which determined the whole life-cycle, the social organization, the time of

⁵⁰ Eloquence and wealth in particular, are two characteristics that are explicitly appreciated in Lolah today, the others less explicitly so. The term *mawai* was not used in my presence during my fieldwork.

⁵¹ Prominent religious and political leaders could also be buried in a *waruga* (Schouten 1998:29).

⁵² This is the case with the *waruga* in Lolah. In Lolah stories of past *waruga* use – people now used conventional Christian graves – members of a family for generations to come were buried inside or around (stories differed in this regard) the *waruga* along with valuables such as gold, ceramic plates of Chinese origin (several examples of which remain), and *kris* (ceremonial daggers).

⁵³ “The other category of religious specialist consisted of the *tona’as*, executors of rituals, some of whom were also skilled in augury. *Tona’as* is also a general term for ‘leader’ or ‘specialist’ in an activity (J.A.T.Schwarz 1907c:88), always with a religious connotation, since it is believed that no undertaking could be successful without supernatural help and observance of the correct rituals” (Schouten 1998:22). *Tona’as*’ augury skills concerned the divination of natural phenomena, especially that of birdcalls, and particularly that of the owl.

production, the founding of new settlements, social prohibitions, restrictions and duties” (Buchholt 1994:14, citing Tauchmann 1968).

Wealth and prestige in early nineteenth-century Minahasan society was part of a complex of the related activities of agricultural production (especially that of rice), the performance of *fosso*, and headhunting (Schouten 1998:20-38). Headhunting played an important role in the preparation and performance of numerous rituals, as noted, including funerary rites, the establishment of new villages, and the various *fosso* (Schouten 1998:28). “For Minahasans, headhunting was an essential and integral element of their culture, not only in a religious sense, but also in the functions it had in the life cycle, and in the role it played in determining status and relationships” (Schouten 1998:108). Headhunting raids enhanced one’s status as courageous, although it is reported that victims were often easy prey or defenceless (Schouten 1998:27-28). Heads, and other body parts, were displayed in dwellings and special sites (as was the case in Lolah), and headhunting success was associated with fertility and prosperity, alongside prestige (Schouten 1998:27-28). Heads were also buried around the village sacred founding stones (*watu tumotowa*) or at the village’s founding and periodically thereafter to improve the ‘welfare and strength of the village’ (Adriani 1932:312, cited in Schouten 1998:28).

Leadership in both the fields of community and religious activity was open to all members of the community, reflecting the egalitarian leanings in the highly competitive Minahasan society, although those with strong lineages in these respective realms had greater chance of achievement (Schouten 1998:35-38). Descent, age, and gender were delimiting factors. Older people, for instance, were most likely to complete the *fosso* series and become *wa’ilan*, and thus men of influence (Schouten 1998:37). Gender influenced potential status, depending on the context of each community. As noted, for the Tontemboan for instance, women

walian were the norm.⁵⁴ Village headmen were not necessarily *wa'ilan* or older village members of status, but, rather, politically astute 'big men' (not women) whose ascendancy, sustained influence and status, were dependent upon their consistent management (Schouten 1998:35-36).⁵⁵ Village headmen were representatives in *walak* meetings. Their success in *walak* and village arenas was dependent in part upon a leader's oratory: drawing upon their experiences, status, descent, and so on, to convince their audience and maintain influence (Schouten 1998:35-38). Their hierarchy and influence could easily change, and their tenuous grip on power is interpreted as reflective of the primacy of the community – village and *walak* – over the success of individuals within it (Schouten 1998:35-38).

Dutch 'pacification' of the peoples of northern Sulawesi

The Minahasa of the pre-Christian/pre-colonial era had a prolonged engagement with foreigners in the form of traders and colonizers prior to the nineteenth-century. Sangirese, Gorontaloese, Bugis, Arabs, and Chinese peoples have a long history of trading and settlement in the area now known as Minahasa, predominantly in the coastal areas (Schouten 1998:17). Chinese and Malay traders are understood to have had trade routes that passed northern Sulawesi by the fifteenth-century, if not earlier (Ptak 1992:28; Schouten 1998:39). Several of these groups had lasting presences (and effects) in the region. Bugis and possibly Muslim Filipino slave traders are believed to have periodically raided northern Sulawesi (Henley 2002:17). The presence of various trading communities in northern Sulawesi was later facilitated by European colonial engagements from the early sixteenth-century, initially the Portuguese, Spanish, and later the Dutch and English.

⁵⁴ See Schouten (1998, especially pp.33-35), on the potential status of women in relation to *wa'ilan* and *walian*.

⁵⁵ See Schouten (1998:31) for a consideration of the similarities and differences between Minahasan and certain Melanesian forms of 'big man' social leadership dynamics, linked as they are through shared Austronesian cultural heritage.

The Portuguese had some intermittent presence during the sixteenth-century, including the Catholic evangelisation by European priests of segments of the population of north Sulawesi and the islands to the north (Schouten 1998:40). Like the Portuguese, the Spanish were drawn to the region by interest in controlling the spice trade (mostly clove and nutmeg) cultivated in the neighbouring Moluccas, and were to have a more significant influence on the people of northern Sulawesi than the Portuguese.⁵⁶ Spanish interest in northern Sulawesi concerned securing a reliable supply of rice for the sailing crews and others involved in the spice trade, although their heavy-handed approach caused some dissent within the population (Schouten 1998:40-41). The Spanish also supported Franciscan and Jesuit missionary efforts at Catholic conversion of the local population in northern Sulawesi during the seventeenth-century (Henley 2005:99). The Spanish, who had a strong colonial presence in the neighbouring Philippines, were eventually out-manoeuvred by the Dutch in dominating the spice trade during the seventeenth-century. They did this by successfully intervening in the political struggles of neighbouring kingdoms, notably Ternate and Tidore, as well as various kingdoms and *walak* in northern Sulawesi, in their quest for control of the spice trade (Henley 2002:17; Schouten 1998:41-42).

It is not my intention here to discuss at length the specific or broad political and trade imperatives and events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries linking

⁵⁶ Schouten notes that the Portuguese loomed larger in the collective memory of Minahasans during the 1980's than the Spanish, despite the Spanish having had a greater influence on the region. In my experiences in Lolah this was also very much the case, with the Portuguese figuring prominently in the historical remembrance of the people in Lolah, particularly in relation to the attributed introduction of the 'katrili' dance into Minahasan traditions. This was in part facilitated by the oral history that the Portuguese had once resided in the nearby coastal town of Tanawangko, which was related to the presence of a 'borgo' village in that town. Borgo is a local term used today in Lolah and Tanawangko to refer to an historical identity of some local families who are of mixed European and Asian ancestry, and who were historically known elsewhere, such as Maluku and other parts of Indonesia, as 'burghers': these people historically had different legal status in the Netherlands East Indies because of this mixed racial identity. However, when I visited a village celebration in the village of Tandiki (on the other, eastern side of the peninsula from Tanawangko) near the city of Bitung, North Sulawesi, in January 2005, the introduction of Christianity to the village/region by the Spanish was affirmed in speeches concerning the town's history. The 'collective' memory thus depends on local specificities.

Sulawesi (or Celebes, as the island was then commonly known) with the Moluccas. David Henley (1996, 2002, 2005) and Mieke Schouten (1998) have comprehensively addressed this history and its implications for Minahasan nationalism and cultural identity. My interest specifically concerns the relativity of conceptions of civilisation and culture, historically and contemporarily, and the circumstances of their usage and the dynamics of power that have led to their enduring discursive currency in Minahasa. As such, the period of direct colonial rule by the Dutch colonial Government in history of European engagement in northern Sulawesi is of specific interest. The period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that preceded direct colonial rule is, however, important to understand in brief, especially in establishing the precedence for the colonial endeavours that followed.

The United East Indies Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, or VOC) was integral to processes of change in northern Sulawesi. The VOC was a Netherlands-based trading company formed in 1602, uniting both the Dutch provinces and the competing Dutch trading companies under a single umbrella organization capable of competing against, and ideally usurping, Portuguese and Spanish ascendancy in the Indonesian spice trade (Ricklefs 2001:31). “The VOC was granted a charter by the States-General which gave it quasi-sovereign powers to enlist personnel on an oath of allegiance, wage war, build fortresses and conclude treaties throughout Asia” (Ricklefs 2001:31). The VOC initially established its operations in Ambon, centrally located near the source of much of the Moluccan spices of clove, nutmeg and mace, before eventually establishing their headquarters in the strategic location of Batavia, western Java, in 1619 (Ricklefs 2001:31). By the mid-seventeenth-century the VOC had established a fort and permanent presence in northern Celebes, in what would become the town of Manado, which was at this early stage under the authority of the VOC regional post in Ternate (Schouten 1998:41). Whilst the VOC sought to manipulate existing animosities between the regional kingdoms of southern Celebes and the Moluccas in their efforts to gain

control of trade, the greater trading operation of maintaining ports and forts, shipping fleets and armies required, amongst other resources and logistical considerations, a reliable food supply. Like the Spanish before them the VOC engaged northern Celebes *walak* leaders in order to maintain a constant rice supply to sustain and insure their trading operations in the region. Several treaties signed in the late seventeenth-century afforded the supply of rice and other goods in return for the Minahasan leaders' recognition of the VOC's rule there, and promised Dutch protection from external threats (Schouten 1998:41-42).

The principal concern of the VOC was the maintenance of their superiority in controlling the European spice market. This is reflected in late seventeenth-century treaties emphasising a continuous and reliable supply of produce from the interior to the coast. "One of its principal concerns was to prohibit armed conflict and human sacrifice, as these practices impeded agriculture and discouraged inhabitants from traveling to the coast and make their deliveries to the VOC and perform the services required of them" (Schouten 1998:42). Warfare in this period seems to have been generally directed between *walak* rather than to outside or foreign forces, such as the VOC, albeit with a few exceptions.⁵⁷ Dutch authority was relied upon to adjudicate on inter-*walak* conflicts between warring parties with little direct military intervention (Henley 2002).⁵⁸ This resulted in the generalized pacification of inter-*walak* conflict by 1809, including headhunting practices (Henley 2002:29), prior to the arrival of a sustained Dutch missionary presence in the early nineteenth-century.

The term 'Minahasa' first appears in Dutch records as used within the *landraad* – the name given by the VOC to the "council of chiefs convened to receive Dutch instructions and resolve internal disputes" amongst and within *walak* (Henley

⁵⁷ Henley (1996:27) notes that several sources recorded occasional headhunting and aggression internal to individual *walak*, and also against external enemies, citing Graafland (1898, I:407), and Godee Molsbergen (1928:178) in this regard.

⁵⁸ The VOC may have inherited this role from the non-resident *raja* of Bolaang under whose 'jurisdiction' the people of 'Minahasa' previously belonged and whose authority they displaced (Henley 1996:32-34).

1996:36; citing Godee Molsbergen 1928:135,137,139). Minahasa, in *Bahasa Tombulu*, translates as ‘united, become one’ (Henley 1996:34), the meaning which is commonly cited in everyday discourse throughout Minahasa today. The name Minahasa would be increasingly used in colonial administrative discourse during the nineteenth-century, finding considerable currency in colonial Government, Church and popular discourse in the latter half of the nineteenth-century.

A significant moment in Minahasan (and Indonesian) history was the passing of authority of government of the population and its resources from the VOC to the colonial Netherlands East Indies Government (NEI), which ruled between 1817-1942. This followed the gradual demise of the VOC’s economic and managerial viability and its gradual dissolution at the turn of the nineteenth-century, the control of all its territories being subsumed within the NEI (Ricklefs 2001:144). Whilst the VOC had wrought significant changes in the economy and political structures of the peoples of northern Celebes, indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices of the numerous *walak* remained strong despite the decline of headhunting. The VOC had to an extent influenced the coastal people around the port and fort town of Manado prior to the nineteenth-century through the introduction of Christianity and socio-economic and political changes (Buchholt 1994:14). However, the people of the upland interior had not yet been the target of Christian conversion or the coordinated attempts at missionising that characterised the nineteenth-century. In the coming century, much was to change, however, when the civilisation and Christianisation of the upland population was to be a dominant motivation of the Dutch agents of change. The nineteenth-century was to see the consolidation of a region defined as Minahasa, influenced by a mutually informing and globally interconnected complex of colonial governance, world market system and Christianity (Schouten 1998:2). The strongest links of the people and region of northern Sulawesi (Celebes) to the outside world during this era were through the colonial state of the NEI, which was ultimately answerable to the Government and people of the European state of the Netherlands. Developments in the Netherlands

state during the nineteenth-century, in terms of the balance between church and state and the exercise of pastoral power, were to have profound effects on northern Sulawesi through colonial and missionary policy. Thus, it is to the Netherlands during the nineteenth-century that I now turn my attention, before discussing related developments in colonial northern Sulawesi.

Pastoral power in nineteenth-century Netherlands

The process of civilisation, or the civilising process, in northern Sulawesi during the nineteenth-century must be considered in relation to similar processes unfolding in Europe during the same period. This is true of events in nineteenth-century Netherlands which was linked to northern Sulawesi through the colonial enterprise of the Government of the Netherlands East Indies. During the nineteenth-century the Netherlands developed into a liberal democracy constituted by an alliance of church and state organisations and institutions that worked together in the development of a civilised, Christian society. Similarly, in nineteenth-century Minahasa church and state shared goals and responsibilities in the fostering of a civilised, Christian society. The civilising process in Minahasa attempted to effect changes in the conduct, customs, beliefs and attitudes of colonial subjects: to make people subjects of colonial rule and Christian belief. In order to better understand the process of civilisation and Christianisation in Minahasa, it is important to understand its relationship to developments in the Netherlands, and the dialogue between these two mutually informing locales.

Whilst the contextual focus of Foucault's work on pastoral power primarily concerned Western Europe, the shift in pastoral power he describes had implications for regions beyond Europe's immediate borders, especially in colonial realms tied to the metropolitan centres of Europe. Dutch colonial regions far from Europe were similarly subject to shifting relations and responsibilities between church and state as occurred in the Netherlands, albeit articulated in different contexts. The general shift in pastoral power that Foucault describes manifests as a complex of related processes

of state (re)formation and theological reform that connected the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.

Developments in state structure in the nineteenth-century Netherlands represent an interesting example of the shifting dynamic of pastoral power from the church to the state in the welfare of people and their souls. This history presents a unique context in which to consider the exercise of pastoral power in the government of a national population. For in the Netherlands at this time the institutions and processes of the nation-state and church(es) were very much entwined politically, and in the implementation of welfare policies and other matters of state. The separation of church from state in the government of the population had not yet become a Dutch reality (and arguably was never fully achieved). This process was more advanced in other 'post-Enlightenment' European countries at the time, and would be further progressed within the Netherlands during the twentieth-century. The nineteenth-century Enlightenment emphasis on civilisation – as both a process and goal of nation-state development – was entwined with religious-spiritual discourses of salvation in welfare discourse, policies and practices. This process was democratized and highly politicized.

I utilize Albert Schrauwers's *Colonial 'Reformation' in the Highlands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, 1892-1995* (2000) for an understanding of the unique relationship between church and state in the nineteenth-century Netherlands and the exercise of pastoral power within. Schrauwers's work addresses the links between the Netherlands and the then named island of Celebes. Schrauwers pays particular attention to developments in the relationship between the church and state in Netherlands during the nineteenth-century, and links these developments to colonial and missionary policies in the Dutch East Indies. His work provides a window into the parallel developments – metropole, colony – in the struggle to Christianise, civilise and govern the people within the Netherlands, with the related efforts in Minahasa discussed above, developments linked in discourse, policies and agents.

Like other countries in Europe the Netherlands similarly underwent a process of transformation into a 'capitalist liberal-democracy' during the course of the nineteenth-century (Schrauwens 2000:37). I will attempt to draw out a few pertinent points from Schrauwens's summary of the particular political, economic, and social changes the nation underwent during this period (Schrauwens 2002:35-40). The gradual ascendancy of a bourgeois merchant class supported the development of the state Government at the expense of pre-existing order dominated by the landed aristocracy (Schrauwens 2000:38). The ruling aristocracy had previously exercised much influence upon the 'state' church, the Dutch Reformed Church, utilizing its wide pastoral network throughout the country to exert influence (Schrauwens 2000:38). Under the previously ruling aristocracy the Dutch Reformed Church's pastoral responsibilities had included exercising control over 'poor relief and education' (Schrauwens 2000:38), a role it was to continue in the new liberal democracy. In the new bureaucracy, religion was centralized under a ministry of Government. Under the influence of this new ministerial regime a movement within the church developed which "instituted liturgical, theological, and organizational changes that paralleled reforms in other departments of the state" (Schrauwens 2000:36-37). Such reforms worked to undermine the influence of both the Dutch Reformed Church and the aristocracy under the previous status quo (Schrauwens 2000:38).

A political climate emerged wherein the development of conservative, religiously aligned 'Confessional' parties opposed Liberal (and later Socialist) parties. The Confessional parties were dependent on "an alliance of aristocrats and the disenfranchised petty bourgeoisie", who together formed "non-political, voluntary organizations and societies by which the disenfranchised were either incorporated in... elite strategies or made the *subject* of these strategies" (Schrauwens 2000:36). Many of these voluntary, civil organizations and societies were borne through Confessional influence during the nineteenth-century in an effort to combat the

‘modernism’ represented by Liberalism and Socialism and their attendant civil organization networks and influence in Dutch society (Schrauwens 2000:36).

The mid-nineteenth-century oversaw the political ascendancy of an influential conservative aligned ‘revivalist’ movement concerned with the “moral reformation of post-revolutionary Dutch society” through practical programs of pastoral welfare with “a pietistic emphasis on the individual’s personal, emotive relationship with God” (Schrauwens 2000:38). The revivalists affected a shift in the way the Protestant church sought to look after their congregations, especially the growing working class, through the establishment of a system of Home Missions (Schrauwens 2000:38-39). The Home Mission movement oversaw “the establishment of Christian schools to combat literacy, rationalised diaconal poor relief through the formation of poorhouses, established an asylum for women and children as part of a broader campaign against prostitution, and resettled the unemployed on newly reclaimed agricultural land. This emphasis on the practical application of Christian principles gave rise to an ‘Ethical Theology’ that later had enormous implications for colonial policy and colonial missions” (Schrauwens 2000:39).⁵⁹ The Home Missions effectively reclaimed arenas of welfare increasingly the concern of the state in neighbouring developing liberal democracies, such as France. In doing so, Church bureaucracy developed more sophisticated techniques of administration and governance of communities – namely, the promotion of technologies of self – exchanged in relation with state administrative techniques (a trend I will discuss shortly).

The revivalist movement also gave rise to the Anti-Revolutionary Party,⁶⁰ whose political mandate sought to reverse the marginalisation of the Protestant Dutch Reformed Church (formally the state church) resulting from the Liberal constitution of 1848 (Schrauwens 2000:39). Aligned with the moral and practical philanthropic

⁵⁹ I will discuss Ethical Theology at length in Chapter Three.

⁶⁰ Named in opposition to French Revolution-inspired liberal reforms (Schrauwens 2000:39).

projects of Home Missions, the Anti-Revolutionaries took on the Liberals in the field of public education. In doing so, the Protestants coopted Catholic support in the creation of a divided national education system, in which the two churches and the secular state operated parallel (or 'pillarized') education systems. The trend of 'pillarization' came to inform the norm in other social arenas also, such as trade unions, with denominational unions incorporating about half of all unionised workers (Schrauwers 2000:39-40). Pillarization was a unique form of pluralism in which both churches and Government provided welfare and other services to their constituencies.

The development of the modern democratic Dutch state is intimately tied to the process of *verzuiling* (pillarization). *Verzuiling* refers to the complex social process by which religion came to cut across class and status distinctions to create political blocs that divided national social programs on a religious (pillar) basis. This division in Dutch society into pillars was the result of the doctrine of 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' (*soevereiniteit in eigen kring*), by which was meant the division of power between Church and State in a pluralistic society... The confessional (religious) political parties who adhered to this standpoint⁶¹ attempted to prevent state interference in the 'religious sphere', which included education, welfare, health care, and family law. While in power, these parties provided the legislative basis by which denominational organizations could fulfil their religious mission of directing their adherents' spiritual development through denominational schools, unions, newspapers, hospitals, political parties, and a host of other services. The vertical division of Dutch society on a religious basis ministered to the needs of Orthodox

⁶¹ By standpoint, Schrauwers is explicitly referring to that represented in a quote from Abraham Kuyper, a Dutch Prime Minister of the period, who said:

"In a Christian (non-religious) state, the government, as the servant of God, is to glorify God's name by (1) removing all administrative and legislative hindrances to the full expression of the Gospel in national life; (2) refraining from any direct interference with the spiritual development of the nation, for that is beyond government's competence; (3) treating equally all churches, religious organizations, and citizens regardless of their views on eternal matters; and (4) recognizing in the conscience a limit to state power in so far as conscience is presumed to be honorable" (A.Kuyper, cited in Langley 1984:28; in Schrauwers 2000:33).

Calvinists and Catholics from cradle to grave. Secularism, as an ideology, was marginalised (Schrauwens 2000:33).

The Netherlands experience, as Schrauwens's treatment of *verzuiling* denotes, demonstrates both collaboration and contestation in the evolving relations between (and indeed, internal to) the realms of church and state during the nineteenth-century, and in the exercising of pastoral power. Cooperation was both political necessity and practical policy. The Churches acted within a secular democratic framework to administer to their flocks, the development of church-aligned political parties ensuring flocks became voting constituencies to whom they were responsive and responsible to deliver welfare services. This dialogue involved a mutual exchange of administrative techniques – and the promotion of technologies of self – between church and state in affecting the government of individual subjects. *Verzuiling* involved the churches in the administration of service provision to populations in new ways, involving the churches in the evolving process of the “refinement of the techniques of governance” (Schrauwens 2000:36-7).⁶²

In his analysis of the emergent modern Dutch state and its evolving relations with the Church, Schrauwens criticises anthropology and other social sciences for failure of attention to the utilisation of disciplinary technologies by religious organizations', in the same vein as it is perceived within state apparatuses, when analysing changes since the Enlightenment's inception.

Just as the social sciences had generally failed to analyse the new disciplinary techniques, they have similarly failed to analyse the specific role of religion in that transformation. To examine the disciplinary power of ritual is to examine the means by which it creates the mental and moral dispositions appropriate to a Christian: to see religion as a 'technology of the self' (Martin et al. 1988; in Schrauwens 2000:37).

⁶² “Religious organizations, including those explicitly opposed to the ‘secular humanism’ of the Enlightenment, could and did utilize these new administrative techniques” (Schrauwens 2000:36-7).

This is a fascinating point, related to the evolution of a new form of pastoral power within the state system from its origins in the Christian pastorate described earlier. Within the nineteenth-century Dutch political system new disciplinary techniques – a fusion of state and church interests and responsibilities – involved the church in various ways: through the state church; through religious parties within the political system; and these parties' sponsorship of educative, health and other social welfare organisations and activities. Importantly, the Dutch experience of *verzuiling* demonstrates how the disciplinary power of religious institutions necessarily involves a consideration of religious institutions' relations with state apparatuses – their discourses, agents and actions. One must conceive of religion with attention to its relations with the state – and to the performance of pastoral power – whether in the nineteenth-century Netherlands, or Minahasa past and present.

Home (and colonial) Missions in the Netherlands empire are an excellent case study demonstrating a *mutual* exchange of disciplinary technologies, between church and state, in the exercising of pastoral power. Both the Home and colonial mission programs provided services to the Christian population that sought to improve the life conditions of congregations, whilst facilitating their evangelism. The subjects in both Homeland Missions and Confessional labour unions of the nineteenth-century Netherlands were the materially deficient poor. The Home Missions effected a shift away from a primary concern with the salvation of souls to also emphasise the salvation of selves in this world, through a focus on the complementary concerns of spiritual and material improvement. These mutual concerns also animated missionaries working in the colonies during the nineteenth-century, which I will address shortly. The Home Missions can be seen as “a religiously oriented attempt to apply the new administrative techniques of the modern state” facilitating the improvement of the population (Schrauwens 2000:38-39). These new administrative techniques – the new collusion of state and church in the exercise of pastoral power – refined in the environment of *verzuiling*, influenced church and state cooperation in the Christianisation and civilisation of the population in the Dutch colony of

Minahasa. Indeed, dialogue between institutions (church and state) and the localities of Netherlands and Minahasa/Dutch East Indies informed developments in both locations. It is to this that I now turn.

Missionary and state cooperation in the civilisation of Minahasa

The Dutch colonial state's assumption of control of those areas formerly under the VOC domination at the beginning of the nineteenth-century is a significant marker of subsequent significant social, economic and cultural changes in northern Celebes (Buchholt 1994:12-13). Whilst the VOC had largely been interested in the sustained provision of rice and other goods sufficient to maintain their militant control of the Moluccan spice trade, the NEI administration intended to affect more comprehensive interventions and control over the people and resources of northern Celebes. There was significant moral imperative from within the administration, and pressure from religious organisations and liberals alike in the Netherlands, to effect changes in the self-governing conduct of the population. Informed by the evolving political situation in the Netherlands (which I will specifically address shortly) the colonial Government and the *Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap* (NZG) cooperated in the administration, civilisation and Christianisation of the population in Minahasa. Whilst the colonial administration and NZG were officially separate, there was significant cooperation in practicalities and goals.⁶³ A Christianised, civilised population would be more amenable to control in the assurance of sustained, successful exploitation of regional resources and the labour required to produce them. However, up until the early nineteenth-century there had been few missionary resources available to effect any significant changes outside of the port town of Manado.

⁶³ For example, the colonial Government paid the salaries of the missionaries on the NZG's behalf, and from 1870 onwards the missionaries were "directly integrated into the colonial administration as 'semi-government officials'" (Kroeskamp 1974:262; cited in Buchholt 1994:13).

This changed in the nineteenth-century. As discussed above, in this century the Dutch state in Europe evolved as an alliance of Government and Church interests – the government of people also involved the government of their souls. The ongoing process of the creation of a Dutch, Christian, civilised nation in the Netherlands had a corresponding, and to an extent mutually informing, civilisational project in the colonial frontiers. There was a growing moral imperative in the Netherlands to ensure this was the case. The colonial realm of northern Celebes similarly found itself subject to the alliance of church and state as the Netherlands. This is not to say the two institutional realms of church and state in northern Celebes and/or the Netherlands had identical goals, or always sought to cooperate in the fulfillment of aims. Rather their intentions were by-and-large sympathetic and cooperative with profound effects upon the population. The earlier interventions of the VOC in their attempts at influencing local leadership and adjudicating inter-*walak* disputes, with the eye to sustainable resource extraction, had provided the foundation upon which better resourced missionaries and colonial administrators radically influenced local social, religious, livelihood and administrative practices during the nineteenth-century.

Over the course of the nineteenth-century the Dutch administration introduced significant methodological interventions in the administration and exploitation of human and natural resources, which were to have profound effects on the region's population. The most significant effects included the introduction of a *corvée* labour system for infrastructure development (*Heerendiensten*), the forced cultivation of coffee as a cash crop (*Cultuurstelsel* or Cultivation System),⁶⁴ a compulsory poll tax, and the cooption of local leadership into the Dutch bureaucracy (Buchholt 1994:13).

The *Cultuurstelsel* system was applied in Minahasa between 1822 and 1899 – one of the few places it was applied outside of Java – and involved the enforced cultivation

⁶⁴ *Cultuurstelsel* is often translated from Dutch as the 'Culture System', referencing a culture-cultivation-agricultural metaphor rather than the social-cultural metaphor.

and delivery of coffee by the regions' farmers, who sold their produce to the Government monopoly at artificially low prices (Schouten 1998:54). The residents of areas where the *Cultuurstelsel* system was introduced suffered greatly under its regime, with significantly lower living standards than those regions whose climate and environment exempted them from participation (Schouten 1998:57).⁶⁵ *Corvée* labour, or *Heerendiensten*, was used to construct roads on which to transport coffee to Government warehouses, contributing to the disruptive complex of influences on local life (Henley 1996:51). The forced cultivation of *sawah* (wet rice agriculture), particularly in the upland region around Lake Tondano, may also have caused dramatic disruptions to pre-existing socio-economic and religious norms in the latter half of the nineteenth-century in particular (Henley 1996:51).

Cultuurstelsel, *Heerendiensten* and other factors of change must be understood within the light of colonial Government and missionary cooperation. The state interventions described represent examples of brute, coercive power (particularly the forced labour of *corvée*), whilst also attempting to produce colonial (and Christian) subjects – upon a radically alternative indigenous sociality – through more pastoral techniques. Here, the missionaries played an important role.

The *Nederlands Zendelinggenootschap* (NZG, or Dutch Missionary Society) was the first Dutch missionary organization to work in northern Sulawesi (the island of Sulawesi then known as Celebes), and looms large in the history of that region. The NZG was formed in 1797 in the Netherlands, spending most of its missionary energies in the first few decades of the nineteenth-century at home working especially with the poor (Kipp 2004:602-03). The NZG sent several missionaries to Minahasa between 1822 and 1831, mainly serving the coastal city and Dutch administrative centre for the region, Manado (Henley 1996:52). However, beginning in 1831 the NZG sent its first missionaries to convert the upland peoples of North Sulawesi (Henley 1996:52). This move reflected the NZG's increasing focus on "spreading the

⁶⁵ See Schouten (1998:57-74) for an overview of the effects of *Cultuurstelsel* on Minahasan life.

Gospel and civilisation in the Netherlands' overseas colonies, in particular the Dutch East Indies", a project to which the missionary society soon became exclusively devoted (Kipp 2004:603).

Johann Riedel and Johann Schwarz arrived in Manado on the 12th of June 1831, the vanguard of NZG missionaries in Minahasa (Assa 2001:53 & 60). Both were Germans employed by the Dutch missionary society. The NZG was to send a total of nine missionaries of German origin to Minahasa between 1829 and 1847, before the first Dutch missionary, Nicolaas Graafland, arrived in 1849 (Pantouw 1994: 295). By 1864 ten mission posts had been strategically established throughout the region of North Sulawesi (Henley 1996:52). These ten mission posts were to accommodate thirty-one NZG missionaries by 1895 (Henley 1996:52-56). By 1902 these missionaries could account for the conversion of over ninety percent of the population of Minahasans, with less than three percent of the population officially recognised as 'pagans' (Henley 1996:53).⁶⁶ The missionary J.Riedel had taken up residence in Tondano with significant early successes in converting the Tondano language speaking population to Christianity. J.Schwarz moved to Langoan amongst Tontemboan speakers, and although initial conversions were slower than in Tondano, by the end of his missionising days Schwarz was credited with converting more than 13,000 Minahasans himself (Henley 1996:52-56).⁶⁷

The missionary Nicolaas P.Wilken, discussed earlier, arrived in the town of Tomohon in the Tombulu language speaking area the 1st of February 1843 to begin his work (Assa 2001:70).⁶⁸ He is significant to the story of this thesis for several reasons. He was the first Protestant pastor to convert people in the town of Lolah,

⁶⁶ The remaining percentage of the population resident in Minahasa were Muslims, including approximately 800 indigenous converts to Islam. David Henley quotes these statistics from J.H.Carpentier-Alting (1902-03, I:132-45) in Henley (1996:53).

⁶⁷ David Henley (1996:56) cites Graafland (1898, II:Ixxxi-Ixxxii) and Grundemann (1873:247) for these statistics.

⁶⁸ Wilken married M.E.Hoedt in April the same year (Assa 2001:70).

which is the central site of my fieldwork.⁶⁹ He did this whilst on one of his periodic journeys throughout the Tombulu-speaking region, spreading the Gospel to seek converts and to service existing congregations who were then infrequently attended by a pastor. N.P. Wilken continued to live and work in Tomohon well into the 1870's, dying in the town in 1877, over thirty years after his arrival (Assa 2001:73). Wilken is credited with having established around twenty congregations, with 8,584 recorded baptisms (Assa 2001:73), mostly amongst the Tombulu-speaking people in the region surrounding the town of Tomohon where Wilken primarily evangelised.⁷⁰ Wilken's efforts include the first recorded conversions of residents of Lolah to Christianity in 1848, a date which the people of Lolah today count as the beginning of the Protestant Church in their town (events which will feature in a later chapter). He is also credited with having undertaken considerable 'ethnographic' and linguistic research into the beliefs, practices and language of Tombulu-speaking Minahasans (Schouten 1981:1). N.P. Wilken is also known as the father of G.A. Wilken, the colonial administrator (in Minahasa) and eventual head of the first anthropology department at a university in the Netherlands (Leiden), who will feature again later in this thesis.

The NZG and colonial administration's attempts at affecting radical changes within the population of northern Celebes were no easy matter. Eighteenth-century past efforts at changing local practices had been partially successful at best, and had faced stiff local resistance. Nineteenth-century missionary and state cooperative efforts, however, sought to overcome (with eventual success) resistance on two fronts: from

⁶⁹ Personal communication with Pendeta Dr.A.F.Parengkuan. Pdt. Parengkuan is the former *Ketua Badan Pekerja Sinode*, GMIM, who confirmed this following research in the *Arsip Nasional*, Jakarta.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, whilst a central figure in the history of the bringing of Gospel to Minahasa, and especially the important town of Tomohon in the Tombulu speaking region, N.P. Wilken is largely by-passed in the contemporary historicizing of the GMIM church which succeeded the NZG as the indigenous Protestant church of Minahasa in 1934. In contemporary GMIM discourse Riedel and Schwarz are the heroes who brought the Gospel to Minahasa. In 2005 their deeds as such were celebrated in a month of daily dawn prayer services and special Sunday services. N.Graafland was also highly regarded and oft commented upon figure in the history of Minahasan Protestantism by the GMIM congregation of Lolah. I shall discuss his contribution in this regard later.

the indigenous ‘priests’, the *walian* and *tona’as*, and the indigenous leaders of the *walak*, known as *hukum* (Buchholt 1994:14).

The ‘traditional priests’ initially strongly resisted early NZG missionaries’ attempts at the Christianisation of the population (Graafland 1867:209; cited in Buchholt 1994:14). The traditional priests were characterised as tyrannical and despotic in the colonial and missionary literature of the times, and a threat to the success of the Christian mission (Buchholt 1994:14). Their reported influence over almost all aspects of religious and agricultural life and social organization was in opposition to the interventionist goals of both missionaries and a colonial administration intent on exerting its newly acquired direct governance on the region. The administration saw the holding of numerous feasts (*fosso*) associated with status enhancement and with agricultural and life cycle events as wasteful of human and material resources and time, and disruptive of their claims to corvée labour and production (Henley 1996:51). Schouten reports Resident Jansen – the highest-ranking colonial official in Minahasa at the time (1856) – as saying regarding the traditional *fosso* system:

The abolition or alteration of these feasts is an important step towards civilisation. Once the Alfur⁷¹ is released from these, he willingly accepts what is taught to him, abandons many superstitions, and becomes a Christian. The government encourages their abolition (Schouten 1998:109; citing Jansen 1856).

Together, the colonial administration and missionaries conspired to “destroy” the traditional religious basis, which included inhibiting the performance and role of specific ceremonies and rites concerning status and enhancement and agricultural production (Buchholt 1994:15, citing Tauchmann 1968:248), in which headhunting practices were at times integral. Dutch demands on labour and the shortage of surplus crops via *Cultuurstelsel* and *Heerendiensten* contributed to the decline in the holding of once important life cycle events, and the marginalisation of the religious

⁷¹ *Alfur* or *Alfoer/Alfor* was a term common in Dutch colonial writings of the region: “Alfor or Alforese designated inland, tribal peoples in contrast to coastal kingdoms (Kipp 2004:604).”

system with which they were entwined. “This all helped create an attitude receptive to another religious system seemingly more in tune with the new conditions” (Schouten 1998:108).

Given the thorough undermining of the cultural-religious complex in which the traditional priests were so integral and their status and livelihood dependent it is not surprising that many traditional priests chose to convert to Christianity and came to occupy important roles as preachers and missionary assistants, possibly seeking to maintain their ritual and social status in the new colonial environment (Schouten 1998:109). This was not an option for all *walian* and *tona’as* however. Under the new Christian religious system for instance, women’s status was reduced and they were excluded from holding positions of influence, which may be why many were reluctant to initially convert (Schouten 1998:110).

Villages – whose settlement was the subject of ongoing ritual activity controlled by the priests – were fundamentally altered by colonial interventions over time. Village restructuring was integral to the socio-economic and cosmological reordering of local lives by colonial administrators and missionaries. This included the destruction of the then common large houses where extended family groups dwelt, to be replaced by smaller nuclear family size dwellings containing one or more families. These new dwellings represented a European familial ideal, multiplying households and thus ensuring there were more families to contribute to the colonial administration’s compulsory programs of *corvée* labour, taxation, and forced coffee production (Buchholt 1994:16; Schouten 1998:59). Whole villages were re-planned and rebuilt under colonial supervision, and in some cases divided and relocated to facilitate coffee cultivation (Schouten 1998:59). Employing a rhetorical rationale of physical and moral hygiene, villagers were disallowed or discouraged from spending long periods in their fields in the agricultural season, efforts in which the colonial administration and NZG conspired (Schouten 1998:59; Buchholt 1994:15). These efforts worked to circumvent the complex of seasonal agricultural rituals which

required prolonged attendance to one's fields. The occurrence of an earthquake (and possible corresponding volcanic eruption) in 1845 resulted in the destruction of many villages (Henley 1996:40), including most likely the village of Lolah.⁷² These villages were then rebuilt under colonial direction to uniform plan with straight streets and smaller nuclear family-oriented houses (Schouten 1998:59). The missionary Graafland comments upon the resultant Minahasan villages following their 'civilising' restructure:

The streets in the villages are straight, and the main ones quite broad as a rule. Besides the main street, which runs through the centre of the village and emerges onto the square, there are parallel and perpendicular streets in a gridiron pattern. Along the streetsides are neat hedges of roses, bluebells, *bunga burung* or *belontas*, according to the taste of the chief or sometimes the villagers themselves, which does lend some variety. The ground, finally, is divided into house plots, each with a neat little white and blue house half hidden in the foliage cultivated on the plot or *kintal* (Graafland 1898, I:267; quoted in Henley 1996:40).

Henley cites the Governor General of the NEI C.F.Pahud as 'rapturously' exclaiming, "What a land! What civilisation!" when confronted with the vision of neat, well-ordered Minahasan villages on his tour of the region in 1860 (Graafland 1898, I:522; cited in Henley 1994:74).

Another aspect of the re-organisation of villages concerned the fate of *waruga*. *Waruga*, traditional sarcophagi which contained the remains of generations of ancestors, and which usually resided next to the traditional multi-family dwellings, were either destroyed, damaged, or relocated to zones outside the village during the nineteenth-century (Buchholt 1994:16; Schouten 1998:59). Christian graves and cemeteries were introduced instead, situated on the edges of villages, not amidst settlements as had previously been the case. Today *waruga* are present in large

⁷² See Chapter Five for more information specific to Lolah.

numbers on the outskirts of Lolah, and are an archaeological reminder for the people of Lolah of their pre-Christian past.

The NZG and colonial administration also cooperated in restructuring other community leadership structures alongside that of the traditional priests. Since the demise of the VOC the *walak* leaders or *hukum* had been increasingly co-opted into collaborating with the Dutch colonial Government. “Their cooption was a complex process involving material gain, enhancement of status, external support against rivals within the *walak*, and the increasing Dutch hegemony” (Henley 1996:39). This mix included the *hukum* receiving a percentage of coffee and rice production payments forcibly grown under the *Cultuurstelsel* system (Henley 1996:39; Schouten 1998:57). *Cultuurstelsel* conditions included a percentage of local taxes (after 1851) and local labour services obliged to the *hukum* – all of which were regulated by the colonial administration (Henley 1996:39). All in all, the *hukum* were dependant upon the cooperation and good will of the colonial administration in the maintenance of these privileges. This situation may have influenced the *hukum* and kin to convert to Christianity. Indeed, many *hukum* were amongst the first to do so (Buchholt 1994:14-15). Conversion to Christianity was at times a requirement of office for chiefs, albeit this was not necessarily indicative of the willingness of the population he ‘governed’ to similarly convert, or his power or desire to enforce such results (Schouten 1998:110). Incentives to conversion may have come from perceived intra or inter-*walak* threats to *hukum* authority. Certainly, the highly competitive nature of Minahasan society contributed to the willful participation in government structures and conversion to Christianity of local leaders and their communities.

The town of Tomohon is an interesting case. As mentioned, N.P. Wilken was the first missionary to work among the Tombulu-speaking people of the region of Tomohon and its surrounds, the linguistic-cultural region to which Lolah belongs. Wilken experienced considerable initial resistance from the local *hukum* of Tomohon to his

attempts at conversion (Buchholt 1994:14).⁷³ Wilken found a local population keen on making the most of the educational opportunities the mission provided, people aware of the value of education for social advancement, but resistant to the Gospel (Assa 2001:70-71). Facing resistance in his early years in Tomohon Wilken turned his attention to ethnographic research on the polytheistic beliefs and practices of the Tombulu-speaking population of Tomohon and surrounds, whilst developing a strategy for successful conversions (Assa 2001:71).⁷⁴ Resistance to conversion came primarily from the *bukum* or Mayor of Tomohon, whose dual position in the colonial Government and as the community's own leader gave him considerable influence over the local population (Assa 2001:71). The Mayor of Tomohon was to change his mind, however, following Wilken's conversion of the mayor of neighbouring Sarongsong, with the Tomohon mayor quickly following suit (Assa 2001:71). The mayors' conversions were likely in competition for the increased patronage, privileges and status potentially afforded through closer association with the missions and colonial administration. Before long huge numbers of the population of both Sarongsong and Tomohon had also converted to Christianity, following the example of their leaders (Assa 2001:71).

Civilisation as missionary process and goal: an NZG case study

Rita Smith Kipp's article 'Two Views of the Minahasa; or, Whatever Happened to the Poor, Heathen Bushnatives?' (2004) directly addresses the civilisational emphasis of early missionary discourse and practice in Minahasa and their gradual shift in emphasis over time towards a greater appreciation of cultural difference. Her article is an extension of her ongoing ethnographic work on Christian missions in Indonesia, with particular attention to the roles fulfilled by women in the work of missionising (see Kipp 1990, 1999). Kipp addresses the roles of women in various positions of power, influence and context within the missionary apparatus (itself a highly

⁷³ See N.P. Wilken (1859)

⁷⁴ In the course of his missionary work N.P. Wilken produced valuable ethnographic writings (Schouten 1981:1).

diversified and context specific domain) in informing (in various combinations of affirmation and resistance) dominant discourses of gender and 'cultural' otherness (Kipp 2004:600-01).

To the extent that spreading Christianity was comprehended within a wider 'civilising' mission, women were essential to the project, and women's involvement with missionary work, whether in the metropole or in the mission fields, was everywhere shaped by gendered constraints and opportunities (Kipp 2004:599-600).

Kipp's writing acknowledges the diversity of missionary practices, with differentiation of approach amongst missionary groups within sponsoring countries (such as the Netherlands, Britain and the USA), and also within separate missionary organizations. Changing values of approach to missionary policies and activities within a particular missionary organization reflected both the predominant discourses within an organization at a particular time, and the diversity of opinion existing within an organization – diversity which in itself spurred changes in missionary praxis. My principal interest in Kipp's article concerns her analysis of the work and writings of a Dutch missionary couple who moved to northern Sulawesi in the mid-nineteenth-century.

The missionary Siebold Ulfers and his wife K. Henriette Ulfers Kisner⁷⁵ were early NZG missionaries to northern Sulawesi, arriving in 1847 (Kipp 2004:603; Pantouw 1994:295). They moved to the remote southern Minahasan settlement of Kumelembuai, where they began their missionary work. Christian conversions were being sought by the missionaries placed around the Minahasan region, with some moderate successes already achieved in other parts of Minahasa by the time the Ulfers couple began their work in Kumelembai in 1847. Mass conversions measured in the thousands began in Minahasa in 1857 in the more densely populated regions of the region around Lake Tondano, though success in gaining conversions in Kumelembai

⁷⁵ To avoid confusion I will refer to Ulfers Kisner and Ulfers, to distinguish between wife and husband respectively, and 'the Ulfers' in reference to them as a couple.

was to occur somewhat later (Kipp 2004:603). Missionary work had a strong pedagogical emphasis, mixing Christian conversion and European education. Education was to prove to be a strong motivating factor in local attraction to Christianity (Kipp 2004:603; Schouten 1998:112-14), providing a new arena for the exercise of indigenous competitiveness.

It is the four letters that K.Henriette Ulfers Kisner sent to the *Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap* (Women's auxiliary society) between 1855 and 1863 which were published in the NZG's chapbook series that form part of a case study for Kipp's consideration of the changing values of Dutch missionaries over time. Ulfers Kisner's irregular contributions are unusual as a woman's voice in the series in which they were printed (Kipp 2004:603).⁷⁶ Kipp's reading of Ulfers Kisner's articles in the chapbook series provide a valuable insight into the positive valuing of civilisation as a process and goal within mid-nineteenth-century NZG missionary praxis in northern Sulawesi. They also provide a relevant context in which to examine the three aspects of pastoral power I set out to discuss at the beginning of this chapter: the collusion of church and state in the exercise of the pastoral form of power; the attention to both spiritual and material concerns in exercise of pastoral power; and the role of the concepts civilisation and (to a lesser extent here) culture as discursive tools/technologies of self.

At the heart of the dynamic of pastoral power was the pastor and his family, who act as moral and spiritual exemplars to the community. Their example was pedagogical leadership for the congregation and potential converts. The 'subject' of programs like the Home and colonial missions were both those performing the service, as well as those recipients. Links between the Home and colonial missions reinforce the intellectual and practical dialogue between metropole and colony in the processes of Christianisation and civilisation shared by missions and Governments in these

⁷⁶ Ulfers Kisner was to live in Minahasa for twenty-five years, dying in Manado (the colonial administrative port for the region) in 1872.

locales. The Ulfers missionary couple linked Minahasa with the Netherlands, and the NZG's foreign missions and its Home Missions. Arriving in Kumelembai mid-century, the Ulfers' were familiar with work of the Home Missions and other religious civil organizations at work in the Netherlands. Ulfers Kisner's letters home were addressed to a religious civil group under the NZG umbrella of the *Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap* in Rotterdam, one of the Confessional organisations referenced earlier. The *Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap* in Rotterdam was a voluntary women's auxiliary society founded for women of 'lower class' background (by women of higher class origins who controlled it) (Kipp 2004:614). The society regularly gathered to discuss foreign mission developments, listen to missionaries on sabbatical leave from the field, and contribute financially to missionary efforts (Kipp 2004:603). Ulfers Kisner's letters told stories of the poverty and backwardness of the people amongst whom she lived, and sought to convert and civilise. The letters are infused with the threat of poverty in her own immediate circumstances, a message that would have resonated with the lives of many in her readership as well (Kipp 2004:614-615). The Ulfers had been of a lower class background in the Netherlands – Siebold Ulfers had been a wagon maker before becoming a missionary (Kipp 2004:614) – undoubtedly informing the couples' close attention to the achievement of Christian civility in their congregations. The Ulfers' civilising mission can be seen as an attempt to engender 'civilisation' both in Minahasa and amongst their fellow brethren in the Netherlands. They worked in Minahasa, but their work was related to their own fears of civilisation's tenuous nature at home.

K. Henriette Ulfers Kisner's missionary work complemented the work of her husband. Central to their pastoral and pedagogical role was their training of young men and women to be exemplars of civilised, Christian piety in their village. This involved the training of girls and boys, many of whom were brought into the missionary's house to live, work and be trained in European (en)gendered ways. The boys were trained to become 'teacher-evangelists', who would eventually perform both primary school teaching and Sunday preaching roles. The girls were being

taught European, Christian house-keeping skills and morality, being groomed to make suitable wives to the young teacher-preacher men also in training (Kipp 2004:605). This was known as the *murid* or *anak piara*, a student fostering system (Schouten 1998:114-118), and was a modification of a form of traditional adoption whereby Minahasan 'priests' (or *walian*) passed on:

their knowledge and spirit power to the following generations. Besides Christian values, the missionaries also tried to pass on aspects of Western life (Meyier 1909:1062) so that the *murid* could later help to advance both Christianity and civilisation (Buchholt 1994:19).

David Henley quotes the missionary Hendrik Bettink, who worked in the Minahasan town of Tanawangko from 1867,⁷⁷ as saying that the *murid* system was intended to create an influential societal group with principles of "a Christian, civilised family life" (Bettink 1897:114; cited in Henley 1994:68).⁷⁸ The *murid* system was fundamental to this process, and can be seen as the genesis of pastoral power within Minahasa. Other pedagogical technologies of self, in both the home and society (where church and education were integral to the colonial mission), emanated from the initial pastoral nexus of the *murid* system.

Kipp draws attention to Ulfers Kisner's metaphorical association of 'inner' and 'outer' realms of spiritual and material 'poverty' and 'development' in her own and her husband's civilising efforts and effects, evident in Ulfers Kisner's letters to the Vrouwen Hulp-Genootschap. For Ulfers Kisner, the civilising process was considered a lineal journey of progress and development, both spiritually and materially (Kipp 2004:605). Alongside European domestication clothing was an important marker of both Christianity and civilisation, and she sought to educate young women in clothes production. In one letter Ulfers Kisner describes her success in teaching girls to make

⁷⁷ See Pantouw (1994:296), for date and location.

⁷⁸ Tanawangko is a coastal town located in the Tombulu speaking region. Lolah, the main site of my field research, is eight kilometres inland from Tanawangko.

clothes with which they could cover their 'nakedness'; a common condition at the time of her arrival in Kumelembai (Kipp 2004: 604). Sarong and *kebaya* (blouse) were successfully made and worn by the girls, Ulfers Kisner eventually opening a sewing school in the village (Kipp 2004: 604).⁷⁹ In relation to the success in her sewing lessons, she observed:

This is also entirely our striving here, to make the outer development work hand in hand with the inner, the spiritual. [Siebold] Ulfers often says: 'The intellectual, material, and social development may and can never be separated from the spiritual, the inner. The former they have, the latter they still need, while the outer development receives her life breath from the inner and is shown always through more goodness, cleanliness, and truth, which again are a means to material and moral welfare of others and to the glory of God, for the highest inner development is, 'To the love of God above all and one's neighbours as one's self' (Ulfers Kisner 1863, 145:2; cited in Kipp 2004:617).

The last sentence of Ulfers Kisner above reflects the process of individualisation, of self-awareness and self-responsibility, in respect of the Christian God, self and community. Christian belief and practice required the subject individual to develop both spiritually (from where true self-realisation and reform comes) and materially (demonstrated through the attainment of social comportment and production of material goods). Within this individualizing process 'civilisation' was of considerable conceptual importance. This is clear in Ulfers Kisner's correspondence:

And indeed, dearest Sisters! I have here more than one such friend who loves the Lord sincerely, and among them there are even here in this village two who in all senses have made outward civilisation their own; I can also speak easily with them. But above all, their moral and civilised appearance would even be an entirely good

⁷⁹ Ulfers Kisner thus introduced into Kumelembai a form of dress (sarong and *kebaya*) that by the early twenty-first century was considered as 'traditional' in Minahasa, albeit by then no longer commonly in use.

example for many European women (Ulfers Kisner 1855, 116:9-10, cited in Kipp 2004:605).

Christianity and civilisation were conceived as being parallel and mutually reinforcing developments in the individual acceptance of missionary praxis.

The distinction between those who were Christian and those who were not was almost synonymous with those who were civilised and those who remained savage. Cleanliness and proper dress signalled not only wealth and civilisation but also a heightened religious and moral sensibility (Kipp 2004:604).

One's outer demonstration of Christian civilisation also symbolically demonstrated inner development. It also exemplified individuals' distance from their former savage existence and morality and worked as an effective example for one's neighbours of an individual's change, and one's neighbour's relative developmental difference or lack. In the highly competitive and egalitarian sociality of northern Sulawesi this undoubtedly contributed to the relatively rapid conversion of much of the population of the region, and the introduction and increasing articulation of pastoral forms of power amongst Minahasans.

The processes of change engendered by missionary intervention were, as prefaced earlier, inextricable from missionary collaboration with the colonial state apparatus and motivations. This was informed by experiences of [g]overnment⁸⁰ in the Netherlands. The Ulfers brought with them their own pietistic conception of their missionising/civilising project, undoubtedly reflecting the collaboration of Church and State experienced in the Netherlands. Ulfers Kisner (via Kipp) describes the struggles of civilising the population in Kumelembai as an effort confronted by both church and colonial Government, their efforts complementary. However, whilst indigenous Minahasans could transform into Christian, civilised subjects they

⁸⁰ I use the term Government, with a capital letter, to differentiate the state apparatus from the Foucauldian notion of 'government' already introduced above, and [g]overnment to signify a blurring of the two categories.

remained indigenous colonial subjects (as opposed to Dutch colonial subjects) upon whom brute forms of power were articulated alongside pastoral forms of power. Colonial subjection for indigenous Minahasans required their participation in the colonial administration's exploitative *corvée* labour system (*Heerendiensten*), where local residents had to contribute their labour to the building of roads and other infrastructure in northern Celebes. As a missionary couple the Ulfers were imbricated in the development of governable subjects who had different obligations to the colonial administration than their own. The scholastic and spiritual disciplining of the Ulfers' missionary program in Kumelembai prepared people for the new realities of their life under 'civilising' Dutch rule. Sunday school attendance was the arena for learning the discipline necessary for indigenous participation as a colonial subject. On the topic of children's ill discipline, Kipp (paraphrasing Ulfers Kisner) says:

No wonder, then, when growing up in such an undisciplined way, that once they became young adult men and women and were required by law to perform *corvée* labour on the roads under strict commands, 'they often felt the cane of the headman raining on their backs.' The Christian schools, 'where discipline and order reign' (Ulfers Kisner 1863, 145:5), were a fortunate corrective, she felt, to this leniency (Kipp 2004:607).

By 1863, within sixteen years of the Ulfers' arrival in the remote location of Kumelembai, the colonial Government also had a presence in their small town alongside the missionaries. Ulfers Kisner comments in a letter home about the 'poor souls' of Kumelembai that: "The Government helps as much as it can to uplift them materially" (Ulfers Kisner 1863:3, in Kipp 2004:606). *Corvée* labour existed alongside forms of taxation, and colonial directives under the *Cultuurstelel* forced people to cultivate coffee under a monopolised system controlled by the Government (Kipp 2004:606).

The collaboration in the exercise of pastoral power by church and state in Kumelembai reflects the dynamic of shared efficacy in affecting pastoral power as a

dynamic within a population receptive to intervention. In the mid-nineteenth-century context of Minahasa there was no simple shift or separation of responsibility in the governing of colonial subjects from church to state. Limited state and missionary resources contributed to the necessity of shared responsibility, and the development of a colonial-*cum*-missionary regime inter-dependent and complementary in the government of subjects/populations. Christianisation and civilisation – in terms of spirituality, appropriate government and material development – were complementary objectives and processes in the actions of missionaries like the Ulfers couple and their congregational subjects alike. The Ulfers may well have been archetypes of pastoral care and power, yet their ideas and actions were implicated in networks of power and meaning, in wider evangelical and colonial strategies, and the evolving world economic system and the developing sophistication of pastoral power through the collaborative influence of the state and church apparatus.

Ultimately it is the effecting of government by Minahasans themselves, in their relations with missionaries and the broader colonial regime, but equally (if not more) dynamically in their relations with each other, in which the articulation of pastoral power is most profound. Through the new discourses and institutions emphasising the government of the self within the colonial environs of nineteenth-century Minahasa this new form of power helped transform pre-existing forms of spirituality, social organization, politics and economies. This thesis endeavours to show how the continual reformation of old and new – in defining the self and community – is an ongoing concern in Minahasa today. It continues to be a process inextricably bound to peoples' relations of power involving both state and church, as well as the negotiation of alternative beliefs and practices viewed through the contemporary lens of *kebudayaan* (culture) and its juxtaposed relationship to notions of *moderen* (modern).

As posited earlier, Minahasan identity is a relatively modern phenomenon. The increasing sophistication of colonial-*cum*-missionary technologies of government in the second half of the nineteenth-century in particular was integral to the development of a uniquely Minahasan identity: Christian and civilised. It is to the development of this identity that I now turn.

Education and Minahasan identity in the nineteenth-century

The acceptance of Christianity thus encompassed the acquisition of education and Western cultural patterns as one single process, which can be characterised as a ‘civilising process’ (Buchholt 1994:18).⁸¹

Christianity and the new civilisation have brought much change and improvement. The uniformity of content, means and goals with which they are promoted is gradually eliminating the characteristic internal differences: in religious practices, because in Christianity they are one and undivided; in customs, because they come to be controlled by the same rules of truth and beauty; in virtues, which are refined and cultivated everywhere; and in languages, which are gradually replaced by Malay (Graafland 1898, I:326; cited in Henley 1996:58).

Developments in education in nineteenth-century Minahasa – whose pedagogical effects are positively appraised by the influential missionary Nicolaas Graafland in the comment above – became a central means in affecting the complementary goals, of church and state, in the civilisation and Christianisation of the population.⁸² We have already seen how the Ulfers missionary couple perceived religious education as essential for the civilisation of the resident peoples of Kumelembai. The *murid* system they employed exemplified the civilising process of pedagogy and cultural-religious indoctrination that Buchholt references in the above passage. The education initiatives of missionaries operating in northern Celebes during the latter half of the

⁸¹ Buchholt cites Elias (1989) as having discussed the ‘civilising process’ in this way.

⁸² for substantial treatments of the role of education in Minahasan society, see Schouten (1998:105-125) and Henley (1996:52-65), the main sources of my review here.

nineteenth-century, under the coordinating guidance of the Dutch missionary Nicolaas Graafland, built upon the initial successes of the earlier missionary and state interventions. Graafland had arrived in Minahasa in 1850 and established the NZG *kweekschool* (or Teachers Training College) the following year in the inland town of Sonder, and then from 1854 more enduringly in the coastal town of Tanawangko not far from Manado (Schouten 1998:115 & 85).

The education and the school system that was developed in northern Celebes during the second half of the nineteenth-century was crucial to the development of a Minahasan identity and changes in the beliefs and values of the population – in effecting Christian and civilised government within the population.

Under Graafland teacher training at NZG schools was centralised and a Minahasa specific school curriculum developed (Henley 1996:57). Teaching primarily focused on religious education, and reading and writing in Malay: the language of NEI colonial administration (Buchholt 1994:18). The curriculum included the study of Minahasan history via textbooks (and maps) penned by Graafland and other missionaries. These textbooks emphasised the unity of ‘Minahasa’ based upon a re-imagined shared mythology, religion, and united relations between the major cultural-linguistic groups of the Minahasa (Henley 1996:54). Christianity was the unifying agent that provided this retrospective recontextualising. One textbook written by Graafland explained that differences between *walak* were marginally important in comparison to the unifying similarities of both past pre-Christian and present Christian religious practices:

The Christian religion will eliminate all divisions, and all Minahasans shall truly become brothers (Graafland 1963:23-24, cited in Henley 1996:54-55).

David Henley suggests, “[t]he mission schools were the most important agents of cultural unification in nineteenth-century Minahasa. Graafland called them the ‘the principal means by which the missionaries encompassed the whole population within

the same spiritual and social development' ” (Henley 1996:56, citing Graafland 1898, I:523). Graafland's views reflect those of the Ulfers: that spiritual and social development/civilisation were one and the same process. Education in nineteenth-century Minahasa was central to the construction of a Minahasan identity that was essentially a civilised, Christian identity – an identifiable legacy today.

From 1868 the NZG *kweekschool* published an influential Malay language journal, *Tjahaja Sijang* (The Light of Day). The primary focus of *Tjahaja Sijang* was Minahasan news and identity, in a Malay-speaking and Christian forum. In its pages “Minahasa is repeatedly extolled as a paragon of both civilisation and virtue” (Henley 1996:64).⁸³ Malay was the language of both religious and curriculum instruction by the NZG, as well as being the language of the colonial Government. The use of Malay cut across regional linguistic differences in Minahasa to form the basis of cross-ethnic communication, a process which established the foundation for the everyday language use of *Bahasa Manado* (also known as *Bahasa Melayu Manado*) in Minahasa today. *Tjahaja Sijang* was edited by Protestant missionaries and its contributors and subscribers included graduate teachers, indigenous missionary assistants, and district chiefs, who disseminated widely the contents of the journal to their congregation-communities (Schouten 1998:113; Henley 1996:59 citing *Aanwijzingen* 1876:61 & Graafland 1898, II:392). *Tjahaja Sijang* played an important role in facilitating a Minahasan identity (Henley 1994:65).

Village schoolteachers, whether NZG *kweekschool* graduates or those working prior to its establishment, generally fulfilled the dual roles of local lay preachers as well as teachers in community-congregations (Henley 1996:57, citing Graafland 1898, I:526). The dual functioning teacher-preachers (and their families) were doubly exemplars of spiritual and social advancement in their communities, fulfilling indigenous pastoral roles akin to those of their missionary mentors, such as those of the missionary Ulfers. Their pastoral roles in the community were complemented by

⁸³ Henley (1996:64), cites *Tjahaja Sijang* (6-6-1895, 6-7-1895, 22-5-1897) in this regard.

indigenous 'missionary assistants' who "formed an intermediate stratum of the evangelical apparatus between the European missionaries and the schoolteachers" (Henley 1996:57). From 1868 missionary assistants were trained for this purpose at a vocational college in Tomohon (Schouten 1998:115). With the development of the NZG *kweekschool* and other schools in Minahasa, the *murid* system, which had previously given communities their teacher-preachers, gradually fell into disuse (Schouten 1998:115). By 1868, all 157 NZG and Government schools in Minahasa had indigenous teachers teaching within them (Buchholt 1994:17). This shift represented an increased institutionalising and rationalising of missionary activities, indigenous incorporation and acceptance within missionary structures and processes, and an indigenous deepening acceptance of – and participation within – processes of Christianisation and civilisation. The Church thus demonstrated its increased institutional sophistication in exercising pastoral power within both spiritual and broader governmental capacities. Indigenous teachers became exemplars of conduct, beliefs and values – and the demonstration of technologies of self – in the pastoral care of their communities.

For Minahasans being a teacher was a potential career path to social advancement and status (Schouten 1998:115). Education attained at NZG schools was valued as a means of social advancement for the competitively oriented Minahasans, and was considered by some to be an influential factor in the popularity of education (Schouten 1998:113; citing J.F.Riedel 1840:10). Rivalry between Minahasans – individually and collectively – such as exemplified by the Tomohon and Sarongsong mayors, contributed to the success of Christianisation in Minahasa. Competition existed to use the church and its offices, its positions as teachers and assistants, the attendant privileges and status, as a means of social improvement and mobility (Henley 1996:5-54). Henley playfully points to the irony that missionaries spent so much energy trying to eradicate such rivalries when it contributed so substantially to the Christianisation of the region (Henley 1996:54).

Other developments in schooling in the latter half of the nineteenth-century – namely the creation of separate Government-run schools for the sons and daughters of ‘chiefs and other prominent persons’ in 1865 and 1881 respectively (Schouten 1998:117-19) – helped facilitate the formation of a Christianised Minahasan bureaucratic elite. A state school system developed alongside the NZG system, and due to various Government policy and financial concerns at times the two quite distinct systems (Church and State) exhibited forms of integration.⁸⁴ Due to financial troubles of the NZG it was taken over by the *Indische Kerk* (national church of the NEI) during the period 1875 and 1882, which remained the predominant Protestant church in northern Sulawesi until 1934 (Renwarin 2006:36-37). Collaboration between the two systems, largely due to a lack in resources, was the norm. Teaching at the small number of Government schools was generally undertaken by missionaries and the curriculum of Government schools was similar to that of the mission schools (Buchholt 1994:17).⁸⁵ Nicolaas Graafland, the chief architect of the Minahasan education system, who lived most of his adult life in Minahasa, spent many years in dual roles as both representative of church and state. In 1883 he was appointed to a role as government school inspector, ensuring a degree of conformity between the two education systems (Henley 1996:60), overseeing the continued development of discourses and pedagogical practices that reinforced a Minahasan identity as Christian and civilised.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ At one point, 1882, a combination of new Government policy and financial problems of the NZG school system saw a quarter of their schools absorbed into the Government apparatus (Schouten 1998:115-16), although NZG schools and student numbers continued to outnumber Government schools despite the better standards, facilities and teachers pay and conditions in state schools. NZG schools were to later gain ascendancy in number of schools open vis-a-vis Government schools (Henley 1996:60).

⁸⁵ In the later decades of the century missionary independence from the influence of colonial administration was not absolute, especially in relation to the payment of missionaries’ wages (Kroeskamp 1974:262; cited in Buchholt 1994:13).

⁸⁶ Education standards in Minahasa, and the number of schools to be found there, were substantially higher than most other areas of the Dutch East Indies. See Schouthen (1998:119) for statistics concerning the relative high education standards of Minahasan girls *vis-à-vis* other regions of the NEI.

The duality in Minahasa's education system during the nineteenth-century invites comparisons with the experience of pluralistic education streams in the *verzuiling* Netherlands. Schrauwers suggests, in relation to the collaboration between the colonial administration and missions in certain programmatic fields (such as the Minahasan experience of education, for example), that "[w]hen coupled with the doctrine of 'sovereignty in one's own sphere' extended to the archipelago, it could be argued that the Netherlands East Indies state was also being pillarised" (Schrauwers 2000:42). Nevertheless, to suggest that Minahasa experienced pillarization or *verzuiling* has limitations,⁸⁷ as the colonial education system was articulated in the absence of a democratic party-based system responsive to constituencies back-grounding the Dutch experience of this pluralist form of Government. However, as sufficiently demonstrated through the example of the Home (and colonial) Missions in both the Netherlands and Minahasa, church and state were both involved, integrated, in effecting government within respective populations.

Conclusion

The transformation effected within the population of northern Celebes during the nineteenth-century is profound and unique within the history of the Dutch East Indies and beyond. The majority of northern Celebes' population had within a century transformed from a society whose complex of sociality, spirituality, ritual and work was intimately associated with insularism and inter-communal violence, to one of Christian civility. By the turn of the twentieth-century the percentage of the population who had converted to Christianity in the relatively newly identifiable region of Minahasa was over ninety percent; the process of Christian civilisation had been positively received by the majority of the resident population (Kipp 2004:613). This success, some observers have noted, had been made possible by the vacuum in the social-economic-religious order of earlier interventions (Buchholt 1994:15; citing Tauchmann 1968:248). The school system, *Tjahaja Sijang*, and other pedagogical

⁸⁷ A point that Schrauwers also makes (Schrauwers 2000:42).

initiatives in the later half of the nineteenth-century built upon the foundation provided by the more demonstratively (social, economic and religiously) destructive interventions achieved through church and state cooperation in the first half of the nineteenth-century. An indigenous bureaucratic elite had been fostered through the extensive education system that was developed during the century in which a vision of a unified Minahasan identity – Christian and civilised – was developed. The new social-economic-political-religious environment of the great transformation in nineteenth-century ‘Minahasa’ provided opportunities for many of the population, especially the newly forming elite, in the pursuit of non-agricultural professions in church, Government administration, private business and the military (Kipp 2004:614). Minahasans would increasingly come to play important roles in the colonial bureaucracy throughout the Dutch East Indies Government and within Minahasa as educators, pastors, bureaucrats and military personnel. In these roles they would act as exemplars of civilisation, influencing others throughout Minahasa and the archipelago.

This transformation in Minahasa resulted from the acculturation by the people of the region of pastoral forms of power fostered through the collaboration of missionary and colonial state apparatuses. Christian pastors and their families were at the foreground of pastoral technologies, acting as exemplars for their congregations, and incorporating members of their congregation into the pedagogical structures, and objectives, of church and state. The social competitiveness of indigenous Minahasans engaged with these interventions in productive ways, ensuring the rapid adoption of ideals and practices of Christianity and European civilisation by much of the region’s population by the end of the nineteenth-century. The adoption of Christian beliefs, morality and a civilised orientation involved the production of individual subjects through a self-reflective process of individualisation. This process involved the ongoing realisation of an individual’s ‘economy of merits and faults’, informed by church agents and discourse and exemplified by the pastor.

The concept civilisation was demonstrative in effecting individual and community change within nineteenth-century dynamics of individualisation in Minahasa, fostered, as it was, through the collaborative engagement with the institutions of church and colonial state. Civilisation was an important discursive tool/technology of self-realisation. This involved individual on-going self-assessment of one's relative realisation of 'being civilised', inextricably linked to the realisation of being Christian, and in comparison to one's 'savage' or primitive past. Attention to one's relative development or civilisation, realised in relation to the developmental advancement of both one's self *and* others within their community (including the pastor and his family), was integral to this ongoing self-assessment. The individual was thus located within networks of discourse and agency whereby individual and community beliefs, values, conduct and other norms were increasingly informed by, and articulated within, dynamics of pastoral power. Minahasa represents a fascinating case study in this regard, of the intersection of Herderian anthropology and the development of pastoral power in the interaction zone of European philosophy and processes of colonial subjectification.

In nineteenth-century Minahasa the concept civilisation held sway as the more dynamic and utilitarian concept in the colonial-missionary engagement with, and manifestation of, the culture-civilisation fulcrum originally posited by Herder. This was to change in the twentieth-century, however, as missionary and colonial attention to, and concern with, conceptions of cultural pluralism – expressed in juxtaposed critiques of civilisation – developed in the missionary-colonial domain of Celebes. It is this development that forms the focus of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

Ethnology, Ethics & Cultural Pluralism in Twentieth-Century Sulawesi

This chapter examines the development and utilisation of culturally pluralist conceptions in the ordering of human similarities and difference in the late colonial period of the Netherlands East Indies, and in particular the island of Sulawesi.

Church and colonial Government provide the contexts in which culturally pluralist ideas were expressed and utilised, in the Ethical Theological movement within Dutch missionary practice, and the Ethical Policy and *adat* law of the colonial administration.

In this chapter I address the emergence of culturally pluralist ideas in missionary and Government policy and agency, out of their previous nineteenth-century concern with the process of civilisation/the civilising of the people of northern Sulawesi. In colonial-missionary discourse of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the concept culture (Dutch: *cultuur*) had yet to take on the connotations of cultural pluralism that it has today, informed by the refinement of anthropological conceptions of culture. In focusing upon the emergence of culturally pluralist discourses within church and state discourse/policy in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century NEI, I seek to bridge the earlier nineteenth-century emphasis upon 'civilisation' with the later emphasis upon culture (*Bahasa Indonesia: kebudayaan*) in Indonesian nationalist discourse (and later policy) in the late colonial and post-colonial eras. Important to this era was the use of the concept *adat* in colonial and missionary discourse, in a conceptual role akin to culture, juxtaposed to modernising/universalising influences. *Adat* was aligned in a relationship of complementary opposition to civilisation (and modernisation) in the policies that promoted its use. This chapter explores how *adat* fulfilled an important function in the classification – ethnographically informed – of perceived differences between

colonial subjects. My focus upon the ways in which *adat* was utilised as a conceptual tool within the 'ethical' policies, and its conceptual role in assisting colonial-missionary subjects (new converts and missionaries alike) to understand and orient themselves in relation to old and new beliefs, practices, and social organisation. I explore this in relation to processes of individualisation and self-realisation that are integral to the articulation of pastoral power within both Christian conversion and the creation of state subjects.

The concept *adat* was integral to the development of a colony-wide legal system that discriminated between Dutch law and the realm defined by *adat*: that is, the "religious laws, institutions and customs"⁸⁸ of the NEI's diverse indigenous inhabitants (Fasseur 1992:237-38). The concept *adat* demonstrated attention to cultural pluralism within colonial and missionary discourse, informed by ethnographic/ethnological research. This research defined laws for regionally defined indigenous peoples, which were conglomerate identities of regions encompassing significant internal cultural diversity. *Adat* became a key utilitarian concept in colonial and missionary policy as a means to achieve/effect better [g]overnment over/within a diverse colonial population. I will discuss *adat* in more detail later in this chapter.

The attention to cultural pluralism in colonial and missionary discourse in the late colonial period was related to the emergence of anthropology as an academic concern and discipline in the Netherlands at the time. The development of Dutch anthropology evolved in dialogue with the development of anthropological ideas in other European countries, such as at Oxford under E. B. Tylor in the same period, and through relationships with the colonial arena of the NEI in which anthropological schemata ordering human similarity and difference were ethnologically and ethnographically contextualized. It developed in dialogue with the

⁸⁸ Wording taken from the letter of Government Regulation of 1854 (Article 75), quoted in Fasseur (1992:237-38). These local institutions and customs also relate to issues of land tenure.

rich ethnographic data already available from the experiences of colonial agents and missionaries who had worked in the NEI for several centuries. The missionaries who worked in northern Sulawesi in the early and mid-nineteenth centuries, for example, had employed ethnographic methodologies in their evangelical work and produced significant ethnographic knowledge concerning the peoples of the region. This ethnographic legacy provided the foundation upon which Dutch anthropology could develop, linked to the international domain of discourse in which anthropological concepts and methodologies circulated, and ongoing Dutch engagement and employment of these concepts/epistemic formations within colonial contexts. Ethnographic methodologies came to be significantly informative of the increased sophistication of colonial and missionary techniques for intervention in indigenous subjects' lives – interventionist policies aimed at changing the ways subjects governed themselves.

The late colonial period towards the end of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century NEI provides two pertinent case studies in which the increasing attention to, and utility of, culturally pluralist concepts and methodologies in missionary and colonial Government policies/programs can be explored. The first of these is the Ethical Policy movement within colonial law in the NEI and, and linked to this, the development of a dualist legal system. The legal framework of the NEI differentiated between Dutch law, which administered to the legal requirements of Dutch citizens and other categories such as *burghers*, and *adat* law for indigenous and other non-Dutch subjects. The geographical breadth, cultural diversity and variety of perceived *adat* legal systems encompassed within the NEI required much effort to research and construct/demarcate regional legal differences defined through *adat*. Thus, a colonial-wide 'ethical' legal system of ethnographically informed regionally defined legal-cultural differences was developed to parallel and complement the existing Dutch legal system. This initiative included the development of special institutions of ethnographic law and colonial administration. This dualist legal system employed discriminations of relative human similarity and difference

informed by anthropological discourse and practice, and played a significant role in the exercise of power and government of colonial subjects.

The second case study examines the development of an 'ethical' trend in missionary theological discourse concerned with the ethically appropriate or acceptable methodologies for the conversion to Christianity of the peoples of the NEI. In the early twentieth-century this trend was developed into the sociological method of policy and practice within Ethical Theology by two missionaries, Kruyt and Adriani, working in the area of Central Sulawesi, a region that previously had experienced little colonial or missionary activity. Their methodology was informed by the Ethical policy that had drawn a distinction between religious and secular law in its demarcation of *adat*. The missionaries employed ethnographic methods of engagement with subject communities in order to define and work within religious spheres, whilst respecting local customs and laws as defined by *adat*. They employed an anthropological schema of relative cultural and spiritual differentiation and development, along which individual subjects were intended to progress. Their methods represented a mix of culturally pluralistic and civilising ideals, which I will expound upon shortly.

Both the Ethical Policy and Ethical Theology movements will be explored in the light of the increased sophistication that colonial and missionary policies of intervention and the government of subjects represented through attention to cultural pluralism.

The development of Dutch anthropology

An important figure in the development of Dutch anthropology was G. A. Wilken. Wilken was born in Minahasa in 1847 (Fasseur 1992:242), the son of the missionary N. P. Wilken and his wife M. E. Hoedt. As noted earlier, his father N. P. Wilken, was the first missionary to work amongst the Tombulu-speaking people of northern Celebes, and to convert people to Christianity in the town of Loloh where I undertook field research. The missionary N.P. Wilken had written ethnographically

about the Tombulu people he sought to convert, and contributed valuable early ethnographic writings concerning Minahasa (as noted earlier) (Schouten 1981:1). His son G. A. Wilken was most likely raised and educated in Minahasa.⁸⁹ The young G. A. Wilken worked as a civil servant in the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) colonial administration in Minahasa, Central Moluccas and Sumatra (Fasseur 1992:242). In his position as a civil servant he contributed several articles of ethnographic value upon subjects about Minahasa such as: land-tenure within customary law; linguistics and customs; and the influence of Christianity on name-giving traditions; and he also engaged in comparative South-East Asian ethnology (Schouten 1981:1, 191-92 & 87-88).⁹⁰ He moved to the Netherlands in 1881 to further his education (Schrauwers 2000:55).

In the Netherlands G.A. Wilken developed his ethnographic interests to become the first Professor of Geography and Anthropology at the University of Leiden in 1894 (Schrauwers 2000:55), the first chair in Anthropology at a Dutch university. Fasseur refers to Wilken as an 'ardent self-taught anthropologist and ethnologist', whose ethnological observations influenced the foundation of *adat* law in the Netherlands East Indies (Fasseur 1992:242). Wilken's theories also influenced teachings on ethnology at the Missionary Training School in Rotterdam, where his bother-in-law was the school's director (Schrauwers 2000:55). The missionary-ethnographer A. C. Kruyt, amongst others, studied at the Rotterdam mission school and was considerably influenced by Wilken's anthropological ideas (Schrauwers 2000:55-56). Kruyt would become the co-architect of the ethnographically oriented Ethical Theology practiced by Kruyt and Adriani in their efforts to Christianise the 'Toradjas' of Central Sulawesi (Schrauwers 2000:55-56).

⁸⁹ I have no information to confirm this was the case.

⁹⁰ J. G. F. Riedel, another civil servant and son of a Minahasan NZG missionary (J. F. Riedel, who also wrote ethnographically), also contributed numerous writings of ethnographic interest concerning Minahasan customs and rites during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. See Schotuen (1981) for details of his writings. Schrauwers attributes to the colonial official J. G. F. Riedel the original instance of naming the 'Toradjas' ethnic group as a population of Governmental desire and potential intervention (Schrauwers 2000:31).

Wilken's ethnologising was articulated within the broader domain of discourse of contemporary evolutionist-leaning anthropological theories of human origins, differences and similarities in circulation in Europe at the time (Schrauwers 200:55). Wilken himself postulated the existence of four stages of human historical evolution, rising from the first stage of communal promiscuity, developing through stages of matriachy and patriarchy and into the nuclear family, the highest stage (Schrauwers 2000:55), reflecting the Protestant ideal. He was influenced by the work of the English anthropologist E. B. Tylor discussed in Chapter One (Schrauwers 200:55). This appears most evident in Wilken's ideas concerning animism, which closely resemble Tylor's views that animism is "the philosophical basis of primitive religion" (Schrauwers 2000:55). Schrauwers summarises Wilken's ideas in this regard, which are interesting in their resemblance to the cultural contexts of his life and ethnographic experiences in Minahasa. This is especially so in consideration of ongoing Minahasan belief and interaction with the souls of the dead, which I will discuss in chapters Six and Seven.

Animism consisted of two unformulated propositions: all parts of nature had a soul, and these souls are capable of moving without requiring a physical form. The first proposition, that all natural objects have a soul, gives rise to fetishism, the worship of visible objects as powerful, spiritual beings. The second proposition, that souls are independent of their physical forms, gives rise to spiritism, the worship of the souls of the dead and the unseen spirits of the heavens (Schrauwers 2000:55, citing Wilken 1912, 3:3-5).

When combined, Wilken's ideas present a story of human progress in stages of development from primitivism to something akin to a civilised, arguably Protestant, European ideal at its apex. E.B.Tylor's ideas presented a similar progression, as noted

earlier. Wilken defined animism as a 'primitive religion' placed lower on the ladder of progressive religious and societal development, exemplified by Christianity.⁹¹

Wilken's resulting ethnological theories would come to have significant influence on the ethical trends within both colonial administration and missionisation in the NEI. His ideas were significantly influential within intellectual institutions and disciplines that sought to intervene in the lives of ethnologically definable and categorised non-European peoples within the NEI, namely via the Ethical Policy of the colonial State, and the Ethical Theology developed and employed by missionaries of the NZG and the *Indische Kerk*.⁹² Such applications of ethnographic methodologies represented the increased interest by state and church in the production of ethnological knowledge about different peoples within the colonial realm.

I will now turn my attention to the 'ethical' movement in early twentieth-century Government and missionary discourse and practice where the civilisation and culture concepts, ethnology and theology, and new disciplinary technologies of law and faith intersected to inform the (self-) government of people and their souls.

Ethical Policy and *adat* law

The 'ethical' movement within the Netherlands Government's colonial policy in the early twentieth-century was the culmination of a long dialogue between liberal and conservative elements of Dutch politics concerning the appropriate governance of colonial subjects.⁹³ The ethical movement in part reflected the increasing questioning

⁹¹ One ponders how much religious concerns informed the framework of the analysis Wilken employed, like Tylor. Wilken's colonial and missionary upbringing, his work experiences as a colonial civil servant, and his ethnographic writings (following in his father's footsteps as an ethnographer) undoubtedly influenced his views.

⁹² Whilst the *Indische Kerk* had replaced the NZG around 1880 as the principal Protestant missionary agency in certain regions of the NEI, such as North Celebes, the NZG continued to exist and missionise in the NEI into the twentieth-century. Kruijt and Adriani worked under the auspices of the NZG in Central Sulawesi.

⁹³ When the Ethical Policy was eventually codified in 1901 it was the politically conservative Confessional parties that implemented it, with bi-partisan support from both the liberal and conservative parties (Schrauwers 2000:41).

and disquiet amongst the population in the Netherlands as to the Netherlands Government's and churches' responsibilities in the care of colonial subjects and their justification of ongoing colonial and missionary activities.⁹⁴ The debate concerned the Netherlands Government's and churches' moral positioning over the continued exploitation of, and obligations to, the people and resources of the NEI, recognizing the role the colonies had in the financial and civil wealth of the Netherlands.

Following the development of a liberal constitution in the Netherlands in 1848, a range of corresponding measures were gradually implemented in the NEI, including the rolling back of state control over the production and marketing of cash crops, including under the *Cultuurstelel* system, the increased opening of agriculture and industrial production and markets in the NEI to capitalist processes, and correspondingly in the Netherlands, where businesses were responding to the potential of the colonies as markets. These developments were related to, and partially dependent upon, the emergence of a middle class in the NEI. It was from this middle class (both within the Netherlands and the NEI) that a welling of interest in the moral obligation of the Netherlands to its Indies colony and the resulting civil pressure developed. The Ethical Policy (and within the missionary sphere, Ethical Theology) was thus developed and employed as a compromise of these concerns (Ricklefs 2001:161, 192-93).⁹⁵

An influential text that informed the shift in popular opinion concerning ethical colonial policy and practice was the 1899 publication of an article by the lawyer C.Th. van Deventer, who had long worked in the NEI. The article, entitled '*Een eereschuld*' (A debt of honour) argued that the Netherlands owed the people of the NEI a debt for all the wealth that had been transferred from their lands to the Netherlands (Ricklefs 2001:192). Van Deventer argued that this debt should be repaid by reorienting colonial policy to benefit the peoples of the Indies, in terms of

⁹⁴ The debate was paralleled by democratic reforms in the Netherlands driven by more liberal elements of Dutch society and politics

⁹⁵ See Ricklefs (2001) for a comprehensive appreciation in this regard.

“peace, justice, modernity, and welfare” (Ricklefs 2001:192-93), facilitating the process of ‘state formation’ (Schrauwers 2000:41). Van Deventer was a prominent voice in the championing of the Ethical Policy in the early twentieth-century, and was influential through holding several key positions in the Netherlands Government (Ricklefs 2001:194).⁹⁶

The influential conservative Christian parties of Netherlands politics, however, had a paternalistic approach to what it saw were obligations of the Netherlands Government towards their colonial subjects in the NEI, who were not considered Dutch citizens (Schrauwers 2000:41). They understood the Government’s responsibilities were unwanted, inherited obligations from the bankrupt VOC. The Dutch Government understood they had an ethical responsibility to facilitate ‘state formation’ in the NEI, yet intended to control how state formation would eventuate (Schrauwers 2000:41). The paternalistic fostering of state formation in the NEI necessitated “the introduction of modern liberal administrative techniques of the sort applied to the Dutch state itself” (Schrauwers 2000:41). This required the development of departments, institutions, agents and discourses of ‘state formation’, such as had developed in the Netherlands itself during the nineteenth-century as a continuation of earlier developments. In this regard the region of Minahasa was already considerably developed and well advanced compared to neighbouring regions, such as Central Sulawesi, which at the turn of the nineteenth-century had yet to be dramatically affected by colonial and missionary interventions. Neighbouring Minahasa, on the other hand, was at that time considered an exemplar of successful colonial and missionary intervention, pedagogical institution development and [g]overnment. However, newer policies and methodologies of

⁹⁶ Another popular Dutch text, whose author had links to the Minahasan colonial experience, was the influential novel *Max Havelaar* by Eduard Douwes Dekker (writing under the pseudonym Multatuli) which was profoundly critical of the oppression and exploitation of colonial policy in the NEI (Ricklefs 2001:161). Dekker had served as secretary to the Manado Residency in the mid-nineteenth-century. His experiences in Manado informed his critiques of colonial rule – the *Cultuurstelel* system of forced coffee production forms the contemporary context of the story’s telling – in his book’s 1860 publication (Schouten 1998:53).

intervention were required to respond to the colonial legal and [g]overnmental concerns in the NEI, in dialogue with then contemporary moral concerns of Dutch citizens at home and in the NEI.

A cornerstone of the Ethical Policy was the evolving development of *adat* law which sought to ground colonial rule in a colony-wide legal framework founded upon the recognition – albeit somewhat limited – of regionally defined ‘cultural’ pluralism. A body of literature concerning the appropriate legal system for the NEI had been developing since the introduction of the Government Regulation for the Netherlands Indies in 1854. This regulation instigated a dualist legal system that separated the legal rights and responsibilities of Dutch citizens from those of ‘natives’, and was intended to facilitate clearer and more effective governance of the greater population in the colony. The ‘native’ category included groups such as Chinese and other non-Dutch, non-indigenous people who were generally subject, according to Government Regulation, to their own “religious laws, institutions and customs” (Fasseur 1992:237-38).⁹⁷ This principally dualist system was controversial throughout the course of its tenure, attracting criticism – which I will not pursue further here – from a number of quarters for different reasons. A lack of knowledge about indigenous language, culture and legalities, such as in the arena of land rights, had since 1854 stayed the hand of further legislation implementation aimed at rectifying perceived inadequacies (Fasseur 1992:240-41).

The term *adat* law was first discursively employed by the Dutch scholar C. S. Hurgronje in 1893 in reference to indigenous laws (Fasseur 1992:247). It became a potential arena of policy focus when the liberal Minister for the Colonies (J. Th. Cremer) commissioned a study of the *adat* laws of the Christian regions of the NEI, beginning with Minahasa and the Moluccas (Fasseur 1992:247). Christian Minahasa

⁹⁷ It is important to note that there were several categories of people, such as the *burgher* people of mixed European and Asian ancestry, for whom separate laws were drafted and applied, reflecting their hybrid legal status in the NEI.

was thus at the forefront of *adat* studies and concerns. J. H. Carpentier Alting, a former president of the *landraad* in Minahasa, compiled a two-volume report on certain *adat* laws in Minahasa, and published a ‘Draft Civil Code’ for indigenous Minahasans in the early twentieth-century (Carpentier Alting 1902-03; cited in Schouten 1981:81).⁹⁸ Three quarters of a century of ethnographic knowledge production by both missionaries and colonial administrators— including N.P. Wilken and G.A. Wilken – had resulted in the Minahasan people being more ethnographically recorded, known about and intervened upon than most (regionally categorized) peoples in Indonesia, and thus a suitable initial subject of *adat* law research and policy development.

The dualist *adat* law structure in the NEI had been designed in part to curtail the real and potential mix of Islam and politics and its unifying potential, particularly where talk of the implementation of Shari’ah law was concerned. The *adat* law framework, however, sought to channel administrative logic and power through ‘traditional’ rather than religious networks of local government within an overarching national framework, circumventing the potential claims of authority of *shari’ah* religious-legal systems and movements of resistance to colonial rule that they might foster (Schrauwens 2000:42).

This dualist legal system had long caused considerable consternation amongst the religious establishment in the Netherlands and the NEI. For instance, in the late nineteenth-century the conservative Christian parties in the Netherlands raised concerns over the legal status of Christian converts, calling for the reform of the dualist arrangement under which their legal status system remained in doubt (Fasseur 1992:247). Minahasan Christians, for instance, were a case in point. They may have undergone a rapid process of Christianisation and civilisation, subscribing to

⁹⁸ Schouten cites J.H. Carpentier Alting as contributing valuable ethnographic “data on kinship and land-ownership, as well as on cultural change” (Schouten 1981:2). J.H. Carpentier Alting would later become a professor at Leiden.

European ideals, yet much of their legal system was governed by the ‘native-ness’, their definitive status as non-Europeans. It was thus possible to Christianise ‘native’ peoples, but to civilise native peoples to the point of being legally considered Dutch citizens was another matter. For many missionaries and Minahasans (the two categories increasingly overlapping by the late nineteenth-century) intent on creating Christian and civilised NEI citizens (within Minahasa and in various public servant and missionary capacities throughout the NEI), this discrimination would not have been easily accepted. The Christian parties in the Netherlands were intent on sponsoring the introduction of an Ethical Policy that sought to overturn the discrimination inherent against NEI Christians in the existing dualist legal structure in place since 1854. This involved the elimination of the dualist legal system and the introduction of European law in indigenous society, except in extraordinary cases where the relative difference to the indigenous society was deemed too great. These cases were intended to be the exception to the rule, not the rule of thumb (Fasseur 1992:249-50). “This policy was aimed at the emancipation or elevation of the indigenous population. Welfare, modernisation and ‘good government’ were its catchwords” (Fasseur 1992:249). Increased commerce, industrialisation, modernisation – and arguably, Christianisation – of the indigenous populace were seen to be a logical consequence of the Ethical Policy (Fasseur 1992:249).

Adat law studies, in the same period, were to gain impetus in 1901 when Cornelis van Vollenhoven, the former secretary to J.Th. Cremer (the liberal Minister for the Colonies noted earlier) was appointed to the new position of chair of *adat* law of the Netherlands Indies at Leiden University (Fasseur 1992:239). The Ethical Policy bill was presented to the Netherlands parliamentary system for consideration in 1906, but the original emphasis of the bill to introduce near uniform European law for all NEI colonial subjects was usurped under the counsel of the young Leiden professor already mentioned, Van Vollenhoven. Van Vollenhoven’s influence led to the modification of a 1906 bill proposed by the parliamentarian Van Deventer (the original instigator of the Ethical Policy mentioned earlier), successfully arguing for

the retaining of the dualist legal system and the primacy of *adat* law for effective colonial government (Fasseur 1992:250). The resulting modification, however, led to the reversal of Van Deventer's intention – *adat* law became the norm, not the exception in indigenous legal cases – and helped entrench Van Vollenhoven and his school of law at the forefront of legal and administrative expertise within colonial bureaucratic discourses and policies (Fasseur 1992:250-51).

Throughout his three-decade tenure (1901-1930) at Leiden, Van Vollenhoven used his position to exert considerable influence on Government policy, whilst overseeing the maturing of *adat* law into a huge body of research that sought to clarify the evolving contexts of regional *adat* within the dualist legal system. Van Vollenhoven repeatedly and successfully argued the case for the maintenance of a dualistic colonial legal system incorporating *adat* law, politically defeating those who sought to unify the legal system in the colonies under European law (Fasseur 1992:248-50).

Adat law codified culturally relative and specific laws determined (by the state, through legal focused ethnographic research) for different regionally defined cultural groups of the NEI. Under Van Vollenhoven's tutelage *adat* law came to be defined in terms of (only) nineteen regional variations within the NEI (Fasseur 1992:243). Minahasa formed one of these regions, the Minahasans having undergone their own regional identity assimilation through missionary and colonial influence (discussed in Chapter One). As hundreds of potential *adat* groupings could be determined over the breadth of the colony, *adat* groups were necessarily regional composites or medians of regional variations and similarities. *Adat* was to be clearly distinguished from religious matters and concerns, forcing a separation of religious and secular realms, however impractical for certain communities where such distinctions were difficult to make. This, in part, sought to avert potential political issues and movements that could arise in regions where religious and traditional law were difficult to separate, especially amongst communities applying *shari'ah* law, where the authority of the NEI administration may be challenged. It did not afford Christians in the NEI the same

rights and opportunities as they, and their colleagues in faith in the Netherlands, would have liked to enjoy. Indigenous Christians who had adopted European civilisational ideals and practices along with their faith, such as many Minahasans, thus remained in part legally defined (and arguably constrained) by 'their' *adat*, unable to be accepted as legal Dutch citizens under colonial law.

Van Vollenhoven's attention to cultural difference was intended, somewhat ironically for Christian subjects, to be receptive to the changing situations and legal needs of colonial subjects. He suggested (much to the displeasure of colonial bureaucrats intent on fixing laws concerning indigenous subjects through *adat* law structures) that ideally "each *adat* codification would be abrogated automatically after ten or fifteen years in order to adapt the *adat* regulations to new developments and changed circumstances in native society" (Fasseur 1992:248; citing Van Vollenhoven 1905a,b). As far-sighted as Van Vollenhoven's attention was to the changing cultural-civilisational circumstances of colonial subjects, his wish was not fulfilled in this regard. Van Vollenhoven's appreciation of cultural difference was, however, representative of the increasing sophistication and institutionalisation of ethnographically informed disciplinary technologies of government in the NEI. Schrauwers suggests that "[t]he rigour with which the Dutch sought to preserve 'tradition' within a colonial state legitimated by its obligation to 'develop' its subject peoples is a clear indication that it was the practical, administrative logic of state formation that determined the content of the Ethical Policy, not vice versa" (Schrauwers 2000:42).

This was evident within the different institutions of colonial pedagogy of the Netherlands colonial apparatus. In 1902 Leiden University assumed control of the training for all Dutch civil servants intended for the NEI colonial administration, taking over responsibility from the Royal Academy of Engineers (dissolved in 1900) as the main pedagogical institute in this regard (Fasseur 1992:239-41). This institutional shift in civil servant training consolidated various threads of ethnological

training and activity under the one roof. G.A. Wilken, who had died in 1891, was survived by an anthropology department informed by his ethnological theories that Fasseur informs us provided “many bricks for van Vollenhoven’s monumental edifice on *adat* law in Indonesia” (Fasseur 1992:242). A number of Van Vollenhoven’s students went on to fill influential positions within the colonial bureaucracy (Fasseur 1992:239), thus reminding us that the disciplining of colonial subjects also involved the disciplining and colonizing of colonial agents, such as bureaucrats, technicians, clerks, and/or ethnographers (and others) in their various roles. Colonial agents had their own motivations for social and material advancement within the NEI apparatus. The colonial agents’ role was pivotal in effecting change, linking other subjects, especially indigenous subjects, through discourses, policies and actions. These relations were imbued with pastoral power and intended to effect the government of individuals and groups, defined in part through their recognition and articulation of *adat* law. A necessary component of *adat* law was the ongoing process of self-identification and differentiation from other peoples of the NEI, as well as others within an assigned ethnic or otherwise group identity, who acquiesced to (or conversely resisted) the parameters of identification established by *adat* law.

It is questionable, however, whether the persistence of *adat* law until the mid-twentieth-century assisted in the preparation of an indigenous state formation, or rather entrenched persistent discriminations and inequalities in the NEI. The preparation for state formation may instead have been intended by some as preparation for the formation of a nation-state in which these discriminations remained entrenched – akin to apartheid South Africa, for example. *Adat* law, rather, functioned as a bridge between two differing systems of governance, as understood and practised by the colonial administration: Dutch law and the colonial state, and the broad pantheon of perceived culturally definable differences across the NEI archipelago. The *adat* legal system ensured diverse peoples subscribed to a colony-wide legal framework without significantly unsettling the ‘traditional’ status quo or the processes of continued resource and human exploitation. It can be understood as

a generic, highly pragmatic policy of [g]overnment, a valuable tool for a resource stretched colonial administration, and a preparation for some form of (post-) colonial state formation.

The colonial intention to create a modern society necessary for state formation was perceived – by some, interestingly – as being at odds with the continued reinforcement of differences between colonial subjects through the dualist legal system built upon *adat*. This point is clearly made by one of Van Vollenhoven's critics, Professor J. de Louter, who in the 1920's questioned whether the dualist system was suited to the 'needs of modern society' or whether it threatened to turn Indonesia into an 'open-air *adat* museum' (Fasseur 1992:253). De Louter's criticism juxtaposes *adat* in contrast to modernity, criticizing the dualist system as reinforcing a legal system founded upon discriminations defined through attention to cultural pluralism. Tellingly, upon gaining independence Indonesian lawmakers, several of whom had been schooled in *adat* legal studies, chose to abandon the dualist legal structure founded on *adat* in favour of the modern Western legal tradition (Fasseur 1992:255).

Ethical Theology in Sulawesi

The effective separation of religious and Government domains under the *adat* legal system posed both challenges and opportunities for missionary practices amongst those with whom the missionaries were allowed to work by the NEI administration. This was essentially the restricted category of non-Islamic peoples that the NEI allowed missionaries to work amongst, such as the people known to the Dutch as the 'Toradjas' of Central Sulawesi. The consolidation of *adat* legal system in the early twentieth-century forced missionaries to work within the parameters established by *adat*. Missionaries could actively convert, and facilitate the creation of colonial subjects, yet must do so in respect of local traditional legal institutions and customs.

The missions came under the influence of Ethical Theologians who utilised social science techniques to facilitate missionary practices, in order to work within the

parameters of *adat* law by employing new methodologies that sought to define religion as a separate domain of custom and practice to *adat* (Schrauwers 2000:42). The development of Ethical Theology in the NEI ensured that Christian converts were thus “subject to universal biblical precepts” in religious matters, and local *adat* laws in civil matters (Schrauwers 2000:50); the two realms thus staked out by at times competing, albeit ultimately cooperative, ethical trends of Government and mission. In doing so, missionaries affirmed *adat* law as a mechanism of governance, whilst also establishing their own safe terrain in which to work and convert.⁹⁹

Ethical Theologians sought to foster in the areas in which they worked an indigenous Christianity *within* a regionally or culturally specific *volkskerk*. “Ethical Theology conceptualized the role of the church in terms of a spiritual community, the *volkskerk*, a concept that grew out of the distinction between Christianity and culture, Christianity being universal, and culture, specific” (Schrauwers 2000:53). These theologians sought the conversion of non-Christian peoples *within* the parameters of their cultural contexts, recognising that Christianity could co-exist and complement different cultures, as long as the primacy of God’s word was not compromised. Schrauwers explains:

[M]ission ethnography was the product of Ethical Theology, which had its roots in the Dutch revival of the nineteenth-century. The revivalists placed greater emphasis on the reformation of the self than on denominational organization. They emphasised the ethical nature of truth, which therefore required not only understanding (correct belief), but the entire personality be reformed on biblical principles so that one was visibly centred on the word of God. This emphasis on the individual was no cult of individualism; its ethical emphasis was predicated upon the subsuming of the individual within a spiritual community. The Ethical Theologians conceptualised the role of the church specifically in terms of that spiritual community, as a *volkskerk* (‘people’s’ church, in a sense, defining nationhood); they

⁹⁹ It is interesting to ponder the links in the other direction whereby the ‘ethical’ discourse of Ethical Theology informed the ethnographic focus and nomenclature of the Ethical Policy.

too, were concerned to define an 'ensemble of a population', although on a religious basis. This conceptualisation of the church thus involved a revitalisation of the church's tenets, a recognition that cultural norms should not be confused with biblical principles; different peoples could have different cultures and different churches, but still dwell in God's truth as long as those traditions were evaluated from a biblical perspective (Schrauwers 2000:43-44, citing Randwijck 1981:146-49, 447-49).

One of the principal figures of the Ethical Theology movement was Professor P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. De Saussaye was the chairman of the board of both the NZG and the Netherlands Bible Society and was appointed to the position of chair in comparative religion at the University of Amsterdam in 1878 (Schrauwers 2000:53).¹⁰⁰ He exerted considerable influence on Ethical Theology and missionary practice within the NEI (and I presume within the field of ethnography/ethnology more broadly within the Netherlands). De Saussaye's 1871 doctoral thesis was an early study of comparative religion in the Netherlands, heavily reliant on ethnographic sources, entitled 'Methodological Contributions to the Study of the Origins of Religion' (Schrauwers 2000:52-53). This title reflected the ongoing debates that the English and Dutch anthropologists Tylor and Wilken engaged in at a similar point in time (as described in Chapter One). De Saussaye was a very important figure in progressing ethnographically informed missionary practices in the NEI, practices with an already well-established ethnographic tradition in Sulawesi, in particular via the Minahasan experience.¹⁰¹ Kipp has this to say of De Saussaye:

Perhaps because one of the leading Ethical theologians, Pierre Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye (1848-1920), was also one of the founders of a new 'scientific' approach to religion as an academic discipline, the missionaries influenced by the Ethical trend

¹⁰⁰ It is noteworthy that De Saussaye occupied this position sixteen years before G.A. Wilken was appointed the first head of Geography and Anthropology at Leiden, the first department of anthropology at a Dutch university.

¹⁰¹ Earlier ethnographic practices and subsequent writings such as those of N.P. Wilken and N. Graafland mentioned earlier, however, were refined and further developed under Ethical Theology.

believed that their effectiveness as missionaries depended on a thorough understanding of the vernacular language and deep ethnographic knowledge, especially concepts and practices related to the traditional religion. Understanding that faith is a highly personal reality, an artifact of the entire ‘person-in-his-setting,’ they argued that a person’s setting is a key variable in his or her apprehending the Gospel (Kipp 2004:619).

Under De Saussaye’s guidance the two young missionaries Kruyt and Adriani,¹⁰² both from strong missionary familial backgrounds, were given the task of missionising for the NZG in the previously ‘un-missioned’ Central Sulawesi.¹⁰³ Their combined efforts resulted in the creation of a ‘sociological method’ within Ethical Theology. “The sociological method was thus a means of ‘inculturating’ Christianity within a non-Christian people in such a way that their culture was Christianised without necessarily losing its distinctive ethos” (Schrauwers 2000:53). Schrauwers summarizes the field method developed by Kruyt and Adriani for their everyday mission work where ethnographic attention to cultural difference was fundamental and ultimately utilitarian:

The sociological method involved a process of ethnographic study followed by the selective utilisation and reworking of indigenous rituals within the framework established by the mission. Study of the *adat* was considered essential to understanding the religious feelings and thoughts of Indonesians, since these emotions and symbol systems were rooted in ‘pre-logical’ thought (see, for example, Kruyt 1937:22-39; Kruyt 1925:182). Kruyt recognized that the message of the gospel was not self-evident and that Indonesian converts often interpreted his message in their own cultural terms. Kruyt saw such attempts as encouraging, as a sign that converts were seeking to find relevance of the gospels within their cultures. He did not view conversion as an all-or-none, individual phenomenon, but as a

¹⁰² De Saussaye provided them with their “ethical imperative, as well as directing their ethnological studies” (Schrauwers 2000:53).

¹⁰³ See Schrauwers (2000:51-58) for a synopsis of the life backgrounds and work of these men in Central Sulawesi.

developmental process in which a culture was Christianised, thus providing a supportive social context. This process was characterised by preaching the gospel, its reception, and the evocation of questions about its application in their lives followed by the selective reworking of the *adat* by Indonesians themselves. Kruyt refused to issue a set of rules; he insisted on the reformation of the old *adat* through a dialogue with the mission (Kruyt 1925:134-57) (Schrauwers 2000:53-54).

Of importance here is the role of the term *adat* in defining cultural difference in Ethical Theology. The use of *adat* was informed by the legal field of Ethical Policy that was developed during this period of colonial history.

The 'developmental process' conceptualised by Kruyt and Adriani in their sociological method of mission practice reflected the unilinealist ideas of G.A. Wilken's ethnological framework of evolutionary human history. Kruyt had studied at the Mission School in Rotterdam where Wilken's anthropological ideas were taught. Kruyt came to publish his own comparative study of animism in the Indonesian Archipelago (Kruyt 1906), in which he combined Wilken's two paradigmatic models discussed earlier (Schrauwers 2000:55-56). Kruyt reordered religion into a model of four stages of religion inspired by Wilken's four stages of social development: pre-animism, animism, spiritism and Christianity at its apex. Kruyt interpreted these four stages in evolutionary sequence as simultaneously co-existing amongst the peoples he called the Toradjas,¹⁰⁴ the newly defined 'people' at the centre of his ethnographic attention and practical missionising (Schrauwers 2000:56). The stages were considered co-existent yet lineally progressive in the Toradjas, affording missionaries, individuals and communities alike the ability to compare, measure and reform their conduct, their selves, informed by the ethical discursive domain facilitated by the mission. The deliberate reformation of old in relation to the new was integral to the process of synthesizing new technologies of self with those of the old culture. For Kruyt, "[c]onversion to Christianity was not a mere

¹⁰⁴ The relationship between the term Toradjas and the To Pamona, the name the people with whom Kruyt and Adriani missionised, is clarified on page 115.

change in religion, but an implicit evolutionary advancement” (Schrauwers 2000:56). Kruyt and Adriani’s sociological method attempted to Christianise entire ‘cultures’ in order to establish these cultures at a higher evolutionary level than their previous stage of development.

Within the broader domain of Ethical Theology Kruyt and Adriani’s missiology was an anthropologically informed theological reintegration of religious and secular thought that Tylor’s scientific schema of humanity had sought to pry apart. At the apex of Kruyt’s co-existent stages of development – stages that could simultaneously co-exist within one cultural defined group or community – was a civilised Protestant idyll. It was civilisation that ultimately encompassed the culturally defined differences within it: the process of ordering and integrating culturally defined differences within civilisation (and its inevitable trajectory) itself. The process of civilisation at the heart of nineteenth-century missionising can arguably be interpreted as having been rearticulated through discourses valuing cultural pluralism in the achievement of the same goal. Cultural difference was newly valued as a means to achieve the same objective of Christianisation that had preoccupied nineteenth-century missionaries working in Minahasa and elsewhere. This was an intentional strategy employed by Ethical Theologians.

F.E. Daubanton [an influential Ethical Theologian]... who wrote a textbook for missionaries from the Ethical perspective, argued that the first task of missionary work is bringing the Gospel, not spreading civilisation, and he cautions aspirant missionaries against objecting to superficial cultural differences such as whether people put rings in their ears and noses and file their teeth (Daubanton 1911:508). Although ‘civilising’ may occur as a consequence of the missionary’s work, it must not be his goal (Daubanton 1911:77). In summary, Ulfers [the husband of the missionary couple discussed in Chapter Two] saw civilising and Christianising as dual and related goals, but preaching the Gospel was the means to the civilising end. For [the generation of missionary informed by Ethical Theology] civilisation was not

a great preoccupation because they understood that Christianity can take root in diverse cultural settings (Kipp 2004:617; comments mine).

It is important to reflect here on individual government and the exercise of pastoral power in the sociological method of Ethical Theology. The locus of pastoral power is not only the pastor, who fulfills the roles of the exemplar, but the individual networked into a complex of relations with community, prevailing discourses, institutional arrangements of predominance, and so on. Individuals are networked within their spiritual communities: engaging, discoursing, disseminating their unique individualizing articulations of self-realisation and government. Kruyt and Adriani's ethical missiology, informed by ethnographic methodology, fostered indigenous appreciation, reception and reconceptualisation of Christian principles, values and faith realised within a community's own unique local cultural contexts. Integral to the sociological method of Ethical Theology was the discursive utility of the conceptions of culture and civilisation assisting subject individuals to define and orient themselves and others in a changing world. This represented the intersection of the individualizing processes inherent in the articulation of pastoral power with the dynamic of self-realisation, in terms of one's comparative awareness of others that the culture-civilisation nexus affords.

The ethical missiology of Kruyt and Adriani relied upon a dynamic of comparison whereby individuals defined themselves and others as coexisting at different stages of civilisation within their own culturally defined (spiritual) community. The four ethnographically definable stages from primitive pre-animist to civilised Christian were potentially observable within a single community, categories against which individuals and community could compare each other and measure themselves and their community's progress/improvement – one's own comparative modernity. This resembles Herder's self-expressivism whereby "man comes to know himself by expressing and hence clarifying what he is and recognising himself in this expression" (Taylor 1975: 17-18). This process is achieved through an individual's self-

recognition and qualification in a schemata of comparative difference where one recognises and qualifies one's relative development – 'being civilised/modern', or being otherwise. In the early twentieth-century missiology of central Celebes the comparative difference was both internal and external to one's culture, and was measurable in both Christian and civilised/modern terms. Primitivism was negatively defined on a temporal scale within an achievable framework of progress to a modern, Protestant ideal. This was an (ongoing) process of self-definition, framed in relation to seemingly coexistent past, present and future forms of self. The sociological method of Ethical Theology represented the introduction of pastoral processes of individualisation – articulated in part through the discoursing of the concepts culture and civilisation – into the lives of the newly identified Toradjas of Central Sulawesi.

Whilst colonialists and missionaries alike sought to define 'a people' and 'their culture' as Toradjas, as a method of utilitarian intervention, the influence of the mission was (as previously in Minahasa) positively received by many local inhabitants. As a consequence missionary subjects came to define themselves in several ways: as belonging to a defineable ethnic category the To Pamona (the indigenous term of distinction that the people with whom Kruyt and Adriani worked chose to identify with) encompassed within the Dutch administration's ethnic categorisation of a broader Toradjas people; as people of an ethnic identity with a distinct local culture (*adat*); as (co-) existing at different identifiable stages of comparative development, along a schema of upward acculturation (of civilisation) towards the Protestant idyll; as people with a distinct *adat* who were also Christian and who were civilised/modern. Faith and social practice were being actively and continually reconceptualized by individuals and – as was the Ethical Theologians' intention – by communities as a whole. The broader community in which individuals lived was similarly attempting to reconcile their Christian faith and contemporary modern orientation within newly defined 'culturally' defined (via *adat*) contexts. This ongoing process of individual and community governance presumably

continues today amongst the To Pamona, as it does in Minahasa, the exploration of the context of Minahasa informing subsequent chapters.

Conclusion

Utilising the case studies of the Ethical Policy and Ethical Theology, this chapter examined the emergence of culturally pluralist discourse in colonial state and missionary policy in the late colonial period of the NEI. The demarcation of *adat* in the respective ethical policies sought to assist colonial subjects – colonial agents, missionaries and indigenous Indonesians alike – to understand and orient themselves in relation to each other and processes of change instigated by colonial and missionary interventions. In doing so, the demarcated realms of *adat* (zones of indigenous legal governance) were contrasted in complementary opposition to the realm of colonial and missionary intervention and governance.

Attention to cultural difference had utilitarian applications, with the category *adat* facilitating the integration of colonial and missionary subjects into state and church apparatuses. The missionary ethnographers of Central Sulawesi, Kruyt and Adriani, utilised ethnological methods in interventionist agendas intended to create new colonial/missionary subjects, to incorporate people into missionary and legal technologies of governance. Their goals, and their ethnographic practices, were intentionally utilitarian. In the ‘ethical missionology’ of Kruyt’s design ‘religious technologies of the self’ – of self-awareness in comparison to others, networked through missionary and colonial state-informed discourse – were by conscious design complementary to technologies of the self associated with the NEI legal realm of *adat*. “In particular, the definition of religion and the establishment of ethnic boundaries (*adatrechtkring*) were not simply abstract theoretical issues, but an exercise of power by which subject ‘peoples’ (as collections of individuals, yet as *volken*) were co-opted and integrated within the emerging Netherlands East Indies state” (Schrauwers 2000:44). The ethical policies were intent on effecting changes in

colonial subjects, in the government of subjects, as individuals and within broader communities or populations.

This involved a process of individual self-assessment by colonial/missionary subjects, the individualisation of the self networked into discourses and dynamics of pastoral power. The sociological method of missionary practice whereby the individual realises oneself within one's own culturally definable spiritual community recalls Johann Herder's conception of culture discussed in Chapter One. For Herder individuals realised their own enlightenment within the parameters of their own unique culture: the person-in-his-setting of De Saussure's emphasis. Similarly, via the ethical missiology of Kruyt and Adriani self-realisation and self-definition occurred in relation to one's *adat* – one could ideally realise themselves as being Christian, as having culture, and as attaining degrees of civilisation. Individuals defined themselves in relation to others, as well as in relation to their own relative development within a schema of progressive civilisation. Thus, the realisation of self was an ongoing process of negotiated self-definition engaging conceptions (and realisations) of both culture and civilisation within its framework.

In Chapters Two and Three we have observed how the concepts civilisation and culture changed in emphasis and value in their usage within church and state discourses/policies during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the NEI. Both concepts in the nexus were utilised as key conceptual devices in the re-orientation of colonial subjects – indigenous and European subjects alike – in various roles (as missionaries, Christian converts, and colonial/legal subjects). These concepts, and the self-reflexive and comparative tendencies they invoked, fulfilled roles as key conceptual tools in the articulation/facilitation of pastoral power and technologies of self within colonial-missionary domains. The case studies of the ethical policies show that civilisation and culture were key conceptual/ordering devices in the negotiation of change, processes of change in which these concepts were intimately implicated.

Chapter Four will explore the further development of these concepts in the nationalist and post-colonial discourse of the twentieth-century.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Concepts *Kebudayaan* & *Moderen* in Indonesian Nationalism

This chapter examines the emergence of the concepts *kebudayaan* (culture) and *moderen* (modern) within Indonesia and Indonesian nationalism during the twentieth-century.

It traces the emergence of these concepts out of colonial (both Dutch and indigenous) scholarship into the domain of emerging Indonesian nationalism in the late colonial period. The development of a pan-Indonesian national identity is explored from its roots within early nationalist debates of the late colonial era to its development within the discourses of the New Order era of post-colonial Indonesian Government. The evolving relationship between the concepts *kebudayaan* and *pembangunan* (development) is discussed in light of this history, and in terms of its central importance to New Order discourse. The *Gereja Mahesi Injili di Minahasa's* (The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa or GMIM) theological engagement with Indonesian nationalist conceptions of culture and modernisation (*modernisasi*) is also considered. The intellectual congruence of conceptions and agendas of culture, modernisation and Christian evangelism are considered in relation to the historical collaborative relationship between church and state in Minahasa. This gives pause to consider the contemporary role of the culture-civilisation/modernisation/development conceptual nexus in the actualisation of pastoral power and the production of modern, Christian Minahasan-Indonesian subjects.

The chapter concludes by addressing the relationship between discourse of culture and meta-cultural discourse, and the realisation of culture in lived experience by diverse peoples in diverse locales. This leads to consideration of the polyvalent usage of *kebudayaan* and its associate terms in everyday lived experienced within my research field site in Minahasa. This acts as a preface for the examination of the ways

my research informants utilise the key concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* in the chapters that follow.

Cultural identity: diversity and nationalism

Culture has become a ubiquitous synonym for *identity*, an identity marker and differentiator (Benhabib 2002:1).

The phrase 'cultural identity' fuses the two words culture and identity into an evolving construct that is distinctively modern, reflecting what we have explored so far, that individual self-realisation is bound up with identifying ourselves in relation to others. Whilst culture is not synonymous with cultural identity, discourse concerning culture almost invariably involves discussion of an identity related to 'culture'. This applies equally within the discipline of anthropology as it does to the diverse contexts in which we seek to explain and represent. Cultural identity is an important component of the cultural discourse that works to constitute the broad domain of discourse concerning culture within a locale (whether defined as local, regional, national or otherwise), and the lived experiences with which it engages.

This reflects the historical evolution of the culture concept both within anthropology and other forms of scholarship, and in the contexts of a country like Indonesia; two processes that are intimately entwined. John Pemberton explores this theme in *On the Subject of Java* (1994) in which he examines the historical constitution of a unique 'Javanese' identity and the role of ethnographic-historical scholarship in its constitution. Pemberton's analysis draws parallels between the scholarship and politics of the Dutch colonial era with those of the post-colonial era of Suharto's New Order regime. He examines how the Dutch colonial regime usurped the actual power of the *Kraton Surakarta* (kingdom of Surakarta, Java) and their courts, turning them from functioning centres of Government into ritualised and relatively powerless demonstrations of their former functions (Pemberton 1994: especially 28-38 & 68-72). The royals became ritualised performers in their own courts, symbolically and politically removed from their past functions and purposes (Pemberton 1994:68-126

101). Modernising forces employing new administrative apparatuses intent on nation-building were increasingly mobilised and the ‘former’ functions of the Surakarta courts became historicized, becoming ‘cultural’ representations of a past era; romantic snapshots of a beautiful yet backward Java. A discourse about Javanese culture developed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries at the hands of both Dutch and Javanese scholars. Over time a domain of discourse whose explicit subject was ‘Javanology’ developed, a universalising identity for all of Java in which the *Kraton Surakarta*’s former influence had an exemplary place, employing newly recontextualised terminology such as ‘tradition’, ‘ritual’, ‘*upacara*’ (Pemberton 1994: especially 102-105). Through the process of ethnographic-historical representations via Javanology, what had once been practices of a particular royal court from a certain region of the large island of Java overtime, came to represent the essence of Java itself – ‘Javanese culture’ – to which an emerging Javanese (and later Indonesian) nationalism could identify. An ethnographic appreciation and sanctification of a traditional Javanese-ness, especially in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, complemented the increasingly *moderen*¹⁰⁵ self-appraisal (in terms of both a temporal perspective and self-identification in relation with outsiders) and a movement towards *kemadjoean* (progress, advancement).

Members of the Surakarta royal families, after having been usurped of their previous power, and following several generations of exposure to the modernising colonial orientation, themselves subscribed to and promoted ritualised/traditionalised representations of their past rule. In the early twentieth-century prince Mangkunagaran VII¹⁰⁶ held the position of honorary head of the Java Institute, which sponsored numerous Culture Congresses and Javanological study groups throughout the 1920s and 1930s, which were intent on developing “ ‘the indigenous

¹⁰⁵ The word *modern* was incorporated into *Bahasa Melayu* (and later Indonesian) as *moderen* from the Dutch language, though today this word more often than not is pronounced and spelt in Bahasa Indonesia as the English *modern* (Pemberton 1994:102).

¹⁰⁶ Mangkunagaran VII and his family are to be differentiated from the other regional royal family of Solo.

culture of Javanese, Madoera, and Bali,' by 'in the first place promoting and disseminating knowledge of their culture' ” (Tsuchiya 1990:91; Pemberton 1994:131-2).¹⁰⁷ In a famous speech Mangkunagaran VII proposed *wayang* shadow-puppet performance as a demonstration of Javanese 'very high civilisation', juxtaposing it in relation to Western civilisation (Pemberton 1994:132; citing Mangkunagaran VII:1957:16). “What the prince was searching for was an indigenous representation of character and a person – a 'self' – of philosophical import so weighty that the universality of its significance could not be denied” (Pemberton 1994:132). Towards the end of his speech the prince links the spiritual realization of self of the *wayang* performer to that of an appeal to “the genuine Javanese national spirit” (Mangkunagaran VII:1957:19; cited in Pemberton 1994:132-33). By proposing such, Pemberton muses, Mangkunagaran VII's “'Javanese spirit' thus represented, in effect, the final layering of signification onto the subject of 'Java' by refashioning it as subjectivity” (Pemberton 1994:132).

Whilst Mangkunagaran VII emphasised a national Javanese identity juxtaposed to Western civilisation, he also importantly situated Javanese identity in hierarchical juxtaposition to other cultures within an emerging broader pan-Indonesian national identity within a pro-independence domain of discourse (Pemberton 1994:132-33). On one hand Mangkunagaran VII's ponderings ring similar to Herder's self-reflexive philosophizing upon the spiritual essence to be found in one's own culture, both being similarly influenced by a critical engagement with civilisation's all-inclusive trajectory. Mangkunagaran VII's ideas also reflect a retrospectively appreciated Javanese culture (and civilisation) – looking into a romanticized past – emphasising the cultural-*cum*-spiritual meaning in those (supposedly non-political) remaining aspects of the Kraton's former glory, specifically the arts (represented here by the *wayang* shadow-puppet). However, we also note that the reduction of the Kraton's (and thus Java's) former glories to the discursive and performative arena of 'culture',

¹⁰⁷ Pemberton cites Tsuchiya, who is quoting from the first issue of the journal *Djawa*, for which he does not give a reference.

with potential egalitarian implications, may have inspired the prince to identify Javanese-ness with the term ‘civilisation’. In doing so he re-positioned Javanese ‘culture’ as superior to the other ‘lesser’ cultures and peoples also recognized and re-valued in reference to an increasing Indonesian sense of nationalism. Notable here is a tension within the culture-civilisation nexus, where identification with culture can be empowering, yet may require further comparative delineation between one’s own culture and those of neighbours whose ‘cultures’ may be deemed beneath that of the self-identifier.

Cultural discourse, and identification through it, represented a new form of power within nationalist fora in pre and post independence Indonesia, building upon the foundations of Javanology and other prominent discourses utilising ‘cultural’ delimiters, such as the pan-Indonesian *adat* legal system discussed in Chapter Three. Discourses of cultural identity within an evolving pan-Indonesian nationalism, informed by a Javanese national identity and its processes of conception, would come to play an important political role in the post-colonial New Order era of President Suharto’s Government.¹⁰⁸

Pemberton, for example, draws our attention to the *Taman Mini ‘Indonesia Indah’* (‘Beautiful Indonesia’ in-Miniature Park) in the heart of Jakarta, as a project demonstratively representing the political value of culture in New Order Indonesia (Pemberton 1994:152-161). A personal project of the Indonesian First Lady, Siti Hartinah Suharto, *Taman Mini* was intended as a physical representation, in miniature, of the *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ideal (generally translated as ‘unity in diversity’ (Acciaioli 1985:151)) considered a fundamental of the Indonesian

¹⁰⁸ I do not address in detail the era of the formation of the Indonesian nation in the wake of WWII following its declaration in 1945 by Indonesian nationalists led by Sukarno, the republic’s first president. As discussed in the following section the formation of the Indonesian Constitution and the Pancasila by the early nationalists were fundamental documents in post-colonial Indonesian state formation.

constitution and government policy.¹⁰⁹ *Taman Mini* built upon the pre-independence nationalist ideal of Indonesia as a single national entity, unifying the nation's disparate peoples under a single umbrella of national identity, which had been realised, however tenuously, during the early years of Indonesia under President Sukarno's guidance. Java, the most populous island hosting the centre of Government in Jakarta, figured prominently in the new nation-building and developmental strategies of the early Sukarno-led Government, drawing at times significant critique from dissatisfied regions such as North Sulawesi,¹¹⁰ which felt neglected by the perceived Java-centric emphasis of these early nationalist strategies. *Taman Mini* is an example of creative Government policy under Suharto's New Order regime, representing the constitutional ideal of 'unity in diversity' – the notion at the heart of Herder's pluralist appreciation of culture – of a culturally diverse nation.

In *Taman Mini* each province of Indonesia is ideally represented by a regionally generic house (for example the house of North Sulawesi), containing representations of each region's culturally specific costumes and artefacts, historical and contemporary products of industry, and information.¹¹¹ Each provincial house is itself a modern cultural artefact of a united yet diverse Indonesian nation, a composite of housing styles based upon the presumed major ethnic-cum-cultural identity of that particular region. The North Sulawesi house resembles the 'traditional houses' of the predominant ethnic group of that region – the Minahasans – which is a reasonably contemporary construct quite distinct from the multiple family dwellings common in the Minahasan region in the early nineteenth-century. Other architectural traditions of the province, such as those of the people of Bolaang

¹⁰⁹ Article 32 of the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 states "the Government shall develop the National Culture of Indonesia" (Acciaioli 2001:3).

¹¹⁰ This critique was at times military, such as the Permesta movement in which North Sulawesi was involved (Harvey 1977). I discuss North Sulawesi's, and specifically Lolah's, engagement with Permesta in Chapter Five.

¹¹¹ However, in April 2008, newly created provinces following the end of the Suharto era had yet to have their own provincial buildings and displays incorporated into the *Taman Mini* layout.

Mongondow, are marginalised or theoretically incorporated into a singular provincial representation.

North Sulawesi's house and its internal displays are something of a composite between the two rather culturally distinct regions of the now former North Sulawesi Province (*Propinsi Sulawesi Utara*), that of the Minahasan dominated north-western section of the northern tip of the island of Sulawesi and the former south-eastern section of the province surrounding the city of Gorontalo. *Propinsi Sulawesi Utara* (Province of North Sulawesi) was divided in the year 2000 when Gorontalo and surrounding area formed its own province (*Propinsi Gorontalo*) in response to Gorontaloese desires to control their administration and development, in the post-Suharto era of political decentralization.¹¹² In April 2008, the new *Propinsi Gorontalo*'s own unique provincial house in *Taman Mini* had yet to be built. I met several Gorontaloese who were practicing their province's dances at the existing *Sulawesi Utara* house for an upcoming parade demonstrating national unity (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), who explained that the plan for their own provincial building and displays were still being developed. They had little choice but to persist with the pre-2000 provincial representation.

When I visited the *Sulawesi Utara* house in April 2008 I found a largely neglected exhibit dominated by a map of the pre-2000 unified province, a few dusty and unconvincing pieces in the collection of artefacts and crafts of the province. This included several glass cabinets containing mannequins clothed in 'traditional' costume of the region's 'imagined' generic cultural identity (as per each province's display in *Taman-Mini*). In the case of *Sulawesi Utara*, the mannequins continued to represent the two former major cultural identities of the province, Minahasan and

¹¹² It is important to note the ethnic Minahasans tend to dominate both population-wise and politically in the current *Propinsi Sulawesi Utara*, with the province roughly divisible between the regions of the predominantly Christian Minahasa in the north-east, the predominantly Muslim Bolaang Mongondow to the south-west, and the islands of Sangihe and Talaud to the north bordering the Philippines.

Gorontalese. The display in *Sulawesi Utara*'s house was similar in content to many of the other provincial house displays in *Taman-Mini*, including the obligatory wedding scene displaying the clothing in which provincial people are often married. The *Sulawesi Utara* wedding scene display appeared to metaphorically represent a marriage between Minahasan and Gorontalese identities, with couples of each provincial identity ensconced in cabinets to the left and right of the wedding display.

Friends of mine from Lolah had previously explained to me, following their recent visit to *Taman Mini* in 2006, their disappointment with the *Sulawesi Utara* display, and its neglect clearly demonstrated why they thought so. I did not meet any Minahasans whilst at the display house, only Gorontalese. *Sulawesi Utara* did not seem to be great participants in the ongoing monthly calendar of events, as advertised for *Taman-Mini* in April 2008, not being listed as participants in the *pawai budaya nusantara* (cultural parade of the Indonesian archipelago) or any other activities celebrating thirty-three years of *Taman Mini*'s existence since its opening in April 1975. I pondered if this reflected a lack of current enthusiasm in *Sulawesi Utara*'s participation in the pan-Indonesian cultural idyll.

Taman Mini is a potent symbol in the 'national culture' of Indonesia, and is a near compulsory tourist destination in Jakarta for visiting Indonesians from the provinces. Whilst the provinces themselves may be homogenized constructs of numerous cultural-linguistic identities – and may also internally include other such homogenized constructs such as the Minahasans – this does not discount the salience and meaningfulness of these constructs in peoples' lives, both in terms of regional differentiation and national identity. A visit to the national capital Jakarta, inclusive of a journey to *Taman-Mini*, significantly (at least theoretically) reinforces these identities and their symbiotic relationship.

Greg Acciaioli quotes from a Government publication to commemorate the opening of *Taman Mini*, in which regional cultural diversity is simultaneously and

complementarily championed alongside the necessary creation of an inclusive national culture, which the theme park represents:

This means that Indonesian culture is essentially one, with a pattern of diversity reflecting the wealth of Indonesian culture and serving as a model and basis for development of the entire people, ultimately for the enjoyment of the entire people. Therefore, in guiding and cultivating the national culture, the mining and enrichment of regional cultures is an important element in enriching and lending character to the national culture (The Writers' Group 1978:19; cited in Acciaoli 2001:3).

The hierarchical valuing and balancing of different levels of 'culture' in Indonesian nationalist discourse is explained in the 1997 bi-lingual (Indonesian-English) publication *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: 20 April 1975 – 20 April 1997*. This text provides an explicit look at the layers of categorizations within the New Order political-philosophical discourse about culture. In it culture/*kebudayaan* is used to both intellectually rationalize and practically organize a nation of diverse peoples and contribute functionally to a national culture of progress and development.

Indonesian cultures today can be divided into three categories, including ethnic, regional [i.e. provincial] or national groupings. Each of the cultures has a function and a usage covering a specified physical scope, speeding up the formal or informal intercourse, carrying out social functions, enjoying their respective rights, and advancing their creativity.

Compared to a 'market' or regional culture, the national culture is one step higher in status. It has a broader reach because it is the framework of all Indonesian inhabitants, without discriminating on ethnic origin or region. Whereas the regional culture can be a dominant culture in an area of heterogeneous inhabitants, national culture can be the dominant culture throughout our country and applying it to all Indonesian people...

Even though the national culture has been an intentional evolution – either in the development of specific symbols like cultural values or social regulations in political, governmental, economic or educational systems – it is still not felt to have fully met the needs of the whole society on the local, regional or national level. There are still a lot of gaps in spreading the national culture to certain regions, especially related to our rapid national development...

The efforts of establishing and developing the national culture must be directed towards promoting a dominant culture, meaning that it is acceptable by all the people of Indonesia. Firstly, as a foundation to strengthen the unity of [the] nation; secondly, as a reference framework in the life of a diverse society; and thirdly, as a direction and objective of society, the nation, and state development (Adrian & Budhisantoso 1997:51-56).

The domain of discourse concerning *kebudayaan* – ethnic, regional or provincial (referred to as ‘market cultures’) and national – such as that quoted above, has been supported within Indonesia by a complex apparatus of Government departments consolidating *kebudayaan*’s importance as a key trope of nationalism and national unity assisting state and economic development. Nationally and regionally, both the now former Government *Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* (Department of Education and Culture), replaced in the post-New Order era by the *Departemen Kebudayaan dan Parawisata* (Department of Culture and Tourism) and a separate education department, played important roles in the affirmation of ‘*kebudayaan*’ – cultural difference in a unified national Indonesian culture – throughout the breadth of the nation.¹¹³ This departmental shift in nomenclature and responsibility reflects a new era of nationalist emphasis concerning culture: potentially less about educating

¹¹³ These departments, and their institutions of representation, such as museums, have suffered in recent times (at least in North Sulawesi), as their funding, management and products have shifted to come under the mandate (or administration and budgets) of district Governments in the recent era of decentralization of Government responsibilities to the district level government, who are often ill-equipped to deal with them.

and instilling a national culture within citizens, and more about the potential economic value of cultural aesthetics and performance of Indonesia's diverse cultures.

Complementing Indonesian Government departments whose explicit mandate is *kebudayaan* are institutions of identity 'enculturation' such as regional museums like the *Museum Sulawesi Utara* which mirrors provincially the nationalist project of *Taman-Mini*, representing the culture of the province's ethnic groups in its displays. Whereas forces of conquest and modernisation – including the disciplining of knowledge and practices as being or representing culture – affected the self-perception and self-realizations of Javanese princes (as discussed above), similar forces have been at play elsewhere in the constitution of cultural awareness amongst the diverse peoples of Indonesia. Government institutions and their discourses have utilised *kebudayaan* as a powerful trope of meaning, building a national domain of discourse about *kebudayaan* as a component in a broader agenda of national development, in effect creating a national culture; all with demonstrative effects in the reality of Indonesian lives. Anthropology and ethno-historical methodologies, however articulated, have been integral to the process.

This has required considerable discursive delimitation concerning *kebudayaan* in Government discourse. This process was not dissimilar in dynamic to the *adat* legal framework of the Ethical Policy of the colonial era whereby regional diversity was utilised as a powerful tool facilitating local acquiescence to an agenda of nationalizing idealism and control. Acciaioli provides a relevant example from a Government publication issued by the Department of Education and Culture in Central Sulawesi (dated 1977), which classifies *kebudayaan* as being either material culture (clothing, ornamentation) or non-material culture (songs and dances), and *adat* as etiquette (Acciaioli 1985:157-58). In this document neither *kebudayaan* nor *adat* refer to social organization (Acciaioli 1985:157-58), which has been reclaimed as the domain of the state influence and control with striking parallels to the precedence of Dutch colonial extrication of political power from the *Kraton Surakarta*.

It would be easy to frame *kebudayaan* and *adat* as hollow performances leached of traditional meaning and performed out of their former contexts of social organization, agency and political power, as mere representations of past ‘cultures’ performed for official functions of colonial-*cum*-neo-colonial functionaries. Such a view, however, ignores the ‘cultural contexts’ of their contemporary performance: the intersection of traditional cultural practices with the discourses and practices of the New (cultural) Order and beyond, intent on fostering a pan-Indonesian *kebudayaan nasional*; with its own internal civilisational intent. There are at least two discourses of culture at play in New Order rhetoric and policy: an essentialised, civilisation-oriented *kebudayaan nasional*, and a complementary set of policy parameters that delimit what *kebudayaan* is, and how it can be ‘performed’, in diverse regional contexts. Both influence how *kebudayaan* is understood, articulated and experienced in a diversity of contexts throughout the nation. *Kebudayaan*’s use in national discourse was (and continues to be) imbued with New Order relations of power and meaning, challenging our understanding of the notion of culture itself and its ever shifting juxtaposed relationship with ideals of civilisation, and its contemporary discursive tropes such as *modernisasi* (modernisation) and *pembangunan* (development). The New Order’s rhetoric of *kebudayaan* intersected in infinite ways with the conceptual understandings and lived realities of peoples across the archipelago of Indonesia, where *kebudayaan* (in various delimitations) has currency. Within communities and individuals, the delimitations, utilities and performance of culture and things cultural is constantly rearticulated and inscribed with meaning in reference to nationally informed discourses of *kebudayaan*. In *kebudayaan*’s discursive domain the imagined past is constantly juxtaposed and reconciled with the present and an imagined future. This I will contextualize in following chapters in relation to Lolah-Minahasa.

It is important to emphasise that the domain of ‘social organization’ that was excluded from the New Order era Central Sulawesi Government’s definitions of *kebudayaan* and *adat* (as per Acciaioli’s example) was articulated within the domain

of state formation, of the building of a ‘national culture’ founded on the ideals of the Pancasila¹¹⁴ and incorporating development or *pembangunan* as a cornerstone of its foundation. Discursively, *kebudayaan* and *pembangunan* are complementary components of New Order discourse. Importantly, cultural identity and cultural diversity, whether in *Taman Mini-‘Indonesia Indah’* or Government policy concerning *kebudayaan* in 1970’s Central Sulawesi, are not posited in opposition to *pembangunan* (or progress, *kemajuan*) – concepts that loomed large in New Order policy discourse, as they continue to do so today – but rather in a complementary juxtaposition. This reflects a re-articulation of the inclusion of culture within hierarchical schema of civilisation as expressed in late colonial ethical policies/discourses of church and state, discussed in Chapter Three. Whilst juxtaposed, culture and civilisation can be posited as complementary ideals.

Kebudayaan and *pembangunan*

The rhetoric of *pembangunan* complements that of *kebudayaan nasional* and has a long legacy of use and subtle changes in meaning in the history of Indonesian nationalism: from pre-independence intellectual agitators, through the Suharto years in particular, and into the contemporary democratic period.¹¹⁵ Heryanto equates *pembangunan* today with its contemporary English language equivalent ‘development’: the English term having its own historical evolution from a sense of Governmental responsibility to develop economic and natural resources, fused with a

¹¹⁴ The *Pancasila* is a ‘cultural-ideological idiom’ (Warren 1989:53) which is the official ideology of the Indonesian state (Morfit 1986:42-43), and whose great utility lies in its lack of specificity and its ambiguity (Morfit 1986:45). Mubyarto summarises: “The Indonesian state is built on and strives to uphold the five tenets of *Pancasila* – religious conviction and freedom of worship; compassion and respect for human dignity; national unity; representative government; and social justice” (Mubyarto 1984:36). See Morfit (1986:43-44) for further explanation/consideration of *Pancasila*’s principles. The publication *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah: 20 April 1975 – 20 April 1997*, states: “The objective of developing a national culture is to create a uniformity of perception and appreciation toward core values of *Pancasila*, which epitomizes the best aspects of regional cultures” (Adrian & Budhisantoso 1997:58).

¹¹⁵ See Ariel Heryanto’s ‘The Development of ‘Development’ (1988) for a historical overview of the term in Indonesian nationalism.

more contemporary sense as a process of historical change and improvement (Heryanto 1988:15-17). He cites the pre-independence nationalist intellectual, Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, whose modernist ideas greatly influenced debates of the late 1930's known as the 'Cultural Polemics' (*Polemik Kebudayaan*),¹¹⁶ which were published, for example, as essays within the magazine *Pembangoenan*,¹¹⁷ in which Indonesian nationalism was hotly debated (Heryanto 1988:9). In the *Polemik Kebudayaan* forum Alisjahbana frequently utilised the terms *pembangunan* and *membangunkan* in the sense of 'nation-building' and 'character-building', associating these terms with the Dutch term *cultuurscheppen*, meaning 'to develop a new culture': an Indonesian national culture (Heryanto 1988:9; citing Mihardja 1977:19). *Pembangunan* and *kebudayaan* were terms intimately tied to then emergent discourses of nationalism and the project of nation-building, reforming linguistic meanings in dialogue with an international discursive domain where the concepts also circulated. For Heryanto, the *pembangunan* concept was modernised in the nationalist discourse of the late pre-independence era, imbued with three coessential meanings with "distinct targets: to arouse nationalist consciousness; to *bring about* an independent Indonesia; and to *modernise* (*memperbaharui*) the way of life which had formerly been colonized" (Heryanto 1988:10).¹¹⁸

The *pembangunan* of President Suharto's tenure pays its intellectual dues to discourse of the *Polemik Kebudayaan*, evolving over time to reflect the English meaning of the term 'development' discussed above (a process of historical change and improvement: akin to a process of civilisation or modernisation). *Pembangunan* was consolidated into the *raison d'être* of Government, the *Orde Baru* became synonymous with the *Orde Pembangunan*, and President Suharto was lionised as *Bapak Pembangunan*

¹¹⁶ Achdiat K. Mihardja later compiled these debates into a volume entitled *Polemik Kebudayaan*.

¹¹⁷ Ariel Heryanto (1995:53) lists several of Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana's articles published in *Pembangoenan*.

¹¹⁸ Overtime the words *modern/moderen* and *modernisasi* (modernisation) have come to be standard terms in everyday Indonesian language use.

(Father of Development).¹¹⁹ The New Order had its ideologues who worked creatively with this legacy to further refine the relationship between *pembangunan* and *kebudayaan*. Greg Acciaioli has examined the New Order ideologue Ali Moertopo's efforts to propose "a cultural evolutionary model of Indonesian national culture" (Acciaioli 2001:8). Moertopo's philosophizing was influenced by the evolutionary models of the Javanese anthropologist Koentjaraningrat,¹²⁰ representing culture as a collective human process of self-realisation of their innate potential, what Moertopo defines 'as a process of humanisation' (Acciaioli 2001:8). Moertopo's notion of 'culture as humanisation' draws inspiration from the Indonesian Constitution's call for the creation of a national culture (*kebudayaan nasional*), as well as the context of New Order policies and programs of *pembangunan* with their explicit emphasis on human agency and self-realisation in relation to *kebudayaan nasional*. Moertopo produced a book, *Strategi Kebudayaan* (Strategies of Culture) (1978): "which articulates a full-blown theory of cultural evolution, that situates the developmentalism of the New Order Indonesian state – based upon the Pancasila ... – as the teleological realisation of a process of cultural evolution that has characterized Indonesian society from its archaic beginnings" (Acciaioli 2001:8).

The emphasis upon human agency in effecting cultural development as a process of humanization in Ali Moertopo's framework is further reinforced by the continual resort to the verbal form *membudaya(kan)* 'to civilise', or 'to culturalise, to make part of one's culture.' The use of an active, transitive verb form foregrounds the exercise of human powers in effecting development, as acknowledged by Ali Moertopo himself (Moertopo 1978:10) when justifying it over the related intransitive term *berkebudayaan*, 'to have or exhibit culture'. It also echoes the continual use of the term in Indonesian development programs and governmental regulations, where

¹¹⁹ See Heryanto (1988:21) for further consideration of the term *Bapak Pembangunan*.

¹²⁰ During the New Order era Koentjaraningrat published an anthropological text entitled *Kebudayaan, Mentalitet dan Pembangunan* (Culture, Mentality and Development) (1974), which rationalised the relationship between Indonesian national culture and regional cultural diversity. The work of Koentjaraningrat requires future scholarly consideration in this regard.

citizens are exhorted to ‘culturalise’ or ‘make part of their own culture’ (*membudayakan*) such conditions of orderliness as observing traffic regulations or following the proper rotation of rice crops (Acciaioli 2001:9).

Moertopo’s thesis, and its complementarity with, and utility within, New Order Government policy and programs, is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it is a pertinent example of the utility of anthropological frameworks for ordering knowledge about humanity intending to reconcile civilisation-modernisation’s progressive trajectory in juxtaposition to human variation defined ‘culturally’, ensconced as it is within a nationalist agenda. Moertopo’s ideas conflate and rearticulate the notions of culture and civilisation – a long and healthy tradition – in doing so separating the notions of ‘to civilise, to culturalise’ (*membudayakan*) from the notion ‘to have or exhibit culture’ (*berkebudayaan*). *Membudayakan* reflects the nineteenth-century Arnoldian view of culture discussed in Chapter One: as ‘high culture’, as being acquirable and linked to pedagogical institutions of state intent on enculturating and civilising the population, demonstrative of civilisation itself. Here, *kebudayaan nasional* is the goal to be realised within the diverse *kebudayaan* of Indonesia, defined by regional or ethnic delimiters, whose people are to make the *kebudayaan nasional* ‘part of their own culture’. It is no surprise that Moertopo was a member of the coordinating committee – headed by the First Lady Ibu Tien Suharto – who oversaw the creation of *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (The Writers’ Group 1975:250). In Moertopo’s thesis a national culture could be developed, as provincial and ethnic cultures could similarly be defined and reinforced, within acceptable parameters, to support and enrich the national identity.

Secondly, diverse *kebudayaan*, thus encapsulated within the discursive framework of *kebudayaan nasional* are encouraged to *berkebudayaan* – ‘to have or exhibit culture’ – as performed expressions of their unique regional-*cum*-ethnic cultural variations. This reflects, as it were, the ritualized performances of the *Kraton Surakarta* during the colonial era. Moertopo’s thesis clearly articulates the practical logic and modernising will of the New Order Government to separate out the realm of ‘social organization’

from the realm of cultural performance that supplement Government *upacara* (events);¹²¹ events often performed to commemorate Government achievements of *pembangunan*. The *Pawai Pembangunan* (Development Parade) of the annual 17 *Agustus* (Indonesian Independence Day) celebrations is an overt case in point. The events of this day are complemented by numerous other *upacara* throughout a citizen's calendar year in Indonesia where Government employees and other notables oversee a program of cultural activities (*upacara kebudayaan*), commonly in the form of traditional dance and singing performances. These events have social and political currency, and are not without cultural signification and meaning beyond the arena of Government appraisal and ritual, as I will address in later chapters in the context of Lolah, North Sulawesi. These events are considered as articulations of *kebudayaan*, as reflecting the epistemic understanding of *kebudayaan* itself. They have meta-cultural effects.

In the conglomerate of regions that inform Indonesia's pan-national experience, cultural identity is intimately tied to issues of nationalism and the political milieu of their development. The region of Minahasa is no different; following Henley (1996), we see that nationalism may have had its own 'regional' historical development also. In Minahasa today, histories of both 'Minahasan nationalism' and pan-Indonesian nationalism work to inform contemporary Minahasan identity. It is part of the mix of influences that inform the way the people of Lolah and Minahasa discuss and identify with both Minahasan and Indonesian cultural identities (plus others). 'Nationalism' will play itself out in the contexts of my ethnography, not as a thematic focus, however, but rather as an informing discourse with very real effects upon lived experience, and through the constitution of culture in both the contemporary period and in the lived histories of my informants.

¹²¹ Heryanto suggests, of these modern cultural performances, that the " 'traditional' is used as antique or esoteric spectacles", as "cultural window dressing, to safeguard the status quo or to avoid disruptive social tension" (Heryanto 1988:22).

Christianity, culture and modernisation

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, both church and state work together in the exercise of pastoral power informing the way congregations/constituents understand themselves as Minahasans and as Indonesians. Contemporary Indonesian nationalist discourse, indeed the Indonesian Constitution, recognises the importance and complementarity of religion with Indonesian national life, designating that all citizens must subscribe to, and identify as having, one of six religions: Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Catholicism, Christianity (Protestantism) and Confusionism.¹²² In *Gereja Masehi Injil di Minahasa* (GMIM, The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa) the Indonesian state finds a complementary partner in the process of modernising its subjects. The influential GMIM theologian Richard Siwu¹²³ has been quite explicit in this regard, seeing Christianity as a modernising force amongst Minahasans. I will quote liberally from his book *Minahasan Culture and Christianity in the Frame of Modernisation in Indonesian Society* (2002),¹²⁴ as I explore this theme below.

it is fairly appropriate to consider Christianity a social phenomenon that has brought about two major entities into Minahasan society. First, it has brought about a new 'symbolic universe', Christ, into Minahasan culture. Secondly it has carried out [sic] modernisation into the Minahasan culture...¹²⁵ Christianity appears to be both a transforming force of culture and a modernising force of society (Siwu 2002:85-86).

¹²² This was later reduced to five recognized religions during the New Order era and then later revised again to include Confucianism under the Government led by President Wahid (Thanks to Greg Acciaioli for bringing this to my attention).

¹²³ Dr Richard Siwu is the current rector of the Indonesian Christian University of Tomohon (UKIT).

¹²⁴ This publication was originally an unpublished doctoral thesis entitled: "ADAT GOSPEL AND PANCASILA: A Study of the Minahasan Culture and Christianity in the Frame of Modernisation in Indonesian Society" (Lexington, 1985). This thesis was produced at the height of the New Order discourse concerning *pembangunan* and *modernisasi*.

¹²⁵ Quotes from Richard Siwu's work (2002) are reproduced as in the original, and may include grammatical errors, of which he is aware and apologetic.

In what had once been an intertwined domain or ‘cosmic order’ in which traditional religion and village governance were coextensive, Christianity forged a new ideational futuristic orientation in which spiritual and material perfection and salvation became an ideal and achievable goal to be worked towards (Siwu 2002:88-89).¹²⁶ This progressive goal, informed (as we know) by the nineteenth-century civilisational zeal of early missionaries in collusion with the colonial state, worked to effect a separation, or secularisation, of indigenous religion and village ‘governance’; akin to an indigenous separation of church and state. Siwu sees precedence in indigenous society for such cooperation:

This cooperative work is, of course, not difficult or foreign to the Minahasans, since they were familiar with the two socio-religious symbol-systems in the society: *walian* (the priest or priestess) and *tona’as* (the leader). Thus as the two separated and different institutions: the church and the state or the church official and the government official, appear to the contemporary Minahasan society, they may somehow be seen as a reflection of the traditional symbol-systems of *walian* and *tona’as* (Siwu 2002:89-90).

This effectively ‘in-culturated’¹²⁷ or indigenised (Siwu 2002:100) Christianity, and new techniques of self-government, into the pre-existing system. This transformed the old system to which the people of northern Sulawesi related (a process shaped through missionary ethnographic practice) whilst also creating a “new-culture”: that of Minahasan culture, both Christian and civilised (Siwu 2002:90).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the development of a new Minahasan culture sought to effect a (process of) civilisation of colonial and missionary subjects, focusing upon

¹²⁶ I will address the issue of the ongoing process of changing Minahasa’s symbolic universe, the recontextualising of Minahasan faith, and the balancing of older beliefs and practices with those of Christianity, in Chapter Five.

¹²⁷ “Inculturation, a new term used in theology, refers to the central and dynamic principle governing the Christian missionary outreach to peoples not yet evangelised, or among whom the church is not yet rooted firmly and indigenously. More commonly, this is known as the principle of catholicity, or accommodation, or adaptation, or indigenisation, or contextualisation” (Komonchak et al. 1987:510).

both their spiritual-religious and material well-being. The GMIM church today similarly sees Minahasan Christian subjects in this light: that modernisation is both a spiritual-religious and material concern that involves the Church cooperating with the state in modernising their constituents. Through this process concepts and discourses, such as modernisation, are networked into church and state institutions.

In Minahasa, the most effective institutions by which modernisation is diffused are modern mass communication, school education, and hospitalisation. As a matter of fact, since its arrival in Minahasa, Christianity, the church, has pioneered in operating these institutions (Taulu 1952). Based on this fact, it is then reasonable to consider Christianity in Minahasa as the 'carrier of modernisation'. This even became more apparent as the Minahasan church, together with others, declared to participate positively in the current national development (Siwu 2002:102-102).

GMIM cooperated with the New Order Government in the modernisation of their mutual subjects. Both state and church perceived religious faith and modernisation (in relation to individual and nation) as ideally complementary goals/realisations. During the New Order era GMIM Christianity consolidated its significant influence on faith in Minahasa (which I address in Chapter Five), employing 'modernisation' as a key concept in church discourse, complementing its use by the Indonesian state. Siwu draws a distinct line of progression between the transformation of culture in Minahasa from the pre-Christian cosmic order to modernity:

...instead of being satisfied with the traditional life style, people are now seeing life in the perspective of growth, progress, and productiv[ity].... Thus, there is a transformation of life orientation from 'spiritualistic' to 'materialistic'.

Consequently, in the past, poverty or being poor, was seen as a justifiable life, now it is seen as a 'sinful' life... life is no longer taken for granted as it is given in the cyclic form, but is now conceived as an entity that can be transformed from the present stage, the 'less improved' or 'underdeveloped', to the better one, the 'improved' or 'developed'. It has, thus, a socio-economic consequence; that is, the social status is

transformed from a lower level to a relative higher one, and the economic standard is accelerated from an unimproved to a better one (Siwu 2002:103).

Siwu's views on the relative status of various levels of attainable human development, the relationship between spiritual and material development, reflect both those of the Ethical Theologians of early twentieth-century missiology in Sulawesi, as well as those of the New Order Government in the late twentieth-century. Siwu continues, further developing the links between: development and modernisation; the cooperative relationship between GMIM and the Indonesian nation-state; and the realisation of individual selves and communities in the balancing of indigenous culture and modernity:

This kind of orientation [as expressed in the above quote] does not merely remain in the level of consciousness, but it is also embodied in everyday life. The most important element [that] links to the embodiment of that consciousness is what is called *pembangunan* – an Indonesian term for development. Doing *pembangunan* or development is but to implement the modernisation in all aspects of life. As it is the implementation of modernisation, *pembangunan* is commonly associated with *kemajuan* – an Indonesian term referring to progress, growth, advance, urbanised, liberal, and rational. Thus, as one succeeds in doing development, one gets *kemajuan*, this is usually expressed by the term *ada kemajuan* or *dapat kemajuan*. As one gets *kemajuan*, one's life is thus modernised, in the sense it is accelerated from 'undeveloped' level to 'developed' one. Being developed itself is usually labeled *maju* – a term referring to an 'advanced life'. Being *maju* (developed or advanced) is conceived as a level of life and attitude that is opposed to *kuno* or *kolot* – terms referring to old-fashioned lifestyle, traditional way of life or way of thinking, and conservative. Thus, there is a common expression *sudah maju* which means one's lifestyle has gotten developed or advanced, that is one's life is no longer *kuno* or *kolot*. In the objective level, *kemajuan* or *maju* is indicated by the improvement of economic life and the changing of social status; whereas in the cognitive level, it is indicated by the raising of rationality, awareness of the future, consciousness of the

individuality, awareness of individual rights, and the rejection of magic and superstitions...

All *maju* or *kemajuan* indicators considered have been the main features of what is called modern. And, they are also the features of 'modern society' in Minahasa and many parts of the Indonesia as well (Siwu 2002:103-105).

An individual's engagement with Indonesian concepts of development and modernity (and correspondingly not yet developed and upre-modernity), which I will explore closely through the case study of Lolah in Chapter Five, sees the individual networked into relations of discourse and power in which church and state institutions are prominent. Through GMIM theology, exemplified by Pendeta Siwu, the individual is encouraged to realise oneself via a schema of relative development, measured in part, through comparison with others. This shares strong similarities/continuities with the processes and discourses – employing concepts of civilisation and culture – of individualisation fostered within colonial-missionary subjects during the 'ethical' era of late colonialism in the NEI, and the collaboration between church and state in doing so. I quote from Siwu concerning the pastoral dynamic of power in effecting a modern orientation in contemporary Minahasa, linked to discourses and networks promulgated by GMIM and the Indonesian state:

In Minahasa, mass education is not only that of modern school education or institutions that the church operates, but also the church institution or the Christian community itself. This is to say that it is not only in the school education that one is taught to live according to 'modern way' or 'modern lifestyle', but also in the church institution or Christian community. In this relation, *pembinaan warga gereja* or 'lay training' which is done by the church institution may be considered as one of the most effective vehicles by which modernisation is spread out. The basic purpose of *pembinaan warga gereja* or lay training is to equip church members for Christian ministry, in the sense that the task and ministry of the church do not merely belong to the clergy, but also belong to every church member. In its process, however, the training is not only that of praying or interpreting the Bible, but more broadly than

that, it is about educating church members to be capable in keeping with modernisation. Church members are, thus, introduced to modern technicalities and values... In short, *pembinaan warga gereja* is a particular way of the church to deal with 'social transformation', modernisation (Siwu 2002:105-106).

In this way GMIM promotes processes of individualisation within and between individual members of the Christian community in Minahasa to realise 'modern technicalities and values' – modern technologies of self – in the realisation of a modern, Christian community. The individual is a locus of pastoral power in this contemporary situation, disseminating and articulating individual realisations of concepts and discourses fostered by the institutions of church and state. In doing so individuals actualise government in their networks of relations with others. The pastor may be the traditional ideal of pastoral care and influence, but (in Siwu's vision) the pastor is but *an* exemplar in a complex field of individual locus with whom they engage, in which pastoral power is produced – each individual an example to, and influence upon, each other in the realisation of a modernising, Christian community.

However intended the desire of institutions and individuals to imbue ideals and realisations of modernity, Christianity and culture into individuals and populations – into their everyday government – concepts and discourses are ultimately uniquely realised by individuals and by groups. Organising and orienting concepts such as culture and modernisation are diversely realised as real and meaningful experiences, as well as meaningful concepts, in peoples' lives in Minahasa and elsewhere. It is to the reconciliation of salient concepts, discourse, power and 'real' experience that I now turn.

Culture's construction as lived experience

Kahn's assertion that 'culture is a cultural construction' (1995:128) both engages with the genealogy of culture (and civilisation) discussed in previous chapters, and the experiences of people living in diverse contexts in the unfolding present. It links

the history of anthropological and other related conceptions of culture to the real-life situations in which culture is discoursed in all its potential diversity and similarity. Culture has come to be understood as something ‘constituted’ (Kahn 1993) in diverse situations. The ‘constitution of culture’, as employed by Kahn in his ethnography of Minangkabau identity,¹²⁸ refers to the dynamic of identity coalescence around a perceived cultural identity and the power-laden influences that historically and contemporarily animate(d) it, understood in its relation to links to the Eurocentric genealogy examined in Chapter One.

In focusing upon the ‘constructedness of culture’, Kahn, on the one hand, presents an argument for the contemporary inadequacies of the term culture, questioning its relevance to the description of the lived experiences that it seeks to describe (1995:124-35). Kahn, however, counterbalances his criticisms in this regard by asserting culture’s continued saliency – construct or otherwise – in the lived experiences of people’s lives. The recognition of culture’s constructedness does not discount the value of the ‘construct’ to those whose lives are informed by its meaningfulness, however interpreted and articulated. This is a fundamental consideration that notable philosophers in this domain have struggled to grasp.

In this regard, Kahn criticises Hobsbawn’s (1983) influential notion, in considering “the argument that Indonesian cultures are ‘invented traditions’ ” (Kahn 1993:27-30). Hobsbawn’s critique of ‘invented traditions’ does not grasp the realism of culture or tradition, etc... as being ‘real’ for many who experience it, instead it is mired in dubious analyses of authenticity.¹²⁹ Kahn suggests Hobsbawn overdraws the distinction between culture as authentic and traditions which he frames as inauthentic.

I would want instead to argue that all cultures, and traditions, are created by human subjects in given social and historical circumstances, that culture and tradition are

¹²⁸ *Constituting the Minangkabau: Peasants, Culture and Modernity in Colonial Indonesia*, (Kahn 1993).

¹²⁹ See also Marshall Sahlins (1999:402) for his treatment of the ‘invented traditions’ argument.

both experienced as 'real' and that they both present themselves to their bearers in reified form. They appeal to authenticity, and the label 'inauthentic' on which the notion of invented tradition is centred is best abandoned (Kahn 1993:28).

I concur that seeking the justification of cultural authenticity is an intellectual and practical quagmire, whilst also recognising the salience of notions of cultural authenticity not only within anthropological discourses but also within the contexts of the lived experiences of those with whom we research. An 'invented tradition' may well be experienced as authentic by either those practicing or observing 'it'. Chapter Two, for example, discussed the way in which a uniquely Minahasan identity came into being, in an evolving historical complex of ideas, motivations and experiences. The resulting Minahasan identity, often expressed in terms of its unique culture and traditions, is today a reality lived and experienced by Minahasans in general. That is not to say what constitutes culture and tradition are not contested or controversial, where claims and counter-claims of authenticity are articulated. The reality is an amorphous and contested domain within which culture is variously discoursed and lived, and the notion of cultural identity has common currency, as the following chapters of this thesis consider.

Marshall Sahlins muses upon contradictions in the development of 'culture' as an arena of self-identification in instances of indigenous resistance to pressures of colonial and capitalist expansionism. He suggests that this process complements an (also anthropologically informed) European 'Rousseauian' sentimentality for cultures supposedly doomed to disappear in the face of the inevitable forward progression of civilisation (Sahlins 1999:401). This sentimentality is itself rooted within twentieth-century cultural discourse informed by Anthropology, Sahlins argues, which has deep roots within the European experience.¹³⁰ Sahlins suggests that with the utilisation of

¹³⁰ I reference this wonderful quote here: "In the form of the Rousseauian topos of tragic history, the fear and loathing of the effects of *laissez-faire* capitalism on authentic culture, as of anarchy on sweetness and light or the disappearance of the pleasures and idiocies of rural life, such sentimental pessimism comes from deep in the European experience" (Sahlins 1999:402).

the culture concept by indigenous peoples: “(a)ll of a sudden, everyone got ‘culture’they [indigenous peoples] use that very word, or some near local equivalent” (Sahlins 1999:401). Indigenous declaration of identity is phrased through the discursive medium of ‘culture’ – with its global currency and value – and is articulated multiply as unique cultural identities around the world, often expressed in opposition to modernising forces (Sahlins 1999:401). Persistent European sentimentalism, which Johann Herder’s philosophising about culture and civilisation has historically informed, thus intersects with indigenous (and other) affirmations of cultural identity in the face of civilisation’s trajectory. The productive culture-civilisation juxtaposition (‘civilisation’ now more commonly replaced with ‘modernisation’) thus informs diverse situations in which people attempt to balance continuity and change alongside their awareness and understanding of self and others.

It is civilisation’s ‘omnipotent’ reach that acts as an impetus for ongoing affirmations of cultural identity and culturally defined difference expressed in juxtaposition to modernising forces (albeit not necessarily in opposition to all of modernisation’s processes), whether it be a (sub-) culture’s abhorrence of conformity or a people’s assertions of cultural continuity and holism. Sahlins paraphrases this as the wilful “indigenization of modernity”, people’s creation of “their own cultural space within the global scheme of things” (Sahlins 1999:410).¹³¹ He thus invokes the ‘multiplying of modernities’ discussed in Chapter One. Sahlins notes that essentialised and reified representations of cultures as holistic, bounded entities are routinely criticised within Anthropology, yet are ironically the very sort of identification that indigenous people (or otherwise defined people) often utilise in self-definition (Sahlins 1999:402-03). Sahlins cites Errington and Gewertz, concerning their appreciation of culture as a

¹³¹ Though there is a close association between the ideas of civilisation and modernisation, neither of them equate very closely with notions of ‘globalisation’. For me, globalisation as a discursive concept has come to prominence in part as a reaction to, or explanation of, this homogenisation-spurs-differentiation effect, whether in terms of discussing culture or a range of other nodes of concern.

concept of considerable utility and meaning in Papua New Guinea during their ethnographic research there, an appreciation that could also fittingly be applied to contemporary Indonesia and Minahasa.

One thing that was clear about doing anthropology in contemporary Papua New Guinea: everyone was self-conscious about 'culture'. Papua New Guineans, like others worldwide, were invoking culture in dealing with a fluidity of identity and a shift in the locus of important resources in a late-20th-century, post-colonial 'modernity' – a modernity progressively affected by transnational capitalism and by state power. In contexts ranging from local assertion to state certification, culture, equated with 'traditional', was evermore employed in these changing circumstances as a source and a resource. It is understood as a central and explicit determinant for current identity and political efficacy (Errington & Gewertz 1996: 114; cited in Sahlins 1999:415).

By the early twenty-first century culture has become a powerful self-fulfilling (meta-cultural) discourse through which multiple *peoples* work to define both themselves and others. 'Discourse' concerning culture and things cultural, does not replace culture as lived experience, or the realm of activities and meaningful symbolism that culture has come to represent, as Sahlins cautions us to consider (Sahlins 1999:410). Rather culture is a concept in use with prolific diversity that informs a broader discursive domain of terminology and meaning through which key themes are found – albeit contestable and contested – which often have both local and global currency and value. As Sahlins asserts, the meaningfulness of the English concept culture is linked to corresponding synonyms in other languages (such as *kebudayaan*), similarly networked to discourses, institutions and [g]overnmental agents of various forms, which work to inform peoples awareness and meaningful utility of 'culture' in everyday experience. People in Papua New Guinea or Indonesia, for instance, are as likely to participate in globally related discourses of culture (however locally engaged and manifest) as residents of the wealthier countries of Europe, North America, East Asia or Australia.

Participation in global processes of change does not necessarily lead to conformity of cultural practice or a universal agreement on what culture should be/is. Similarly, culture and cultural identities (locally realised) undergo considerable 'internal' contestation in the ongoing processes of their constitution. Contradictions and contestations within congeries of discourse, action and meaning are the grist that informs the constitution of cultural identification. Cultural agonism is as much turned inwards in self-critique as it is outwardly in the critique of those 'external' influences that may be seen to threaten and challenge cultural integrity and authenticity. The delimitations of what culture means, and for whom, within 'a culture' is obviously fundamental to the constitution and self-representation of those within that delimited culture.

An individual or collective understanding and representation of one's culture, or the culture of others, is generally less often a result of deliberate construction or invention than the result of a confluence of understandings of historical circumstances and evolving contemporary experience. This does not imply that there are not those who actively seek to animate or construct culture as an existing entity. *Constituting the Minangkabau* demonstrates that there were numerous forces – colonial, post-colonial, indigenous – consciously informing the constitution of a definitive Minangkabau identity (Kahn 1993). The history of Minahasan identity constitution, as discussed in Chapter Two, echoes the Minangkabau experience in this regard. In Minahasa, colonial administrators and missionaries of the nineteenth-century, intent on civilising and Christianising the local populace, were replaced in the twentieth-century by indigenous Minahasan missionaries and citizens intent on furthering fostering the civilising-*cum*-modernising process and identity within Minahasa, as component of the Minahasan identity, and beyond. Pendeta Siwu's theology is a contemporary example of this.

Conclusion

As discussed, *kebudayaan* and associated terms such as *adat* have been deployed within Indonesian nationalising and nationalist networks of discourses, institutions and agents, demonstrating an ever-increasing attention to issues of ‘culture’ or matters ‘cultural’. This informs a broader evolving domain of discourse in which *kebudayaan* is defined and deployed/engaged in a variety of non-Government contexts also, such as within the GMIM church in northern Sulawesi. The concept *kebudayaan* in Indonesia has worked to delimit cultures (such as Minahasan alongside Toradjas, Javanese, Minangkabau and others) and inform the very notion of what culture is understood ‘to be’ and refer to. This domain of discourse concerning *kebudayaan* intersects with other old and new related concepts (including other indigenised concepts) such as tradition (*tradisi*), custom (*kebiasaan*) ethnic (*etnis*) and *adat* that inform people’s lived experiences. People utilise these concepts – alongside, and in contrast to, conceptions of things and experiences *moderen* – to make sense of, and orient themselves, in a world of ongoing change. These concepts work as important discursive tools in individual realisation of self and other, networked through discourses disseminated through key institutions of pastoral influence in peoples’ lives, most notably institutions of church and state.

Within Minahasa, as elsewhere in Indonesia and beyond, the constitution of cultural identity unfolds – importantly influenced by discourses of church and state – informed by all manner of internal contestations concerning beliefs and practices, meaning and authenticity. In the following chapters I explore how people in Loloh and other parts of Minahasa demonstrate various degrees of interest in, and influence upon, the ongoing constitution of, and identification with, ‘culture’. In these chapters the lived experience of culture, of peoples’ attention to the discursive and experiential shifts in what culture means – or has meant – for them, is explored. This is done so with particular attention to peoples’ understanding and valuing of – over time – what is considered modern. I explore how *kebudayaan* is regularly employed in contrast to, or invoked in consideration of, the concepts *modernisasi* or *modern*,

and occasionally the term *peradaban* (civilisation). I examine this in relation to the contexts of these concepts' usage, as people seek to orient themselves within historical and contemporary processes of socio-economic and cultural change. Attention is particularly given to the evolving discursive and pastoral influence of the institutions of state and church – following on from the example given in Chapter Four concerning GMIM and the Indonesian state – and these institutions' historically evolving deployment of the culture and civilisation concepts and their contemporary affiliate terms/synonyms, and their role in influencing individual and community realisation of self and identity.

The remaining four chapters mark a methodical shift from the philosophical emphasis of the first four chapters, being grounded in the experiences of my ethnographic fieldwork in North Sulawesi centred upon the Minahasan town of Lolah. Whilst the forthcoming chapters Five and Six principally address the aforementioned concerns through the retrospective reflections of Lolah's inhabitants, Chapters Seven and Eight will address the articulation of culture vis a vis modernisation through an examination of contemporary local efforts at their meaningful reconciliation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Remembered Culture in Lolah, from Pre-History to the Golden Age

This chapter analyses the history of Lolah from the pre-Christian era, through the first instances of contact with outsiders and the colonial era, until the 1950s interwar period between WWII and the Permesta conflict. It does so through the memories of my informants from Lolah, and explores how they remember and represent the unfolding of the history of their town and community. This provides the context in which I explore the development of institutions of government in Lolah – principally church and state – that have encouraged and disseminated the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* as key tools/technologies of self, assisting people in the understanding and orientation of self and community in relation to processes of social-economic-spiritual-cultural change. A common theme in my informants' appraisal of their history was that culture was itself something that belonged to the past.

I have divided this chapter into two parts. Part I begins by tracing the processes of change in Lolah from the pre-Christian era and through the colonial and missionary period of the nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century. A common view of my informants was that the people and culture of earlier periods had been *primitif* (primitive), a representation made in comparison to the values, beliefs and practices of the contemporary period. Part II focuses upon culture as it is remembered as existing during the mid-twentieth-century, in the inter-war period between WWII and the Permesta conflict. This period is vividly recalled by many of my older informants, who had been young adults during this time, as a time when *kebudayaan Tombulu* was at its strongest, its most resonant, not yet corrupted by later developments associated with processes of modernisation. This era is somewhat romantically remembered as something of a 'golden era' of culture, representing a comfortable amalgam of indigenous and European influences. Part II of this chapter provides a foundation against which later changes in local culture experienced during

the eras of the Permesta conflict, and the later New Order national Government, will be examined in Chapter Six.

Much of the information in these chapters was imparted by older residents of Lolah, who had lived through much of the latter half of the twentieth-century, and were the best informed about Lolah's history. The data in these chapters are based upon conversations, formal and informal interviews undertaken with residents of Lolah during my field research in 2005 and 2008. It spans the lifetimes of these informants and predominantly concerns stories remembered by them of times past. Many interviews began with the question and/or oscillated around the theme 'how do you remember changes in Lolah's culture from the past until the present?'. The theme of our discussions was *kebudayaan*, or the more common *budaya*. This theme was in part directed by my questioning, and was itself a methodological response to the common usage of the concept in everyday discourse. Culture, and changes to culture, was a structuring theme of our conversation and my research. The *budaya* that my informants discussed in our conversations invariably concerned the *adat* of marriage and funerary practices. I have therefore structured Part II of this chapter to reflect this emphasis, against which changes in culture can be discerned in later chapters.

I was often requested by my informants to write 'the true history' of Lolah. I explained that the diversity of the information I had received from different informants would mean that such a project would necessarily represent an amalgam of many peoples' perspectives. This request, however, informed part of the informal contract between my informants and me as to the purpose of my thesis, and in terms of what my thesis would achieve for them.¹³² The structure of chapters Five and Six of this thesis therefore reflect, in part, the intent of this contract, as I have sought to write a history (largely derived from oral sources) with my own theoretical and methodological orientation.

¹³² As per the copyright agreement mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis.

PART I: from pre-history until WWII

Pre-Christian Lolah at *mawanua*

Upon beginning my field research in Lolah I approached the then village head,¹³³ Ibu Jelly Karundeng, to seek formal approval for my residency in the village and to discuss my intended research. I had been counseled by Ibu Jelly, as well as numerous others I had already met in the village, that if I was interested in the *kebudayaan* of Lolah there was a number of important people I should meet first: those most knowledgeable about local culture. In my initial meeting in Ibu Jelly's offices we drafted a list of notable knowledge holders, most of whom were amongst Lolah's older residents (between sixty and ninety years of age). Over time this list would expand significantly, incorporating more informants of different ages and reflecting the evolving foci of my research. However, the dozen or so people who made up the initial list of Lolah knowledge-holders concerning *sejarah dan budaya Lolah* (the history and culture of Lolah) generally proved their designated mandate, and much of what appears in this chapter is consequent to formal and informal discussions with these elders.

Much of what my older informants and I discussed in these early days concerned the history and culture of *mawanua* (the site of the pre-Christian village of Lolah; Bahasa Tombulu for 'old town') and its various historical sites of interest. On the first day I arrived in Lolah I was taken to *mawanua* by Hendrik, who was certain that as an anthropologist – a researcher of culture – I would be interested to see *mawanua* at first chance. In initial visits, and later after having moved to Lolah, a common initial question when meeting villagers on the first occasion was whether I had yet visited *mawanua* and other areas of historical interest in Lolah. In these discussions *kebudayaan* – generally referred to as *kebudayaan Tombulu*, occasionally as *kebudayaan Tombulu khusus Lolah* (special to Lolah) – was generally represented as

¹³³ The village head, or *kepala desa*, is the generally used title for the democratically elected head of village Government across Indonesia. In the Province of North Sulawesi however, the *kepala desa* is commonly referred to as the *hukum tua* (literally: old law).

something historical, as belonging to the past. I did little in these early days of research to dissuade this retrospective appreciation of culture – in contradiction to my own – since the orientation in itself was as fascinating as the subject matter. It seemed that there were certain aspects of Lolah’s past, past articulations of what one could call *budaya Lolah* – such as past headhunting traditions – that many older residents had thought not necessary for general public awareness. On one of my initial visit to Lolah I was introduced to the head of the newly formed *Komisi Kebudayaan* (Culture Commission) established that year as a GMIM working group in Lolah, Bapak Petrus Matau. Pak Petrus informed me that the people of pre-Christian Lolah, who had inhabited *mawanua* and built the *waruga* when they were *masih primitif* (still primitive), lived in an era when people practised headhunting and cannibalism. This association of the culture of the pre-Christian era with primitivism was to be a regular recurrence of during my research. The concept *budaya* was itself tainted with its association with unseemly practices and beliefs of a dark past with which people were uncomfortable or embarrassed, and with certain spiritual practices associated with past local culture that have persisted into the present (which I will address in Part II).

The memories of the few older informants who had histories or stories to tell of life in Lolah before Christianity entered the village in the mid-nineteenth-century were sparse in detail, the consequence of what appeared to be a multi-generational tendency to ‘forget’ Lolah’s history. I have pieced together what I could of this history that I represent below, although it appears there remains little memory of the social structures of the people of Lolah in the pre-Christian and early Christian eras. This is cross-referenced to the historical research undertaken in Chapter Two. Much of the remembered history of Lolah thus refers to stories concerning significant archaeological sites pertinent to the old village of *mawanua* and related beliefs. I explain what I can of pre-Christian Lolah in order to present a picture of the lives that the people of Lolah once lived, and in relation to which, to an extent, some people of Lolah presently define themselves.

The significant events described in this chapter can be productively contrasted with the processes of change in Minahasa discussed in Chapter Two. Considered together Chapters Two and Five present a layered image of social/cultural/political/economic change informed by the interventions and local development of colonial state and missionary institutions and agents, and the discourses of Christianity and civilisation that animated them. They also present a picture of a radical transformation in the ways in which the people of Lolah governed themselves over a short period of time, and the central role of Christian practice and education in this process.

Little is known by the residents of Lolah of the social organization, the religious beliefs, the inter-*walak* warfare, or even the physical structures of the buildings of the pre-Christian era. Each of the more knowledgeable informants I interviewed had quite different opinions or substantial lacks of knowledge about these matters. Much of the information or stories told to me about the history of the pre-Christian era, which is essentially a history of the community that once lived on the site of present day *mawanua*, concerned the major archaeological remnants or sites – the *waruga* (sandstone sarcophagae) and the *raregesan* (village founding stones) – which I will discuss shortly. These archaeological remainders of the past act like old photographs, triggering stories or memories of once lived lives and lifeworlds. Similarly, much of what existed off-camera, so to speak, has disappeared from memory or has persisted as memories corrupted or embellished over time.

The village known as Lolah today was first established in the pre-history period on the site now known as *mawanua*, most likely before the first European visitors to the northern coast of Sulawesi in the sixteenth-century.¹³⁴ Several versions of the origins of the first people to settle in Lolah exist. However, the stories corroborate the version in which the settlers derived from the upland *Bahasa Tombulu-speaking* areas nearby Mount Lokon, such as present day Tomohon (formerly Muung), Woloan

¹³⁴ One informant suggested the date may have been as early as the fourth century AD, although admitted that this required further research.

(formerly known as Kuhun and later Tombariri)¹³⁵ and Kinilow.¹³⁶ The region to the east of Tomohon and Woloan is dominated by a range of three forested volcanic, mountainous peaks that decline into rolling hills and rivers from the high, cooler, fertile uplands to the steamy coastal riverhead and present-day settlement at what is now Tanawangko. The upland Tombulu speakers hunted game in the forested areas between their settlements and the coast, and traveled to the coastal areas around Tanawangko to make salt and fish, and possibly trade for goods with the few coastal people, such as the Bajau, and visiting Chinese traders. Lolah is located approximately halfway between the coast and upland areas, on the lower slopes of Mount Tatawiren (which is the last in a range that includes the active volcano Mount Lokon). The present area of Lolah was believed to have been unoccupied when its first settlers arrived.

Stories of settlement are divided into two main versions in circulation today in Lolah. The first suggests that a man by the name of Opo Sambalean¹³⁷ with several companions discovered a fresh water spring on a hunting-*cum*-exploratory journey, quite possibly in search of a new location for a village. This spring, commonly known by Sambalean's name today, is located on the lower side of the hill on which *mawanua* is located. Sambalean and his companions, one of whom was Walian Lantang, decided to create a new village there. Sambalean remains something of a mystery or enigma in Lolah, as no present day families have carried his name forward. The second version describes how two *opo* (ancestors), Tona'as Rondonuwu and Walian Lantang (a character common to both versions), were on a hunting and salt-gathering trip from their up-country home when they camped overnight in temporary shelters in the forests on the lower slopes of Mount Tatawiren. These ancestors of present day residents of Lolah were also scouting on this journey for

¹³⁵ Taken from an interview with Pak Petrus Matau (12/7/2005).

¹³⁶ Taken from an interview with Bapak Valens Aga (1/12/2008).

¹³⁷ The capitalised *Opo* references the name of an ancestor of enough prominence to be remembered in folklore, whilst generally the lower *opo* refers to an ancestor now in spirit form.

occasional or permanent settlement. During the night a *manguni* bird (owl) called nine times: the *manguni* was considered a sign giver/messenger from 'God' and nine is its most auspicious number. Further auspicious bird calls followed in the morning from the *totombara* bird, and a dog of the party named Paniki discovered a fresh water spring on the north side of the hill on which *mawanua* now resides – the spring today carries this dog's name. Due to the combination of freshwater springs and auspicious birdcalls, the explorers decided that this was a suitable site for the settlement of a new village.

Depending on which version one subscribes to, either Opo Sambalean or Tona'as (also known as Dotu) Rondonuwu was the original village head or leader in the new village of Lolah. There are several stories as to how Lolah got its name, but the most common is that the village was originally called *Kinalolagan*, a *Bahasa Tombulu* word that means 'the prayer (or request) that has been answered'.¹³⁸ Bapak Petrus Matau gave the only substantial version of the early leadership structure in the *mawanua* era of Lolah, which I will now recount.¹³⁹ The leadership of the village was shared between three roles, *tona'as*, *walian* and *teterusan*. The *tona'as* was the effective leader of the village 'Government', similar in function to the village head (or *hukum tua*) today, and was expert in reading birdcalls and interpreting their prophecies. There also existed regional or *walak*-level *tona'as*, whose appointment and leadership of interrelated and aligned villages defined by the *walak*, were based on merit not genealogy. The *walian* were the leaders of 'religious worship' and experts in medicine and healing: the "*walian* is like a doctor as well as pastor or leader in religion". *Walian* acted as spiritual medium between *opo* (significant ancestors) and gods. The *teterusan* acted as a judge of character, and was gifted in determining the good or bad intent of people, and was responsible for determining whether visitors were allowed into the village. These leaders were assisted by the *abhew umbanua* or wise elders, and the *ente wanua* (or *si'zang wanua*) otherwise known as *waraney*, who were young

¹³⁸ This equates with the Indonesian word *dikabulkan*.

¹³⁹ Taken from an interview with Pak Petrus Matau (12/7/2005).

armed village protectors and warriors. Whilst not explicitly stated, it was implied that all these positions were filled by men. This picture of past village leadership both correlates with, and in part contrasts with, the picture of pre-Christian Minahasan life synthesized from other historical studies and presented in Chapter Two. I will not pass judgement on the truth of either in this regard, although it seems the allocation of titles to specific roles – such as *walian*, *wa'ilan* and *tona'as* – may have synthesized over time in the memories of knowledgeable people in Lolah.

As discussed in Chapter Two, the people of Minahasa lived in large wood and bamboo houses built on stilts, housing a number of families, with draw-able ladders that acted as a fortification against hostile outsiders. Whilst most people in Lolah were aware of the historical precedence of an elevated house in Minahasa, a design still in use in Lolah in a modified form, not one person affirmed the existence of multi-family houses in *mawanua* or agreed when I suggested that this might have been the norm. It was generally agreed, despite variations in versions of design, that the old people of *mawanua* Lolah had lived in nuclear family type housing units similar to the presently popular Minahasan style house. Comparisons to past local stilt houses with Dayak long-houses were frowned upon as an implied primitivism.

Sixty plus *waruga* are found on *mawanua*. The *waruga* are two-piece, sandstone sarcophagi – the bottom section is a sandstone rectangular prism (open at top and bottom) and the top piece in the shape of a pitched roof – in which the pre-Christian residents of Lolah (as elsewhere in Minahasa) were once buried. The *waruga* were the graves for particular family units and were placed outside the residences of these families. Most of the *waruga* are clustered together in one general location on *mawanua* near what would have been a congregation of several multi-family houses that formed the village nucleus in the pre-Christian era. Many are engraved with designs and a number depict scenes of humans, including representations of headhunting scenes in which one or two warriors hold aloft the heads of slain victims in one hand whilst brandishing large knives in the other. Versions of burial practices varied somewhat, although the general opinion amongst those knowledgeable about

waruga was that the multiple family members were buried inside the same sandstone sarcophagi, the bottom section of which was open to allow earlier bodies to decompose. Some family members were buried with valuable items, stories varying to include such items as Chinese plates (obtained through trade), adornments or jewelry, weaponry, and the heads of slain victims claimed in head-hunting raids or war. These valuables had, however, all been raided and sold well before the year 2005. In that year the *waruga* were to be found located within several plantations (coconut, vanilla, and banana) on *mawanua* and were generally neglected, although there are several people who occasionally cleared weeds and soil that had accumulated around the *waruga*.

There are two historical sites associated with the making of the *waruga* several kilometres' walk from *mawanua*. *Tatahaan* is the place where *waruga* were made, carved into two sections out of solid sandstone rock that had been exposed by the watercourse of a small river that ran to the southwest of *mawanua*. There are several stories as to who had made the *waruga* and how they were transported to *mawanua*. One version suggests that skilled *waruga* makers were requested by the village leadership to make the *waruga* for the recently dead. Another more popular version tells that the deceased carved the *waruga* for themselves before they died, the size of the sarcophagi depending upon the importance of the individual and their strength to carry the *waruga* by themselves to *mawanua*. *Opo* are often mythologised as having significantly larger bodies than present day Minahasans, which would have facilitated the individual carrying of *waruga* to *mawanua* from their site of creation. Another version tells that several people were engaged to move the large *waruga* afforded to the more important male leaders of the village. *Totou* was the place of rest and betelnut chewing on the way to *mawanua* from *Tatahaan*. Simple carvings of human heads and figurines have been made into the rock face of the riverbanks in *Totou*, for which it is renowned.

The *waruga* concentration in *mawanua* is located nearby to the three stones known today as the *batu tiga*, or less commonly *raragesan*. The *raragesan* were once the

sacred founding stones or menhir (*watu tumotowa* in *Bahasa Tombulu*) of the old village, located within the space of a central square and forming the spiritual and ritual centre of a village (see Chapter Two; also Schouten 1998:17). The three stones were between two and four feet high, and were grouped together in *mawanua* near the Paniki spring that had once been the water supply for the old village, and of ritual significance. They were surrounded by the remnants of a circle of red-leafed plants *tawaang rangdang* formerly considered sacred. The *raregesan*, also known as the *batu tiga* (*Bahasa Indonesia* 'the three stones'), had been subsumed within a vanilla plantation in recent years. The *batu tiga* had once been the central place of worship and communication with ancestors and gods for the people of *mawanua* prior to the introduction to the gospel (*masuk injil*). Both the *batu tiga* and main *waruga* cluster sites, along with most of the dwellings of the old village, had once been encompassed within the wall of barbarous bamboo that was used to fortify *mawanua* from raiding foreign headhunting parties. This bamboo species is remembered as *teling watu* and still grew in parts of *mawanua* and surrounds until the 1970s, when the last of the outcrops were purportedly destroyed.

Fascinatingly, a number of people I met in Lolah over the course of my year there claimed not to know of the existence of *waruga* or the *batu tiga* on *mawanua*. This included several people who regularly walked through *mawanua* on their way to their gardens beyond it. One middle-aged informant who became a close friend at first denied she had ever heard of the *batu tiga* and apparently visited there for the first time with me and other friends. At this time another friend who accompanied us there claimed familiarity with the site and discussed how it was considered to be the *gereja tua*, or old church, of the people of pre-Christian Lolah. This caused ruffles of discomfort and consternation amongst the group of those attending for the association of contemporary beliefs with the 'past' dark practices associated with this site. This led to talk of apparent ongoing shadowing spiritual practices in the village rumoured to be associated with *batu tiga*, evident by occasionally glimpsed offerings of betel nut or cigarettes left at the stones. Some months later the friend who had

originally disclaimed knowledge of the once sacred stones confessed that she had long known of their existence, and that her deceased husband had once regularly visited the site, of which she was *malu* (ashamed).

Whilst knowledge of former headhunting practices was uncommon, several older residents were able to shed some light on what is considered by researchers of Minahasa to have been historically prevalent practices in the region. Pak Theodorus Tindangen was the most forthcoming in this regard, and my recounting of such activities is largely consequent to his knowledge and personal guidance to the sites discussed below. Young *waraney* (male village warriors) defended Lolah from attacks of raiding parties and also inflicted periodic headhunting raiding parties of their own upon other villages in the surrounding region. There was some conjecture as to the regional extent of their headhunting forays and the subjects of their attacks. Certain versions describe raiding parties as attacking non-Tombulu or non-Minahasan parties as far away as Bolaang Mongondow, although victims were most likely generally closer to home and to be found amongst Minahasan language groups. Whilst one informant suggested that victims found sleeping in their fields during the day were fair targets, more commonly victims were described as thieves or warriors from other villages. There are two main sites associated with the *waraney* and their headhunting, although they are generally unknown to Lolah's younger generations. The most significant is I'iketan, a beautiful spring that has formed a depression in a surrounding forested hillside approximately one kilometre from *mawanua* near the neighbouring village of Ranatongkor. Here the *waraney* once hung the heads of their victims to dry, and presumably to frighten off unwelcome guests. I did not uncover any information concerning spiritual activities associated with *mahpupuis* (headhunting) activities at I'iketan. There are stories of *mahpupuis* activities involving cannibalism, and victims skulls are said to have been dried out and used as bowls for eating and drinking by their victors, other heads dried for use as decoration on houses. The second site associated with *waraney* was a training ground for the *waraney*, located not far from either the present day *mawanua* or I'iketan; the site

today is a non-descript field-garden. Here, *waraney* training included biting the faces of victims whose heads had been severed and hung in the training ground for this purpose, whilst yelling, to promote bravery and fearlessness.

Pak Theodorus guided Jantje and me to *I'iketan* and the nearby old *waraney* training site. Standing at *I'iketan* we discussed why it was that few people in Lolah seemed to know about *I'iketan* and its historical significance. Pak Theodorus matter-of-factly said that these practices were from a time when residents of Lolah were *masih primitif* (still primitive) but that now people are *beradab* (civilised) and were no longer interested in the past. For Pak Theodorus this was a statement of historical fact: that was then and this is now, our ancestors were primitive and we are civilised, two radically different worlds. His objective comfortableness with this aspect of Lolah's history was in stark contrast to the shock and incredulity expressed by Hendrik and other younger members of Lolah who not formerly been told of this aspect of their village and ancestors' history. For Hendrik, this assertion that his ancestors had been cannibals was affronting, and was information he was hearing for the first time. That evening Hendrik and I were eating together and discussing the events of the day, when he burst into exclamation, "Why do my ancestors have to be cannibals?" He struggled to reconcile this past of his ancestors with his contemporary family and community. This lack of knowledge of headhunting and other past practices is typical of younger generations in Lolah, who have not been encouraged to focus on their Christian traditions and history in Minahasa. It seems the older generation's will to foster modern, Christian youth had come at the expense of informing them of some of the less 'civilised' elements of Lolah's past.

This view was also shared by the younger generations themselves as reflected in Hendrik's reaction to news of his *mahpupuis* ancestors. Many young people in Lolah did not want to know about the history of the past in Lolah, as the head of Lolah's GMIM Pemuda (youth) organization, August Paat, explained to me:

- Bryan: ...Talking about the history of Lolah, I once met several youths and adults who do not know about the history of *mawanua*.
- Pak Agus: I myself don't know much about that, and many people don't want to learn about it and they don't care, maybe. Actually, I care about it, but sometimes I have such little time, am too busy, but for me it is very important [...] ¹⁴⁰
- Bryan: But do you know about the history of *mawanua*, the *batu tiga* or...
- Pak Agus: Not really. I don't really know about it.
- Bryan: There were some interviews with some old people like Pak Kapoh and Pak Theodorus. There are some stories from *mawanua* and if you want to know about it, Hendrik has all the documents – the stories of the old people about the history of *mawanua*, old history.
- Pak Agus: The young men, nowadays, don't care about it. They don't respect it. They don't really like it [...]
- Bryan: But why?
- Pak Agus: Maybe they think that it's not important.
- Bryan: Is there something more important?
- Pak Agus: To think of what is in front of them and their future is more important. They don't want to see what is left already or what is behind them... It's *kuno* (old-fashioned)... ¹⁴¹

Describing and devaluing the history and past culture of Lolah through the use of the concepts *primitif* and *kuno* was commonplace in discussions with informants of all

¹⁴⁰ [...] signifies that I have edited out a section of the conversation, as opposed to a pause or interruption in the conversation.

¹⁴¹ Taken from an interview with Bapak Agus Paat (Head of Pemuda – GMIM Lolah) 16/12/2005, Lolah.

ages, albeit especially with the younger generations who had grown to adulthood during the New Order years and in the early twenty-first century. The culture of the pre-Christian era was not considered as important or valuable to contemporary youth in Lolah, and old and young alike perceived the culture of this period as primitive, old-fashioned and uncivilised, generally incompatible with the contemporary, Christian lifestyles of the people of Lolah today.¹⁴² The Christian heritage of Lolah's history, however, was positively accentuated by young and old, and is the focus of the next section.

Lolah's colonial era and Christianisation

As stated earlier, there is scant information about the day-to-day lives of people in *mawanua Lolah* beyond what is written above. The residents were predominantly *ladang* (dry or non-irrigated field) agriculturalists, most notably of dry-rice and corn,¹⁴³ who spent much of their time living in their fields and field-huts where daily meals were prepared and where they often spent the night. What knowledge exists of major life-cycle events and associated practices of the pre-Christian period, such as marriage and funerary rites, was not discussed by informants using a clear distinction between the era prior to Christian influence and the period of Christian influence in Lolah (beginning roughly mid-nineteenth-century). Almost all stories from Lolah's history concerned a world influenced by Christianity. At no point in my interviews did people discuss the *fosso* status feasts mentioned in Chapter Two as integral components of everyday Minahasan life.¹⁴⁴ Of the main three activities that are believed to have typified Minahasan society in the early nineteenth-century, as described in Chapter Two – rice production, *fosso*, and headhunting – only fragments

¹⁴² I will address this modern orientation further in Chapter Six.

¹⁴³ Yams (*ubi-ubi*) and sago were utilized by residents of Lolah at times, particularly in times of scarcity (such as drought) of the other crops (or as today, in times of economic hardship) that were used as a staple or complementary food source.

¹⁴⁴ Lundstrom-Burghoorn has drawn cultural continuity between the pre-Christian Minahasan *fosso* and what people contemporarily call *pesta* or *party* in Lolah today (Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:38). Without doubt, *pesta* and food, especially what people call *makanan aneh* (unusual food), forms an important role in contemporary Lolah-Minahasan cultural life.

of knowledge about each activity are in circulation, and certainly no complex whole is in discourse.

The beginning of colonial influence in Lolah is marked by engravings on one of Lolah's *waruga*, marking the rise to power of a leader from Lolah in the late eighteenth-century to the position of *Hukum Major* (*Hukum Major* Tinangon) as leader of both Lolah and the *walak* of Tombariri to which Lolah belonged. It is believed that due to *Hukum Major* Tinangon's role as the leader of the Tombariri *walak* Lolah became the centre of 'Government' for the entire *walak* during his tenure. *Hukum Major* Tinangon's *waruga* is the only *waruga* in Lolah, and one of only a few in all of Minahasa, that has writing in old Malay (it is spelt 'Maijor' on the *waruga*)¹⁴⁵ – the language of VOC engagement and administration with Minahasans – engraved into its surface in memory of the deceased. *Hukum Major* Tinangon's *waruga* records the important position he held within the *walak* and the date of his death, 1769. The related position of *Hoofd-Hukum-Majoer* was created by the VOC during the eighteenth-century, a sign of the Company's determination to streamline the VOC's engagement with the different *walak*, with which dialogue had proved laborious, time-consuming and frustrating. However, largely due to the excesses of appointees in handing out judgements and punishments to members of *walak* to which they did not belong, this system was controversially and inconsistently applied throughout the seventeenth-century (Schouten 1998:44-46). *Hukum Major* Tinangon's tenure was most likely a reformed version of this earlier inter-*walak* system of attempted VOC influence upon the *walak*, whereby the holders of *Hukum Major* positions were responsible to act as *walak* representatives and mediator between the VOC and the concerns of their *walak*.¹⁴⁶ Over the course of the eighteenth-century *walak* chiefs, who at the beginning of the century "had been

¹⁴⁵ There is also a *waruga* in the village of Woloan near Tomohon that has writing engraved in it.

¹⁴⁶ It is unclear from available sources whether the *Hukum Major* of Tombariri was an appointee of the VOC or had earned his position through merit within the *walak* structures, as in other areas of Minahasa distant from Manado (see Schouten 1998:44-46).

leaders and representatives of self-defining human communities” had been effectively coopted by the VOC into the role of “administrators of geographic territories” (Henley 1996:39). The unusual Malay writing on Major Tinangon’s *waruga* is testament to this shift in the roles of village leadership and symbolic of the gradual subsuming of the *walak* system into the colonial apparatus (Henley 1996:39).

Dutch influence upon the leadership and functioning of Lolah is next evident in the oral history of Lolah during the time of the Tondano War, when the colonial administration fought for several years (1808-09) to defeat the defiant people of Tondano. A central component in the Dutch war strategy was the importing of large wooden canoe-like warships, known as *kora-kora*, from the ocean warring people of the Siau and Sangir islands to the north of Manado, to assist in the attacking from Lake Tondano the town of Tondano that was then located on stilts within the lake. The *kora-kora* had to be transported overland many kilometres and locally resident people were engaged by the colonialists to move them along the route. The route chosen by the Dutch was from near the coastal town of Tanawangko via Lolah and upwards to Tomohon on the way to Lake Tondano. The *kora-kora*, including Dutch weaponry, was pulled from the coast by the people of that area to Lolah, whose people were expected to carry it further onwards, purportedly all the way to Tondano itself via Tara-tara.



Image 1: The waruga of *Hukum Major* Tinangon, with writing in Old Malay on both sides, recording his position and the year of his death in 1769

The then village head of Lolah, Dotu Woi, did not want the people of Lolah to participate and quarreled with the Dutch officer in charge. The Dutch officer managed to ensure that Dotu Woi was dismissed from his position as village head and replaced with a more amenable leader who supported the passage through Lolah's territory and provided labour to do so. It is said the Dutch gave bribes to influence the people of Lolah to overthrow their leader. It was undoubtedly a significant and portentous moment in Lolah's relations with the evolving and increasingly influential Dutch colonial apparatus.

The year 1839 saw the people of Lolah abandon their long residence on *mawanua* hill, moving to a location called Wuwuk between the neighbouring villages of Ranatongkor and Tara-tara. There are several versions of the reason for leaving *mawanua*. Several versions of the story had biblical overtones. The first time I heard the story of the village's relocation, it described the villagers need to flee from illness, pestilence and plagues, and the cleansing properties of the stream at the foot of

mawanua that cured people of their malaise, drawing an apparent correlation with the pre-Christian world and the Christian life-world that took root in the new settlement of Lolah shortly thereafter. Bapak Petrus Matau recounts that the people of Lolah moved following the devastating effects of an earthquake, in which damaged buildings caught alight from house cooking fires and many of the houses of Lolah were destroyed. The people of *mawanua* Lolah did not last long in the new location of Wuwuk, which was beset with plagues of frogs, spiders and snakes. These signs were considered ominous and the location was deemed unhealthy, and a new location was sought. One resident of the original settlement of Lolah at *mawanua*, Dotu Keles, had not left the area of Lolah with the others and remained on his lands next to *mawanua*. He welcomed the people of Lolah to resettle on his lands, which are today the present-day site of the village of Lolah, dated from 1840. Dotu Keles became the first village head of the new village of Lolah. One condition set down by Dotu Keles when allowing the settlement of the new village on his land, was that people who remained sick from the previous location could not settle in the new village. They would have to remain in the valley to the east and below Lolah, and are the original settlers of the closely located and related town of Ranatongkor.¹⁴⁷

There are several interesting historical anomalies concerning the move from *mawanua*, via Wuwuk, to its present location, which is very close to the older settlement at *mawanua*. The association of the exodus from Lolah roughly correlates with the occurrence of a massive earthquake around this time, described by Henley as having occurred in 1845, which destroyed many Minahasan villages (Henley 1996:40). Henley notes that the NEI administration – having assumed control of Minahasa from the VOC in 1817 – used the occasion of the subsequent rebuilding of many villages to supervise the spatial layout and design of villages with uniform straight streets (Henley 1996:40). As noted earlier in Chapter Two, the destruction

¹⁴⁷ This historical perspective was not necessarily shared by the people of Ranatongkor and appeared to be a version particular to Lolah. On October 11th 2005 Bapak Ruddy Pogalin of Ranatongkor told me a different, more positive, version of Ranatongkor's settlement.

of multi-family houses was encouraged by Dutch authorities in favour of smaller nuclear family households, a process which often involved the relocation and redesign of entire villages. There was no recollection of there being any Dutch involvement or coercion in the moving of Lolah's population and village from *mawanua* to its present location by anyone in Lolah; this link is my conjecture. However, not all common knowledge regarding the major historical events of Lolah proved to be accurate and the conjectured dates may indeed correlate.¹⁴⁸ 1840 is celebrated today as the founding year of Lolah, marking the official registration of the village by the colonial Government.¹⁴⁹ This was five years before the date of the major earthquake of that time, and only eight years before the first recorded Christian baptisms occurred in Lolah in 1848 (which is recognized locally and by the GMIM Sinode as the beginning of the Church in Lolah). The time differences between resettlement at the new straight-streeted, nuclear family house oriented village, in which no new *waruga* were laid (instead replaced by a conventional Christian/Catholic graveyard), may be shorter than the people of Lolah believe. Either way, the events of the 1840's signify a rather profound incorporation of the people of Lolah into a world of Dutch governmental influence, defined by colonial administration and Protestant Church intervention.

Christianity is considered to have officially entered the village of Lolah upon the occasion of the first baptisms performed within the village itself.¹⁵⁰ These initial conversions occurred on the 20th October 1848,¹⁵¹ when seven residents of Lolah were baptised by the NZG missionary N.P. Wilken as he toured throughout the

¹⁴⁸ For example, there was considerable conjecture and some minor controversy concerning the year that marked the first baptisms in Lolah, and which missionary performed them, as GMIM members sought to celebrate (for the first time in 2005) the birthday of the Protestant Church in Lolah based on this date.

¹⁴⁹ I have yet to correlate this with colonial records.

¹⁵⁰ Baptism as the measure of conversion was qualified by both Pendeta Jemmy Sinubu, the current *pendeta* in Lolah during 2005, and Pendeta Parengkuan, former director of GMIM Sinode, Tomohon.

¹⁵¹ Pendeta Parengkuan confirmed this date by kindly double-checking its accuracy in the *Arsip Nasional* (National Archives) in Jakarta whilst undertaking other research during 2005.

Tombulu-speaking region on an evangelical mission seeking converts (Matau et al 1995:10).¹⁵² It is generally considered that some residents of Lolah were already familiar with Christian beliefs and practices due to contact with the relatively close coastal town of Tanawangko, whose mixed Borgo population are believed to have practiced Christianity in some form consequent to what is believed to have been Portuguese influence there.¹⁵³ Lolah residents may have even been converted to Protestantism outside of Lolah, such as in Tombulu-speaking Tomohon (as the missionary Wilken had been resident there since 1840) or Manado, or possibly by traveling NZG missionaries visiting Tanawangko at a date prior to the Lolah conversions.

The only previous text to have been written about the history and culture of the village Lolah, *Sejarah Desa Lolah: Kecamatan Tombariri* was published in 1995 under the guidance of the former village head and active village historian Bapak Petrus Matau.¹⁵⁴ A significant component of *Sejarah Desa Lolah* concerns the development of the various churches in Lolah, specifically the Protestant Church, first under the NZG and later, from 1934 as Minahasa's own evangelical church the *Geraja Masehi Injil Minahasa* (GMIM or the Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa). Lolah did not have its own resident Protestant pastor (*pendeta*) during the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century, although church workers fulfilled numerous functions in their absence. Apart from infrequent visits to the village by NZG missionaries who celebrated holy communion and converted new adherents, residents of Lolah would have to go further afield to attend a Sunday service presided over by a *pendeta*.

¹⁵² Mistaken information recorded in the *Sejarah Desa Lolah* (Matau et al 1985) – see next paragraph – had suggested that N.Graafland had initially converted people in Lolah to Christianity.

¹⁵³ Actually, the term Borgo – whose decedents still live in Tanawangko – is a contemporary Minahasan term/pronunciation of the Dutch name *burgher*, given to communities of mixed Dutch and local families/communities throughout the Dutch colonial empire.

¹⁵⁴ Pak Petrus was one of a number of residents who contributed to the text. It was deemed necessary to write a history of Lolah following the destruction of Lolah during the Permesta conflict, when much of the material evidence of Lolah's history (photos, letters, books, artifacts) had been destroyed (Pak Petrus Matau: personal communication).

Whilst Catholic priests had first entered and ministered in northern Sulawesi during Spain and Portugal's initial trading forays in the region in the sixteenth-century, an official Catholic presence in the region had not been sustained beyond the mid-seventeenth-century (Palar et al 2003:4-7). The Catholic Church later re-established its presence in Minahasa under the era of Dutch colonial rule in September 1868 (Palar et al 2003:32), much to the initial consternation of the Protestant missionaries who had by that time achieved impressive conversion rates amongst the population. The first converts to Catholicism occurred in 1877 in Lolah with modest success. Approximately thirty percent of Lolah's Christian population today is Catholic.¹⁵⁵ Staunch rivalries are said to have occurred in the town between the two major churches from this point until today. The focus of my research predominantly concerns the Protestant community of Lolah amongst whom I lived and had close relations, and to whom I refer when I reference Christians. All references to Catholics are explicitly so.

In the late nineteenth-century, however, neither the Protestant nor Catholic congregations had a church building nor resident priests. *Sejarah Desa Lolah* records that until 1879 marrying couples were required to get married according to local 'adat' practices that had long predicated marriage rites and unions (Matau et al 1995:10). This changed when Pendeta J.Louwerier¹⁵⁶ visited Lolah and married four couples in the town for the first time on the 21st of August 1879 (Matau et al 1995:10). This occasion marked the beginning of the change in law stipulating that marriages must be performed with the blessings of the church rather than *adat*. The Protestant congregation was in part serviced by either attending church services in neighbouring towns: nearby Tanawangko had resident NZG missionaries from 1847, including Nicolaas Graafland from 1854; Tomohon had its first resident

¹⁵⁵ Of Lolah's population in 2005 (that included the then two administrative districts of Lolah: Lolah Satu and Lolah Dua) of approximately 5000 people, 60% are Protestant, 30% are Catholic and 5-10% are Pentecostal.

¹⁵⁶ Jan Louwerier arrived to work in Tomohon with the NZG from Rotterdam in 1867 (Pantouw 1994:297).

missionary in 1835, and Nicolaas Wilken from 1840 (Pantouw 1994:295-96); and the nearby town of Tara-tara (also located, like Lolah, in the hills between Tomohon and Tanawangko) had a resident missionary from 1903 to 1918 (Matau et al 1995:11).

Both Protestant pastors and Catholic priests in larger neighbouring villages periodically serviced other villages within their vicinity through direct visits, but on a day-to-day basis congregations were largely responsible to look after themselves as best they could with meager resources. Education and schools proved to be the principal means of progressing Christian and civilised ideals amongst the population of Lolah.

There was an elementary school in Lolah in the late nineteenth-century that had been under the administration of the colonial Government. This school had accidentally burnt down in 1912, after which it was rebuilt and administered by the *Indische Kerk*¹⁵⁷ as one of its schools. A school had been built by the Dutch mission in the nearby town of Tara-tara, where some people of Lolah were educated. The establishment of the mission in Tara-tara in 1903 brought Lolah under the administration of this mission, which marked a significant organizational and pedagogical upscaling in the church's influence over the life of Lolah's Protestant congregation. The *Sejarah Desa Lolah* tells us that this mission required aspiring members of the congregation to speak *Bahasa Melayu* as part of their catechism, and thus, a necessary part of becoming Christian (Matau et al 1995:11). Following the independence of the Minahasa church as *Gereja Masehi Injil di Minahasa* (GMIM) from the *Indische Kerk* in 1934, the schools throughout Minahasa henceforth came under GMIM ownership and control.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ As noted in Chapter Two, due to financial troubles the operations of the NZG were taken over by the *Indische Kerk* (national church of the NEI) during the period 1875 and 1882. The *Indische Kerk* remained the predominant Protestant church in northern Sulawesi until 1934 (Renwarin 2006:36-37).

¹⁵⁸ See Henley (1996:110-11) for a discussion of this transfer.

The role of *guru jemaat* (also referred to as *guru injil* or gospel teacher in *Sejarah Desa Lolah*) was a central figure in the life of the people of Lolah prior to the arrival of a resident *pendeta* in the village in 1974. Since the opening of the NZG's Teachers Training College (or *Kweekschool*) in nearby Tanawangko in 1854 under the direction of the missionary Nicolaas Graafland, the role of school principal and *guru jemaat* was intimately entwined with that that of school principals who were required by NZG, *Indische Kerk* and GMIM guidelines to also function as *guru jemaat*. The school principal-*guru jemaat* in Lolah taught primary school in *Bahasa Melayu* – the language of instruction of the NZG and *Indische Kerk* in Minahasa – so that they could read the bible, along with religious instruction in preparation for their catechism, and other useful subjects such as mathematics.¹⁵⁹ This position, like the position of *penatua* (church workers), could be held by either men or women, and like the role of teachers was held in high esteem. The *guru jemaat* performed most regular religious and pastoral services in the absence of a resident *pendeta*, including all funeral services, although outside *pendeta* came to the village to perform conversion and confirmation services when required.

Bapak K. Tilaar was a school principal and *guru jemaat* who is remembered as having a significant influence on Lolah's congregation and community during the first half of the twentieth-century. Bapak Tilaar, who was originally from Tataaran near Tondano, was sent to Lolah by the NZG Sinode in 1933 to fulfil the role of elementary school principal and *guru jemaat* for the Lolah congregation,¹⁶⁰ a position he held until 1939.¹⁶¹ He is renowned for the strength of his commitment to

¹⁵⁹ It is commonly discussed in Lolah that the first missionaries to Minahasa learnt *Bahasa Tombulu* and other Minahasan languages to facilitate conversions, which is represented as both clever and culturally sensitive. However, the language of liturgical instruction at the *Kweekschool* and of *guru jemaat* in Minahasa was *Bahasa Melayu*, as it remains so today in GMIM practice (or rather *Bahasa Indonesia*). I will discuss at some length in Chapter Five the trend towards incorporating *Bahasa Tombulu* into GMIM liturgical practices.

¹⁶⁰ In 1934 the GMIM Sinode was established in Tomohon, assuming autonomy from the NZG and control of NZG's physical, administrative and human resources, including Bapak Tilaar.

¹⁶¹ The role of teachers, *guru jemat* (head of congregation) and church workers (*penatua*) were often fulfilled by multiple generations of the same family over time. Fittingly, Ibu Mintje Gigir, who had

Christianity and is remembered for having strongly preached against the continued practice of certain traditional beliefs involving shamanistic communication with ancestors (known as *opo-opo*), and is said to have sought their eradication. This is reflected in the following comments of an informant concerning the effects of Pak Tilaar's preachings on *opo-opo* beliefs. This informant had been an *opo-opo* practitioner in his youth, yet renounced these practices and became an influential churchworker in Lolah.

Bryan: Pak G, you said that *opo-opo* practices and Christianity have walked together from the past, but then there were changes of tradition here and people slowly began to stop practising *opo-opo*. People started to join Christianity and it grew in strength. Why?...

Pak G: Teachers from GMIM, Pak Tilaar and other teachers [worked in Lolah].

Bryan: Before there were pastors?

Pak G: Yes, before we had a pastor. They served in some villages, including Lolah. Pak Tilaar also composed a song 'O, Come the Kingdom of God' (*Kerajaan Allah Datanglah*).¹⁶² He started to erode the [practice of] *opo-opo*.

The pedagogical process and apparatus of Christian conversion in Minahasa, as discussed in Chapter Two, were intertwined with education, representing a union between missionary emphasis and indigenous desire for improvement of status and living standards. Within the Protestant Church religious conversion and sustained practice were both a pedagogical initiative and ongoing process, and the pastoral roles of religious instruction involved a broader educative agenda to civilise and improve

been the principal of Lolah's GMIM elementary school from 1961 to 1992 and a GMIM church worker from 1962, provided much of the information on the changes in formal education practices in Lolah's history going back to the nineteenth-century, in part referencing family history.

¹⁶² Bapak K. Tilaar penned this locally popular evangelical song.

the lives of converts (as it had been in nineteenth-century missionary practices, discussed in Chapter Two). Church influence, and the corresponding development of pastoral forms of power in the pre-WWII era (of the twentieth-century in particular), had been partially facilitated in the pre-WWII period through visiting *pendeta*, who whilst not resident, were a beacon of pastoral care and influence within their congregations.¹⁶³ Pastoral care and power, however, were most demonstratively and effectively harnessed in Lolah through the role of the *guru jemaat* and *penatua* who acted as exemplars (and as important loci in networks of relations) of Christian, civilised conduct in the Protestant congregation prior to arrival of the first resident *pendeta* who arrived in Lolah in the 1970s. Whilst indigenous beliefs and practices persisted up until this decade, all of Lolah's residents had been baptized and attended church – Protestant or Catholic – and attended at least elementary school. At school, and via regular prayer meetings, people engaged with (were networked within) discourses and relations of power informed by Christian values and ideals. Through such means the Protestant Church had been very influential in changing social and cultural values and conduct within Lolah.

In terms of agricultural activities, the period of mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century colonial influence in Lolah, saw both the continued practice of growing dry-rice (*padi ladang*)¹⁶⁴ and Lolah's increased involvement in cash cropping influenced by colonial policy. A Dutch planter by the name of Brukhuijzen was granted land by the colonial administration in the neighbouring town of Ranatongkor during the nineteenth-century, and he is said to have introduced coffee, cloves, nutmeg and coconut for making copra, as well as having left descendents.¹⁶⁵ It is believed that Brukhuijzen was preceded in Ranatongkor by an Arab planter and possible trader

¹⁶³ This is not dissimilar to the role of Catholic priests in Lolah and Minahasa today, where only a few priests provide pastoral care and service to many towns, holding mass in numerous villages each Sunday.

¹⁶⁴ There was never any suggestion during interviews that rice production was for anything other than local consumption.

¹⁶⁵ Bapak Ruddy Pogalin of Ranatongkor provided some valuable information concerning the history of Ranatongkor in several interviews during 2005.

named Basalama,¹⁶⁶ although there is scant information about him. Several sources informed me that forced coffee production existed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the Lolah/Ranatongkor region, a process which contributed to the opening up and deforestation of large areas of land on the lower slopes of nearby Mount Tatawiren. This industry was unpopular, due to the coercive nature of procurement, and eventually ceased, presumably with the ceasing of colonial rule. Indigenous *mapalus* communal work associations and practices (which I will address in length in Part II of this chapter) up to the WWII were the mainstay of everyday agricultural activities – mostly *ladang* and corn production. Copra production began, although its main influence as a local cash crop would come later. Some cloves trees were grown, upon which the clove-boom of following decades was founded. The introduction of cash crops, however, did have important implications for the people of Lolah's livelihoods and engagement with, and incorporation into, global economic systems. These effects would be most profoundly felt in Lolah, with impacts upon cultural practices, later in the twentieth-century, which I will discuss shortly.

PART II: Culture in mid-twentieth-century Lolah

Part II describes the mid-twentieth-century articulation of local cultural practice in Lolah, demonstratively a fusion of European Christian influence and persistent indigenous beliefs and practices. In my field research I was continually directed by informants to consider cultural change in terms of key life-cycle events, namely wedding and funerary events. As such, I have structured Part II in consideration of wedding and funeral practices as windows into cultural change in Lolah, which are utilised as a measure of subsequent changes (and their influences) in Chapter Six. My informants' emphasis upon wedding and funerary practices as being representative of

¹⁶⁶ Taken from an interview with Bapak Ruddy Pogalin (11/10/2005)

what constitutes local culture means for them, has most likely been informed by Indonesian state discourse concerning what *kebudayaan* actually is and represents.¹⁶⁷

The window of marriage and funeral practices in the mid-twentieth-century Lolah's culture provides a vision of Lolah's culture at a particular moment in its evolving fusion of indigenous and European Christian cultural traditions. For many people in Lolah this interwar period represents a somewhat romanticised era of cultural integrity of long-standing traditions, before the events of war, the beginnings of the New Order Government, the increased capacity and influence of church and state institutions in Lolah (and accompanying increased sophistication in the deployment/articulation of pastoral power), and economic development that was to lead to rapid and substantial cultural changes in the following decades. This backward gaze and positive valuation of past culture reinforce the common perception that culture in Lolah is something belonging to the past, that is, existing in disjuncture from modern life.

I begin this section with a brief overview of the effects of WWII events on the people of Lolah. Few living residents of Lolah had clear memories of the WWII period. This was largely to do with the age of most of my informants, the majority of whom were not yet adults at the time of the conflict. WWII, however, is remembered as a period of resource shortages, enforced labour, and relative deprivation for the people of Lolah and Minahasans alike. A number of young women were forced into sexual relationships with Japanese soldiers during the war. Many men were forcefully conscripted by Japanese forces to work in harsh conditions constructing an airport near Manado – the site of North Sulawesi's international airport today – or caves for the storage of Japanese munitions, and their families were required to travel to feed them whilst they did so. These events caused great disruption to the lives of those families and communities affected, and many of those forced to work died as a result.

¹⁶⁷ The New Order Government regularly published catalogues recording local *adat* entitled *Monografi Daerah* through the Department of Education and Culture, which may have been particularly influential in this regard. I thank Greg Acciaioli for his insight and advice in this matter.

In Lolah itself the Japanese military built a hospital for wounded Japanese soldiers, which the locals were not able to utilise. This presumably involved the upgrading of the road from Tanawangko to Lolah. Japanese language was taught at Lolah's elementary school for a few years during the occupation, although incorporation of Japanese cultural influences seems to have been minimal. The period represented a significant break from the Dutch colonial presence, and is generally remembered for the harsh rule of the Japanese army and the deprivations endured. The period following WWII was of relative stability, albeit of some economic hardship, especially for families who had lost relatives during the conflict.

The years of relative quiet and peace following the war – and prior to the Permesta conflict of the late 1950s and early 1960s – has come to hold a special place in the historical imagination of Lolah's oldest residents in particular, who were children or young adults at the time of the conflict. These memories represent the oldest living records of past culture in Lolah. This period is vividly and enthusiastically recalled by a number of my older informants, the knowledge holders whom Ibu Jelly had originally requested I consult concerning the *kebudayaan* of Lolah. Evident within Ibu Jelly's original suggestion to consult these elders about Lolah's culture was a retrospective valuation that what has come-to-pass constituted the true culture of Lolah, a view I regularly encountered during my research in Lolah. The true culture of Lolah was something that was now missing – lost – something that belonged to the past, that required digging-up (in Indonesian, *menggali*) again through research – to be known and understood. Certainly, Ibu Jelly and a number of older informants saw that my research would help define the 'true history of Lolah', and it was important to record the knowledge concerning culture that had been lost (*hilang*) before that knowledge itself was lost with the passing of Lolah's older generations.

This retrospective view of culture was, in part, a romantic representation of a relatively settled or stable historical period when *budaya* is portrayed as having been stronger, with many *tradisi* (traditions) or *adat* (roughly, customary laws) having persisted in more 'complete' versions than their current articulation. In this historical

period residents of Lolah rarely left the village, working, living and marrying predominantly within the village, contributing to the sense that the continuity of culture was more alive and complete then than now, and that much had been lost in the years of greater external contact and change since. In this period neither state nor church institutions were particularly well resourced nor did they exert the same degree of social influence as they now do, or would come to do in the New Order era after 1966. All young adults participated in traditional communal agricultural association practices, or *mapalus*, once they had left elementary school (adulthood began by one's mid-teens). Members of both Catholic and Protestant congregations attended Sunday church in their finest suits and dresses, where *Bahasa Melayu* was spoken. Everybody spoke *Bahasa Tombulu* in daily discourse, and would often gather to sing and dance the *maengket* following a day's *mapalus* work. The interwar years represent a period of relative political and cultural stability associated with the early post-colonial era, in which a variety of long-standing communal spiritual beliefs and practices, work practices, and other *tradisi* and *adat* are represented as having coexisted harmoniously with Christianity and European cultural influences introduced in the Dutch colonial era.

Major life cycle events such as marriages and funerals loomed large in the focus of remembered history of my informants, when prompted to reflect upon culture and changes in culture within Lolah, from past to the present. These were the social fora in which *budaya* was strongest and most regulated. Fora of marriage and funerals demonstrate the persistence and strength of long-standing practices with roots in the pre-Christian era in their melding with European Christian influences, at this particular point of time. This is despite the influence of certain church agents, such as the *guru jemaat* Pak Tilaar mentioned earlier, who campaigned against the practice of certain indigenous religious beliefs and associated practices – a dynamic of change that I will address more fully in Chapter Six. I follow my informants' lead by introducing in detail the marital and funerary practices common to this era, without much crucial analysis in this chapter, against which changes in cultural practices can

be traced in subsequent chapters. Discussion of changes to these practices is a structuring theme in the following chapters, reflecting broader changes in the complex of values and beliefs, economy, the movement of people, the influence of technological changes such as communication and transport, and institutional influences in Lolah over time.

Marriage mid-twentieth-century

Much of what was represented to me by informants as pertaining to the original marriage or funerary *budaya* is drawn from the pre-Permesta era; the Permesta conflict ran from 1957 to 1961. My informants Ibu Donna Adeleida Rasuh (born 1922) and Ibu Sultje Ursual Liju Salaki (born 1936), Ibu Adrentji Pangemanan (born 1918), and Bapak Valens Aga (born 1930) provided much of the information of both the pre and post WWII periods in this regard. Both marital and funerary practices – respectively *adat pernikahan* and *adat kematian* – were discussed as having *adat* or rules governing tradition/the correct ways of doing things. More casually, *tradisi* referenced various *adat*. Discussions of *adat* and *tradisi*, and also of *kebiasaan* (less formal customs) were generally preceded by my own request to discuss *kebudayaan*, and changes in its practice over time. Marriage and funeral practices in the twentieth-century Lolah (and more broadly Minahasa) have been a fusion of indigenous *adat* and *tradisi* and European Christian norms. Changes in these practices in Lolah, as discussed by my informants, represent a gradual shift in emphasis away from long-standing indigenous practices towards a greater emphasis on ‘modern’ Christian practices. This is a process that continues in the present day. Violent conflict and its social effects have also played a significant role in cultural change, and will also be discussed later in this chapter. In order to examine shifts in cultural practices, it is necessary to first describe marital and funeral practices as they existed in the inter-war period, for which much accurate information is available.

Marriage in the pre-Permesta era was usually preceded by courtship initiated during agricultural *mapalus* work practices.¹⁶⁸ *Mapalus* was an agricultural communal work system whereby all men and women worked in teams usually demarcated by both religious affiliation (either Catholic or Protestant) and location of residence within the village. *Mapalus* began when people finished elementary school at about 12 years of age, and excluded the old and infirm. The *tukang palakat* (announcer) would call *mapalus* participants to duty – a group held up to sixty or seventy members – by walking the streets with a drum (known as a *palakat* or *tambour*) calling them to gather for work. Ideally participants would meet at approximately four o'clock in the morning – or more realistically at sunrise – and leave together for the fields. The groups would work together first on one members' land – tilling, sowing, tending or harvesting crops on their land depending on seasonal need – for several hours before moving onto the next member's land. Two members' land would be harvested for two hours each in the morning, before the *tukang palakat* announced the first meal break, and then two more members' lands would be finished before the day ended. Each member's plots were measured to be the same size, and the order of cultivation of land was determined by a *mapalus* leader, who kept a ledger of the quantity (as a measure of daily application) of rice collected by each member in the harvest season. *Ladang* (dry rice) was planted and harvested once a year and corn crops were sown and harvested twice a year.¹⁶⁹ *Mapalus* working groups in the 1950s integrated men and women staggered in rows to ensure even work progress, with the men expected to carry a greater work burden than the women. Later, in the 1960s, due to changing work practices associated with the increased cultivation of cash crops, especially clove and copra, the numbers of *mapalus* participants dwindled, and men and women organized into separately functioning working groups.

¹⁶⁸ Whilst this is generally the case, there were cases when people, especially those few who worked outside the village, married people from outside of Lolah.

¹⁶⁹ There was very little wet rice farming in Lolah, almost all rice farming was dry land rice (*ladang*). Lolah does not have large wet area like Lemoh, Taratara and Ranotongkor that still grow wet rice today.

Whilst the *mapalus* group was working, they would sing working songs, called *mahzani*, that referenced the task at hand and the movement of the sun across the sky, and were open to improvisation and humour from the working members. The inter-gendered work environment and improvised singing allowed men and women to court each other through song. Potential lovers would sing and exchange lyrics, playing a lyrical courtship through *mapalus*, whereby they would determine the depth of their connection before taking any further steps towards initiating marriage practices. *Mapalus* was the only forum in which young men and women could associate and court, albeit overseen by older members of the group. At this time most marriages in Lolah occurred between the different families of the village, often at a rather young age by today's standards: Bapak Valens Aga was fifteen when he married in 1945.

Following consensus between sweethearts the first step in the marriage process was known as *menerang*, whereby the parents of the man's family met and informed the parents of the woman's family that the two young people have a relationship and intend to get married. If all went well, the parents agreed to the marriage. This did not always work out as the potential couple intended, and objections were common, for a range of reasons, such as a suitor's lack of wealth and related social status.

Saput lemaen was the next step in the marriage process, when the two families met at the bride's house to agree upon the contents of the brideprice known as the *harta*. The groom's family would bring betel nut and lime, tobacco and *cap tikus* (locally distilled spirit made from palm wine), to share with the bride's parents, and also give two meters of white cloth. The groom's family would also offer the bride's parents the *kolombeng* cake, which was especially significant for this occasion. The parents and other elders would chew betel, drink and eat cake and discuss the contents of the *harta*, which was to be presented at a future event prior to the wedding known as the *antar harta*. The *hukum tua* was also in attendance at the *saput lemaen* to witness and legalise the agreement as the representative of the Government, especially as this commonly involved a transaction of land ownership. The *harta* would ideally

involve: the commitment of a quantity of land by the groom's family to the newly wed couple; clothes for the bride for the wedding reception; a clothes cabinet and a bed for the newly weds; and an amount of money which would be used mostly by the bride's family to pay for the clothes and other expenses associated with the wedding, but also as compensation to the bride's family for the costs of having raised her.¹⁷⁰ At *saput lemaen* the families would also discuss the fines that the groom and bride-to-be must pay if either broke the *harta* agreement and decided not to marry the betrothed. *Saput lamaen* was usually held in the late evening or early morning so that participants could clearly hear the prophetic signs of bird calls, especially the *manguni* (owl). An auspicious sign was necessary, and if ominous signs (called *sinorekmala*) were heard the wedding would have to be postponed for three years.

On the *antar harta* day itself the bride's family prepared a *pesta* (food party) reception and the groom's family brought the *harta*. The *antar harta* process began at the groom's house where the land certificate was signed by the *hukum tua*. The mediator of the *antar harta* was at this time always a woman, who then led the groom's party – right foot first down the stairs, because it was auspicious – to the bride's family's house where the *guru jemaat* led the worship. A representative from the groom's family then announced the *harta* that was checked by the bride's family. The families discussed the guest list, the division of the wedding reception costs, whether or not to hire a bamboo orchestra, and decided upon a *Polmak* (*Polisi Makan*, literally Food Police) who was to oversee the wedding reception food preparations.¹⁷¹ In the era before there was a *pendeta* resident in Lolah (beginning 1973) the *guru jemaat* led the *ibadah* (prayers/worship) at *antar harta*; a *pendeta*, based outside of Lolah, would

¹⁷⁰ Although the extent of the *harta* was dependant upon the ability of the groom's family to pay.

¹⁷¹ The *Polmak* took responsibility for the organising of the food for the many wedding reception guests, which the two families (either or both families may have been responsible, the allocation having been negotiated at *antar harta*) and their extended families would prepare. In the past ingredients from all contributors were brought raw to the *balai desa* (village hall) and cooked together. This was called *simiwo*, and decreased after the Permesta War. Today guests/relatives may bring cooked meals – this is called *bekanang* (or potluck) – to the wedding reception. Otherwise the hosts activate a form of food *mapalus*, which I will discuss in Chapter Six.

preside over the religious service on the actual wedding day. To conclude the *antar harta*, the betrothed met, shook hands and exchanged rings. The *hukum tua* then reiterated the responsibilities and penalties for breaking the *antar harta* agreement before the wedding date; the woman's financial penalty was twice that of the man's.

On the day of the wedding, the groom would go to the bride's house to accompany her to the church. She would answer him at the door, shake hands, receive his flowers and place a few in his suit lapels. A bamboo orchestra would then accompany them in a procession to the church, announcing the event in the process. The wedding itself was a formal, European style event in which there was no obvious encroachment of non-Christian (local cultural) elements, which are today commonly described as *adat* or *budaya*. A formal Christian service was given by the visiting *pendeta* in *Bahasa Indonesia*, with the groom dressed in a European style suit, along with the rest of the attending men, and the bride in a European style white wedding dress with veil.

The wedding reception followed in the village hall with prayers preceding the wedding *pesta*. Following the meal the reception tables would be cleared away and the dance floor prepared. The bamboo orchestra¹⁷² would begin to play the *collonade*: a Spanish or Portuguese influenced dance formation especially danced to begin wedding receptions, whereby the bride and groom led the dancing of the guests through a tunnel of raised arms. This was followed by polka, waltz and *katrili* dances (a European style formation dance introduced by the Portuguese, and considered by some to be French in origin). A bamboo orchestra played predominantly European songs – mostly Germanic or Dutch in origin – to accompany the dancers. The bamboo orchestra and the European tunes and dances they performed, were considered as cultural traditions (*tradisi*) of *budaya Minahasa* within local discourse,

¹⁷² A bamboo orchestra (known as *musik bambu*) is a Minahasan musical form with a band playing a fusion of European orchestral instruments and indigenous bamboo woodwind instruments, and (in 2005) generally playing European or more generally popular Western or Indonesian songs. I will discuss this further in Chapter Seven.

an opinion often expressed with pride to me during my stay in Lolah, reflecting the comfortableness with which Minahasans have incorporated cultural/civilisational influences from abroad into their own cultural practices. This was true concerning the formal wedding processes also – and of course the bamboo orchestra itself – which draw much of their precedence and influence from colonial and missionary era cultural influence.

Following the wedding reception and dancing, and before dawn, the newlyweds would lead the bamboo orchestra around the village to show the village (including those who did not attend) that the couple were married. Following the procession the couple went to the groom's house and into his bedroom and pretended to sleep together before they were symbolically awakened. This symbolised both that the couple would have smooth relations in their family, especially the bride who would generally begin to now live with the groom's family until the couple were ready to establish their own home, and that the groom would be diligent and wake up early for work. The groom's family welcomed the bride by placing new clothes on her shoulders to symbolize that she now belonged to their family. The newlyweds, however, did not sleep together until the following Sunday when the bride was brought to the house of the groom's family for the *balas gereja pesta*, which celebrated the affirmation of this union. At some point during the intervening week the newlyweds would travel by ox-cart to Tanawangko to officially register their marriage there. During the *balas gereja*, *sana sende* was performed whereby the newlyweds ate from the same plate of clay, called a *piningkan*, which symbolised that the first humans were made from clay. The couple sat between the two families and symbolically fed their in-laws, who witnessed their children's commitment as they ate.

In the pre-WWII period, the white sheets that had been given by the bride's parents at the *saput lamaen* event were used on the nuptial bed and available for display for

the groom's family the morning after the *balas gereja* to demonstrate the bride's virginity.¹⁷³ This was commonly practised in the 1920s and 1930s and can be traced to European cultural influence in northern Sulawesi. Events of WWII led to this practice's demise. This was in part due to the lack of availability of cloth during the wartime and post-war period, as well as the Japanese soldiers' coercion or forcing of local women into sexual relationships.¹⁷⁴ The newlyweds were required to stay inside the house of the groom's family for the first three days following their *balas gereja pesta*, during which time the couple would decide which of their families they would live with for the first year of their marriage, the groom's family being the accepted norm.

In the pre-Permesta period, the *harta*, inclusive of land, was given in order to help the young couple establish themselves as a functioning familial unit in the first year of their marriage. In their initial year of marriage (generally) the groom's family would help the new family to manage their money, land and family. This would undoubtedly have assisted couples getting married at fifteen years of age or younger. The land certificate given by the groom's parents was certified in both the couple's names, and the new family was represented henceforth by a hyphenated union of both family names in Government and church registries and at certain events, and on a plaque hung at the entrance to each home. After marriage women would continue to use their family name inherited from their father. The young couple was given farm animals as initial capital (this depended on the wealth of the groom's family), and guided in the cultivation of their land (according to *adat* the *harta* land had to be arable), some of which they cultivated outside of their *mapalus* commitments. The bride's family gave the couple tools and kitchen utensils bought with the *antar harta*

¹⁷³ As in other cultures that have at times followed this practice, there were several strategies to subvert this practice, and my informants implied the event's eventual demise was generally welcomed.

¹⁷⁴ Due to the sensitivity and uncomfortableness of informants concerning this matter I did not pursue this topic to establish whether local and Minahasan women were forced into 'comfort women' type relationships as occurred elsewhere under Japan's colonial and military apparatus, or to further define the nature of these events.

money. After one year the new family would have to separate and create their own household and be responsible for managing their own lives.

Funeral practices mid-twentieth-century

In the pre-WWII and post-war period up until Permesta funeral practices involved a series of events reflecting a fusion of long-standing *adat kematian* (funerary laws) practices with more recent Christian practices, which I will detail here.

The death of a community member was announced by the *tukang palakat*, who would walk around the village announcing the death and beating his *palakat* (drum). He would recite the genealogy of the deceased, tracing their origins back to senior *opo*. This would also inform community members of their relationships with other villagers – the village population by-and-large consisted of several large families who married locally – and thus provide the opportunity for the community to assess young peoples' suitability for marriage.¹⁷⁵ In the 1930s the *tukang palakat* was preceded by the sounding of a large drum kept at the *hukum tua*'s house that announced on the evening of the day someone had died, once people had returned from the fields, or was announced as soon as someone had died during the night. On the day of a community member's death no people left their houses to go to the fields/gardens unless involved in the preparation of the funeral stages.

The deceased was required to be buried the following day. Before this could occur, a night of mourning was observed in which community members were able to pay their respects to the deceased and their family. Each family in the community was required to give a donation of rice to the deceased family to assist in preparing the meals for the first night event, an event known then as *kumawas* and more contemporarily as *tiga malam* occurring on the third night following a death. From 1948 a local village government unit called a *jaga*, a civil group into which the village

¹⁷⁵ The *tukang palakat* was a voluntary position, although the role exempted him from village taxes, and had to be someone suitably knowledgeable of village genealogies. The *tukang palakat* would also announce *kerja bakti* (compulsory village Government work events) when due.

Government administration was divided and which had a *kepala jaga* (division head) and *meweteng* (deputy), had become the standard administrative sub-unit in villages of Propinsi Sulawesi (Sulawesi Province). *Kepala jaga* were responsible for organizing the men of a *jaga* to prepare the venue for the funeral, to organize a coffin, and the digging of the grave the following morning prior to the funeral. The date 1948 signified the beginning of the new independent Indonesian Government's organisational influence at the local government level in Minahasa, as well as elsewhere in Indonesia. However, before the *jaga* system was introduced in 1948 it was a family's responsibility to organize their own coffins, which elderly people would often prepare when they foresaw death approaching. Prior to Permesta, when all the village houses were destroyed, families lived in wooden houses on stilts under which the people gathered, prayed and ate together. On the morning or day of the announcement of a death, the village elders would meet at the deceased's house to discuss the genealogy of the deceased, in order to strengthen the ties amongst the villagers.

That evening the body of the deceased was laid out for public display and mourning and was attended by family and friends throughout the night. An old belief suggested that if the body was not accompanied through this first night of death, or that its minders fell asleep during the night, then the body could turn into an animal and run away. There was worship lead by the *guru jemaat* during which the deceased relatives and community gathered, and hymns were sung. This was followed by a large meal for all the guests, prepared by the deceased family and friends. Guests were able to gamble with cards and dominos throughout the night (gambling is otherwise illegal in Lolah), play a guessing game with a ring called *main cincin*, and were served coffee and cakes until dawn. There was singing throughout the night.

The following morning the body was placed inside a coffin, which had been made by a special coffin craftsman the previous day, and taken to the church for the funeral

service. The funeral service, conducted in *Bahasa Indonesia* and accompanied by European style Christian music and songs,¹⁷⁶ like the marriage services, excluded any elements of non-Christian *adat*. Following the ceremony the body of the deceased was returned to their family home, before being carried to the cemetery (which is mixed denominational in Lolah) by the deceased's male relatives, leading a procession of mourners. In the pre-WWII period young people accompanied the body to the graveyard and the older people stayed at the deceased's house and sang. In this period if a successful farmer died, whether a man or woman, an old man would spread rice from the deceased's house to the graveyard in front of the funeral procession. Fresh white lilies, named *koloncucu* (in *Bahasa Tombulu*) or *Kamboja Putih* (meaning White Cambodia in *Bahasa Indonesia*) were placed on the grave, often accompanied by another plant called *werot*.

On the third day following a person's death the family would take an engraved stone to put on the deceased's grave. The third night following a person's death an event called *kumawas* was undertaken. *Kumawas* was attended by the family of the deceased, the *guru jemaat*, the *hukum tua*, other village elders and many other guests. They worshipped together and sang hymns and songs in order to comfort the family of the deceased; it was known as 'the comforting night'. Meals were served to all the guests, the spouse of the deceased eating once all the family and guests have already done so. *Kumawas* was intended to end the suffering, grieving and lamentation for the family.

Maweteng was an important aspect of *kumawas* that most probably pre-dates the Christian influence upon this ceremony.¹⁷⁷ *Maweteng* provided an opportunity for the recently deceased to communicate important information or sentiments that they had not had the opportunity to do before their death. *Maweteng* followed *kumawas* and was practised in the deceased's fields in a small hut built especially for the

¹⁷⁶ Either translated from European languages or penned in Bahasa Indonesia.

¹⁷⁷ I will discuss how *maweteng* is remembered today, and related controversies, in Chapter Six.

purpose that day. During *maweteng* a medium (someone who was talented in this regard, who was 'with the vein' or ability) was present. Prior to the *kumawas* the medium had to take dirt from the grave. The medium called the *opo* and the spirit of the recently deceased to the *kumawas*, in a process known as *opo-opo*. The process of a spirit entering the medium's body was called *tinekaan*. The *opo* (ancestors) or the spirit of the recently deceased would often impart instructions or information that the deceased had forgotten to tell when alive, particularly in relation to issues of inheritance or the revelation of family secrets.

The day following *maweteng* food left over from the *kumawas* was offered to the deceased in the field-hut in which the *maweteng* had been held the previous night. The deceased's family then bathed in the river (where the community's baths were located up until the 1970s) to ritually wash away bad luck, further symbolized by drifting a piece of cloth from the coffin pall down the river. The visitors to the field had to travel in groups of an odd number, and included the deceased's spouse (if there was one), family members, and the medium from the *maweteng*. The food was offered along with betel nut and tobacco, and divided into nine equal parts. The deceased's eating utensils and farming tools (such as a hoe) were presented to the deceased along with the food, and the spirit of the deceased was requested not to visit the house or fields of their family or to visit family members any longer. A week after the *kumawas* there was another custom called the *tumepi*, at which the medium who had presided at the *maweteng* again accompanied the family members to the deceased's fields. They dismantled the *popoh* (the special hut assembled for the *maweteng*) and swept and cleaned the place where the *maweteng* had occurred. The deceased's agricultural tools were burnt as part of the cleaning process, symbolizing that the grieving was finished. From then onwards the widow/er was able to return to their fields unaccompanied by others to cultivate their land free of fear from disturbance from their departed spouse's spirit.

For forty days following a death the deceased's spouse required someone to accompany and guide her or him, and act as an intermediary between the widow/er

and others. A widower could not look at women and a widow could not look at men, and both were generally coy, looking down and ahead only, and not talking or laughing with friends. The deceased's spouse was not to look out of windows at the street. The widow/er must light a small lamp in her/his bedroom each day before other lamps could be lit in the house. These rules or restrictions were called *mahtu'tul*, and they ceased on the fortieth day following their spouse's death when another smaller funerary event was held, overseen by the *guru jemaat* and attended by family and community. A widow was required to wear black clothes for one year, and both widows and widowers were required to behave modestly during this time and not begin any new relationships. At the conclusion of one year a final *adat kematian* event was held to mark the anniversary of one's death, also overseen by the *guru jemaat* and attended by family and community, at which all restrictions on the deceased spouse were annulled and the funeral process was considered complete.

Conclusion

Both parts of this chapter have explored the representation of culture or *kebudayaan* as something existing or belonging to the past for the people of Lolah. The data in both parts have been largely informed by older informants in Lolah, those with the longest memories and the most expansive experiences of cultural changes in the village and region. Their memories are value laden, often representing the culture of pre-Christian/pre-colonial era as a period of un-civilised primitivism, a perspective that is reflected in the views of younger generations. The older generation have shared little knowledge of the headhunting culture of the pre-Christian period with the younger generations, due to the somewhat confrontational nature of this history. However, associations of past culture with primitivism are commonplace. The concept *kebudayaan* has become associated with the past, and carries negative, backward connotations.

For my older informants the concept *kebudayaan* is most positively appreciated in reference to a period of relative peace and stability, from 1945 to the late 1950s. This

era fell between the end of the colonial era (both Dutch and Japanese periods) and the demonstrative era of Indonesian nationalist interventions of the Permesta conflict and the later New Order era of Government. In this decade or so of stability Lolah's culture is represented as a comfortable amalgam of indigenous *adat* and European/Christian traditions and spiritual beliefs and practices (that had long been indigenized). This positive and somewhat romantically retrospective view of local culture, also appreciates *kebudayaan* as something belonging to the past, yet it does so by contrasting this past (essentialised) culture against the later era of modernisation and changes associated with the New Order.

Paralleling the emphasis of earlier chapters, Part I of this chapter examined colonial interventions, and the development of state and church institutions within Lolah, that led to the fusion of indigenous and foreign cultural elements by the mid-twentieth-century Lolah. I examined the initial development of new forms of pastoral power through these fledgling institutions, representing the beginnings of the more substantive developments of pastoral power – informed by increased sophistication of church and state capabilities – that developed in later decades.

Part II of this chapter freezes the frame in this unfolding vision of history, focusing upon mid-twentieth-century Lolah, as remembered by my informants, as a period of relative cultural integrity and peace following WWII, and before the later dramatic events of the Permesta era. The image presented of mid-century culture is a somewhat romanticized view – a snapshot of a happy era – engendered by the age of many of my older informants who were in their youth during this period. It serves as an archetype of Lolah's culture against which contemporary practices are contrasted. As we shall see in the following chapters, the people of Lolah look back upon their past – in reference to both the pre-Christian and mid-twentieth-century eras era – with both negative and positive appreciations of the culture of these periods. These alternative appreciations differ depending on the age and relative experience and valuing of my different informants. We will see in these later chapters that an individual's, group's or generation's appreciation of culture is informed by their

differing engagement with discourses and experiences of modernisation and development, influenced by the eras – inclusive of church and state institutional development and influence – through which they have lived.

Chapter Six, for instance, covers the period since the Permesta conflict in the late 1950's until the end of the New Order era in 1998. This period, particularly the thirty years of the New Order Government, has significantly influenced the memories, experiences and contemporary discourse of all but the youngest generation in Lolah, and is remembered as a period of significant and rapid social-economic-political-cultural change. The changes in this era are contrasted, in Chapter Six, against the somewhat romanticized vision of culture represented by the mid-twentieth-century inter-war years in Lolah discussed in Chapter Five. They serve as the measure of changes to culture in Lolah since the 1950s, as expressed through the use of the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* in popular discourse.

CHAPTER SIX

Culture, Modernity & Change in the New Order Era

Chapter Six explores the cultural and socio-economic changes in Lolah through the eras of the Permesta conflict (1957-1961) and the *Orde Baru* Government (1966-1998), filtered through my informants' use of the rhetorical concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* and associated concepts of this period, such as *pembangunan* (development) and *kemajuan* (progress). The chapter explores how my informants' use of these concepts involved an individual's assessment of their (and others') relative development and modernity. This was expressed in contrast to my informants' corresponding use of negative comparative and evaluative concepts, such as *kuno* (old-fashioned/backward), applied in reference to the domain of *kebudayaan*. Whilst I utilise the marital and funerary practices described in Part II of Chapter Five as the (somewhat romanticized) vision of culture against which change was measured by my informants, I also assess change in relation to a complex of unfolding influences in the lives of the people of Lolah. The evolving organizational capacity of state and church in Lolah also forms a structuring theme of the chapter, continuing the emphasis of earlier chapters. The increased dynamism of pastoral power is addressed, informed by the intersection of church and state discourses and policies during the *Orde Baru* era, and the conceptual importance of the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* (and affiliate concepts) in everyday government.

The opening section of the chapter examines the period of the Permesta conflict and immediate following years. This Permesta era of local history is often reflected upon as the beginning of a period of rapid cultural change following the perceived cultural stability of the inter-war years. The Permesta conflict engulfed Lolah in 1960. The town was razed in the fighting and its residents fled for many months, with long-lasting effects on peoples' lives and culture. This period of Lolah's history demonstrates the difference between pastoral power and the brute, violent power of

state military enforcement of a nationalist agenda. The Permesta conflict, like WWII before it, was testament to the latter. The events of Permesta are recalled as the beginning of rapid changes in the people's' livelihoods, cultural practices, and engagement with the world outside of Lolah, that are associated with the *Orde Baru* era of Government.

The *Orde Baru* era ran from 1966 to 1998 and was a period of significant social, economic and cultural change in Lolah. This era encompassed a period of sustained high crop prices for cloves, known as the *musim cengkih* (the clove season), which brought considerable wealth and changes to the life-worlds and culture of the people of Lolah. This *musim cengkih*, given seasonal variation, lasted for approximately two decades from 1968 to the late 1980s. The chapter also examines changes to Lolah's society, economy and culture in the period since the collapse of the clove market in the late 1980s, and the end of the *Orde Baru* Government in 1998.

The Permesta conflict in Lolah

The period following WWII demonstrated the resilience of marriage and funeral *adat* alongside introduced Christian practices, with most immediate pre-WWII marriage and funeral *adat* surviving into the post-war period.¹⁷⁸ Despite Lolah's relative proximity to both Manado and Tomohon – two local centres of cultural and religious change – because of the town's relative physical isolation due to poor transport infrastructure, Lolah had remained somewhat at arm's length from economic, social, cultural and political changes that had absorbed these nearby locales, and the long-brewing political struggles of the nation-state of Indonesia leading up to and following WWII. However, radical changes were shortly to be brought to bear on the population with profound effects upon the continuation of certain long-standing cultural practices.

¹⁷⁸ The presence of practices such as fortieth-day observance of funeral mourning for the deceased and demonstrations of a bride's virginity suggest a rich historical intermingling of local and several European Christian traditions.

In 1960 Lolah found itself on the front line of the Permesta conflict. The town had little to show for its fifteen years within the nation of Indonesia following President Sukarno's declaration of independence in 1945. There was an unsealed road in poor condition that had only recently been upgraded to accommodate trucks; formerly, it had been useable by oxen-carts only. This road linked Lolah to the nearby seaside town of Tanawangko only eight kilometres away, and via Tara-tara to the upland market town and Christian religious centre of Tomohon,¹⁷⁹ but it was the shorter coastal road to Manado that was mostly utilised. Only a few trucks transporting copra to the coast, and fish from it, traveled the route, allowing passengers (mostly schoolchildren) to hitch a ride. Depending on the condition of the roads the journey to Manado could take a whole day. There was no electricity or piped fresh water supply available; people relied on wells for fresh water and the rivers for bathing and cleaning. Communication technology was restricted to radios and the Manado-published newspaper *Sulut Merdeka* when brought back by those who traveled outside. There were no telephones in Lolah. There was little contemporary health care apart from traditional midwives and traditional healers.¹⁸⁰

GMIM had opened a lower secondary school in Lolah in 1955 as a small branch of its Tomohon lower secondary school. Prior to this school being opened it had been compulsory for all young people who finished elementary school to enter the *mapalus* system when this schooling was finished. Elementary school included farming lessons at this time. The *mapalus* agricultural work system described above had long been subject to the broader market forces that encompass the region of northern Sulawesi. An increasingly cash-influenced economy under colonial rule – in which introduced cash crops were a key element – had seen the increased monetarization of the agricultural economy of northern Sulawesi from the mid-nineteenth-century (Schouten 1998:64). In the 1950's the major work activity in Lolah continued to be

¹⁷⁹ Both the GMIM Sinode and the Catholic Church headquarters for North Sulawesi were/are located in Tomohon.

¹⁸⁰ I will discuss traditional medicine in Chapter Eight.

dry-rice (*padi ladang*) and corn cultivation produced through *mapalus* work activities, the growing of coffee having dropped off once the colonial induced necessity to do so had ceased. There was some small scale wet-rice agriculture practised in fields below the Paniki spring. Copra, however, was being increasingly cultivated in Lolah, and could be grown alongside the staple crops.

Lolah, like northern Sulawesi and other regions of Indonesia, was increasingly drawn into the orbit of the ongoing struggles of Indonesian national politics. The Sukarno-led Government in Jakarta was having troubles fulfilling its goal of the national integration of the breadth of the peoples and provinces of post-colonial Indonesia amidst ongoing political instability. It was not delivering developmental outcomes that the more remote and increasingly disgruntled areas of Indonesia, such as northern Sulawesi, desired. A complex series of events and political intrigue involving the relatively new and inexperienced national Government and the *Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI)* – both of which had come to include disparate peoples, forces, and particularly in the case of the Government, ideologies, into its vast mandate – led to the development of serious tensions between the central Government and several of Indonesia's then eight provinces. The whole island of Sulawesi was then one province. In reference to Barbara Harvey's comprehensive work *Permesta: Half a Rebellion* (1977), I give a synopsis of the issues leading to the conflict below – a conflict that in part concerned provincial desire for greater inclusion in the development initiatives and processes of nation-building in post-colonial Indonesia, which was especially the case in North Sulawesi, and a general rejection of the increasingly Communist leaning agenda of the central Government.

Many influential people in both the central Government and Province of Sulawesi administration felt that the people of Sulawesi needed a greater say in determining the province's affairs, particularly in the use of revenues drawn from Sulawesi's strong export market in copra production. Since independence the price of copra in Sulawesi had been controlled by a central Government monopoly and the profits from copra production and export had not flowed back equitably into the province, a

source of some disgruntlement for many in Sulawesi. Leaders of Sulawesi, and in particular the region of northern Sulawesi, felt they were not being suitably recompensed for the region's human and material resource contributions to the nationalist project, and wanted greater autonomy to manage their own affairs. Minahasans, who for a number of generations had a higher proportional representation in both the colonial administration and armed forces than other regions in NEI, felt they had much to contribute to the new nation and to the betterment of their own people and others in eastern Indonesia. The high proportional representation of Minahasans in the NEI administration had been, in part, a result of comparatively high education standards in Minahasa during the colonial period, itself a consequence of the education system in Minahasa built through state and missionary cooperation in the colonial period. Minahasans were, however, acutely aware of the distrust that their former roles in the colonial administration and military wrought amongst other groups within the new nation. The leaders of northern and southern Sulawesi, however, believed they deserved a better deal in delivering development outcomes and progress to their island and people, and were prepared to aggressively confront the central Government with their demands. There was also increasing discontent from this leadership, and both Christian and Islamic leaders in Sulawesi, about the ideological policies of what appeared to be the increasingly Communist-leaning Sukarno.

On 2nd March 1957 military and civil leaders from both northern and southern Sulawesi signed the *Piagam Perdjuangan Semesta Alam* (Permesta: Charter of Inclusive Struggle).¹⁸¹ Barbara Harvey summarises it as follows:

Regional level objectives included the granting of autonomy to the province; more attention to regional development; a more equitable allocation of revenue and foreign exchange; authorization of barter trade; and...the granting of East Indonesia as a territorial defense area and the granting of a mandate – and financial and

¹⁸¹ See Harvey (1977 Appendix III pp.164-67), for a copy of the Permesta declaration.

material support – for the settlement of internal security problems. On the national level the charter called for the elimination of centralism, ‘the basic cause of bureaucratism, corruption and stagnation in regional development,’ and the restoration of ‘dynamism, initiative and responsibility’ through decentralization (Harvey 1977:48, quoting from *Piagam Perjuangan Semesta Alam*).

This was not a declaration of separation or conflict, but rather a confrontational movement aimed at affecting a change in national policy. It intended to direct the national Government’s attention to the seriousness of regional concerns regarding their developmental needs, and in doing so allow the regions better control over their own development needs through decentralization of Government. It was not a separatist movement seeking an independent state (Harvey 1977:152), as it had been portrayed in school textbooks throughout the *Orde Baru* years. Informants of mine who had participated as members of the Permesta forces were all explicit in this regard. In the words of an informant who was a veteran of the Permesta forces: “Permesta was a struggle for inclusion and equality of participation in the grand nation of Indonesia”. The Charter of Inclusive Struggle was declared, and fought for, to ensure better distribution of resources, a “fairer distribution of progress” to the outer islands, especially the eastern islands of Indonesia.¹⁸² It was believed that Sukarno’s Government was disproportionately directing the nation’s resources to the islands of Java and Sumatra. The alliance divided Sulawesi Province into two provinces, North Sulawesi and South Sulawesi, without the Central Government’s prior consent and raising its ire. In the new North Sulawesi Province (*Propinsi Sulawesi Utara*) cooperation between civilian and military officials oversaw the management of the province’s own copra cooperative and direct export, redistributing the profits into infrastructural development within the province, such as roads development, which was widely reported in the media and had much public support. In January 1958 the Permesta Governor of North Sulawesi declared the province financially and administratively independent of the former whole-of-

¹⁸² Quotes from Bapak Theodorus Tindangen, using the term *maju* (progress/advancement).

Sulawesi provincial Government and the national Government. Within a relatively short period of time the situation disintegrated into an armed conflict between the central Government (supported by the TNI) and the recalcitrant provinces.¹⁸³

The bombing of Manado by the Indonesian national air force in early 1958 led to widespread anger and recruitment of young men and women of Minahasa into the swelling Permesta forces. By June 1958 Permesta's total armed strength is said to have been 15,000 men and women.¹⁸⁴ Over time the Permesta forces would come to include a significant number of young men and women from Loloh. The United States of America Government, increasingly concerned with the growing influence of communism in Indonesia and Sukarno's association with it, provided clandestine support to the Permesta forces in North Sulawesi.¹⁸⁵ A ground and air conflict between Government forces and the Permesta forces quickly accelerated, and the Permesta forces had some moderate success assisted by US support, although this quickly drew to a close in May 1958 after the capture of a US pilot working for Permesta forces by the Indonesian army. Government forces seized the initiative and by July 1958 had recaptured Manado, the airport area and soon the upland towns of Tomohon and Tondano, and a civilian administration was re-established. Permesta's southern Sulawesi allies had already capitulated by mid 1958, as had Permesta's Sumatran movement. Whilst the Minahasan rebels proved to be resilient fighters – they were slowly pushed south by Government forces – it was not until September 1959 that the regional capital of Kotamobagu in Bolaang-Mongondow fell to TNI

¹⁸³ The recalcitrant provinces/regions included the Padang region of Sumatra, and the provinces of West Java and South Sulawesi that were involved in the Darul Islam movement and temporarily allied with the Permesta movement. For a comprehensive account of the issues and events that led to, and of, Permesta see Barbara Harvey's *Permesta: Half a Rebellion* (1977).

¹⁸⁴ Women had their own unit and become reknowned for their activities in 'intelligence and combat' (Harvey 1977:105).

¹⁸⁵ One informant tells of his working for the Permesta movement in 1957 on the wharves of the port town of Bitung in preparation for the conflict. He recalls watching the American cargo ship, named Isabelle (or Isabella), unload its cargo of Jeeps and weaponry, which were used to supply the North Sulawesi Permesta forces. The goods had been exchanged for a shipload of copra by the then governor of North Sulawesi, Gubernur Saerang, whose wife was an American.

forces. The remaining Permesta forces continued as guerilla forces in various mountainous pockets within the boundaries of Minahasa where fierce battles and many deaths occurred. They continued their resistance until (and in some regions beyond) a general amnesty to Permesta fighters was declared following a mid-year cease-fire in 1961. The conflict was officially declared to have ceased in August 1961, the Government of the province once again under the umbrella of the Indonesian nation.

Dramatically for the people of Loloh the town found itself on the front line of the Permesta conflict in 1960. Whilst many young people had joined the Permesta forces (there were also a few who were members of the Indonesian military well before the Permesta conflict started and remained so throughout), there were many older adults and children who had not been involved in the conflict. In late 1960 the Permesta forces still controlled the relatively inaccessible mountainous and hilly terrain between much of Tomohon and Tanawangko, whilst the TNI were based in the coastal town of Tanawangko and later came to control the town of Lemoh immediately to Loloh's downhill eastern side. Loloh was seen by the TNI as a pro-Permesta town, and for several months before the conflict literally enflamed Loloh both the TNI and Permesta forces were allegedly involved in the interrogation, arrest and disappearance or murder of Loloh's citizens. Generally, however, most of the accusations of brutality, murder and destruction are directed at the TNI forces, whose ethnic and religious differences (generally originating from other parts of Indonesia) are seen to have made it easier for them to perpetuate the cruelty towards the local inhabitants with which they are charged. Several informants claimed to have witnessed the murders of a number of Loloh's citizens by the TNI forces. This included the alleged execution of eight Loloh residents in one day. The violence eventually manifested itself as a battle scene with Loloh at its centre on 17th September 1960, which saw the torching of all the homes and other buildings in Loloh by TNI forces. The only building to survive destruction was the Catholic

Church, the village's only concrete building then some distance from the main village.

In the preceding years and months before the conflict struck Lolah, deprivation in terms of quality food and medicines had beset the people of Lolah. For months prior to the burning of Lolah, residents' movements were highly restricted by TNI forces in particular, who controlled the route to Manado via Tanawangko. Several informants described this as Lolah's 'struggling times'. People were forced to subsist on whatever food stuffs they could garner, such as roots and weeds, from the unsafe fields around the village where they might bump into suspicious TNI and Permesta forces alike. People relied upon traditional medicines to treat ailments, and many people succumbed to a malaria epidemic and other illnesses at this time.

In the months preceding the burning of Lolah, in the battle that raged the day Lolah was burnt, and in the days following as people fled, many Lolah residents suffered or died. Many young and old people (some as young as fourteen and possibly younger) who had been recruited into the Permesta forces also died in the conflict, in the battle for Lolah or elsewhere.¹⁸⁶ There are numerous stories of the day and night of September 17th when Lolah was razed and the days that followed, as the people of Lolah fled through their fields to eventually seek the relative safety of neighbouring towns. Most people of Lolah settled in the neighbouring towns of Lemoh and Tara-tara, although a number of people went further afield to Manado and Tomohon where they had relatives.¹⁸⁷ The majority of those who fled stayed away from Lolah until after the cessation of the entire Permesta conflict, although an initial group who had been residing in Lemoh re-gathered in Lolah on December 1st 1961. Many

¹⁸⁶ Those that survived their role as insurgents tell that there were few weapons to be shared by the Permesta forces, and that weapons such as machetes and ropes for strangling opponents were used in their guerilla tactics.

¹⁸⁷ The two leaders in the dislocated community at the time were Bapak M.Item in Lemoh and Bapak S.S.Pogalin in Tara-tara.

families were reluctant to return and it was several years – until 1963 or 1965 – before many families returned.¹⁸⁸

The post-Permesta rebuilding of Lolah and cultural change

When the people of Lolah did eventually return they found many changes had been wrought by the turbulence and disruption to social, cultural and economic life. Many of the former leaders of the village had been killed in the conflict. This followed the loss of many elders during the deprivations and forced labour under the Japanese during WWII. It was the job of those remaining, including a number of young women and men who had survived, to rebuild the town's social and physical infrastructure, and to become the new elders of Lolah. For instance, Ibu Mintje Gigir, mentioned earlier, is one such person. She had used her role as a young schoolteacher to travel through TNI blockades to deliver medicines and food to those in Lolah. She became the principal teacher of the GMIM elementary school when the people of Lolah reentered Lolah on December 1st 1961, when she was at the youthful age of twenty-one and the Catholic Church was used as the first temporary school site. She was also made a GMIM *penatua* (church worker or elder) simultaneously, in keeping with church rules.

The post-Permesta period was a difficult time. All the houses had been burnt, as had many of the fields and tree crops that had been grown in Lolah's gardens. Few people had any money, food was scarce, as was clothing, and initial shelters were very simple. Shortly after returning, a form of house building *gotong royong* (mutual help) was initiated by one Bapak Jan Pangkey, in which residents worked together to quickly build houses made of bamboo and wood for Lolah's resettling families. Within a short period of time many houses were rebuilt and the planning and development of community buildings, such as a village hall and a GMIM church,

¹⁸⁸ Today there remain several publicly active Permesta veterans' organizations in Lolah and North Sulawesi whose members proudly attend public Government events, such as marching in the annual *Pawai Pembangunan* as part of the 17 Agustus (Indonesian Independence Day) celebrations.

began. Some chose to continue to live outside Lolah and work and save money to build better houses. Others did not want to return because of traumatic memories associated with the conflict. The *mapalus* agricultural system had ceased altogether during Permesta and participation afterwards declined due to the persistence of people seeking outside work to pay for the rebuilding of houses and their gardens/orchards thereafter. The death of many people, young and old, had also reduced *mapalus* numbers. However, small *mapalus* groups were active throughout the 1960s, albeit less so than in the 1950s. Other forms of non-agricultural mutual assistance associations, which are at times referred to as constituting *mapalus*, continue into present day life in Lolah, particularly in the form of money saving and lending associations, and associations that share food preparation obligations for *pesta*.¹⁸⁹

The rebuilding of Lolah included the re-establishment of its gardens, with many new trees being planted in the 1960s, adding to substantive cash crop tree plantings in the 1950s. Cloves, coconut trees and fruit trees were planted by individual farmers on their land, signaling the beginning of the end for rice production in Lolah. It would be the clove trees planted in this era that would be the foundation for the wealth enjoyed in the clove boom of the 1970s and 80s and the many cultural changes in Lolah associated with this era, including the demise of agricultural *mapalus*.

Importantly, a number of traditions or *adat* practices disappeared or began to fall into disuse as a consequence of the destruction of Lolah and the period people spent outside. Whereas in the past the residents of Lolah were expected to marry within the village, marriage to outsiders during Permesta was not uncommon, and the certain *adat pernikahan* (such as *menerang*, *saput lemaen* and *antar harta*), that had previously been carefully ordered acts of the marriage process, are believed to have declined as a result of marriage with outsiders. When marriages were performed outside of Lolah,

¹⁸⁹ Lundstrom-Burghoorn (1981) discusses the persistence of *mapalus* in non-agricultural forms in her ethnography, which includes the nearby town of Tara-tara.

such practices were not always performed, especially if the union was with a non-native to Lolah. Not all Tombulu-speaking or Minahasan peoples practiced *menerang*, *saput lemaen* and *antar harta*, and thus marriage to non-locals led to the decline of once normative *adat pernikahanin* Lolah. The inability to provide land or goods of value as *harta* to a bride and her family, because of the scarcity of goods and money throughout the region at this time, contributed to the decline of these practices. Several informants describe the difficulty of the post-Permesta era:

Ibu Rasuh: That was a difficult time. There were no clothes, no furniture. All those who returned were refugees, there were no money. Even the gardens were all gone. So the others had to open their gardens [to share with] the refugees. Not all people built their houses again.

Ibu Liyu: At that time there were many changes.

Ibu Rasuh: When people were coming home they brought various people with them also. From Pinaras and Woloan.

Hendrik: They had married among themselves?

Ibu Rasuh: They had married before they came home. So the [local] traditions were disappearing. Moreover, many elders had died. We were the elders when Permesta was over.

The effects of the conflict had put considerable emotional and financial strain on families and community, and people's time outside of Lolah had introduced them to new people and new experiences. Many young people, and those who had lost spouses in the conflict, returned to Lolah having married people from outside the village, or remained outside in their spouse's villages or towns. Local cultural traditions, especially marital *adat*, were not practised as people married others from other regions of Minahasa, despite the fact that their spouses were often also people of Tombulu origins, such as those of Woloan. The Permesta era is locally seen as the beginning of the decline of certain cultural practices, in contrast to their articulation

in the interwar period. However, it seemed that funerary practices changed little in the inter-war or inter-conflict period. The undertaking of *adat kematian* was less dependent on financial capacity than marital practices, and there had been much demand for their performance during the Peremesta years, both of which may have contributed to their continuation, relatively unchanged, into the 1960s.

The events of 1965-66 and the nationwide purging of Communists and their sympathizers (and many others) from towns all over Indonesia did not go unfelt in Loloh. The husband of one of my informants was a member and representative for the PKI in Loloh during 1965-66. A father of twelve, he was taken by what are believed to be Government agents one day during this period of national instability, never to be seen again, believed murdered. I understand he was the only person to go missing from Loloh during this time.

New Order rhetoric, *musim cengkih* and the demise of *mapalus*

In the wake of the political turmoil in much of Indonesia during 1965-66, the *Orde Baru* or New Order Government came to power under the leadership of President Suharto, which would govern Indonesia for over three decades. The *Orde Baru*'s discursive and policy emphasis upon *pembangunan* (development) and *modernisasi* coincided in the town of Loloh, as it did elsewhere in Minahasa and Indonesia, with the sharp rise and sustained high price of cloves (*cengkih*) between 1968 and 1986.¹⁹⁰ The Suharto regime's emphasis on development and modernisation were thus realised in Loloh more than other regions of Indonesia, because of the dramatic rise in clove prices. In the experiences of many middle-aged residents of Loloh, especially those between the ages of 45 and 65, *pembangunan* was realised with relative ease and speed in this period, an ease which many would only appreciate in retrospect. The wealth generated by the period of the sustained high price of cloves in the period was, however, not the sole reason for the improved standards of living experienced in this

¹⁹⁰ These are the bookend seasons of the first and last big harvests whilst the clove price was high.

period by the people of Lolah. The improved delivery in basic infrastructure, Government and religious services to the village during this period contributed significantly to people's standards of living and their growing sense of belonging to modernity, of the realisation of 'being modern', of having modern things and experiences. This was a period of significant changes in long standing cultural practices in which changes in technologies – material and of (self-) government – had profound impacts on the realisation of oneself in relation to conceptions of culture and modernity. In the words of one informant, the people of Lolah began to stop practicing many long-standing aspects of *kebudayaan*, and began to follow more modern ways.¹⁹¹

Several informants described how in the early years of the New Order Government there was a new term (complementing *moderen*) in common discourse disseminated through schools and other media, that sought to distinguish the policies of the new Government from the old. This term was *Orla*, an abbreviation of *Order Lama* or Old Order, that referenced the Sukarno-led Government. There were few elders left in the village following the end of Peremesta, and the young people, fueled by experiences living outside of Lolah and in schools and the discourse of the New Order, were the drivers of change.

Ibu Rasuh: The development (*perkembangan*) was now following the youngsters. Well, after many had come home, the people started saying: you are *Orla*. When the elders giving advice they were called *Orla*.

Bryan: *Orla?*

Hendrik: Old fashioned [in English].

¹⁹¹ Ibu Sultje Ursula Liju Salaki in an interview with her and Ibu Donna Adelaida Rasuh Monintja, (12/7/2008).

Ibu Liyu: ha...ha... It was the old story – the old people were not being listened to.

Ibu Rasuh: That's because the youngsters were going to school at Tomohon, Manado.

Ibu Liyu: When the young were told the old stories they called it *Orla*.

Ibu Rasuh: When the old people gave advice they [the young] said it was *Orla*. We, the [new] elders, were not many...¹⁹²

The *Bahasa Indonesia* terms *kuno*, meaning old-fashioned, and or *ketinggalan jaman*, meaning outdated, were also commonly employed by the younger generation alongside *Orla*, and would come to be much more resilient concepts over the decades as the vitality of the reference to Sukarno era of Government faded. These newer concepts are commonly utilised today as a derogatory term for out-of-date practices of culture.

The new discourse of the New Order coincided with the dramatic rise in clove prices, which surged at the time of the clove harvest in 1968. Cloves had been introduced into Minahasa by the Dutch from the islands of Maluku where the trees are indigenous. In Loloh itself, the first clove trees had been introduced by the first foreign planters who settled in the Ranatongkor area during the late nineteenth-century. A number of clove gardens survived destruction during the Permesta conflict, and the trees were a mature age by the time clove prices began to rise dramatically in the late 1960s, thus giving high crop yields. The financial returns gained from these trees led to the plantings of significantly more clove trees in Loloh

¹⁹² Ibu Sultje Ursula Liju Salaki in an interview with her and Ibu Donna Adelaida Rasuh Monintja, (12/7/2008).

– whose climate was well suited to clove production – which added to the wealth generated by the commodity over the next two decades.¹⁹³

Within a few years the wealth generated by the clove boom began to have a profound impact on the lives of the people of Lolah. Following the first big clove harvest in 1968, people began to build new houses with the profits, built mostly from wood, though the first concrete houses were built as well. The majority of Lolah's current houses were built from the profits of *musim cengkih*. Many people who had only recently suffered the loss (and ignominy) of all their possessions and many loved ones in the Permesta conflict became relatively wealthy quite quickly, assuming strong positions as consumers. Many stories are told of the wealth and occasional extravagance in this period. By the early 1970s families were able to afford cars and small trucks and motorcycles, some families coming to own as many as three cars plus motorcycles. Domestic 'white' goods, especially refrigerators and televisions were the first goods to be purchased, even before there was electricity supplied (or television reception guaranteed) to the village. Generators were required to run them, and were used initially on special occasions only. People were able to buy nice clothes to wear to church and dances and on the increasingly frequent journeys outside the village. At the height of the rise in clove prices some clove farmers were able to buy a car from the yields of a single clove tree. Hendrik's grandfather owned three cars at one time, and most people claimed a relative had owned at least one car during *musim cengkih*; only wealthy households own cars in twenty-first century Lolah. Predominantly ethnic Chinese clove merchants frequently visited Lolah, at times providing what seemed like generous advances in the form of cash, cars or white goods for crops before they were harvested. Many people assert now that they were outsmarted by such businessmen at the time. However, the town was then flush with money and this period is remembered positively, with some pride, and with humour (part informed by the embarrassment of today's relative poverty in Lolah).

¹⁹³ At this time clove trees could be brought to fruiting maturity in approximately eight years, although this number would decline over time as faster growing trees were introduced.

The village itself underwent significant transformation, becoming a vibrant market town every clove-picking season. Many clove growers, who had previously harvested their own trees, paid seasonal labourers from outside the town to harvest the crops. An influx of labourers from diverse regions of Sulawesi, such as from the Sangihe and Talaud Islands and Gorontalo, and even further afield such as Java, came to pick the clove harvest in Lolah. They each brought stories, experiences and beliefs from outside to Lolah, and spent a good percentage of their income in the town. Restaurants and *warung* (roadside eateries) opened, and residents rented out rooms or space as accommodation to service the temporary workers. Tailors did a roaring trade and expanded their businesses, and a range of shops selling cooking equipment and other household goods opened to cater for workers and residents alike. One friend remembers employing over a dozen staff in his tailor shop. A carnival atmosphere is said to have prevailed. Men gambled nightly, and some are remembered for washing their hands with beer, such was their wealth. The village hall showed films every evening during the clove season and dances held for weddings and other events are recalled for their air of opulence and flamboyance. The traditional polka and waltz dances were complemented by jives and other modern dances, and the fine quality of dance dresses and suits are fondly recalled. Young men and women openly held each other's hands in the street for the first time, defying traditional restrictions and flaunting modern ways. Romantic liaisons and marriages with outsiders were not unheard of.

Residents began to regularly travel outside of the town. The road connecting Lolah to both Tanawangko (linking Lolah to Manado) and to Tomohon was asphalted in 1973 (to be later substantially redeveloped in the 1980s) improving transport and the flow of people and goods. Small buses began to travel daily between Lolah and these outside destinations, and the people of Lolah regularly visited Manado for shopping and relaxation. The extent of the new wealth afforded people the chance to travel further afield also, with many people traveling as far afield as Jakarta, or even Singapore, for holidays or shopping trips. Many young people decided to stay on in

the cities of Jakarta or Surabaya seeking work and experience, the beginning of what would eventually become a diaspora of Lolah's people across Indonesia. Those who traveled to the major cities of Indonesia – particularly Jakarta, Indonesia's most prominent city of opportunity and modern experiences – would often stay for several weeks or months with relatives who had settled there. Their return to Lolah, and subsequent conduct, demonstrates some of the most interesting insights into the people of Lolah's self-perceptions and modern orientation in this period of change. Many of the stories were recalled with great humour, describing how returnees sought to reorient themselves in relation to their new experiences and values.

Several oft-told stories include the woman who failed to remember her way home once she had arrived in Lolah after a visit to Jakarta. She asked the crowd in the street in *Bahasa Indonesia*, strongly accented with the local Jakarta dialect Betawi, the direction to her house, which she had forgotten during her two-week stay in the capital city. Another returnee continued to speak the Betawi dialect for many months following his return from a visit to Jakarta, and has since been known by the nickname Pak Betawi. Another concerned a woman who refused to close her lips when speaking to people so that her lipstick – the first recalled to have been used in the village – would not wear off, and the humorous misunderstandings of speech that subsequently arose. The initial appearance of sunglasses, make-up, and other fashions and technologies of self-comportment were also commonly and humorously recalled; these represented the embodiment of positive valuations of modernity.

Informants represented this conduct as people's attempt to emphasise how modern they believed they had become, and how *kuno* or *Orla* were their fellow inexperienced residents. What language one spoke was a key signifier of one's modernity, and demonstrated a relative (developmental or civilisational) difference between the speaker and others within the community. New self-appreciations were most evident in relation to language. *Bahasa Tombulu* was increasingly elided in favour of *Bahasa Manado/Melayu* and *Bahasa Indonesia* in everyday discourse. This was informed by increased contact with people from outside Lolah, more regular

travel to Manado and beyond, and the higher levels of education being received by the village's young. One informant, who was a young man at the beginning of musim cengkih, tells of the transformation of language use within Lolah.

- Hendrik: When did people in Lolah still actively speak the Tombulu language?
- Pak Ari: When I was a little boy I spoke Tombulu, My parents interacted with me in the Tombulu language.
- Bryan: Did they speak the Indonesian language also?
- Pak Ari: They knew it, but for daily interaction they spoke Tombulu. When I grew up, the Tombulu language gradually decreased, and people began to speak [*Bahasa*] *Melayu Manado* more often. The change began from our generation.
- Hendrik: When Pak Ari grew up, Pak Ari and your friends began to speak [*Bahasa*] *Melayu Manado*? Why?
- Pak Ari: Because in daily life interaction the young people were embarrassed to speak Tombulu and preferred to speak [*Bahasa*] *Melayu Manado*.
- Hendrik: Since they thought that when they spoke the different language they looked more prestigious. They thought that if they spoke the different language they were more educated, they were more civilised [spoken to me in English].
- Bryan: Why did people think like that?
- Pak Ari: People thought like that because they had been in Manado, stayed there for several days, and when they went back to the village they didn't want to speak the Tombulu language, but [*Bahasa*] *Melayu Manado* ...

Pak Ari: In 1970 some people here had bought cars, so they went to Manado more often. And when they came back they pretended not to know the Tombulu language ha...ha...ha...¹⁹⁴

Residents became embarrassed and ashamed (*malu*) to speak *Bahasa Tombulu* when outside of Lolah, and increasingly within the village itself. The influence of *Bahasa Indonesia* as the medium of instruction in schools and for religious services had already made a significant impact on language use within the town. Many families stopped using *Bahasa Tombulu* at home, in an attempt to inculcate *Bahasa Indonesia* as the first language of their children. Few in the present generation of people in Lolah aged below forty years of age in the year 2005 could speak more than a smattering of *Bahasa Tombulu* words.

Hendrik describes the associations with *Bahasa Tombulu* at the time of *musim cengkih*, recalling how people in the village would mock those who spoke it, “because we thought we were more modern than them.” They considered themselves more educated and looked down upon Tombulu speakers as being of a “lower class” than them. Here, a rural-urban divide is evident, a distinction drawn between those who have attended school in Manado or other towns thanks to their family’s increased income from cloves, and have learnt *Bahasa Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia*, and those who haven’t. Hendrik and his peers “absorbed new cultures... such as language...this was the modern language and we felt we didn’t need to practice the old.” Those who could speak *Bahasa Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia* were proud of their new language capabilities and associated identity, “they became examples for other people, [people would say] ‘oh, these are modern people, so I have to be like them, I have to speak like them. I don’t need to speak Tombulu’.”¹⁹⁵

The contemporary retelling of these stories recalls the profound impact that these events had upon residents’ comparative self-realisation, between their self-perceived

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Pak Jan Ari Worung and Pak Hendrik (3/6//2005).

¹⁹⁵ Taken from an interview with Pak Hendrik on (24/10/2006) at Melbourne University.

backward ways associated with local Tombulu language and culture and the more modern, urbane identities of Manado, Jakarta and Indonesia. Language, and key concepts within it, became key technologies of the self in an individual's realisation of a modern identity, and a distancing from sense of self and community, which was associated with the past and the concept/domain of culture itself. This is reflected in a passage from an informant, in response to a question concerning why there had been a loss of marital *adat* during *musim cengkih*, "Because people had a better [standard of] living. In the past people used to ask help from each other and still practised the culture (*kebudayaan*). But when the clove time came people began to follow modern ways."¹⁹⁶ Here, *kebudayaan* is something increasingly associated with the past and communitarianism situated in juxtaposition to a progressive, individualistic, modern orientation.

Better access to education was fundamental to this shift in orientation. Despite the presence of a lower elementary school in Loloh since 1955, people chose to send their children to better quality schools if they could afford it, sending them to senior high schools in Tomohon and Manado during *musim cengkih*. The wealth of *musim cengkih* helped make this increasingly possible. The first university graduates eventually came from among the students who received higher education outside of Loloh in this era. The aspirations of the young were influenced by the new relative wealth of this period. Many youth, whose families were landholders of productive *cengkih* orchards, spent much time enjoying the profits of this period, driving cars, visiting Manado and generally having a good time. Many people say today that this generation – now middle-aged – generally wasted the wealth generated by their family's clove crops during this time. Few are wealthy today. There was a general expectation that the price of cloves would always remain high and that the ongoing ease of the new wealth would continue. This, however, was not to be the case. The current retrospective assessment by the residents of Loloh concerning their

¹⁹⁶ Ibu Donna Adeleida Rasuh Monintja, from an Interview with Ibu Sultje Ursula Liju Salaki & Ibu Donna Adeleida Rasuh Monintja (12/7/2005).

subsequent decline in fortunes compares their luck to neighbouring villages, such as Lemoh and Tara-tara. In these nearby villages people are said to have had the foresight to invest more of the wealth generated during *musim cengkih* into the education of their children, financing their children's attendance at senior high school and Manado's universities. This, it is said, ensured that many in this generation in these other villages have become *pegawai negeri* (public servants), which has brought sustained financial benefits for their families and communities alike. Such foresight, unfortunately, did not generally manifest itself in Loloh, and is the principal reason given for what is seen today as Loloh's lagging-behind its neighbouring villages in terms of *kemajuan* and *pembangunan*.

Children went to school longer than in the past thanks to the opportunities created through *musim cengkih* and the greater accessibility of education – lower and secondary high schools – in Loloh and neighbouring towns, as state and church schools (GMIM and Catholic) opened. As a result, young people were not entering *mapalus* until a later age, or opted to seek work in urban centres in North Sulawesi or further abroad, utilising their language skills in *Bahasa Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia*. One informant, a teacher, said this of the influence of education on the integrity of the agricultural *mapalus* system: “So the transformation happened because children went to school outside. Our *mapalus* was gone.”¹⁹⁷ Much of the agricultural skills and know-how that this generation's parents had evidenced in the era of *mapalus* and in other agricultural and horticultural activities was lost to this next generation during *musim cengkih* when *mapalus* practice and rice cultivation dramatically declined.

People stopped planting rice in favour of cloves and coconuts for the making of *copra*, and the once vast forested area between Mount Tatawiren and Loloh was increasingly cleared to make way for the new cash crop orchards. The clove trees required a lot of attention, influencing people to choose to farm their own land and

¹⁹⁷ Ibu Mintje Gigir, from an interview with Interview with Ibu Mintje Gigir dan Ibu Emy Monintja, (1/12/2005).

not work communally in the *mapalus* system to grow rice and corn. One informant describes the change: “The area of [rice and corn] agriculture changed with the clove plantations, the [rice and corn] agriculture product decreased, the crops of clove and coconut increased. People didn’t cultivate their land any more, just depended on clove and coconut, and *mapalus* began to decrease.”¹⁹⁸ Groups of dwindling size continued to practice *mapalus* and the growing of dry-rice, but as rice was best managed in larger rather than smaller groups, the *mapalus* system became increasingly difficult to sustain for rice production. *Mapalus* activities began to include the tending of clove and coconut orchards for clearing weeds from around the base of the trees to accommodate the increasing agricultural and income emphasis on cash cropping. Dry rice production declined dramatically and there was no one farming rice in Lolah during 2005/2008. Aquacultural practices, namely fish pond farming, were increasingly practised in the 1970s, largely existing outside the *mapalus* system, and taking over from the more intensive wet rice farming on the few suitable plots. Throughout the nearly two decades of *musim cengkih* Lolah had been drawn increasingly deeper into national and international capitalist economies. Agricultural *mapalus* steadily declined into disuse in favour of modern market demands brought on by cash crop commodification and the methods of agricultural production that these demanded. Lolah’s people were adapting to their role in the global economy, and significant changes in work (and cultural practices) were wrought accordingly.

State and cultural change

The period when *musim cengkih* and the *Order Baru* era intersected was a period of improved delivery of basic Government services in Lolah, playing a significant role in the process of change in the town. The asphaltting of the road linking Lolah with the neighbouring towns of Tanawangko, Manado and Tomohon meant that health care and hospital grade medical assistance was more accessible than previously. People in Lolah had begun to visit medical doctors in the 1940s, traveling outside of the village

¹⁹⁸ Interview with Pak Theodorus Tindangen (15/6/05).

into neighbouring towns to do so. Whilst some basic level of health care had been provided by local nurses who had trained outside of Lolah during the post-WWII period, people were generally required to travel outside to seek medical assistance if possible. Otherwise they relied upon the long existing healing practices of resident *dukun* or talented individuals known for their healing powers.¹⁹⁹ Whilst there was a *puskesmas* (a health clinic with resident medically trained midwives) in Tanawangko in the post-Permesta period, another opened in Lolah itself during the 1980s, replacing the previous dependence on traditional midwives and/or travel outside for women when possible. This was reflective of the increased provision of services to rural areas such as Lolah by the national Government during this era.

Similarly, the Government extended electrical wires to Lolah in the late 1970s for the first time, allowing electrical light and appliance devices to be utilised without generators. As it has all over the world, electricity has changed the way people live in a variety of ways, from the hours that people remain awake and the way they engage with the dark, the type of work or entertainment they can pursue both day and night, and the performance of household chores. Electricity afforded people easier access to television – despite poor reception for several years in which only the national Government channel was available – and a more immediate and accessible information source than in the past. By the mid 1980s one enterprising resident had bought several satellite dishes for receiving television and established a cable network that used the new electrical poles to distribute a selection of television channels on a user-pay basis.²⁰⁰ This stimulated people in Lolah's awareness of both national and international concerns and life-worlds, and provided a potentially day-round entertainment source. Combined with the upgrading and sealing of roads into Lolah

¹⁹⁹ *Dukun* or otherwise 'named' healers could specialize in a variety of healing practices, such as healing broken bones or massage or other ailments. Some *dukun* used *opoisme* practices that communicated with deceased ancestors, but not all. I will discuss traditional healing practices at greater length in Chapter Eight.

²⁰⁰ By 2005 this entrepreneur, despite the introduction of a competitor, had six satellite dishes that could potentially receive over one thousand channels (given subscriptions), of which he provided up to twelve (mostly *Bahasa Indonesia* or Malay) channels to houses all over Lolah.

the delivery of electricity represented a significant upgrading of basic services by the national Government, thus delivering on its promise of *pembangunan*. In doing so it was fulfilling the developmental ambitions of Permesta veterans and other citizens.

In 1977 a village-level civil committee was established in Lolah to ensure that all the residents of Lolah had a clean, fresh water supply. The old Paniki spring on the upper side of the former settlement at *mawanua*, which had a constant and substantial flow of water, was chosen. Several tanks were built at the spring to contain and regulate flow and a village wide pipe system was laid throughout the village, allowing water flow to fill home tanks throughout Lolah for a monthly fee. The subsequent supply of fresh water in homes changed the way people washed their bodies and clothes, and collected and used water, and commodified a natural resource. This system continues to be managed today by a volunteer civil body of residents, overseen by village-level Government, supplying water to all the current villages of the population of greater Lolah.

The administration of the village itself was split into two villages in 1985, *Desa Lolah Satu* and *Desa Lolah Dua*, to accommodate an increase in population.²⁰¹ This resulted in the creation of two sets of village Government apparatus: *hukum tua*, village secretaries, new *jaga* and their personnel. Over the following two decades a new village hall and local Government offices were built in the new administrative zone that initially lacked these facilities. The effect in Lolah was to create a virtual division of local Government between the larger Protestant and Catholic communities, which had previously been dominated by the Protestant population. The new *Desa Lolah Dua* had a small majority Catholic population. The Catholic Church, whose previous isolation from the village in the fields below Lolah had helped preserve it during the burning of Permesta, now found itself within the expanding village of *Desa Lolah Dua*. The Protestants dominated the population of *Desa Lolah Satu* where

²⁰¹ At the time of my visit to Lolah in December 2008 the villages of *Lolah Satu* and *Lolah Dua* were being divided in half, in order to make four villages, each with a separate Government apparatus.

their church was located.²⁰² In both villages the elected *hukum tua* was generally of the dominant faith. *hukum tua* (village head) and village secretary, the two main positions in local Government, both worked without an official salary, although from the mid 1980s village heads received an annual subsidy. Though no longer observed, previously there had been a process called *pinontol sawang*, whereby the *hukum tua*, who was not otherwise paid, was compensated for his time and efforts by having community members regularly work in his garden/fields. An important Government function, of certifying land ownership, officially began in Lolah in 1977, signaling the town's greater encapsulation within the national government's policies and legal system. Overall, these developments in local Government administration represent an increased incorporation of community into the apparatus of the Indonesian post-colonial state through the period of the *Orde Baru*.

Church, state and the exercise of pastoral power in Lolah

In 1974 Pendeta Rumbayan was the first GMIM pastor to live and work in Lolah. He recalls his biggest challenge as a young pastor – Lolah was his first assignment – was how to reconcile the life expectations between Lolah's older and younger generations. The young people at this time, he remembers, regarded many long-standing practices as old fashioned and inappropriate for them, including language itself, as life circumstances had changed significantly from those in the past. This was a theme often repeated in conversations with my informants: the gaps in life experiences and appreciation of them between the old and young. The young generation of adults in the post-Permesta period had taken on many of the

²⁰² As elsewhere in Indonesia inter-faith marriages are generally disapproved of and resisted by individuals and communities alike, generally necessitating the conversion of one of a couple in inter-faith love relationships. In Lolah, where people have traditionally married locally, there have been many occasions where love and marriage has caused ruptures within family and religious units. It is said that up until the 1980s the Catholic congregation would all wear black to church on the Sunday that a member converted to Protestantism in the church uptown, and similar prejudices were exerted downtown also. Today many social and familial networks were largely defined by alliances of faith, and it was my observation that subtle prejudices and discriminations continued to be exercised today, albeit commonly denied.

responsibilities as leaders in their community before their time, and these people were now the older generation. During 2005, numerous members of this generation (now the elders) said that many of the older cultural practices that were still in use when they were young, they now considered old fashioned and inappropriate for today's circumstances and moral beliefs. This principally concerned two domains of older cultural practices.

The first concerned the sustainability of rice production and *mapalus* systems in the face of changing agricultural practices, due to profitable rice and copra production, the increased attendance of children at high school and beyond, their related preparation and suitability for urban office and retail work, including as public servants, the prejudice that higher education engendered in students and the broader society against agricultural work and livelihoods, and the significant out-migration of young people to other regions of Indonesia in search of alternative livelihoods. As suggested by several of my informants:

Bryan: I'm wondering when *mapalus* stopped being practiced in Lolah.

Pak Petrus: Well, it's because of the development of today's era. Today, there are a lot of job opportunities such as civil servant, driver, teacher, and so on, and finally *mapalus* no longer exists.

Bryan: Was there a change after *Permesta*?

Pak Petrus: It still existed, there were sixty people in *mapalus*, and I was in there too, but eventually there was a wide range of means of livelihood, so they were not interested in *mapalus*, many people moved to live in the city. Until now there are only a few people who form one small group of *mapalus* to work in the garden/field...

Pak Wilson: It depended on the economy. *Mapalus* was finally gone with the clove era in 60's. Its price/value was very high at that time and the economy was stable. That's why the people didn't have any desires to work in *mapalus*. The rupiah at that time was still Rp.450 per

dollar. So the economy of Lolah in the 70's was stable, particularly when Suharto was the president in Indonesia. There were no areas in Lolah without this plant. It wasn't difficult to plant the clove. They all had money, that's why it wasn't necessary to form *mapalus* any more, and eventually it was gone.²⁰³

Whilst several informants regretted seeing the disappearance of agricultural *mapalus* practices, and an associated sense of indigenous reciprocity disappear with it, this generation had seen many changes as old cultural practices and beliefs had been challenged by modern discourses, practices and experiences. They had been at the forefront of challenging these practices themselves in their dual roles and responsibilities as young adults and elders in the immediate post-Permesta years. Despite regret at its demise, the *mapalus* agricultural system was understood as unsustainable in the present socio-economic context of Lolah, no longer suitable to contemporary life.

The other domain of indigenous cultural practices that were considered out-dated and *kuno*, and were marginalised during the New Order era, were those that engaged or channeled deceased relatives or ancestors (*opo*), practices contemporarily known as *opoisme*.²⁰⁴ This is most notable in the funerary practices of *maweteng* and *tumepi* that explicitly engaged with the recently deceased and other *opo*. *Maweteng* practice began to decline during the 1970s, yet it continued to be undertaken by some families into the 1980s, when it was practiced inside the houses of the deceased in a room separate from the main *kumawas/tiga malam* activities. At the new indoor *maweteng*, relatives and others would sit around a bare table in a room with the lights turned out, like a séance. Each person had a piece of chalk and then the spirit would write through the medium of somebody at the table the name of the spirit present, and the spirit's intention, as in the pre-Permesta era. This message was usually instructions or

²⁰³ Taken from an interview with Bapak Petrus Matau & Bapak Wilson Matau (20/7/2005).

²⁰⁴ I will further discuss *opoisme*, and the origins of the term, in detail in Chapter Eight.

information the deceased had forgot to tell when alive, often involving outstanding money or land issues unresolved at one's death. Today, funeral *maweteng* is no longer practised at all in Lolah, having stopped during the 1980s, and is considered spiritually and morally incongruent with contemporary Christian beliefs and practices. Similarly, the practice of *tumepi* (a ceremony involving *opoisme* in a deceased's gardens following *maweteng*) was subsequently lost. Alongside the demise of certain funerary *adat*, the majority of marital *adat* associated with *menerang* and *saput lamaen* were practised less until they disappeared in the 1980s.

Oma AdrentjiPangemanan suggested the ceasing of *maweteng* and other *opoisme* practices was related to the arrival of a resident pastor in Lolah, after which residents demonstrated a stronger belief in the Christian God than previously. The resident pastor encouraged people to stop practising *maweteng* and other traditions, and to think of these *adat* as *kuno*, *ketinggalan jaman* or *Orla*, and to relegate them to history, to the role of past culture. Of *maweteng* in the *Orde Baru* era, Oma AdrentjiPangemanan said: "people said the tradition was old fashioned... when the president changed the policy was changed, tradition was changed also... people followed the trend, when they found new culture they followed it".²⁰⁵ The new national culture – with its new 'traditions' – promoted by the *Orde Baru* (as discussed in Chapter Three), complemented the efforts of the church in changing – in modernising – the intellectual orientation of its citizens/congregation. Similarly, GMIM worked with the modernising discourses of the New Order state, which it saw as complementing their mutually informing goals of the modernisation and thorough Christianisation of their congregations.²⁰⁶ In doing so, discourses and programs of church and state in the post-colonial New Order era have continued

²⁰⁵ This is a translation of Oma Adrentjie Pengemanan's interview from a mix of *Bahasa Melayu Manado/Bahasa Tombulu* into English.

²⁰⁶ Again, as per the discussion of both state and church discourses in the New Order era in Chapter Four.

their cooperation, following precedents set in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial eras in Sulawesi.

The increasing organisational capacity of the GMIM Church related to the arrival of a pastor in the village had proven fundamentally important in the development of the church in Lolah. Informants often expressed their explicit appreciation of this historical development, as they similarly did when reflecting upon the positive contribution the nineteenth-century missionaries made upon bringing the gospel and civilised ways to Minahasa. As discussed in Chapter Five, Bapak K. Tilaar, the 1940's *guru jemaat*, is remembered as the first GMIM representative in Lolah to campaign against the practice of *opoisme*. This intensity of scrutiny and criticism from the church increased following the arrival of the first pastor to live as a resident in Lolah in 1974, with several informants remembering the new pastor discouraging these practices. Negative criticism of traditional beliefs and practices was commonly preached in Sunday sermons and through GMIM publications during 2005. This contributed to popular opinion amongst Protestants in Lolah that shamanistic communication with deceased relatives and ancestors, and the range of healing and other practices associated with it, were un-Christian, pagan, dark and dangerous, and incompatible with modern Christian values. This is reflected in a conversation I had with Hendrik.

Bryan: What is the word used in Lolah for something that is backward?

Hendrik: *Kuno* is something that is not needed anymore, that is not relevant with the present time. For an example, Lolah people do not only use *kuno* to describe things but also to describe past habits or practices which they think are not relevant with the situation in the present time. Such as some cultural practices that are not relevant with the present time and shouldn't be practised anymore.

Bryan: Shouldn't be practised anymore?

Hendrik: For some people.

Bryan: When you talk about Lolah people, are you talking about just some people or the majority?

Hendrik: I think the majority of those who are under fifty years old. For them the cultural practices of the past such as *opoisme*, or *maweteng*, are not important anymore. I found out that some people, they make fun of these practices, they mock them, something like that. Young people in particular. It is old fashioned, it is not modern culture. From my experience many young people in Lolah do not want to practice this culture, they are embarrassed by it.²⁰⁷

GMIM denunciation, combined with the general shift in work, consumerist, healthcare and educational practices during the 1970s and 1980s, and the modernisation orientation of the *Orde Baru* Government, contributed to the decline of *opoisme* practices and the consolidation of the generally held view that they were *kuno* and *tidak moderen* (unmodern).²⁰⁸ One must consider GMIM's opposition to these 'cultural practices', and its influence upon their decline, in this light of this greater complex of influence upon people's conduct and self-government.

The relative riches enjoyed by the people of Lolah consequent to the clove boom, combined with improved standards of services from Government and church institutions, led to the widening of their engagement with, and experience of, the outside world. This involved their increased familiarization with, and incorporation of, new technologies, technologies of self, and norms of conduct, into their lives. The church and state provided better services and were better organized in the village, both responding to, and informing, peoples' religious/spiritual and developmental aspirations (albeit not necessarily fulfilling expectations). People were increasingly incorporated into the state and church apparatuses, as both organisations are dependent upon community 'civil' involvement and responsibilities in the delivery of

²⁰⁷ Interview conducted in English with Hendrik (26/9/2006) Newcastle Beach, Australia.

²⁰⁸ I will consider the relationship between Protestantism and *opoisme* in greater detail in Chapter Eight.

services.²⁰⁹ People had begun to conduct/govern themselves differently in relation to these new civil structures and responsibilities, with these new technologies of self. The permanent residence of a Protestant pastor in the village provided a religious exemplar for the community, a model of moral and spiritual counsel in times of change, as did the *kepala desa* (village head) in the separate domain of Government. Improvements in local and regional schooling opportunities and the availability of language training provided new work opportunities. Improved local health care and the ability to access and afford it influenced people's lives, and eroded certain traditional health practices associated with *opoisme* (which I will discuss in Chapter Eight). Similarly, people began to conduct/govern themselves differently in relation to new modern ('physical') technologies and goods, and the emotional motivations and conundrums that the technologies engendered. Electricity, domestic appliances, television and telephones, asphalted roads, cars and the experience of ease of transport and travel, access to, and greater affordability of clothes, make-up and urban(e) experiences were components of a complex of influences on comportment, desire, and conduct. An ongoing tussle between old and new, old-fashioned and modern, played itself out in the lived experiences of the people of Lolah, in the lives of young and old alike.

The century and a half coexistence of Christianity and cultural beliefs-and-practices, often expressed as *adat* or *tradisi*, were significantly rejigged and realigned in the post-Permesta and *musim cengkeh* periods, informed by newly meaningful and progressive influences. The *Orde Baru* Government's emphasis on progress, development and modernisation contributed to the marginalisation of aspects of village life and culture that were deemed old-fashioned. Christianity was deeply implicated in this process, as was the influx of ideas and goods deemed modern and the desires they engaged. Things or experiences *moderen* were generally perceived positively, *budaya* negatively; the two terms and the domains they represented

²⁰⁹ Here, I reference the *jaga* of the village government, and the *kolom* structure of GMIM congregational organisation, which I will address further in Chapter Eight.

agitating and informing each other and people's sense of self (and group) identity. This had implications for individual and group government, inseparable from the material, rhetorical and social technologies that informed them. People were changed in their engagement with a complex world changing around them, utilising the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* in their understanding and negotiation of changes, informing the very vitality and meaning of these concepts in people's (individual and community) lives.

Cultural continuity in Loloh in the late New Order period

The *Orde Baru*'s attempt at creating a national Indonesian culture founded upon ideals of *pembangunan* and *modernisasi* fulfilled – albeit somewhat accidentally – its promise in Loloh for several decades following the Permesta conflict. Loloh's relative progress and wealth was to flounder, however, with the collapse of the market price of clove during the mid-1980s. The belief in modernity and progress (*kemajuan*), however, remained. The collapse in the clove price is locally blamed upon the failed attempt of President Suharto's son Tommy to control the clove market. The reality, however, was more complex. One researcher apports partial blame in the sustained fall in clove price to the attempt of GMIM officials to control clove markets (Borkenhagen 2003).²¹⁰ My interest lies not in the reasons for the collapse of the clove market but rather the effects of this crash on the livelihoods of the people of Loloh and their cultural practices.

The collapse of the clove market radically realigned work practices in Loloh. Increasingly since the collapse of the clove commodity price in the mid-1980s, the people of Loloh travelled in search of employment. The period of financial instability in Loloh and North Sulawesi Province after the clove collapse contributed to the widespread dispersal of its people across the nation. Many went to live with family

²¹⁰ For a considered treatment of the causes of the collapse in the price of clove in Minahasa, see Lea Borkenhagen's doctoral thesis (2003). Such a view is not, however, part of popular discourse in contemporary Minahasa.

members already living elsewhere in Indonesia, who moved initially during *musim cengkih*, or thereafter in search of employment. The younger generations in particular – both young men and women – have moved to Manado, Jakarta and the major cities of Java, Sumatra and Bali; to the resource rich mining and forestry regions of Sulawesi, Kalimantan and Papua; and in particular to the factories on the island of Batam in Indonesia near to Singapore. People work in a variety of capacities and professions, ranging from itinerant workers to wealthy business people in the major urban areas of Indonesia. Since the late 1990s young women have gone to work as maids in Singapore,²¹¹ in Hong Kong or Taiwan, sending home remittances. Some as young as fifteen have falsified their age on work papers to do so. Young men are more inclined to find work in factories or resource industries throughout Indonesia. Today, work is normally found outside of Loloh.

Several farmers of the younger generation have pride in their profession, but they are few in number. External outmigration had made *mapalus* untenable for those few interested in its possibilities. Although agricultural work is still practised by many, it is rarely a full time profession for men of any generation. The predominantly younger generation of ‘migrant workers’ send home remittances for their parents, younger siblings, or their own children. Many young people leave their young children at home in Loloh for their parents to raise, whilst they seek work abroad. This common dynamic is partly due to the high incidence of teenage pregnancies in Loloh and Minahasa in general.²¹² This dynamic tends to suit many in the older generation also, the youth of the *musim cengkih* generation now middle-aged. Many in this generation tend to work intermittently at agricultural and other activities

²¹¹ In Singapore maids from Manado are apparently considered favourably by Chinese employers and immigration agents alike for their relatively light skin, somewhat Chinese appearance, and Christian religions.

²¹² The high rate of teenage pregnancy in Minahasa appears to be in part consequent to the banning by the GMIM church of condom use for pre-marital sex. Condom use is considered appropriate as a marital family planning practice only.

within the village and often can afford the time to raise their grandchildren whilst their children work abroad.

Contemporary external residency and employment outside of Lolah have contributed to cultural change within Lolah in numerous ways, *generally* progressing modern sensibilities and practices over those of local Tombulu culture (though I will address contrary trends in Chapters Seven and Eight). The valuing of things and experiences *moderen* over things cultural is the norm, and therefore I turn to continue the theme of examining cultural change in relation to marriage and funerary practices in Lolah where culture and modernity collide and are reconciled.

Marriage to outsiders is today common for both women and men. During my stay in Lolah during 2005 the first six wedding ceremonies I attended were marriages between a local and an outsider. Today, young people more commonly attend school or university outside of Lolah in others parts of Minahasa or Indonesia, with many romances starting in education institutions. Ideally, men and women wait until they are in their mid-twenties before getting married, especially amongst better-educated families, and thus tend to meet their partners in their place of their work. Marriage partners come from diverse parts of Indonesia and represent a range of ethnicities, usually meeting in work locations such as Jakarta and Batam. In Indonesia, where it is generally frowned upon for people of different religions to intermarry, and people are dissuaded by their families and communities from doing so, many of those marrying into Lolah families had converted from other religions, mostly Islam and Catholicism.²¹³ Of those from Lolah who had converted to their partners' religions there was little discussion. The converted spouse would inevitably find him or herself excluded from many normal family and broader social activities in the village, which largely revolves around church life.

²¹³ Some of those from different regions who married people of Lolah found themselves confronted with difficult cultural issues.

The trend of marriages to non-Lolah locals influenced the discontinuation of certain *adat kemenikahan*. Many families preferred to honour certain *adat pernikahan* and marginalise others. The most controversial *tradisi* appeared to be the giving of bridewealth, which was considered old-fashioned and offensive to a number of families marrying into families in Lolah. Today it is common that an informal pre-marital meeting between the families of betrothed couples occurred prior to the wedding without the negotiation and exchange of bridewealth. This was especially the case with people of Lolah who lived and work in the urban/industrial areas, marrying people from other parts of Indonesia.

The potential incongruity between the values of Lolah's marital cultural norms and those from outside the town was evident at a wedding I attended during 2005. The groom's family was uncomfortable with the giving of bridewealth (they were from the *Bahasa/Budaya Tonse* region of southern Minahasa where bridewealth is not presently practised), having acquiesced to the family of the bride's request (and will to uphold (*Tombulu*) traditions. However the groom's family was obviously affronted when the *antar harta* (the process of parental approval of a marriage and negotiation of bridewealth) mediator counted the money offered as *harta* before those gathered at the event, as per tradition. It was insulting enough to 'pay' for the bride without having the sum counted out in front of all the guests, a relative of the groom's family later confided. This was considered decidedly *tidak moderen* and caused a minor controversy.

Despite the ceasing of a number of marital and funerary *tradisi* or *adat*, many practices have proven resilient in Lolah. Many of the previous traditions of the inter-war years continue to be practised today despite the dramatic changes in cultural, economic and belief standards. Many *adat pernikahan* of *antar harta*, for instance, are still practised today in Lolah by families dedicated to the tradition, albeit not all. A number of neighbouring *budaya Tombulu* villages, however, have ceased *antar harta* altogether. As mentioned earlier the practices of *menerang* and *saput lamaen* had disappeared from practice in Lolah by the time of my field research in 2005.

Although the practice of *antar harta* has changed considerably since the era before the clove boom, it has been adapted to contemporary circumstances (though not always easily, as the above example demonstrates) and continues to be practised in Lolah today. The former *antar harta* emphasis upon two families coming together and joining resources and land to provide a foundation for the new family has largely been lost, as has the pedagogical emphasis of their first year together in one of their parents' house. This is not to say that families today do not help their recently married children, who often live with them for a time. However, the pedagogical-agricultural emphasis has changed as work practices and livelihood circumstances have changed. Parents of the bride and groom no longer chewed betel together as they once did at *antar harta* or the now extinct *saput lamaen* to signify the union of families. Chewing betel is contemporarily considered *kuno*, although eating the more acceptable and 'civilised' *kolombeng* cake continues. The giving of clothes, furniture and other household goods as bridewealth has also ceased. Bridewealth has continued in Lolah, however, but for those families still practising bridewealth during 2005 it had come to be a straightforward cash transaction. In being so, bridewealth seemed to lose much of the former symbolism that it once embodied, concerning the mutual contribution and union of two families in emotional and resource support of their children's new life and values. The modification of bridewealth into its current form and the lack of symbolic congruity of these contemporary practices with the older values and objectives associated with the practice, obviously contributed, along with poor communication, to the controversy during the *antar harta* event described above. On this occasion it was perceived by the unaccustomed outsiders to represent a straight monetary transaction.

The decline in *antar harta* practices is also partly understood as being a result of common contemporary occurrence of pre-marital pregnancies, often amongst those in their late teenage years. This leaves the families of intended couples financially unprepared to contribute a significant *harta* to the bride's family. It is now common for pregnant brides-to-be to live in their fiancé's parents' house before getting

married. This trend is believed to have increased since the era of *musim cengkih*, despite both parental and Church concern, and is discussed (in GMIM sermons from the pulpit and in common discourse) as being a consequence of the harmful influence of modern society and values.²¹⁴

However, modern values in wedding events are generally positively appreciated. In contemporary marital practices the balance in the fusion between indigenous and foreign influences (this includes internal Indonesian and international Christian trends) appears to be leaning towards the positively valued/perceived modern, Western influences, although many marital *tradisi*, especially those pertaining to the wedding reception, are alive and well. Here, a trend towards a modern articulation of long-standing practices can be observed. The wedding reception may accommodate as many as six hundred guests (as occurred at one event in 2005). Whilst families no longer contribute raw ingredients to the host family to cook, the responsibility is still shared, and there is a complex system of cooperation in the preparing of food (which some call 'food *mapalus*') for the reception. Relatives and friends are requested to prepare approximately ten dishes of food to share with guests in a revolving system of mutually agreed obligations. This will eventually be reciprocated in time as each family holds its own marriage and funeral events and recalls the favour. At the reception the European derived *collonade* continues to be the opening dance, and the waltz and polka are still performed to a bamboo orchestra alongside adaptations of popular Western tunes. It is also common for the orchestra to play alternate shifts with a modern 'disco' system playing contemporary Minahasan and Indonesian dance music, and karaoke. Even so, contemporary music is danced to by a row of men and another of women facing each other, in a traditional Minahasan (Dutch

²¹⁴ Pastor Paul Renwarin, a Minahasan Catholic priest and anthropologist, believes that the current trend to pre-marriage pregnancies is just as common today as it was in the 1970's, based on the Catholic Seminary comparative statistics, although much denied by the current middle-aged generation (personal communication).

originated) format known as the *rijdans* (line dances), to modern songs.²¹⁵ Locating the roots of what counts as traditional and modern in cultural practices such as these will be addressed more substantively in Chapter Eight.

Many aspects of *adat kematian* have persisted into the modern day. *Kumawas*, now known as *tiga malam*, is still practiced as an essential event in standard funeral practice, although the formerly practiced *maweteng* has disappeared. On the night of someone's death attendees continue to mourn and gamble all night long, and the forty nights and one-year funerary ceremonies continue to be held for all deceased. Most restrictions on widow/ers are no longer enforced, however, although those who have relationships or marry again before one year has elapsed following their spouse's death face stern social criticism and many older women chose to wear black for the year following their husband's death. A *pendeta* is present at each event, and there were two resident *pendeta* serving the Loloh congregation in 2005. Christian prayer and ceremony predominate in all funerary and marital events alike. Christian ritual, signification and meaning have come to replace those practices and beliefs previously the realm of *opoisme* practitioners in these events and in day-to-day life. This represents a consolidation of Christianity's upper hand in the evolving tussle between indigenous beliefs and practices and those of the imported Christianity.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how cultural change in Loloh was a result of the dramatic events of the Permesta conflict and congeries of socio-economic influences manifest during the New Order era. Whilst the Permesta period was demonstrative of the brutal, violent effects of state power, armed resistance and conflict, the New Order era oversaw significant developments in the capacity of state and church institutions in Loloh and their corresponding increased effectiveness in influencing the government of individuals and communities. The chapter explored how the increased

²¹⁵ Personal communication Bapak Perry Rumengan (4th December 2008) concerning the origins of Minahasan traditional dances and music.

institutional capabilities of state and church have influenced the spiritual beliefs, material ideals, and organizational capacities of their constituents/congregations. This has been examined in relation to residents' greater participation in the global capitalist economy during the era of *musim cengkih*. The increased wealth that accompanied *musim cengkih* complemented the modernisation goals of church and state, providing residents with the financial capacity to consume, travel and experience things modern and in modern ways. My informants contrast these 'modern' experiences against beliefs and practices increasingly understood through the concept *kebudayaan*, and negatively evaluated through the use of terms such as *kuno* and *Orla*. New experiences of the New Order era were increasingly understood through the use of the meta-concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen*, which informed how residents understood and oriented themselves within processes of change.

Contemporary Loloh is a case study of the long evolving negotiation of 'appropriate' balances between indigenous and 'introduced' civilised/modern beliefs, practices, and forms of governance in Minahasa. By the end of the twentieth-century each individual in Loloh was involved in the articulation of pastoral power networked through discourses and programs – of church and state, indigenous beliefs and practices, and experiences of the outside world – into a locally particular form of modern government. Within this government *kebudayaan* and *moderen* were important conceptual technologies of the self.

What this chapter has not directly addressed, is the way in which the concept *kebudayaan* was utilised in the *Orde Baru* era in reference to *kebudayaan nasional* and the role of regional or local *kebudayaan* – particularly in terms of cultural performance – have related to, and informed, the Indonesian national identity. This will be addressed in Chapter Seven, which explores how cultural identity in the post-New Order era in Loloh and Minahasa continues to be informed by New Order discourses concerning *kebudayaan*, yet is distinctive localised articulations of cultural identity particular to the early years of twenty-first century Indonesia.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Digging Up & Bringing Back Culture Through Performance

In interviews my informants discussed how discourses and concepts particular to the *Orde Baru* influenced their own (and other community members') perceptions of *kebudayaan* in Loloh and the changes that were happening within the village during the *Orde Baru* era. This reflected the metacultural effects of New Order discourse in shaping peoples views about *kebudayaan* in juxtaposition to its conceptual companion *moderen* and associated terms.²¹⁶ The conceptual positioning of *kebudayaan* (local, regional or provincial) in New Order discourse, in hierarchical and regressive relation to a progressive nationalist agenda of modernisation, promoted (possibly reinforced) *kebudayaan* as backward looking and representative of the past. On the other hand, New Order discourse can be seen to have also productively influenced popular appreciation of *kebudayaan* in Minahasa as referencing the representation of unique regional and ethnic expressions in the form of cultural performances, typified by dance and song. In this understanding of *kebudayaan* culture can be interpreted as representing 'expressions' of regional identity contributing to a pan-Indonesian national identity and as existing in a separate domain from social organization and politics. As discussed in Chapter Four, this form of recognition of cultural diversity played an important role in New Order nationalist rhetoric, and has informed the way several generations – especially the young – understand and perceive themselves, and others, and their identification with the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen*.

This chapter explores the ways in which people in Loloh and other locations in Minahasa contemporarily define themselves in relation to culture or *kebudayaan* through cultural performances linked to Tombulu sub-ethnic identity and in relation

²¹⁶ I focus here in *kebudayaan* in particular, though meta-effects can also be drawn concerning other key rhetorical concepts of the era also, such as *modernisasi*, *kemajuan* and *pembangunan*.

to conceptions of modernity and a pan-Indonesian national culture. In the post-*Orde Baru* period a trend has emerged whereby *kebudayaan*, conceived in terms of a local Tombulu cultural identity, is positively appreciated in priority over the formerly favoured regional Minahasan and Manado-based identities. This trend appears largely consequent to the interests and energies of younger generations in Lolah and Minahasa who have experience of expatriate life in other parts of Indonesia – those of the post-*musim cengkih* work diaspora. Their interest, also informed by the recent era of political instability and newer political freedoms of expression in the post-New Order period, has led to a revaluing of Tombulu culture, and specifically Tombulu language and cultural performances. This has been expressed as a desire to *menggali kembali budaya* (to dig up and bring back culture). Fundamentally, the trend in new appreciations of Tombulu culture has been articulated within parameters of discourse concerning culture that individuals and communities have as conceptual tools at their disposal, and are thus largely informed by the discourses of the New Order era of Government.

This chapter provides several case studies of ways in which Tombulu identity was engaged with, and articulated through cultural performances, by people in Lolah and the surrounding Tombulu-speaking area during 2005. It examines these examples as ‘expressions’ of cultural identity, echoing Johann Herder’s conception of culture, as unique expressions of an individual’s realisation of self in relation to their community and nation. An evolving complex of identity involving Tombulu, Minahasan and Indonesian identities – in which associations of backwardness and progress are negotiated – will be explored in this chapter. The concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* are examined as conceptual technologies of the self, as tools for the understanding and orientation of self (and community) in relation to others, and in the ongoing negotiation of traditions and new values and experiences. The examples of cultural performances described in this chapter are instances whereby the people of Lolah/Minahasa publically perform/articulate expressions of *kebudayaan*, to

themselves and others, in which they are relative exemplars in each other's government, in their ongoing negotiation of culture and modernity.

National and ethnic *kebudayaan* in the early twenty-first century

Local belief in the *Orde Baru's* rhetoric of *pembangunan* and *modernisasi* was severely dented following the collapse of Suharto's Government in 1998 and the subsequent political, economic, and social instability in outer Indonesia at the turn of the new century. Religiously defined violence and an exodus of Christian refugees from provinces neighbouring North Sulawesi threatened to infiltrate the province in the year 2000. Fortunately instances of religious violence were resisted in North Sulawesi Province, which managed to remain a bastion of peace due to political and inter-religious goodwill during the crisis (Henley et al 2007). National ideals and culture, however, were seriously damaged in the eyes of many Lolah residents, who recount variously: watching the carnage as Jakarta burned in the anti-Government protests of 1998; stories of anti-Christian violence arriving with refugees from the Maluku and North Maluku provinces during 2000;²¹⁷ the murders of Protestant pastors and violence against Christians in Central Sulawesi during the early years of the twenty-first century; the returning of many Minahasan families for fear of safety, including several families to Lolah;²¹⁸ and ongoing news of the suppression of the right to Christian congregation and worship in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia.

Minahasans, including many people of Lolah, chose to quit their jobs elsewhere in Indonesia and return home during the uncertainty of that time. Faith in a religiously diverse Indonesian nation, integral to the discourse of the Indonesian Constitution and *Pancasila*, was greatly tested. There was widespread talk of the Indonesian Government's corruption (locally and internationally recognized and reported) and the sense that those in political and economic power during the Suharto regime by and large remained in power and had only increased their wealth after the regime's

²¹⁷ See Duncan (2005) for an overview of Maluku refugees in North Sulawesi province at this time.

²¹⁸ One public servant from Lolah returned home from his place of work and two decades residence in Central Sulawesi consequent to their house being burnt down during religious conflict there.

fall. The cost of living increased significantly over these few years influenced by the rising prices of gasoline, transport and everyday goods. Internal terrorism, especially in the form of the Bali and Jakarta bombings, was the subject of daily discourse. All this worked to erode many Minahasans' confidence in the integrity of the Indonesian nation-state and Minahasa's comfortable place within it.

During 2005 there was persistent underlying uncertainty in Lolah about the integrity of the Indonesian state and its ability to uphold the national secular constitution and Pancasila idealism. It was often remarked – with both understanding and regret for a past era of pride – that teachers and students alike no longer took pride in the correct way of raising the national flag and singing the national anthem each Monday morning. The *Pawai Pembangunan* (Development Parade) that is held each year in each town across Indonesia as part of the 17th August (Indonesian Independence Day) celebrations had lost its vitality and positivity from previous years in Lolah and neighbouring Tomohon. In the years of *Orde Baru* a highly regimented procession of the village *jaga* (inclusive of the *kepala jaga* and other adult members) had marched smartly and in unison past an attentive *hukum tua* (village head) and village audience. In 2005, however, the irreverence to the *Pawai Pembangunan* in Lolah was symbolic of people's deflated sense of national pride. Only one of the ten *jaga* of *Lolah Satu* paraded: half a dozen adults in parody paraded the national flag and caused much humorous consternation, even amongst those who simultaneously bemoaned the passing of the era of national (and related local pride) under the *Orde Baru*. As usual, the schoolchildren of Lolah paraded, dressed as politicians, public servants, movie stars, and bridal parties. The loudest laughs were reserved for the child dressed as a poor farmer. This child's costume proved an unintended parody of the common feeling of social and economic backwardness and halted development in Lolah, the region and Indonesia in 2005. Alongside representations of romantic ideals of wealth and modernity of the other participants, the poor farmer represented the questionable realisation of the *Orde Baru*'s modernising programs and ideals.

However, despite the uncertainty and criticism of their national Government, people in Lolah and Minahasa also exhibited hope for a brighter future. This was informed by the dramatic changes in the way Government was organised in Indonesia consequent to national decentralization legislation introduced after the end of the *Orde Baru*.²¹⁹ This involved, in part, decentralization of decision making in a range of Government concerns from the national level to the *Kabupaten* (District) (and to a lesser extent the Provincial) levels of Government. This had significant impact on how citizens saw themselves as participants in the Indonesian nation-state, and was accompanied by the increasing democratisation of political processes and Government appointments. These changes afforded the democratic election of officials at most levels of Government for the first time, which in Minahasa had only been previously available at the lowest village level of Government. Gubernatorial elections were democratically held for the first time in North Sulawesi during 2005 and the winning candidate was widely welcomed, having proved himself as a key broker of peace during the Maluku conflict under the former Government of Megawati Sukarnoputri.²²⁰ The new President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was positively appreciated in North Sulawesi for upholding the secular principles of the nation, as were his expressed plans for future national/regional development. His calls for the nation to weather immediate difficult times appeared to be appreciated for their frankness, as the government raised the price of gasoline by over 200% during 2005 in an effort to alleviate national debt. People maintained hope that this new Government would remain strong, peace would prevail, and regional and national development would be restored. The key conceptual tenets of *pembangunan*, *modernasi* and *kemajuan* reassuringly remained the focus of national discourse by the new Government alongside the newer potent conceptions of *reformasi* (reform),

²¹⁹ *Undang-Undang RI No 22 and 25 Tahun 1999 Tentang Pemerintahan Daerah*, introduced under President Habibie, who succeeded President Suharto.

²²⁰ This was Governor Sarundajang on a PDIP (*Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan*, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle) ticket.

desentralisasi (decentralisation) and *demokrasi* (democracy) that were being actively pursued.

In the post-*Orde Baru* era the concept *kebudayaan* would come to take on new meaning in Lolah and amongst the people of Lolah's diaspora who had spread around Indonesia since *musim cengkih*. As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, under the influence of New Order rhetoric and the experiences of the clove era, *kebudayaan* was largely associated with the past and backwardness in contrast to what was modern and desirable. In Lolah *kebudayaan* – namely *Kebudayaan Tombulu*, with which the concept is most readily associated – had generally not been highly valued by the young. These younger generations were at primary and secondary schools during *musim cengkih*, when concepts of *pembangunan*, *modernisasi* and *kemajuan* were perceived as realizable national goals. As for the older generation of the *musim cengkih* era, *kebudayaan* was associated with a backward rather than a forward-looking orientation. However at the same time there was a corresponding (and more positive) emphasis upon *kebudayaan* understood as cultural performance, such as dance and music.

One older informant described this dual meaning of *kebudayaan* as representative of a shift in meaning of *kebudayaan* itself. Standing at P'iketan, the site where the headhunting ancestors of the people of Lolah once hung the heads of their victims, Bapak Theodorus Tindangen commented that the ancestors 'used to do this when they still had Tombulu culture (*kebudayaan Tombulu*)'. When I asked what he thought *kebudayaan* to be today, he answered that the *maengket* dance was what constituted *kebudayaan* today, but that this dance had changed from its practice in the past. In the past the *maengket* had been practised as part of prayer or religious purposes. Today, he said, it is a dance only, representing Tombulu culture, and is performed for different purposes, such as at Government events. *Kebudayaan Tombulu*, indeed *kebudayaan* itself, according to Bapak Tindangen, was something that distinctly existed in the past, yet had been reformed to mean and represent something new. *Kebudayaan* was now a performance of Tombulu or Minahasan

identity, reconstituted – arguably exorcised – for contemporary circumstances and values, yet *kebudayaan* was also reaffirmed as something belonging to the past.

Education was integral to this shift in the popular perception and experience of *kebudayaan*. Younger generations' understandings of the meaning of *kebudayaan* have largely been informed through their participation in cultural performances (*upacara kebudayaan*) sponsored through state and church school programs, both of which share a fundamental *Bahasa Indonesia* curriculum. Schools in North Sulawesi promote the performance of Minahasan cultural dances such as the *maengket* in intra-school and public performances, and within tiered sub-district, district and provincial level competitions. The *maengket* was originally a dance of Tombulu cultural origins that was then adopted by all sub-ethnic groups that make up the Minahasan ethnic identity as a distinct Minahasan dance.²²¹ In its original form the *maengket* dance was performed in a circle with performers holding hands as they sang, moving in and out as the circle slowly rotated, and was a component of pre-Christian religious rituals amongst Tombulu speakers. By the 1970s the circular dance format had been officially modified by Governor Worang²²² who decreed that *maengket* dancers should not dance with their backs to the audience as this was disrespectful to the audience which consisted, most importantly, of visiting Government officials. The primary context in which *maengket* dances were performed in the 1970s, outside of school fora, was in official events in which Government officials were usually the most distinguished guests. This was similar for several other indigenous dances, such as the *cakalele* war dance, that came under the Minahasan identity umbrella. These dances continue to be performed today in these official contexts and in tourist fora.

The performance of *maengket* and other Minahasan dances in Government-sponsored fora works to reinforce the unity-in-diversity notion that underpins the dialogue between the national government and the people of its regions through the

²²¹ Bapak Perry Ruméngan, Head of Music Department, University of Manado (UNIMA) (personal communication, December 2008).

²²² Governor Worang is remembered for his positive interest in indigenous culture.

discursive employment of the concept *kebudayaan*. I attended a high school *maengket* competition in Tondano (the administrative centre of the District of Minahasa) in 2005, for example, sponsored by the *Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* (Department of Education and Culture). At this event dance groups from different schools danced the *maengket* and other 'traditional' Minahasan dances, such as the *katrili*,²²³ on which they were judged and graded. That the *maengket* dance was performed at such competitions predominantly by the youth throughout Minahasa suggests that *kebudayaan* was something one learnt at school, alongside history.²²⁴ Minahasan *kebudayaan* was, in part, something one could be educated in, as a component of national identity, encompassed within the modernisation discourse and agenda of Indonesia's *kebudayaan nasional* (national culture). The *maengket*'s performance in these fora demonstrates the ongoing performance of the (cultural) union between *kebudayaan nasional* and regional or ethnic/sub-ethnic *kebudayaan*, and the articulation of a national Indonesian ideal inclusive of all Indonesians.

The sponsorship of *maengket* performance within Government fora reflects the perspective discussed in Chapter Four that *kebudayaan* had become increasingly construed in *Orde Baru* discourse as essentially constituting 'a performance', leached of its original meaningful cultural (and in this case spiritual) context, and performed primarily in officially sponsored events to support Government-defined achievements of development. Whilst there is obvious congruence between this view and the context of *maengket* performance in Minahasa, to say that *maengket* performances were also leached of meaning oversimplifies matters. This view (cf. Acciaioli 2005) tends to malign the metacultural effects that the performance of *maengket* has in terms of what *kebudayaan* is understood as *being*. For the performer *maengket*, in its contemporary form, may indeed represent what culture *is* – or *is* today, as reflected in

²²³ The Portuguese are believed to have introduced this dance, which is itself derived from the French *quadrille*.

²²⁴ Lolah had one adult *maengket* group in 2005, which irregularly performed at Government sponsored events.

Bapak Tindangen's comments above – and one's ability to *do* one's culture or a distinctive component of it. This view may also marginalise the enjoyment of these performers in the act of performance, and thus one's enjoyment of what one understands as being and doing culture.

Lolah's age equivalent of the Western Generation X (now aged in their thirties) grew up to become adults under the strong influence of a national Indonesian Government during Suharto's rule. The younger generation of adults – Lolah's age equivalent of the Generation Y – have grown to adulthood during the era of relative political and economic instability following the end of the New Order Government. Yet, they have, like their elders, been influenced by discourses and policies concerned with *pembangunan*, *modernisasi* and *kebudayaan* (both in terms of national and regional cultures) that have informed their vision of history and sense of self and others. These younger generations have grown up in an era with an increasingly well-organised Church in Lolah. Since the 1970's a resident Protestant pastor has always been present, and older indigenous spiritual practices once common have been stopped or considered outdated or reprehensible. These generations have not experienced war and associated deprivations, unlike their parents' and grandparents' generations. They have thus struggled differently to their elders in the hope and realisation (however qualified) of modernisation, many moving away from Lolah in search of work, study and new experiences.

The younger generations' realisation of both local and national culture has been significantly informed by their experiences living and working in other parts of Indonesia. Many young people have traveled outside of Lolah in order to seek work, education, experiences, and the accumulation of financial capital and goods. Consumer goods such as clothes, mobile phones and other electronic devices, and motorcycles, fueled by increased access to television and other communication media and new experiences abroad, have influenced contemporary Minahasan youth experience of 'being modern' and of *kebudayaan*. For many expatriates of Lolah today this relationship to the world outside Lolah, and the new experiences and values that

this engagement has fostered, continue to reaffirm the rural/urban, backward/modern, cultured/civilised dichotomies that also animated the older *musim cengkih* era expatriates to seek experience and fortune abroad.

Nowadays when traveling in other parts of Indonesia and further afield residents of Lolah and other Minahasans generally prefer to identify with a Manado-based identity as opposed to Minahasan or Minahasan sub-ethnic identities. Identification as *orang Manado* (people of Manado) has long represented (within Indonesia and locally) a form of creolised modernity: not fully indigenous; absorbent of foreign influences; identified with a cosmopolitan urban space; as having a modern, Western orientation, related to the association of Christianity and the West. Minahasans have carried this reputation with them as they have dispersed around Indonesia seeking work and building businesses. Minahasan cultural organizations and prayer groups can be found throughout the work zones of Indonesia wherever there are Minahasans. In a number of the larger diasporic communities *Kawanua Lolah* (roughly translating as ‘fellow countrymen association of Lolah’) have been established. These organizations assist newcomers and older expatriate residents alike to congregate, seek employment through established networks, often to create a venue for religious services and to sing hymns together, and at times to create cultural performances such as the *maengket*. Throughout the nation young and old from Lolah mix and work with people from other parts of Indonesia, hearing their languages, attending religious services with them, and watching their cultural performances in fora (often Government sponsored) where dances and songs of different regions and/or ethnicities were performed.

In 2005 a new trend in the positive appreciation of *kebudayaan*, and especially *kebudayaan Tombulu*, emerged largely driven by the interests and energies of expatriates living in other regions of Indonesia such as Jakarta and Batam. This was related to a recent trend to form specifically Tombulu identity cultural organizations in cities such as Jakarta and Denpasar where large numbers of Minahasan expatriates resided. The development of these new Tombulu organisations abroad (and in

Minahasa itself) was in part a result of new freedoms of expressions and association in the relaxed post-New Order, *Reformasi* era.

During 2005 several young expatriates of Lolah returned on holidays from their work in the industrial areas of Batam and Jakarta seeking to learn as much as possible of *Bahasa* and *Budaya Tombulu*. This interest newly prioritised associations with Tombulu culture over *Bahasa Manado* or *Budaya Minahasa* identities. One young returnee described his experience of living amongst diverse peoples from across the archipelago in multi-cultural Batam. In Batam he regularly experienced a feeling of shortcoming in his identity, a lack of strong cultural identity compared with his friends from other regions who fluently spoke distinct ethnic languages, which they also used in cultural performances of music and dance. He, on the other hand, knew only a few words of *Bahasa Tombulu*, because he had not learnt it at home where *Bahasa Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia* were commonly spoken. Like many other youth in Lolah and Minahasa he had long considered *Bahasa Tombulu* as *kuno* (backward) or *ketinggalan jaman* (outdated). In Batam, however, he had begun to feel self-conscious about his lack of distinct cultural identity in comparison to his friends and work colleagues of other ethnic origins. The returnee described how he and other friends from Lolah living in Batam had consciously begun to talk to each other in *Bahasa Tombulu*, as much as their relative fluency allowed, when they met on the streets and other public and private spaces in Batam. They wanted to speak a culturally distinctive language, for people to ask them where they were from, and/or to be recognizably different as ethnically Tombulu. They had begun to see *Bahasa Manado*, and the Manadonese identity which it reflected, as somewhat indistinct from *Bahasa Indonesia* or a generic Indonesian identity. *Bahasa Manado* had seemingly begun to be seen as a rather common, or (ethnically) 'uncultured', poor derivative of Indonesian/Malay. Manado-ness seemed to newly represent a lack of distinct cultural authenticity. Once perceived as eclectic and cosmopolitan, *Bahasa Manado* and correspondingly *Kebudayaan Manado*, lacked cultural currency, being

not 'cultural enough' in comparison to the more authentic or *asli* (original/indigenous) *Tombulu* language and ethnic identity.

A more positive and pluralistic valuing of local or ethnic *kebudayaan* was newly evident. *Tombulu* identity appeared to be valued more highly (for some, not all) than the once positively valued ethnically conglomerate and modern oriented Minahasan identity. *Tombulu*-ness in the cultural melting pot of Batam thus gained an aura of cosmopolitanism that Minahasan or Manadonese identities formerly held. When this particular expatriate first met his cousin Hendrik (my close friend) in the street in Lolah on his holidays, he addressed Hendrik in *Bahasa Tombulu*, much to Hendrik's surprise. Hendrik, like others in Lolah, rarely spoke *Bahasa Tombulu* in Lolah despite being one of the most knowledgeable of the younger generation in Lolah of the language. The expatriate knew little of *Bahasa Tombulu* or *Tombulu* culture and was keen to know more. *Bahasa Tombulu* had not been taught in schools under the *Orde Baru* national education system.²²⁵ Like most young people in Lolah he had learnt the *maengket* at primary and junior high school, but had not persisted with performing the dance upon leaving school. His experience of other cultures (such as through cultural performances), and what he saw as strong appreciation, enjoyment and pride in the linguistic and cultural identities of his non-Minahasan friends in Batam, had influenced him to learn more about his own language and culture. Over the course of 2005 several young Lolah expatriates expressed similar perspectives and feelings about *Tombulu* language and culture, and their desire to acquire and identify with it.

In addition to *Bahasa Tombulu*, *upacara kebudayaan* (cultural performances) form an important component of people's new found interest in *Tombulu* identity. *Upacara kebudayaan*, such as the *maengket* dance and singing, are a medium nationally recognized and accepted as an expression of culture which children and adults in

²²⁵ This policy has recently changed as part of the process of political decentralisation since 1998, allowing *Bahasa Tombulu* to be taught in schools. By 2005 only a few local primary schools in the sub-district to which Lolah belonged had initiated *Bahasa Tombulu* classes as part of their curriculum.

diverse contexts have been experiencing nation-wide for decades. *Upacara kebudayaan* is constitutive of culture itself. For Minahasans and other Indonesians the *maengket* and *cakelele* are distinctively recognisable as markers of Minahasan identity. The following examples explore people's self-definition through Tombulu cultural performances, their reappraisal of the association of *kebudayaan* with the past in negative ways, and their experience (and enjoyment) of performing what *kebudayaan* 'means' today through cultural performance. This contemporary interest in identifying with a distinct Tombulu (as opposed to generic Minahasan/Manadonese) cultural performance and language – formed, in part, through dialogue with other cultural groups in Indonesia's industrial zones – is not necessarily anti-Minahasan in its nature.

Identifying as Tombulu: the *Pakasaan Tombulu* organisation

In North Sulawesi the decentralisation and democratization process of the early twenty-first century that resulted in the establishment of several new political-administrative boundaries, such as the creation of *Kota Tomohon*, appears to have coincided with the inauguration of several organizations promoting Tombulu sub-ethnic identity, language use, cultural performances such as the *maengket*, and *adat*. The first such organization to be inaugurated was *Pakasaan Tombulu* in late 2004 prior to the election campaign for the new municipal government of Kota Tomohon.²²⁶ The organization officially declared its independence from political ends, asserting its role as an organization promoting a cultural and social agenda for communities identifying as Tombulu.²²⁷ Ibu Linneke Watoelangkow was the head of this new organization from its inception. She was elected in 2005 as Wakil-Walikota (Deputy Mayor)²²⁸ in the first ever elections in *Kota Tomohon*. It would be conjecture

²²⁶ A second less significant, and possibly defunct (as of 2008) organisation, was *Pabeluman Ne Tombulu*, which was active in 2005.

²²⁷ This message was reiterated at a *Pakasaan Tombulu* work program in October 2008 by the organisation's head Ibu Linneke Watoelangkow.

²²⁸ Ibu Linneke Watoelangkow shared a ticket with the eventual Walikota (Mayor).

to assert that the creation of *Pakasaan Tombulu* directly influenced the outcome of the election the following year. However, the new organisation's developing public face was certainly part of Ibu Watoelangkow's profile, and she appeared highly regarded in Tomohon and beyond.

I attended a *Pakasaan Tombulu* work program meeting with Lolah's *hukum tua* Ibu Jelly Karungdeng in October 2008, a meeting that was open to all interested parties but to which all *hukum tua* from every village within the Tombulu-speaking region of Minahasa had been specifically invited. This included *Lolah Satu* and *Lolah Dua* and all of the villages in *Kecamatan Tombariri* (Tombariri Sub-district), to which Lolah belongs. Part of the agenda of the meeting was to introduce the gathered *hukum tua* and interested others to the organization, as well as confirm the guiding principles and organisational structure of the organization. Members were encouraged to attend workshops concerning various fields (*bidang*) of *Pakasaan Tombulu* activities and to join various working groups as per their interests. On the basis of earlier meetings regulations and organisational structure had already been drafted and were distributed to attendees, and were approved by the attendees with little debate or contention. The *bidang* outlined included arts and culture, education, politics, history, economy and health, cultural industry (with a tourism focus), spirituality, law and advocacy, and community relations. *Pakasaan Tombulu's* intentions were broad, yet its initial programs within its first year (2004-2005) of existence were quite simple, and were largely focused on promoting the teaching of *Bahasa Tombulu* in schools and cultural performances such as the *maengket* in schools within the Tombulu-speaking area around Tomohon. Financial support was offered to communities to support cultural activities, such as the sponsorship of *kebaya* for village *maengket* groups.²²⁹

²²⁹ This was an issue Ibu Karungdeng raised with Ibu Watoelangkow.

The phrase *menggali kembali budaya* – meaning to dig up and bring back culture, referencing culture lost – was commonly utilised at a meeting I attended in 2005.²³⁰ Certainly the phrase had entered into popular discourse about *Budaya Tombulu* and its valuation during my time in Lolah and elsewhere in Tombulu-speaking Minahasa. The terms *menggali* (to dig up) and *melestarikan* (to preserve) *kebudayaan* were utilised frequently by several of *Pakasaan Tombulu*'s key members who addressed the meeting described above, in explanation of the goals of the organization. One speaker asserted that *menggali budaya* was a key goal of *Pakasaan Tombulu*. This speaker asserted that Minahasans, and in particular *orang Tombulu*, should refer to the Balinese as a model of *budaya kuat* (strong culture) where cultural traditions and modernisation were effectively balanced.²³¹

An important message of the organisers of the event was that Tombulu identity was a component of a broader, unifying Minahasan identity. *Pakasaan Tombulu* organisers were careful not to question the integrity of the unifying ethnic identity of Minahasa, an identity in part constituted through colonial and missionary intervention and pedagogy, of which Tombulu sub-ethnic identity was represented as an integral component. Accentuating one's Tombulu-ness was not meant to challenge one's Minahasan identity, but to reaffirm the links between these two levels of ethnic identity, as well as affirm positive Tombulu associations with the other sub-ethnic groups (Tontemboan, Tondano and Tonsea) that constitute the greater Minahasan ethnic identity.

One major initiative on the *Pakasaan Tombulu* agenda, as raised at the meeting discussed above, was co-sponsoring the building of an amphitheatre and complex for

²³⁰ This phrase was also utilised by El Fatah Lolah's *Komisi Kebudayaan*, which also utilised this term, which I will discuss in Chapter Eight. *Pakasaan Tombulu*'s creation in late 2004 preceded the inauguration of Lolah's *Komisi Kebudayaan* by some months.

²³¹ This was a comparative reference often made by Minahasans, referencing how the Balinese had balanced their culture with being modern, and how this also had tourism potential. I often used this as a stimulus to raise the issue of how to balance indigenous culture and religious beliefs, which are commonly perceived (in Minahasa), albeit arguably, as being less in conflict in Bali – where religion and 'traditional' culture are as seen as being less at odds – than in Minahasa.

holding Tombulu cultural performances in the town of Woloan, within the City of Tomohon. The amphitheatre was impressively located upon a ridge that dropped away to a dramatic view of a valley of rice fields and villages, before meeting the slope of the spectacular and active volcano Mount Lokon. It was intended that Minahasan dances and other musical and cultural performances could be held there as tourism events, as well as acting as a centre for local cultural performances. The complex was being built in 2005 and was located very close to the village of Woloan's *mawanua*, the site of the village's pre-Christian existence. Similarly to Lolah's *mawanua*, a number of *waruga* were located within the vicinity of Woloan's *mawanua*, which was predominantly located within cornfields. *Pakasaan Tombulu* and partners, including the Government of *Kota Tomohon*, had decided to relocate *waruga* from around Woloan and were discussing relocating them from other sites within the region now administered by *Kota Tomohon* to this location. Precedence had been established in this regard in Minahasa by the late colonial era administration that initiated a similar program in the Minahasan town of Sawangan²³² by collecting *waruga* from this village and the surrounding region and relocating them to a central location in that village. The Sawangan *waruga* became an early object of cultural tourism in the region and have survived into the present era. The process of relocating *waruga* to Sawangan also occurred in the post-colonial era under Governor H.V. Worang, who some decades later in the 1970's compounded more *waruga* from further afield into one reconstructed 'cemetery', located next to the present day Christian cemetery of the village.

I attended the opening day for the amphitheatre complex on December 14 2005, at which a large *waruga* was ceremonially relocated from its location in cornfields adjoining the complex site to a location that what would effectively become the car park of the amphitheatre. Ibu Watoelangkow was in attendance wearing a version of

²³² Sawangan in *Kecamatan Airmadidi, Kabupaten Minahasa*.

the Minahasan costume,²³³ as were other public servants and other notables. Pendeta Siwu, the rector of GMIM's *Universitas Kristen Indonesia, Tomohon* (UKIT, Tomohon Indonesian Christian University), and several other GMIM *pendeta* attended. A hole had already been dug around the *waruga* in preparation for its removal, and large bamboo poles and hemp ropes were prepared to lift and carry the *waruga* to its new home.²³⁴ Christian prayers preceded the *waruga*'s removal. Interestingly, an elderly *dukun* (who was referred to as a *tona'as* at the event) from the Woloan area had been engaged to consult with the *opo* and seek their blessings prior to the larger *waruga*'s relocation. He prayed to the *opo*, one of whom ritually took possession of him, and blindfolded he led the way of the attending group to the *waruga* to be moved, oversaw its removal, and the procession of its relocation. Once the *waruga* had been repositioned, the *tona'as* cut a chicken's throat and blood was spilt upon this *waruga* and several others that had previously been relocated from surrounding fields to line the driveway into the amphitheatre complex. Following this the *tona'as* was revived and an adult *maengket* troupe from a neighbouring village performed in a circle surrounding the relocated *waruga* singing in *Bahasa Tombulu*, reflecting the dance's once spiritual function around the holy stones of Tombulu villages.

²³³ Interestingly, Ibu Watoelangkow's costume was a version of the traditional male Minahasan (European) military style costume [see earlier photo] and not the wedding style dress once used for women that complemented this costume. This represented a contemporary inversion of the 'traditional' garments, themselves a modern tradition quite distinct from the bark-cloth clothing of the pre-colonial/missionary era.

²³⁴ Unfortunately, in the process of leveraging the large and very heavy *waruga* out of the ground, in which one of the bamboo poles snapped and the *waruga* dropped, a large chunk of the rectangular sandstone base was broken off; this was later crudely rejoined at its new location. There was no evidence of an archaeologist in attendance during this stage of the *waruga*'s relocation.

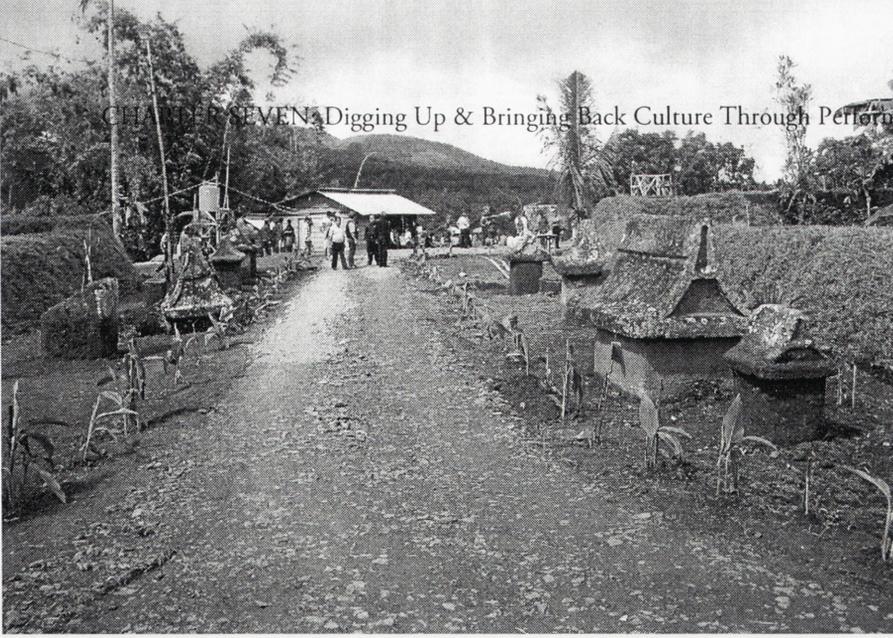


Image 2: Relocated *waruga* lining the road into the Waloan amphitheatre

This *opoisme* ceremony had, somewhat controversially, occurred in the same program as Christian prayers and the *maengket*. Hendrik and his cousin who accompanied me to this event were confronted by the apparent contradiction of the open practice of *opoisme* and its alignment with Christianity during the program. In Hendrik's view the inclusion of the *dukun*, and the public performance of *opoisme* in the program was very controversial and inappropriate. The performance of the *maengket* around the *waruga* was also controversial because it implied a spiritual continuity of the practitioners, and Tombulu and Minahasan identity, with the outdated, backward beliefs and practices of the pre-Christian era and *mawanua*. He, and others, did not see the need to include *opoisme* in contemporary performances of *Budaya Tombulu*. The two were incongruent. There was much uncomfortable and embarrassed sniggering and joking within the crowd as to the inappropriateness of this association, which at one point drew rebuke from one of the senior *Pakasaan Tombulu* leaders, who saw this disregard as a lack of respect for people's own Tombulu-Minahasan spiritual traditions.²³⁵ The performance of several other *maengket* and *cakalele* dances by troupes from neighbouring villages, following the

²³⁵ Interestingly, this senior *Pakasaan Tombulu* figure was a Catholic, and Catholics generally express greater acceptance of indigenous beliefs and practices alongside Catholic beliefs and practices (personal communication Paul Renwarin). The Catholic anthropologist and priest Paul Renwarin was significantly involved in assisting the design of later *Pakasaan Tombulu* events at the amphitheatre that included public *opoisme* praxis.

waruga's removal, appeared to be more acceptable to the crowd as normative cultural performance, as appropriate expressions of culture.

The public performance of *opoisme*, in the context of this event, can alternatively be rationalised as the promotion of *opoisme*/shamanism as a form of cultural performance, incorporated as it was in a broader program of recognisable dance and song cultural performances. It may well prove to become a normative part of cultural performances, alongside the performance of *maengket* and other dances (and indeed alongside Christian prayers), given the sponsorship by *Pakasaan Tombulu* and possibly other organisations, with potentially interesting effects on local and non-local understandings of Tombulu/Minahasan culture.

Aside from the obvious uncomfortable alliance between Christian and pre-Christian beliefs and practices evident on the day, the positioning of the *waruga* also symbolized a quite interesting (and literal) realisation of *menggali kembali budaya*. The relocation of once spiritually and culturally important funerary sarcophagi from their original locations in the remains of nearby *mawanua*, to line the road and car park of the amphitheatre complex was a poignant reconciliation of the *waruga*'s past and contemporary spiritual-cultural symbolism. These objects' contemporary importance appeared to be as archaeological artefacts symbolically demonstrating the historical depth and legitimacy of contemporary Tombulu-Minahasan identities, and the role of *Pakasaan Tombulu* in fostering them. These artefacts, however, were arranged to surround and support the amphitheatre as the appropriate venue for the articulation, the performance, of *kebudayaan*. The *waruga*, representative of past culture, were symbolically rearranged to celebrate the *kebudayaan* as it is understood and accepted today, as cultural performance. It also supports the understanding that the performance of *kebudayaan* is the realisation and reconciliation of (sub-)ethnic identity within broader, unifying identities such as Minahasan ethnic and Indonesian national identities.

Rurukan's Full Moon Festival

One prominent individual involved in *menggali kembali budaya* in Minahasa during 2005, Bapak Perry Rumengan, believed that Tombulu culture, other than language, was itself indistinct from Minahasan culture. For Bapak Rumengan, an ethnomusicologist, composer of choral music, and the Head of the Department of Music at *Universitas Manado* (UNIMA), contemporary differences between Tombulu and Minahasan identities no longer existed. To quote him: “so, Bryan was asking about how to separate the identity of sub-ethnics and the identity of Minahasa. I think in this [period of] time it is difficult to separate it except in language. Minahasan people... feel no difference whether they come from Tombulu, Tountemboan, Toulour, or Tonsea.” For Bapak Rumengan, language did not constitute culture itself. Rather, the performance of Tombulu musical traditions was the reaffirmation of Minahasan traditions, and Minahasan identity. According to Bapak Rumengan, the importance of digging up and bringing back elements of old cultural traditions, particularly musical traditions, lay in its performance, and the joy of coming together and singing, which he sees as fundamental to the Minahasan sense of self and community. For him, the enjoyment of singing lay at the heart of Minahasan desires to continue and revitalise musical cultural traditions. This he fostered in his dual roles as ethnomusicologist researcher and musical composer.

Bapak Rumengan was interested in both encouraging the continuation of indigenous Minahasan vocal traditions, such as *mahzani* and *maengket*, and the exploration and creation of modern indigenous songs suitable for use in choirs; songs based upon his research into pre-colonial musical traditions like *mahzani*. The songs he composes are performed by the UNIMA choir, for whom he is their *pelatih* (coach) and conductor, and are regularly performed in both Indonesian and international fora and competitions. Under his direction the UNIMA choir has won prizes in the Ethnic Category of Indonesia's national choral competition. Through his compositions Bapak Rumengan seeks to dig deeper beyond the layers of several centuries of European musical influence on contemporary Minahasan singing styles, to recreate

unique Minahasan choral music for Minahasa's different sub-ethnic languages. Songs, such as those of *mahzani* singing (albeit contemporary versions are generally influenced to an extent by European music), represent a connection to the melody (inclusive of rhythms and vocal range) of pre-European singing in Minahasa. Bapak Rumengan explained that *maengket* literally means 'to sing together' and is derived from the older *mahzani*. *Maengket* song and dance is originally a Tombulu tradition that has been adapted by other sub-ethnic Minahasan groups, such as the Tontemboan, and today has become recognisable as a Minahasan cultural performance.²³⁶

Bapak Rumengan is an innovator of modern Minahasan and Tombulu musical traditions, digging-up and rearticulating indigenous traditions (many of those tied to past work practices, such as *mapalus*) in contemporarily meaningful compositions. In several of his compositions he uses the *zazanin* (the melody of *mahzani*) to create unique and beautiful choral songs that seek to synthesize the unique indigenous 'atmosphere' of Minahasa's sub-ethnic languages and cultures, and especially *Bahasa Tombulu*, his indigenous tongue. "Actually I don't create something old, but I catch the atmosphere [of the old time], and I want to bring this atmosphere into this time but with new composition, because tradition is tradition... What is my merit to my era if I write only ancient music? Now I live in this time but I like the [traditional] atmosphere."²³⁷ Several of his compositions are Christian hymns to God, utilising the *Bahasa Tombulu* terms *Opo Empung* or *Opo Wana Natas*. Within Minahasa, choir singing is a primary source of entertainment and community solidarity within villages and cities. GMIM village level congregations and inter-congregational choral competitions were enthusiastically participated in, and intensely competed. Bapak Rumengan's compositions hold a unique place in the broader domain of choral singing in Minahasa which used to be dominated by European, specifically Dutch and German choral compositions. His innovative use in compositions of *zazanin*

²³⁶ Personal communication Bapak Rumengan (4th December 2008).

²³⁷ Personal communication Bapak Rumengan (4th December 2008).

melody to underpin the singing of Christian hymns in *Bahasa Tombulu* was a dramatic shift away from established choral practice. His songs are performed in modern church – and state-sponsored or – sanctioned inter-church church choral competitions throughout Minahasa.

Bapak Rumengan's enthusiasm for new compositions is matched by his desire to support Minahasan communities' continued practice of indigenous musical traditions from which he derived his inspiration. Throughout 2005 Bapak Rumengan was working with the community members of the town of Rurukan, located within the Tombulu-speaking region of Minahasa, to revitalise *mahzani* and *maengket* singing traditions that were still known and practised by a few older people in the town. Bapak Rumengan considered their melodies pure and unadulterated by the influence of European music traditions. Like Lolah, the singing of *mahzani* had gone into decline in Rurukan during the rapid socio-economic changes associated with *musim cengkih* and the *Orde Baru* era and people had not actively practised *mapalus* or sung *mahzani* songs for approximately thirty years. However, as in Lolah, several older residents maintained a deep knowledge of *mahzani* and other indigenous singing traditions. Bapak Rumengan discovered this in the course of his ethnomusicological research and decided to work with the Rurukan community to assist them in practising and consciously strengthening their Tombulu singing traditions, recording them and creating a cultural festival for their performance for both the people of Rurukan and a wider Minahasan audience.

The Rurukan Full Moon Festival was held in October 2005 at the town's cultural centre atop a hill with a view stretching across rolling fields, over the town and lake of Tondano and down to the mountains and bay surrounding the coastal port town of Bitung and the neighbouring island of Lembeh. The community had built a bamboo stage extending over the side of the hill for the performances. The people of Rurukan had been practising in various groups – divided into *jaga*, men, women, and children's groups – for months under the guidance of several *pelatih* knowledgeable in *mahzani* and other Tombulu song traditions, including Bapak Rumengan.

Maengket dancers from Rurukan and several neighbouring Tombulu-speaking towns performed, and the UNIMA choir sang several of Bapak Rumengan's compositions. All of the songs of the festival were sung in *Bahasa Tombulu*. Most of the songs were *mahzani*, and thus were representative of a melody and atmosphere that pre-dated those songs associated with Christian Minahasan identity, the normative choral songs of the Church. Ibu Linneke Watoelangkow, the vice-mayor of the City of Tomohon (to which Rurukan belonged) and head of *Pakasaan Tombulu*, and other notable government and church figures attended the event.²³⁸ The event began when the full moon rose out of the ocean at sunset, creating a wonderful light and environment for the flaming torch-lit stage and performances.

I discussed the event with a young local Rurukan man who was very proud of the event and the community-wide, multi generational participation of the people of Rurukan. In Rurukan people of all ages still speak *Bahasa Tombulu*, in which he showed pride. He used the phrases *menggali* (to dig up) and *revitalisasi* (revitalise) to describe the process of renewing *mahzani* and other traditions. When asked why he thought it was important to *menggali kembali budaya* he responded that these songs and other *kebiasaan* (customs) were *asli* (indigenous) and *khusus* (special) to this *negara* (country), were the *ciri khas* (distinguishing feature) of local Tombulu *jati diri* (self-identity), and therefore worthy of continuing. I asked him if *jati diri Tombulu* was the same as *jati diri Minahasa*, and he said that it was. This view, reflected in Bapak Rumengan's above, suggests that Tombulu cultural distinctiveness is principally linguistic. This man also commented that there had been an ongoing debate in Rurukan over the appropriateness of revitalizing Tombulu culture through the festival, such as the singing of *mahzani* due to its association with past spiritual

²³⁸ The festival had encountered significant trouble in generating sponsorship for the event, with no Government or church sponsors eventuating. This sub-ethnic cultural program did not generate the same institutional interest and support as normal choir competitions – or sporting events – a point made by Bapak Rumengan in his opening speech. The majority of the event's funding came from local Rurukan residents. Whilst the City of Tomohon had not contributed financially to the event, *Pakasaan Tombulu* had contributed some funding.

traditions of the *maengket*. Some members of the GMIM congregation had argued the *mabzani* traditions were *kuno* and outdated and were no longer suitable to modern Christian community life. These critics had been ultimately swayed, however, by popular sentiment to proceed with the event, and the Full Moon Festival had gone ahead. The Full Moon Festival and the Tombulu cultural performances it included can be seen as a reconciliation of Tombulu and Minahasan identities, as well as the tensions between culture and modern, Christian values and practices. The event was abuzz with positive energy in this regard, which affected Rurukan residents and outsiders alike.

Hendrik and his cousin, Bapak August Paat, the head of Lolah's GMIM *pemuda* and an influential young member of the Lolah community, attended the Full Moon Festival and were deeply moved by the beauty of the performances and the venue. They professed a great sense of pride in Tombulu culture and identity during and following the event, a new realisation of self and community through Tombulu cultural identity, as a positive component of Minahasan identity. Hendrik reflected later that prior to the Rurukan festival Tombulu culture had existed as stories about the past, as told through the performance of dances and songs such as the *maengket*. However, the Rurukan festival had changed culture from being something that existed in the past, so that it instead "became real" in the present, and his eyes had been opened to the beauty and rich value of Tombulu and Minahasan culture. This was a new sensation for Hendrik and August, who had long felt embarrassed and uncomfortable with elements of Tombulu culture that they had associated with backwardness and the past. Positive identification with the sub-ethnic Tombulu culture had long been elided in favour of positive associations with Minahasan identity and its conceptual associations with Christianity and modernity. A distinctly Tombulu cultural identity had always been subsumed within the greater cultural Minahasan identity in normative state – and church – sponsored fora and cultural performances. However, Rurukan's festival had been an explicit celebration of Tombulu cultural identity, which was understood as a unique expression and

celebration of Minahasa identity and culture. Through the Full Moon Festival Tombulu cultural identity reinforced the greater unifying, and arguably civilising, identity of a Christian Minahasa, in a similar dynamic to the contribution of regional (or provincial) cultural identities to the unified, modern Indonesian national cultural identity. The atmosphere at the festival had shifted something in my two friends, who were seeing themselves and their culture in the new light of a freshly and positively perceived Tombulu identity. The Full Moon Festival represented a negotiation and positive reconciliation of Tombulu and Minahasan, indigenous and Christian identities, with which they could be comfortable. They resolved somehow to bring this new perspective into community life in Loloh.

Ibu-Ibu Lansia and the revitalisation of *mahzani* songs

By the time of the Rurukan Full Moon Festival Hendrik had already found himself involved in a homegrown project of revitalising *mahzani* song traditions in Loloh. This had occurred spontaneously during the course of our research together, and had been informed somewhat by our discussions with Bapak Rumengan and attendance at several UNIMA choir performances. Our experiences in Loloh concerned cultural performance as a renewed domain of self-realisation and reconciliation for a community group in Loloh for whom *maengket* song and dance had, over time, become conceptually/ discursively associated with *kebudayaan* and associated negative connotations of *kebudayaan* as belonging to the past.

The context was Hendrik's and my engagement with GMIM El Fatah Loloh's group for elderly women, the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* – an abbreviation of *lanjut usia*, meaning elderly, referring in this case to women over sixty-five years of age – and the process of revitalizing past *mapalus* work songs, or *mahzani*, that they undertook during my time in Loloh. The *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* group formed as a group in 2005 distinct from the usual GMIM women's group in Loloh, reflecting both the number of older women and the greater attention to their needs as a group. During an interview with Ibu Donna Adeleida Rasuh and Ibu Sultje Ursula Liju Salaki (two invaluable

informants and members of the women's group) and Hendrik, we discussed the changes that had occurred over time in *mapalus* work practices (as discussed in Chapters Five and Six). Ibu Rasuh and Ibu Salaki talked of the different songs that were sung at different times of the day during *mapalus*, their literal meanings and the way in which *mapalus* afforded young women and men the opportunity to court and establish relationships. They sung snippets of the songs and enjoyed themselves in the process. They said it had been many years since they had sung these songs, as *mapalus* work practices had largely disappeared during the 1970s with the advent of *musim cengkih*.

This gave Hendrik and I the idea to approach the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* and ask them if they would like to practice the *mahzani* songs again, and to offer to record them so they would have a record of the songs for the future. The women, also known affectionately as the *Oma-Oma* (grandmothers) agreed, and we set a date for the first practice session at my house, which had a large open-air undercover area in which to practice. At the first practice session Ibu Rasuh and Ibu Salaki attended along with a dozen other *Oma-Oma*. The group recalled that the *mapalus* work practices and the singing of *mahzani* had been divided into male and female groups. Each group had their own *solih* who would lead with a line of song followed by the whole group of their gender, alternating between gender groups as they worked. The women began the process of remembering the words and verses of *mahzani* – all in *Bahasa Tombulu* – correlating them to the different periods of the day in which they worked, whilst Hendrik wrote them down. The group decided to invite several *solih* from the past to the next practice session, including Bapak Valens Aga, who was also renowned for his guidance of Lolah's adult *maengket* group that included several of the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia*. However, before the group dispersed, we all gathered together in a circle, similar to the *maengket*, and sang *mahzani* and other popular songs of yesteryear, some with *Bahasa Manado* or *Bahasa Indonesia* lyrics, holding hands and moving as the circle expanded and contracted. This had once been a common practice at the end of the *mapalus* workday in the middle decades of the twentieth-century. Then people had

relaxed in the evenings by gathering together in a house with a suitable yard to dance and sing popular songs, some of which had obviously been in the newer languages of *Bahasa Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The next session saw the arrival of over twenty *Oma-Oma* and Bapak Aga, resulting in the consolidation and refinement of the *mahzani* songs. Within another week approximately forty *Oma-Oma* attended the sessions, and we had to move into the large yard in front of my neighbour's house, where the women danced and sang leaving a well trod circle marked on the ground for the first time in several decades in Lolah. Several women from the Catholic and Pentecostal churches also attended at times. Over the coming weeks Ibu Rash and Ibu Salaki, with inputs from Bapak Aga and numerous others, reworked and compiled a long version of the *mapalus mahzani* that incorporated verses from the different sessions of *mapalus*.²³⁹ At these initial sessions the *Oma-Oma* discussed past times with enthusiasm, much laughter and some tears, several *Oma* reminiscing about how they had first met their future husbands during *mapalus* and the courtship process in which *mahzani* singing was central. Then, a man would choose to work alongside a woman whom he fancied and would sing improvised or accentuated verses of song to which a woman would respond, signaling her interest or otherwise in his advance. This process often began a process of courtship that led to marriage. Several *Oma* recalled this with much emotion.

Before long the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* had decided that they would sing the revitalised *mahzani* at the GMIM church birthday that was to be held the following month, in a section of the program devoted to cultural performances. The group met regularly to practice the song over the coming month and on several of these occasions I made recordings of their songs.²⁴⁰ The women, following my suggestion, decided to wear

²³⁹ These were: walking to the fields; the early morning session; the late morning session; afternoon; and the return home.

²⁴⁰ I distributed copies of these recordings before leaving Lolah at the end of 2005.

kebaya (blouse) and sarong,²⁴¹ as opposed to making or wearing a skirt-suit for the occasion, as is common practice for choirs in Minahasa. Most of the women still had old *kebaya* and *sarong* that they had not worn for thirty odd years, and the decision to do so caused much excitement. The *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* made their public debut at the GMIM birthday event (which I discuss further in Chapter Eight), in a program of cultural performance and dignitary speeches following the liturgical service. Forty *Oma-Oma* performed on the day, forming one circle within another so that all were able to dance together. They followed the lead of the *soli* and were accompanied by a young woman who played the tambour (drum used to set the rhythm for the *mahzani*). The women sang and danced together for half an hour, much to the surprise, pleasure and to an extent discomfort of the audience used to more modern, quicker karaoke style entertainment that was a commonplace at such events. The *Oma-Oma* continued unabated and with much enjoyment and pride until their song was complete.

Since this public performance the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* have continued to sing and dance *mahzani*, extending their repertoire, and *mahzani* singing and dance (as well as other songs of the past) continue to be part of the group's regular activities. When I visited again during 2008 the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* sang and danced together for members birthdays and when members were ill, with new members learning the songs as they graduated into the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* from the younger women's group. In 2008 they had made several uniforms including an identical *kebaya*. They occasionally perform in broader public fora, such as at the 2008 birthday celebrations for GMIM El Fatah Lolah.

²⁴¹ *Kebaya* was worn as the standard formal wear for married women up until the 1960s, worn in church and at other formal occasions. *Kebaya* had become unfashionable during the *musim cengkih* era.



Image 3: The Ibu-Ibu Lansia performing the *maengket* dance and song at *GMIM El Fatah Lolah's* birthday celebrations in 2005²⁴²

Through their revitalisation of *mahzani* songs – derived from the *mapalus* work traditions – the *Oma-Oma* continue to articulate older cultural practices, recontextualised and balanced with contemporary lives and values, and find enjoyment in these songs as a long neglected aspect of their culture. When I visited Lolah again in 2008, the opening lines of the *mahzani* song the *Oma-Oma* performed for me, and later for a visiting local TV station that had come to record their *menggali kembali budaya*, proudly stated that the women were the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* of GMIM Lolah. The *mahzani* songs have become part of their identity as elderly women in the village and as knowledge holders of cultural traditions that other generations no longer practice, although they are increasingly interested in them. The *Oma-Oma* malign past negative associations of *mahzani* and Tombulu language that developed through the *Orde Baru* years. They have pride in their knowledge of these cultural practices, a new valuation of old knowledge and practices

²⁴² The date shown on the banner at this event marks the date of the birthday, signified by the first conversions to Protetantism within Lolah, as having occurred in 1858, 147 years ago in 2005. Later research uncovered that the actual event occurred in 1848.

framed in part by contemporary discursive valuing of *kebudayaan* within church fora. Most important, however, for the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia*, are the pleasure and communion that singing and dancing together generate within the group, and possibly within the broader community of Lolah.

For Lolah's *Oma-Oma*, '*kebudayaan*' proved to be a domain of self-realisation, of reconciliation of the past and present practices and values that the renewed interest and orientation towards *menggali kembali budaya* has afforded them. My research interest prompted them to sing afresh old songs at a time when the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* group was newly formed, and they subsequently chose *maengket* as a medium for enjoyment and expression as individuals and as a group. Their doing so was founded upon their knowledge of past practices – contemporarily understood as *kebudayaan* – unique to their age group, their related experiences and linguistic capabilities within the congregation and village community. The renewed local interest in (*menggali kembali*) *kebudayaan* that has afforded the *Oma-Oma* this expressive space represents an intersection/overlapping of the two contemporary understandings of *kebudayaan* addressed in Chapters Six and Seven: as, firstly, referring to past practices, and, secondly, as referring to the domain of cultural performances (as had been promoted through the discourse of the *Orde Baru* era). The contemporary interest in revitalizing *kebudayaan* thus provided the *Oma-Oma* with an ideal medium – principally *maengket* song and dance – to perform, and enjoy, their performance of culture. Their performances were articulated in the cultural performance format contemporarily acceptable within national discourses of *kebudayaan* and *modernisasi*, common to Government (and church) fora. The *Oma-Oma*'s performance of the *maengket* did not promote the dance's past associations of the dance-song with *opoisme*, but rather its links to acceptable practices of *mapalus* and positive associations of communal work and solidarity. The *Ibu-Ibu Lansia*'s engagement with discourses of *kebudayaan*, and articulation of *kebudayaan* in this form, represents a realisation of the concept *kebudayaan* as a discursive tool/technology of the self in contemporary government.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways in which people in Loloh and other locations in Minahasa have defined themselves, in the early twenty-first century, via the concept and performance of *kebudayaan* linked to Tombulu sub-ethnic identity. I prefaced the chapter with an overview of the renewed interest in Tombulu identity by expatriate Minahasans living and working in other parts of Indonesia. I explored the development of home-grown Tombulu cultural organizations in Minahasa and their sponsorship of Tombulu cultural identity as a component of Minahasan identity, exemplified by the entering into popular discourse of the notion *menggali kembali budaya* (to dig up and bring back culture). This was demonstrated through several examples of cultural performances that represented renewed and positive appreciations of Tombulu identity, reconciled to Minahasan and Indonesian identities, and identifications as Christian and modern.

The examples described above represent different Minahasan communities' reconciliation of past and present traditions and values through cultural performance. These are realisations of self and community expressed through Tombulu cultural identity. Inherent within these expressions/realisations of culture was the intersection, and arguable reconciliation, of the New Order's two predominant understandings/representations of *kebudayaan*: firstly, as representing, and belonging to, the past, inclusive of the backward and un-Christian beliefs and practices of *opoisme*, and by association the *maengket*; and secondly, as cultural performance, as meaning *kebudayaan* itself. The contemporary performance of specifically *kebudayaan Tombulu* dances and songs in the contexts described above demonstrates the articulation of a publicly acceptable and enjoyable expression of Tombulu cultural identity that does not challenge (rather supports) existing Minahasan and Indonesian identities. Through performances, culturally defined, the people participating in the events described in this chapter engage with, and individually realise, their own understandings of *kebudayaan*, self and community. Whilst certain individuals, such as Bapak Rumengan, fulfill important roles in the motivation of individual and

community understandings and articulation of *kebudayaan*, individuals and community act as relative exemplars in each other's government, and in their ongoing negotiation of culture and modernity.

Important to the performances described above is the inherent pleasure involved in performing: in performing culture itself. This is expressed in people's experience of *kebudayaan* as performance through song and dance, as meaningful expressions of self and community, not merely as hollow performances of past cultural integrity.

Pleasure in performance, and the entertainment involved in such performing (for self and others), is an important consideration in the motivation and articulation of culture in contemporary Minahasa and beyond. The performance of dance and song in the contexts described above indeed inform people's concepts of what culture *is* and *means* in contemporary contexts. People's understanding and performance of culture through music and dance have been influenced by state and church discourses (imbued with relations of power), yet this does not elide the integrity and meaningfulness of their performance as culture. Rather, it reinforces the salience of the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* in assisting people to order and orient themselves in the world, both within and outside the contexts of formal church and state fora. People's use of the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* represent important conceptual and self-orienting tools/ 'technologies of self' in the government of individuals and communities (and congregations) in Minahasa and Indonesia more generally. The use of these concepts in the fora described above represent unique moments in the unfolding dialogue between the concepts culture and civilisation as they have evolved within Indonesian national and international contexts.

Despite the positive reconciliation through cultural performance of Tombulu culture with contemporary values that the examples of the Lolah and Rurukan events represent, the public revitalisation of *opoisme* practices by *Pakasaan Tombulu* at Woloan appeared to represent a 'less acceptable' reconciling of past and present cultural traditions and values. Public reaction at the event was uncomfortable, as the inclusion of the *dukun* in the program upset the vision of *opoisme* beliefs and

practices as belonging to the past. It also disturbed the other normative understanding and experience of *kebudayaan* as representing cultural performances, such as dance and song. The boundaries between these two domains of *kebudayaan* were uncomfortably blurred, antagonizing acceptable norms rather than representing an acceptable fusion. Alternatively, the public performance of *opoisme* at this event can be interpreted as the promotion (strategic or unconscious) by *Pakasaan Tombulu* of *opoisme*/shamanism as an acceptable form of cultural performance, alongside more normative cultural performances such as the *maengket*. In this regard it may have the potential effects of either promoting public acceptance of such practices, and/or contributing to a vision of such practices as benign cultural performances leached of their original spiritual meaning, such as has already occurred with the *maengket*. This represents a domain of intersection, and potential reconciliation, between past cultural practices (typified by both the *maengket* and *opoisme*) and Christianity, which is an area of interest and concern for contemporary GMIM policy and practice. It is this concern that informs the content of Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Recontextualising Christianity & Culture

This thesis has worked from the premise that the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* are daily employed by people in Lolah to make sense of, and orient themselves, within a changing world. That people use these concepts to do so is the result of the historical development of these key concepts within a particular locale. Their contemporary salience in Lolah is related to their use in certain domains of discourse within institutions, especially those of church and state, that have promulgated these concepts. These institutions, as discussed in earlier chapters, such as education facilities, the church Synod and congregational committees, and local Government administration tied to national Government agendas, have utilised these concepts (and their contemporary synonyms) in discourses and policies of intervention intended to change the way people understand, orient and govern themselves. Integral to the historical development of these institutions is the corresponding development of a particular dynamic of power – pastoral power – and the inculcation or instillation of new techniques of (self-) government within individuals and populations. Operating within this exercise of power and government are the key concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen*, with two key effects: firstly, to assist people to make sense of their world, in orienting themselves in relation to processes and dynamics of change; and secondly, given their meta-effects, to help bring into existence what they seek to delineate, that is, culture and modernity.

The focus of this chapter is the individual's negotiation of culture, modernity *and* Christianity, in their engagement with the discourses of the Christian Evangelical Christian Church in Minahasa (GMIM). The chapter begins by examining contemporary traditional beliefs and practices involving the shamanistic (and more benign) channeling of ancestors' spirits in Lolah, known as *opoisme*, and the reconciliation of culture and faith by contemporary practitioners vis-à-vis broader

public acceptance. GMIM's theological perspectives that contextualise indigenous beliefs with regard to the Christian God are examined, which includes the definition of *opoisme* as a category within the church's ethnographically informed theology of indigenous religion (*agama suku*). This is considered in relation to the dissemination of this theology through church networks, and GMIM's ongoing processes of intervention and evangelism against traditional beliefs and practices in Minahasa. In this light, the creation of a *Komisi Kebudayaan* (Culture Commission) in Lolah under the auspices of the GMIM church is examined, as is the development of 'contextual liturgies' that incorporate Tombulu cultural symbolism and cultural performance into standard Christian liturgies. Attention is directed to the negotiation of what *kebudayaan* means, and how it relates to a modern, Christian Tombulu/Minahasan identity in these fora.

The individual's relationship with the GMIM church in Lolah, and the resolution of the complex of discursive influences on self, community, Christianity, culture and a modern identity, is examined through the case study of several individuals, such as Lolah's *opoisme* practitioners. My main research informant and collaborator, Hendrik, is a principal research subject in focus, due to his negotiation of an exemplary path through the complex of indigenous and introduced beliefs and practices that inform his Tombulu/Minahasan identities and Christian faith. Importantly, I view Hendrik, in his individual realisation of self and community, as an exemplary subject of my research project: as someone who consciously set out to achieve a reconciliation of culture, modernity and Christianity, and in doing so, sought to influence the views of other members of his community/congregation. Correspondingly, this chapter will consider Hendrik's role in the articulation of pastoral power, exploring how in modern day Lolah the exemplar of pastoral power is not necessarily the pastor, as in the former era of the Christian pastorate. It is rather the individual citizen/congregation member who articulates pastoral power as a relative exemplar to

other members, in the contemporary environment of government informed by cooperation and congruence between state and church discourse and policies.

Opoisme in Lolah today

In the town of 'greater Lolah' – inclusive of Lolah Satu and Dua – during 2005, *opoisme* was an active part of life for a relatively small number of the population. *Opoisme* was coined as an academic concept by Pendeta Richard Siwu, the rector of UKIT, GMIM's theological university, during 2005.²⁴³ *Opoisme* refers to the range of indigenous spiritual beliefs and practices of the Minahasan sub-ethnic peoples related to communication with *opo* (ancestors).²⁴⁴ The spiritual element of *opoisme* that creates the most controversy is spirit possession by *opo*, what is commonly known as *opo-opo* (Siwu 2002:48). The goal of *opo-opo* is generally for healing purposes, of bodies and of (possibly related) social imbalances (Siwu 2002:48). The term *opoisme* was in common use in Lolah during 2005, having been disseminated via GMIM's Sunday sermons and prayer groups.

In everyday discourse beliefs and practices understood as *opoisme* are generally considered in a negative light, as being opposed to correct Christian belief and practice. These practices are commonly referred to as being *budaya* or *adat dulu*, as belonging to the past, and as representing dark and dangerous beliefs and practices. This view is especially held by younger generations who have grown up in an era in which *opo*-related practices declined significantly and GMIM pastoral influence increased dramatically. In Lolah the remaining contemporary practitioners and utilisers of *opo*-related practices are Christian or Catholic, and perceive their Christian and *opoisme* worlds as reconcilable. *Opo* practices have become generally tainted by their association with the perceived darker *opo-opo* practices, such as the channeling of ancestors through *maweteng*. This view is held particularly by those of

²⁴³ Personal communication with Pendeta Siwu (1st December 2005).

²⁴⁴ The complementary term *opologi* refers to the study of the *opoisme*. Personal communication with Pendeta Siwu (1st December 2005).

the younger generations, such as Hendrik. *Opo*-related beliefs and practices are not always perceived, or referred to, as constituting *opoisme* by practitioners of *opo*-related activities in Lolah, due to the negative associations of *opoisme*. In Lolah, however, during 2005 all forms of *opo*-related practices were kept out of the public eye for fear of vilification.

There were in effect several different forms of *opo-related* activities employed in Lolah, principally concerned with healing/medical activities. Some *opo* healing practices were perceived in a positive light by those either performing or utilising these practices; generally older generations who were more familiar with them. The local anthropologist and Catholic priest Pastor Renwarin, and the former GMIM *pendeta* and teacher of *agama suku* at GMIM's university mentioned earlier, both viewed *opo-related* activities in this light. Many Minahasans I met who were sympathetic to *opoisme* practices represented *opoisme* as being primarily concerned with health matters. In various forms, and to treat various ailments, many Minahasans would turn to people with healing 'talent' (the English word was often used in this regard) for cure. Their methods of treatment might take various forms. One of my informants in Lolah, for instance, would use one of several methods to heal the ill. One method involved mixing sliced ginger and a pinch of ash from the family cooking hearth (if one still existed)²⁴⁵ of the afflicted person with water whilst saying a prayer calling upon *Opo Wana Natas* (God in the Highest) and upon the assistance of an *opo* (ancestor) renowned for his/her healing talents. This the healer would give to the patient to drink. The healer thus acted as a medium between the summoned *opo* (who was in turn a medium for *Opo Wana Natas*) and the patient, using their own talents to channel the healing capabilities of the *opo*. Importantly, however, whilst the healing power of the *opo* worked through the medium, the *opo* did not possess him and speak through him. This was not a case of *opo-opo*. Other

²⁴⁵ Cooking hearths using firewood, were commonly used in Lolah, especially by the village's poorer residents.

healers felt they had the talent for healing that was inherited genealogically from talented *opo* without calling upon an *opo* to work through them as a medium when healing someone. Another healing method (of the aforementioned healer) involved the medium praying whilst chewing ginger, the patient simultaneously chewing ginger, before the medium sprayed ginger juice over the patient's face and body. Most such ritualized activities, such as stirring the ginger water and spraying the patient's face, occurred nine times, in keeping with the most powerful and sacred number in traditional Minahasan belief.

One healer, an elderly man respected within his church and renowned for his knowledge of local culture, did not see any contradiction between his healing practices and his Christian faith. He followed the methods of his parents, who had been talented healers, and channeled his ancestors – whom he believed were not evil – and who in turn acted as a medium for *Opo Wana Natas*. *Opo Wana Natas* is believed to be the same god of Christian and pre-Christian indigenous faith and is prayed to directly within the context of the healing process. He thus channeled his ancestor to approach God directly – none of which contradicted his Christian faith. He was cautious, however, that people in Loloh did not openly discuss his practices, and that all were practiced in secrecy. He had regular 'clients', whom he did not charge. Such forms of healing, of which there are various methods, are used to heal those with illnesses modern medical practice cannot cure, or are turned to by those who cannot afford modern medical treatment. Often, these two circumstances coincide. Such healing practices, however, are in decline in part due to the success of modern medical methods, and in part due to the social stigma associated with them as black magic and as *kuno* (backward).

Opo-related health practices have been long associated with illnesses believed to have been deliberately caused by another person through 'black magic', which *opo* have been traditionally engaged to counter. Black magic is commonly considered evil and thus the treatment of it – and the similar method of treatment for it – is tainted with

the same brush and spurned by most pious Christians in Lolah. Several practitioners, however, are explicit that they employ 'white' not black magic. In 2005, black magic and *opoisme* were considered too closely associated for *opoisme* practices to be socially acceptable within Christian Lolah.

There were two main forms of black magic historically used in Lolah, *uru* and *mariara*, although both were seen to be in decline or extinct depending upon the perspective of my informant. *Uru* was once commonly used to prevent people from stealing fruits and crops from other people's orchards and fields. The person looking to defend their property would wrap relics (often stones or other objects of antiquity and power) in the tree or grass of the field they wanted to protect, utter a prayer to *opo*, and hang the *uru* object from a tree. If a thief touched the tree or other property protected by *uru*, a sickness would infect them, a process called *meikaleno* in *Bahasa Tombulu*. The thieves would find themselves suffering from swollen legs or arms and possibly fever, known as *talibagu*. They would then need to consult a healer in order to be cured. I saw no evidence of *uru* in use during my time in Lolah, though it was allegedly still practiced by some and had been common in the 1970s and 80s.

Mariara, on the other hand, was used by an individual as a curse against someone they disliked. The person making the curse would name the intended victim over and over, and utilise powerful objects known as 'relics',²⁴⁶ which could cause sickness in the victim, if, for instance, they were hidden in the victim's house. *Mariara* was thus unseen and dangerous, caused by evil spirits in the employ of the curser, and was commonly discussed as a supernatural disease during my time in Lolah. Both *uru* and *mariara* were treated with the same or similar healing process to that described above, with the evil spirits driven from the sufferer. None of the people I met in Lolah who had the healing talent suggested that they participated in creating *mariara* curses, although they were frequently called upon to cure people who had been

²⁴⁶ Relics were generally objects of nature, such as stones or sticks, but also possibly coins, medals or other human-made objects.

afflicted by such diseases. Another disease caused by evil spirits, *pahmuhkuzen*, resulted from not making the correct respectful noises – such as, ‘ehem, ehem’ – when passing by a fresh water spring. The evil spirits in springs can cause illness if not respected, and the cure is the same as above. Belief in *pahmuhkuzen* seemed to have largely passed into the realm of folkloric superstition by 2005. In popular discourse in Loloh the black magic practices described above were all seen to represent folkloric superstition, believed to be backward and relegated to the past as *tradisi* or *adat* of yesteryear.

The remaining practicing healers in Loloh were generally reluctant to describe themselves as *dukun* (shaman). The healer whose method I described above stressed this point. He believed his activities were positive, only engaging positive spirits, ancestors and God in his healing practices. This was in keeping with his Christian faith and the practices of his church. Despite this, he and several others like him were reluctant to discuss their healing publicly for fear of public ridicule and what they saw as undue questioning of their faith. The healers put this down to misunderstanding and ignorance of their fellow villagers. They acknowledged that this ignorance was in part consequent to contemporary sermons by GMIM *pendeta* that characterized *opo*-related practices as black magic and dangerous.

There were two men in the village, however, who were more open – albeit still somewhat secretive and cautious – about their practices and who identified, to me at least, that they were *dukun* and were commonly known as such. Pak B and Pak H²⁴⁷ were a *dukun* team of sorts, although their channeling of *opo* (the act of *opo-opo*) was of a somewhat different process to the practices described above. Pak H was a medium through whom *opo* could communicate orally in ritualized ‘seances’. He spoke an ancient form of *Bahasa Tombulu* that was unintelligible to all but Pak B, who would translate into *Bahasa Manado/Indonesia* for those attending. People

²⁴⁷ I use pseudonyms due to the sensitive/controversial nature of their *opoisme* beliefs and practices.

would seek their counsel, and thus the counsel of *opo* through them, on health matters and a range of other topics that required supernatural guidance. This might concern the resolution of matters left unresolved upon a person's death, such as in the former practice of *maweteng* on the third night following someone's death. Indeed, Pak H referred to his practice as a form of *maweteng*. This form of *maweteng* might involve the searching for sacred objects or treasure, of which there were numerous stories circulating concerning treasure once buried within the *waruga* – most of which had been exhumed by grave-robbers over the years. Pak B and H were willing to perform *maweteng* with whoever was interested in participating, as long as they had something to ask of the *opo*. They generally met once a week with the intent to contact the *opo*, but were also open to the possibility of doing so on other occasions if required.²⁴⁸ On these occasions they would discuss indigenous spiritual traditions and *adat*, often asking questions of ancestors during *opo-opo* concerning spiritual matters or seeking clarification on historical matters concerning Lolah and Minahasa.

The *dukuns opo-opo* practice, however, generally concerned the treatment of health issues. There was one such notable case that was commonly discussed whilst I was in the village. This concerned a young woman who was suffering from considerable anxiety or *stress* as it was commonly referred to. She had lived in her husband's village in another part of Minahasa and was believed – by some – to have been cursed by someone there following the birth of her first child. She had returned to Lolah, apparently sent to Lolah by her husband due to her aberrant behaviour, and was being looked after by her mother who struggled to manage her daughter's behaviour and afford the expensive psychiatric drugs prescribed for her daughter. Her mother had turned to Pak H and B for assistance, and they had gone to her house where they exorcised the evil *mariara* spirits that had allegedly possessed her. Unfortunately, the

²⁴⁸ It was rumoured in Lolah that Pak B and Pak H, and other *opoisme*-related practitioners, sometimes accepted money or goods for their services, but this was denied by the practitioners.

success of the treatment did not last more than a few days before her health deteriorated again.

Several informants told me that whilst they, and others within the community, had regularly relied upon the *dukun* healing practices of Pak B and H and other practitioners before them in the past, they had rarely done so since the 1980s or early 1990s. One reason commonly given for this decline was the sermonizing by GMIM *pendeta* that *opoisme* practices were irreconcilable with Christian faith. The other reason concerned the greater availability of, and faith in, the efficacy of modern medicines.

Pak H explained that GMIM had been long campaigning against *opo*-related beliefs and practices and this had resulted in their denigration and significant marginalisation from everyday life in Loloh. He was very uncomfortable with and saddened by this development. He believed that '*opoisme*' and Christianity were reconcilable and that *opo*-related beliefs and practices inclusive of *opo-opo* were an important component of Minahasan spiritual/religious life. He referred to *opoisme* practice as being *adat*: where indigenous law and spirituality/religion were entwined. He was both a devout Christian and committed practitioner of *opo/opo-opo* practices, and understood his praxis as a combination of both traditions. The following is dialogue taken from an interview on this topic:

Hendrik: So according to you both church and *opoisme* can be practiced together?

Pak H: Yes, both together. But I am still embarrassed to practice both since the daughter of Om Z²⁴⁹ ... [has criticized *opoisme*]. They are my family, and she is a pastor. Sometimes I have to hide when I meet them, since they will interview me [about my *opoisme* practice]. I

²⁴⁹ Om Z is a pseudonym. *Om* is the *Bahasa Melayu Manado* and *Bahasa Indonesia* term for uncle.

want to see it continue here because it was the practice done by our ancestors...

Bryan: What do you think of the ways of GMIM and the ways of Tombulu culture?

Pak H: Oh, both are very contradictory to each other. The young people now believe in the Holy Bible very much, the Bible lessons are taught to them. People are embarrassed to honour the *opo* anymore. They don't think it is necessary since we have hospitals now.

Pak H lamented that due to GMIM's negative teaching about *opoisme*, the youth of Lolah knew little about it and had a negative perception of, indeed did not want to know about, this important element of their own culture. As addressed in Chapters Five and Six, a complex of influences on everyday life in Lolah had informed changes in cultural-*cum*-spiritual practices, and in the government of self and community, in which the Church is an important influence. This is acknowledged in Pak H's comments that point to direct influence through both biblical tuition and the greater availability of modern health services upon the decline in popularity of *opo* beliefs and practices.

An *opo-opo* session in Lolah demonstrated the fusion of *opo-opo* and Christian beliefs and practices – a few men's articulation of the ongoing balance between indigenous and introduced (essentially European) spiritual beliefs and practices. Pak B had a table (*meja opo*) in his house that was full of *barang opo* (things containing *opo-opo* derived power). The *barang opo* consisted of sacred stones, wood, several *kris* (ceremonial daggers) and other objects, many of which purportedly came and went magically of their own volition. In the centre of the table was a Bible, published in Old Malay in 1943 that had arrived suddenly many years ago and stayed. At the beginning of an *opo-opo/maweteng* session Pak B prepared betel nut and lime, tobacco and sometimes boiled eggs – in sets of one of several sacred numbers – as offerings to

facilitate communication with the *opo*. Candles were lit and Pak H, who would act as the medium, donned a garment especially made for the purpose. This was a red cotton tank-top with a large yellow Christian cross sewn into the centre of its back. The cross was surrounded by the stitched names of dozens of *opo-opo*, including the local legend *Opo Sambalean* and many others from the broader region. The name *Opo Empung* was stitched boldly across the top of the garment. Pak H sat in front of the *meja opo* and placed his hands, which held several powerful *barang opo*, upon the Bible. He began to meditate, praying to *Opo Wana Natas* and channeling an *opo* who had been a powerful and renowned *dukun* in Lolah before his death in the 1980s. Before long Pak H began to shake in the possession of the *opo*, who commenced speaking in the deceased's voice through Pak H, his voice distinctly recognizable to those in attendance who had known the deceased.²⁵⁰ Those attending then had the opportunity to ask questions of the *opo*. The *opo*'s response might be specific and useful or somewhat vague and indecipherable, although generally the former. On the occasion of my attendance at this event, four *opo-opo* responded in turn – solicited or unannounced – over the course of half an hour. Pak B sat beside Pak H as the *opo* talked through him, interpreting the meanings from the ancient *Bahasa Tombulu* that the latter was speaking. On several occasions during proceedings an *opo* directed Pak H to open the Bible at a specific page, before Pak H handed the text to one of the assembled to read. This continued for some time before the *opo* left the body of Pak H, who slowly recovered consciousness, exhausted from his participation. He said that while he is possessed he is unconscious and does not recall the events of his possession. We then relaxed, drank distilled palm wine (*cap tikus*), smoked *kretek* cigarettes and discussed what had come to pass during the *opo-opo*.

²⁵⁰ Once the session was over and we were reflecting on events Pak H said that when he was under 'possession' (my term) he felt as though he was sitting outside himself whilst the *opo* temporarily filled his body.

I convinced Hendrik to attend an *opo-opo* evening. He had never attended such an occasion before because of the negative conceptions he had of *opoisme* practice from church discourse and coming from an exemplary church worker family within the GMIM congregation. He was very reluctant to attend the *opo-opo* occasion in case he found himself in a situation whereby he was required to join in prayer that addressed an *opo*, which he saw would be a breach of faith, regardless of whether it involved simultaneous prayer to *Opo Empung*. Hendrik was confronted, however, when Pak H handed him the Old Malay Bible, having been directed to a specific verse in the New Testament by the channeled *opo*, and was asked to pray. Much to Hendrik's surprise and relief he had been requested to read Matthew 28:18-20. Hendrik described this verse as the 'Christian mission' that lies at the heart of the Christian evangelism. It concerns Jesus's last words to his disciples when he encouraged them to go to all the parts of the world and teach others what he has taught them. Hendrik later reflected that this had been an act of divine intervention, God's confirmation of the necessity of evangelism against inappropriate beliefs and practices such as *opoisme*. He interpreted the event as a reaffirmation of his Christian faith and purpose. Admittedly, though, we shared a sense of ironic amusement at the *opo*'s selection of this verse given Hendrik's reluctance to attend the *opo-opo*.



Image 4: Pak H sits at the *meja opo*, wearing a shirt showing the names of numerous *opo* (ancestors) and the Christian cross.

Pak B and Pak H professed that they occasionally undertook *maweteng* at the *raragesan* on *mawanua*, as this was believed to be the powerful site of the pre-Christian faith in Lolah, though it had been some time since they had done so. I was keen to participate in such an occasion and encouraged them to do so together at some future occasion. As this was to be a special event at Lolah's most ancient sacred site, we would be required to make a significant offering of a chicken or small pig to facilitate events. Time slipped by quickly, however, and it was December before my planned leaving date in January and time was running out to undertake the *maweteng* on *mawanua* before I left. December was full of Christmas related activities, especially choir practice, and the two *dukun* were too busy in their respective churches to coordinate a suitable occasion. The social requirements of their

attendance at church events, such as choir practice for the Christmas services, took precedence over their participation in an *opo-opo* occasion on *mawanua*. On the last possible evening that was available for us to undertake the *maweteng* at the *raragesan*, I stood with Pak H on his porch examining the black storm clouds gathering over Mount Tatawiren and *mawanua* Lolah. He shook his head and suggested we postpone the event again. It seemed that the social and spiritual pressure applied by his family and congregation had led him to prioritise participation in church events rather than engaging in *opo-opo* (essentially for my benefit). The approaching rain clouds had dampened what remaining enthusiasm Pak H seemed to have for this occasion within the busy Christmas period.

The remaining few enthusiastic practitioners of *opo-opo* and other *opo*-related beliefs and practices in Lolah, and those who clandestinely utilise their services, represent the remnants of a historical shift away from *opoisme* towards Christian beliefs and the availability and efficacy of modern medical services. GMIM's contemporary evangelizing against *opo* spirituality and healing practices is consequent to its emphasis upon Christian pedagogy complemented by its provision of modern medical facilities, especially hospitals. As discussed by Pendeta Siwu in Chapter Four, Christianity has been a 'carrier of modernisation' in Minahasa through GMIM's institutional development of education and hospitals. A number of mostly older members of Lolah's community continue to practice various degrees of engagement with *opo*, with only a few continuing the shamanistic praxis of *maweteng*. In general *maweteng* epitomizes the fear and discomfort people have with traditional spiritual praxis, although all forms are frowned upon. Whilst many elderly and middle-aged people recognized the role *opo* practices had once played in the life of the people of Lolah, it was generally discussed as being incongruent with contemporary values, religious practices and health concerns. Its use as a spiritual or religious activity had all but disappeared. The youth of Lolah, especially those of the GMIM *pemuda* (youth group), often expressed their vehement opposition to *opoisme*. Lolah was

considered by at least one GMIM theologian and senior *pendeta* to be a 'successful' Christian village, strong in its faith, implying its success in marginalising *opo-opo* beliefs and traditions.²⁵¹ *Opoisme* played a marginal role in contemporary life of most people in Lolah, unlike the church (Protestant, Catholic, Pentecostal) which was at the heart of spiritual, social and cultural life of the community.

However, the remaining practitioners of *opoisme* in Lolah continued their beliefs and practices outside of mainstream popular gaze and opinion, their beliefs and practices representing both resistance to GMIM and community negativity, and personal reconciliations of their respective Christian and Catholic faiths with these long standing traditions. Their views had been shaped by their individual (and group, small as it is) engagement with, and interpretation of, church and popular discourses concerning Christianity, things *moderen*, *opoisme* and *kebudayaan*. However, their practice appeared to represent the last bastion of traditional spiritual practice in a long history of coexistence between indigenous and Christian beliefs in Lolah, dating back to the mid-nineteenth-century. The pendulum of community acceptance concerning appropriate balance in the local fusion of indigenous and modern Christian beliefs, practices and values, had by 2005 strongly swung towards the modern Christian orientation. Integral to this recent swing in popular opinion was GMIM's contextualization of theology in local cultural-*cum*-spiritual contexts.

GMIM's 'contextual theology'

The contextualization of theology to be relevant and accessible within indigenous cultures has purportedly had a long established place in the traditions of Christianity in Minahasa. Early missionaries working in northern Celebes, such as N.P. Wilken, undertook ethnographic research in order to better understand potential converts' beliefs and practices to facilitate conversion. Some missionaries attempted to contextualise their introduction of the gospel within existing localised beliefs and

²⁵¹ Personal communication with Pendeta Roeroe, who used the English term.

practices and languages, and utilised local spiritual symbolism to facilitate conversion (Schouten 1998:110).

There were some missionaries, however, who hoped Minahasans would reinterpret their traditional ideas and symbols in a Christian way. Some of them used names of Minahasan deities (or Minahasan names) for God and Jesus, or tried to encourage acceptance of the Christian God by allocating him a place in the Minahasan pantheon, as a 'High God'. Missionaries allowed their converts to continue holding ceremonies on certain occasions, such as the harvest festival or moving into a newly built house, but provided a Protestant liturgy (Schouten 1998:110).

The legacy of the contextual initiatives of the early missionaries is still evident in GMIM Christian praxis, having been inherited in part from their Dutch missionary antecedents. The late Pendeta Saruan, an important GMIM theologian, is a case in point. GMIM published his theological doctoral dissertation in which he recognises the indigenous belief in a pre-Christian High god referred to as *Opo Empung* that fulfilled a similar role in the pre-Christian pantheon as the Christian God (Saruan 1991). *Opo Empung*, like its synonym *Opo Wana Natas*, as translated into *Bahasa Tombulu* and into a generalized *Bahasa Manado* as *Tuhan* (Lord) or *Allah Bapak* (God in the Highest or God the Father). Pendeta Saruan's thesis utilised numerous ethnographic sources, including the early Dutch missionaries, and his work was commonly cited by pastors and lay Minahasans when discussing indigenous precedents in Minahasan belief of the Christian faith.²⁵²

In the Indonesian Christian University of Tomohon (UKIT), from which all aspiring *pendeta* must obtain a theology degree, there is a course formerly taught by the late Pendeta Saruan concerning the *agama suku* (indigenous religions) of Minahasa and elsewhere. The theological science of '*opologi*' (the study of *opoisme*) is based upon

²⁵² I discussed Pendeta Saruan's thesis at times with Pendeta Siwu (the rector at UKIT), Pendeta Roeroe (director of post-graduate studies at UNKIT), Pendeta Djemy Sinubu, Pendeta Novi Dalapis, and her husband Pendeta Jein Woel (the latter three resident GMIM *pendeta* working in Loloh in 2005), amongst others.

ethnographic type observations and practice combined with a theological framework for understanding the spiritual and cultural differences (and similarities) observed in the practice of Minahasan *agama suku*. Pendeta Siwu defines *agama suku* as referring to an ‘ethnic society’ in which “culture and religion are two inseparable behavioural activities and institutions [that] occur simultaneously within the social life-world” (Siwu 1993:24). Early missionary ethnographic research provides a baseline of data concerning the original *agama suku* of Minahasa, and as the baseline for methods of evangelical intervention and contextual liturgy. Within the term *agama suku*, indigenous beliefs and practices are referenced as ‘religions’, albeit their *suku* or indigenous qualities value them alternatively, and arguably less so, than those of ‘organized’ religions: the six religions officially recognized by the Indonesian constitution.

There were only a few informants in Lolah with knowledge of the gods of the pre-Christian pantheon and there was little agreement among them. However, it can be deduced that the pre-Christian pantheon had at one time included: one’s ancestors or *opo*, especially the renowned ones, on the bottom tier; a range of gods representing the directions of the winds, each possessing special qualities and powers in the middle tier; and *Opo Empung* as the God in the Highest.²⁵³ The title *Opo* may have been utilised in all tiers, blurring the distinction between ancestors and gods. As noted in Chapter Two, there was little contemporary knowledge of the pre-Christian era in Lolah, which was reflected in the contradictory and inconsistent versions given concerning the belief system in this era of history.

In Lolah, the reinterpretation of pre-Christian belief through a Christian lens utilised the *raragesan* (the three sacred stones discussed in earlier chapters) as a potent symbol. One of the two main stories about the *raragesan* attributed values to the three differently sized stones that reflected the qualities of the Christian Holy Trinity

²⁵³ Bapak Hubertus Tinangon and Bapak Theodorus Tindangen were particularly knowledgeable about the pre-Christian pantheon of gods in Lolah.

in descending order of height: *Lelepowan*, equating with God the Father; *Maramba*, equating with Jesus Christ; and *Sumanti*, with the Holy Spirit. This view was suggested by residents of Lolah who positively appreciated GMIM's drawing of links between pre-Christian beliefs and those of GMIM today. The stones were thus attributed the same names and qualities as the Holy Trinity within the GMIM church. Others, notably those few associated with the persistent *opoisme* practices within Lolah, attributed different, older names to the *raragesan*: *Muntuuntu*, the largest stone, who had control over birds and is equivalent to God the Father; *Mamarimbing*, his daughter, who is a *opo* (ancestor) who gives totemic signs via birds; and *Makawalang*, who controls all terrestrial creatures. The *raragesan* were commonly referred to as the *gereja tua* (old church) of Lolah in the days before *injil masuk* (the gospel entered). A number of informants – Hendrik included – were very skeptical of the attribution of Christian names and values to the *raragesan* story, suggesting that this was a quite recent interpretation made by people who were keen to draw a link between *opoisme* and Protestantism. The former Governor of Sulawesi Utara in the 1970's, Governor Worang, is linked to this association between Lolah's *raragesan* and Christianity. Governor Worang is remembered for his positive appreciation of Minahasan culture, inclusive of *opoisme* beliefs, practices and sacred sites, and is said to have visited Lolah's *raragesan* on several occasions in order to communicate with the *opo-opo* there. Several informants suggested that the association of the *raragesan* and Christianity came into 'popular' discourse only relatively recently, around the time of the former governor's visits to Lolah, although others recalled this story's existence prior to the governor's interest.

According to a number of my informants, GMIM's major theological concern with *opoisme* is that praying to and/or communicating with *opo* (the act of *opo-opo*) contravenes a fundamental principle of Christianity that one should only pray to the members of the Holy Trinity. Praying in order to communicate with deceased family members and seek their intervention in daily life was understood within GMIM

theology to contravene acceptable Christian practice. This is compounded by the ability of *opo* to aurally respond to solicitations, which was seen as a dark and dangerous practice associated with evil spirits. Communication with otherworldly spirits was only deemed acceptable if the *roh* (voice of the spirit) was that of the Holy Spirit (the *Rob Kudus*) itself.

Those in Lolah who were not keen to affirm a link between these pre-Christian and Christian phases of Lolah's history sought rather to put distance between these two eras. There were many in the congregation of Lolah who did not see the necessity for such retrospective theological linking of pre-Christian and contemporary eras of faith. For them, the two eras were best kept separated, the latter having rightly overwhelmed the former. Pendeta Saruan and other GMIM theologians, however, seemed intent on addressing the issue, essentially arguing for a theological indigenization of the Protestant Church in Minahasa. This process of indigenization of Christianity within the cultural context of northern Sulawesi was initiated by some of the earliest NZG missionaries to the region (although the 'contextualising' intent of early missionaries is drawn into question by a GMIM pastor in the next section, who suggests the missionaries had the eradication of indigenous culture more in mind). This process was further pursued under the influence of the later nineteenth-century missionary Graafland. It continued throughout the twentieth-century in Minahasa and elsewhere in Sulawesi under the Ethical Theologians. This theological tradition continues in late twentieth and early twenty-first century efforts by the GMIM in contextualising Christianity within the evolving amalgam of Minahasan culture. In doing so the church remains a significant contributor to the ongoing constitution of 'Minahasan culture' itself and its changing mix of indigenous *kebudayaan* and introduced *moderen* elements.

I encountered several critics who interpreted GMIM's contextual theology and contextual liturgy (which I will address in a later section) as powerful and negative tools employed by the Church to marginalise and destroy persistent *opoisme* beliefs

and practices. One such critic was a former theologian at GMIM's UKIT and teacher of the *agama suku* course who had been controversially asked to leave the church in 2005. He blames his enforced exit in acrimonious circumstances upon his too positive appreciation of *opoisme* beliefs and practices.²⁵⁴ His own perspective upon those beliefs and practices referred to as *opoisme* had changed over time due to his sustained contact with such beliefs and practices, especially in the context of his ethnographic field research, to an extent (he asserts) that made GMIM authorities very uncomfortable. When we met he demonstrated a very positive appreciation of *opo*-related beliefs and practices and their role in Minahasan society, which he saw as very important, particularly in terms of both their agricultural²⁵⁵ and medical functions. The pastor²⁵⁶ saw the realm of *opoisme* as the non-religious, and therefore non-controversial, facilitation of advice and assistance from ancestors. He described himself as a believer in the value, utility and efficacy of *opo* beliefs and practices. He criticized GMIM's recent guidelines concerning contextual theology (and liturgies) as a not-so-subtle attempt to bring *opo* believers and practitioners under direct church influence, to campaign against their beliefs and practices with the intent of marginalising and eventually eradicating their practice. In doing so, he alleges, GMIM misinterpreted and devalued the cultural significance of *agama suku* practices, wrongly confusing 'opoisme' with religious/spiritual practice, especially in relation to their medical/healing role in indigenous societies. The views of this rogue pastor concerning the deliberate marginalisation of *opoisme* by GMIM were also shared by the few remaining *opoisme* practitioners in Lolah.

Certainly, the decline in popular acceptance of *opo* beliefs and practices in Lolah appears to correlate with GMIM interest and attention to *opoisme* from the 1980s

²⁵⁴ GMIM, however, suggest a quite different reason for his leaving.

²⁵⁵ *Opoisme* practices were (are in some areas of Minahasa ongoing) essential to ensuring the success of agricultural practices, according to the Pendeta. Notably, this topic was not broached by my informants in Lolah.

²⁵⁶ He continued to practice as a pastor in another smaller (non-GMIM) Protestant church.

development of a theological discourse, *opologi*. Having defined, and in a sense disciplined, the regionally diverse range of *opo*-related beliefs and practices into an ordered framework of definition and theological pedagogy – as constituting *opoisme* – GMIM could then act upon and influence the government of congregations through this framework of ordering and understanding. The discourse of *opoisme* had utilitarian value in influencing spiritual and cultural change within GMIM's broader congregation, emphasising both Christian and modern values, complementing state discursive emphasis upon modernisation and a restrictive religious secularism that does not accept indigenous beliefs as equal to the six officially recognised religions. GMIM's contextualized theology thus continues the church's long held institutional influence upon individual realisation of self and community – in the activation of pastoral power and government – in Lolah and Minahasa. The discourse of *opoisme* can be seen as a useful conceptual tool, a technology of the self, deployed by the church and networked and embodied by individuals in their understanding and negotiation of Christianity, culture and modernity.

The 'contextual theology' of Pendeta Saruan and other GMIM theologians can also be seen as a response to the changing spiritual and cultural concerns of their congregation. It both responds to, and encourages, trends in the congregation to reexamine, Christianise and civilise/modernise their past and contemporary culture by drawing positive spiritual associations between the pre-Christian and present Christian eras. Contextual theology can be seen as an attempt to consolidate GMIM's theological-pedagogical influence over their congregation by paying more attention to a renewed interest by their congregation in sub-ethnic identities. In doing so, however, they are increasingly involved in the affirmation of the salience of sub-ethnic identities – such as Tombulu-ness, defined through the concept culture – within the broader Minahasan identity, whilst increasingly influencing the substance of such representations. As discussed, being ethnically Minahasan also involves

affirmation of one's Christianity and one's modernity.²⁵⁷ Tombulu sub-ethnic culture in Lolah, however, has for several generations been spiritually associated with primitivism, backwardness and 'pagan' beliefs and practices that sit uncomfortably with Christianity and its modernising orientation. The desire to reconcile Tombulu culture and Christian belief inspired the development – specific to Lolah – in 2005 of a special church interest group, the *Komisi Kebudayaan* (Commission for Culture), which I will now address.

GMIM El Fatah Lolah's *Komisi Kebudayaan*

The Christian Evangelical Church in Minahasa (GMIM) has a Presbyterian structure with a synod at its theological and administrative head overseeing Ministries and their constituent congregations.²⁵⁸ The GMIM Synod is based in the upland town of Tomohon, which is also the location of the Christian University in Tomohon (UKIT) through which all potential GMIM *pendeta* today must graduate with a degree in theology. The Ministry of Tanawangko is responsible for the congregation of *GMIM El Fatah Lolah*, which is the congregation at the centre of my research. GMIM has approximately ninety Ministries in its fold, including approximately eight hundred congregations, inclusive of between seven hundred and eight hundred thousand members. There are approximately sixteen hundred *pendeta* in GMIM, of which more than half are women. In Lolah alone in 2005 there were three *pendeta* serving the congregation, the principal pastor (*pendeta ketua*) Pendeta Sinubu and an assistant pastor (*pendeta pelayanan*) whose role was complemented by that of her husband, who was also a recently graduated *pendeta*.²⁵⁹ GMIM is well organised, with

²⁵⁷ The proportionally smaller number of Catholic and Muslim Minahasan may disagree with this perspective.

²⁵⁸ Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu STh., MTeol., (26th October 2005).

²⁵⁹ The *pendeta pelayanan* of 2005 Pendeta Novi Dalapis STh., had shifted location to be *pendeta ketua* in another village by 2008 with her husband (also a *pendeta*) Pendeta Jein Woel STh., and their role was fulfilled by a *vicaris* who had recently graduated from UKIT. The *vicaris* is a role that is effectively a *pendeta* in training, whereby the recent graduate support the *pendeta ketua* and congregation, whilst testing their own commitment and suitability to become a *pendeta*.

each Sunday sermon throughout Minahasa scripted by the Synod and distributed to its *pendeta* in all its congregations. There are also scripted sermons for weekly *kolom* (prayer groups) meetings. GMIM publishes these sermons in a monthly booklet that it sells through its various bookstores. In 2005 the congregation in Lolah numbered approximately 2050 people in 520 families, inclusive of the two Government administrative villages of Lolah Satu and Lolah Dua.²⁶⁰ The congregation was divided into twenty self-administering *kolom*, organised according to geographical location within greater Lolah (both villages). These attended to the spiritual needs of the congregation. Each *kolom* had two leaders/church-workers, a *penatua* and a *syamas*, roles generally shared equally between a man and a woman, who oversaw and represented the *kolom* in wider church fora. *Kolom* met weekly for prayer, and more regularly for members' birthdays or other events, such as sickness, when spiritual and emotional support was required, and all the *penatua* and *syamas* within the congregation of GMIM El Fatah Lolah met in a monthly forum (*Sidang Majelis*).

In Lolah the GMIM church and its various organisational committees, alongside regular services, informed much of the Protestant congregation's civil energies and spare time. Civil commitments to local government were less common and generally applied with less enthusiasm. GMIM El Fatah Lolah has committees concerned with a variety of religious-cum-civil services, including overseeing prayer services for events such as *tiga malam* funeral (which formerly involved *maweteng*) and 'contemporary liturgical' *revival* services (see later in this chapter); the building of a new El Fatah Lolah church; the management of several credit associations through women's and men's groups; and the *Komisi Musik* that manages the congregational music and oversees GMIM El Fatah Lolah's internal and external choral competitions. The GMIM *Pemuda* (youth) organization is also a strong and important organisation within the congregation, which caters to the needs and energies of young people in Lolah, that is singles aged below thirty years. The *Pemuda* in Lolah were responsible

²⁶⁰ These data are courtesy of Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu and Bapak Hendrik Paat.

for energizing the organization of a number of important events in the Church calendar, especially during the Christmas season.

At the beginning of the GMIM El Fatah Lolah church calendar in 2005 the *Komisi Kebudayaan* (Culture Commission) met for the first time and was to meet weekly throughout the year. The *Komisi Kebudayaan* was the initiative of the GMIM pastor, Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu (originally of southern Minahasa), who had proposed the idea to the congregation. Pendeta Sinubu was in 2005 undertaking his own doctoral research in Social Theology through GMIM's Indonesian Christian University of Tomohon (UKIT).²⁶¹ The *Komisi Kebudayaan* was constituted by interested voluntary members of the Lolah congregation, at least one representative from each *kolom*. Pendeta Sinubu had formerly initiated a similar committee in his previous post in another village of Minahasa, where the committee had penned a book on local culture and history and had translated church hymns into the local language Tonsawang, with the approval of the Synod.²⁶² Whilst the El Fatah Lolah's *Komisi Kebudayaan* complemented GMIM's theological mandate as Minahasa's own church, the committee's formation was unique to Pendeta Sinubu's vision amongst the many congregations of the Church. Pendeta Sinubu personally valued local culture as *mahal* (meaning 'rich') in the life of his congregation, and he saw a positive appreciation of local *kebudayaan* as valuable for the morale of his *jemaat* (congregation), encouraging the Lolah congregation to reconcile positive elements of their culture with their Christian faith (I explain further below). The *Komisi Kebudayaan* was central to this vision.

On my initial visit to Lolah Hendrik introduced me to the Bapak Petrus Matau, the head of the recently formed *Komisi Kebudayaan*, and we discussed the mission

²⁶¹ Pendeta Sinubu confirmed the theological link between his research methodology and that of Kruyt and Adriani's Ethical Theology of the early twentieth-century, continuing in contemporary missiology the mutually informing relationship between ethnography and theology. Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu 4th December 2008.

²⁶² Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu (26th October 2005). The village was Kali Tombatu.

statement of the committee. The official mandate of the *Komisi Kebudayaan* was to *menggali kembali budaya*, which Hendrik translates as ‘to dig-up and bring back culture’. In Lolah this concerned elements of *kebudayaan Tombulu*. Tellingly, the committee’s use of the term *kebudayaan* frames culture as something archaeological and historical, as existing in the metaphorical past. This revalues certain past practices that are considered to have been buried over time as viable for excavation and revival, albeit perceived through a contemporary lens. *Menggali kembali budaya* also implies that culture, or aspects of Tombulu culture, require or are suitable for revitalising if they can be reconciled with contemporary – ‘modern’ – beliefs and values. The problem with this process is deciding what can and should be revived and what should lie dormant.

The qualification of the *Komisi Kebudayaan*’s mandate was that *kebudayaan* deemed appropriate for excavation must be deemed reconcilable with the *nilai-nilai positif* (positive values/morals) of the contemporary beliefs of the GMIM *jemaat*. As has been discussed earlier in this thesis, indigenous beliefs and practices had long been a target of intervention and a domain of social, spiritual and cultural reformation. Pendeta Sinubu gave a version of a somewhat more heavy-handed approach of missionary engagement with indigenous culture than the encouraging reinterpretation of “traditional ideas and symbols in a Christian way” approach undertaken by some nineteenth-century missionaries, discussed earlier (Schouten 1998:110).

We can see that some of the old practices of Minahasan culture are controversial with the gospel. Riedel and Schwartz, I am not sure about Graafland, were missionaries with Pietism who emphasised in their teaching how to live a godly life. So those who practiced ethnic culture at that time were told to destroy it since they were considered infidels or unbelievers. This included *maengket* and other Minahasan songs.... This culture was destroyed, eradicated. But the missionaries were not able to eradicate all because until now some people still believe and practice both. But the majority of Minahasan people now reject the practice of *opoisme*. The

process of digging up the old practices relates only to the positive ones [that is, those reconcilable with Christian beliefs]. *Opoisme* is not necessary to be practiced again, but other practices I think are still acceptable.²⁶³

It was thus considered possible to selectively excavate and revitalise particular elements as long as they could be positively reconciled with contemporary beliefs and morality. This appeared to have either explicit or implicit support from most in the GMIM congregation in Lolah. Pendeta Sinubu gave as a specific example the *maengket* dance that was suitable for restoration, as was normal in state-sponsored cultural performance events, and its recent recontextualised performance within a church liturgical program in Lolah. Pendeta Sinubu continues from the above passage:

Like the *maengket*. Its value is very positive, and whilst for people it is unusual, to hear the *maengket* in *Bahasa Tombulu* and feel the rhythm of the *maengket* combined in the worship, you feel it directly. Culture is valuable to be lifted up and preserved as a medium for spreading the gospel.²⁶⁴

Old cultural practices that were formerly considered to have no contemporary importance, nor positive value due to their past association with *opoisme* beliefs and practices, such as the *maengket* dance and song, can thus be acceptably reconcontextualised and revitalised as cultural performance, following from the examples given in Chapter Seven. The *maengket* can thus fulfill several functions within GMIM discourse. The *maengket* is rendered benign, free of the dark and dangerous former associations of the dance within the worship of deceased relatives/ancestors. It builds upon the *maengket*'s already established representation as a benign – if not old fashioned – cultural performance within state-sponsored (especially school) fora, associations with which the younger generations are

²⁶³ Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu (26th October 2005).

²⁶⁴ Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu (26th October 2005).

accustomed. It similarly transforms people's association with the concept *kebudayaan* as also benign, acceptable and potentially reaffirming of a Minahasan identity that is both Christian and modern. The *maengket* also fulfills a utility as an evangelical tool, "a medium for spreading the gospel," working to erode/'eradicate' *opo* beliefs and practices that have persisted within some communities until the present day. Elements of *kebudayaan* of the past are thus recontextualised as being both indigenous Tombulu and demonstratively Christian-Minahasan through the acceptable medium of cultural performance.

It is interesting to note that several members of Lolah's *Komisi Kebudayaan* were also known practitioners of *opoisme*, and were considered very knowledgeable in *budaya Lolah* and valuable to the commission's research. Their involvement in the *Komisi Kebudayaan* did not seem to affect their continued positive appreciation of *opo* and participation in *opo-opo*. Whilst they saw the two as reconcilable, this view did not seem to be shared by many others in the congregation. Ironically, it was the rumoured (and actual) continued relationship with *opoisme* by these members of the congregation that led, in part, to their reputation as knowledge holders about traditional culture and their participation on the *Komisi Kebudayaan*. Their participation on the commission can be interpreted as an attempt (by Lolah's GMIM church leaders) to influence them to reassess what is culturally and religiously acceptable to GMIM theology and Christian practice, with an eye to their ceasing *opo-opo* practices. However, that these somewhat aberrant individuals continued positively valuing and perpetuating *opo* beliefs and practices despite the blatant teachings of GMIM's pastors against them, represented their continued resistance to GMIM attempts to eradicate *opoisme*. General community agonism, however, at the continued practice of *opo* beliefs and practices in Lolah provided an interesting background to my time in Lolah during 2005 and the ongoing negotiation of culture, faith and modernity in residents' lives.

Contextual liturgy

One of the *Komisi Kebudayaan*'s roles in 2005, its initial year, was to research and advise upon particular issues to do with the GMIM El Fatah Lolah's annual program of events, including issues arising in relation to GMIM's guidelines of 'contextual liturgy'. Contextual liturgy was a field of developing concern for the GMIM Synod, whose members were attuned to incorporating amenable traditions/cultural practices into standard church liturgical practices. Contextual liturgy is one of three categories of liturgy that were outlined by a visiting GMIM senior church worker to Lolah in 2005 as acceptable practice.²⁶⁵ The others were 'conventional liturgy', pertaining to standard European Christian service and music in the *gereja* (church), and 'contemporary liturgy', such as charismatic *revival* services considered less formal than conventional liturgies, and often held outside the *gereja* in village halls or other public spaces. Such *revival* services may incorporate contemporary musical arrangements with motivational sermonizing by an outside *pendeta* renowned for her/his oratorical skills; this was their nature when held in Lolah. By expanding their liturgical scope the GMIM Synod sought to reconcile increasing congregational interest in non-conventional liturgical arenas amongst their congregation, with their own interest in guiding and governing the types of activities that should be performed. It was both a theological and organisational concern. This was, in part, informed by the influence of Pentecostal style charismatic church services, which utilise contemporary musical band arrangements and songs, including choreographed spiritual 'dance' routines. The Pentecostal Church was making inroads in winning converts from their more sedate Presbyterian neighbours, and some in the GMIM congregation suggested that this had influenced GMIM's interest in *revival* services,

²⁶⁵ At one of the two revival events held in June 2005 in Lolah, the treasurer for the GMIM Sinode – not a *pendeta* but a *syamas* (or deacon) – spoke regarding these newly redefined Sinode of guidelines concerning the three acceptable types of liturgy. Pendeta Roeroe informed me in 2008 that these guidelines were still, in development, and whilst promoted, had not yet been adopted as formal GMIM policy.

aimed to stimulate and satisfy their congregations using similar, albeit more appropriate, methods.

It is the third format, 'contextual liturgy', in which I am most interested. Contextual liturgy affords the incorporation of a range of acceptable cultural elements into church liturgies. This includes the singing of hymns in Minahasan sub-ethnic languages, such as Tombulu, and the performance of acceptable versions of indigenous dances, such as the *maengket*, into certain liturgical services. This development seemed to be informed by (and more recently inform) the standard performance of *maengket* and other dance/song forms within Government fora and within the new ethnic cultural identity organisation events such as those of *Pakasaan Tombulu*. The most important contextual liturgy to be formed in Lolah during 2005 was for the *Hari Ulang Tahun Gereja El Fatah Lolah* (Birthday of the Church El Fatah Lolah), which I will discuss shortly.

Whilst only defined by the GMIM Synod in Lolah during 2005, GMIM contextual liturgical services have a contemporary precedent in both Lolah and Minahasa through the annual *Pengucapan Syukur* (Expression of Thanksgiving) church service and celebrations. *Pengucapan Syukur* has its origins in the pre-Christian period in Minahasa as a ritualized spiritual celebration of the harvest. *Pengucapan Syukur* was the modern incarnation of the harvest festival to which Schouten refers (Schouten 1998:110), and was presumably accommodated by the NZG and the *Indische Kerk* before GMIM. In past times these events involved the ritualized offering of harvest produce to the *opo* and gods at the *raregesan* (village foundation stones still evident on the site of old pre-Christian village of Lolah) or another sacred stone in the village once used for this purpose known as the *Watu E'engketan*. The *maengket* dance had been an important component of this worship during the pre-Christian period. A modified *Pengucapan Syukur* has long been incorporated into GMIM Christian religious practice as an annual Sunday service acknowledging its origins as a harvest celebration. *Pengucapan Syukur* was also positively associated with the American

event of Thanksgiving, linking Minahasan Christianity with Christian practice in the USA and that country's aura of modernity.

Hendrik's father, the late Bapak Jotje Paat, a long serving *penatua* (church worker/*kolom* leader) in Lolah, had been an instrumental figure in encouraging the GMIM congregation there to keep alive and value certain Tombulu cultural 'traditions', and was regionally renowned for his knowledge of *Bahasa Tombulu*. In 2004 (unfortunately, before I began my research in Lolah) Hendrik's father chose to do this through the *Pengucapan Syukur* celebrations, and had drafted a special contextual liturgy for the day that included the singing of hymns in *Bahasa Tombulu*. A number of such hymns already existed, and it was occasionally commented that early missionaries had originally translated these hymns into *Bahasa Tombulu*. The local church committee responsible for the event had decided in consultation with the *pendeta* that the liturgy be held in a field (or *lapangan*) on the edge of the village; the location was considered more natural and 'traditional', and in keeping with the day's theme. The church service began early in the morning in the fields, and was followed by offerings of fruit and rice and cakes and other foodstuffs – ideally agricultural produce – by each *kolom* (prayer group). Throughout the afternoon, the program continued with a range of singing, dance, *musik bambu* and other forms of Tombulu cultural performances as part of the extended contextual liturgy. By all accounts, this event was positively received by the congregation. People discussed the event in terms of their sense of positive connections with past traditions, the *lapangan* location symbolizing the event's connection with nature and the harvest festival of the past, and Tombulu language and identity associated with the culture of the past. The event appears to have celebrated the era of the first missionary and initial Christianisation of people in Lolah, which is much mythologised in popular discourse, rather than the pre-Christian era.

Whilst members of El Fatah Lolah's *Sidang Majelis* had originally intended to follow the same format for *Pengucapan Syukur* again in 2005, this did not eventuate.

However, the *Sidang Majelis* were eager instead to hold another contextual service with a strong Tombulu cultural theme. It was agreed that the commemoration of the birthday of the Protestant Church in Lolah, to be celebrated for the first time in October 2005, was the appropriate event. This celebrated the establishment of the Protestant congregation in Lolah, marked by the first Protestant baptisms to occur in the village in 1848 by the missionary N.P. Wilken. Due to the historical focus of the event it was originally considered appropriate to hold the contextual service in the ‘traditional’ natural setting of the *lapangan*, as per the *Pengucapan Syukur* of the year before. Eventually, however, the committee decided to hold *Hari Ulang Tahun El Fatah Lolah* (Birthday of El Fatah Lolah) in the church, to be followed by a cultural program in the as yet unfinished newer GMIM church next door. The cultural program repertoire consisted primarily of school children singing and dancing *maengket* and *katrili* dance-song performances, as well as the *Ibu-Ibu Lansia*’s revitalised *maengket* (discussed in Chapter Seven), and largely resembled the standard format put on for senior Government officials when visiting towns.

Hendrik volunteered to write the liturgy for the *Hari Ulang Tahun El Fatah Lolah*, and in doing so, sought to reconcile Tombulu language and symbolism adapted from cultural performances with contemporary Christian Minahasan values and religious sensibilities. Hendrik chose to inherit the informal role as a writer of contextual liturgy for his congregation from his father who had recently become incapacitated through illness. Hendrik had his own scholarly interest in Tombulu language and culture, having completed an undergraduate thesis in socio-linguistics concerning the contemporary use of *Bahasa Tombulu*, and through his role as a collaborator in my research. He had taken it upon himself to write contextual liturgies for specific religious events in 2005 when the *Sidang Majelis* deemed them appropriate, and drew upon his experiences of our research to inform his contextual liturgies. Hendrik finalised drafts for the liturgies in dialogue with Pendeta Sinubu and the *Sidang Majelis*. He had already written a contextual liturgy for the *Hari Ulang Tahun Desa*

Lolah Satu (Village Birthday Celebrations for Lolah I) held earlier in the year, which had been well received by the congregation, and was keen to further develop the liturgy for the initial annual Church birthday celebration.

Hendrik's contextual liturgies, like his father's before him, utilised *Bahasa Tombulu* as its main language. Hendrik re-wrote a rather conventional liturgy, inserting historical and cultural emphases into the text for each specific occasion. GMIM's *El Fatah Lolah's* birthday liturgy in 2005 was entirely in *Bahasa Tombulu* except for the sermon that was presented by a visiting *pendeta* in *Bahasa Indonesia*, so that its message would be comprehensible to all the congregation in attendance, many of whom spoke little *Bahasa Tombulu*. *Opo Empung*, and its synonym *Opo Wana Natas* were the *Bahasa Tombulu* terms for the Christian God utilised in the Hendrik's church birthday liturgy, terms that were common in other GMIM forums.²⁶⁶

Hendrik distributed copies of the liturgy written in both *Bahasa Tombulu* and *Bahasa Indonesia* so that all attending could understand. Importantly, the translations were of both prayers and hymns, which could be spoken for this occasion in unison by the whole congregation.

Hendrik took two innovative steps in the *GMIM El Fatah Lolah* birthday contextual liturgy that neither he nor his father had taken before. Hendrik included a dance performance within the church service to accompany a hymn, which was a modification of the traditional *maengket* dance formation. The *maengket* dance was performed by a troupe of young women, advised by Hendrik, who danced in the formation of a cross rather than the traditional *maengket* circle formation. The young women wore *kebaya*: a lacy blouse used in combination with a sarong, that is common throughout Indonesia as traditional women's dress. The wearing of *kebaya* was a revival of a particular tradition in its own right, as it hadn't been worn in

²⁶⁶ There is a common *Bahasa Tombulu* hymn called *Opo Wana Natas* that is learnt in primary school in Lolah and broader Minahasa.

church or commonly in public in Lolah since *musim cengkib*.²⁶⁷ The dancers waved the once sacred plant leaves (*lawang rangdang*) – that surround the *raragesan* (founding stones) on *mawanua* – in a performance style similar to the dance routines common in Pentecostal and *revival* liturgical formats. Hendrik had included the *tawaang rangdang* leaves within the liturgy on *Hari Ulang Tahun El Fatah Lolah* because they ‘were very traditional’, describing them as having been taken from traditional practices but were therefore not really ‘true traditions’. Their use within the contextual liturgy was thus as a symbolic link to the past, and to their pre-Christian roles at sacred places and events.

The dancers were accompanied by Hendrik’s second innovation in the contextual liturgy. Whilst there was precedent for hymns to be sung in *Bahasa Tombulu* in both contextual and conventional liturgies, the music supporting the hymns had always previously been European. Hendrik decided that the *Bahasa Tombulu* hymns be sung to the traditional *mahzani* melodic structure of the *maengket*. The adaptation of elements of *maengket* dance and song into El Fatah’s birthday liturgy was similarly symbolic, yet sufficiently removed from the past *opoisme* by time and contemporary practice in cultural performance programs (such as occurred on the birthday celebrations) to be contemporarily removed from such overt symbolic associations and thus made socially and spiritually palatable. The *maengket*’s performance within the GMIM contextual liturgy did not appear to be received by the congregation within the retrospective light of past associations with *opo* spiritualism. It appeared, rather, to be received as an expression of the symbolic incorporation of established Minahasan culture – defined by its performance as dance/song/music – into Christian religious practice. Both these innovations of Hendrik’s contextual liturgy had been inspired by the performances of UNIMA choir that combined Bapak

²⁶⁷ The young women were inspired to wear *kebaya* by GMIM’s *Ibu-Ibu Lansia* (over 65 years old women’s group) who were to perform long unpracticed *mapalus* songs as part of the afternoon’s performances.

Rumengan's contemporary *maengket* songs and melodies with modified *maengket* dance choreographies. These contextual innovations had never occurred before in a Lolah church service and created a unique feeling, as Pendeta Sinubu described it, during the church service. Pendeta Sinubu's comment above, regarding the potential appropriate incorporation of *maengket* into GMIM liturgies, had been made after this contextualized liturgical event. The liturgy was received by the congregation with great excitement and appreciation on the day.

The incorporation of a modified *maengket* dance performance within GMIM's liturgical service is a fascinating example of *menggali kembali budaya*. As the *maengket* had been performed in the pre-Christian era as a ritualized worship and prayer to *opo* and other gods, its performance within the church on this occasion was highly symbolic, even if not perceived as such by all. Pendeta Sinubu noted, however, that some of the older residents of Lolah were unhappy that the *maengket* was performed inside the church, as they were well aware of the dance's past links to *opo-opo*.²⁶⁸ Through its performance at this event the *maengket* found itself, somewhat ironically, deployed within spiritual worship, functionally re-linking its performance in the church with its original spiritual role in pre-Christian *opo-opo*. However, on this occasion, it was used as a medium for spreading the gospel, reflecting the comments of Pendeta Sinubu described above. The boundary between Tombulu culture and Christian faith was thus blurred, recontextualising cultural performances as reconcilable with Christianity, as well as indigenizing GMIM Christianity within Tombulu culture. In this example of contextual liturgical practice *budaya* was a conceptual and performative tool/technology for the negotiation and reorientation of self and community, as simultaneously having Christian faith and an acceptable understanding of culture, articulated within the physical domain of the church building.

²⁶⁸ Interview with Pendeta Djemmy Sinubu (26th October 2005).

Pendeta Roeroe, the head of post-graduate research at Universitas Kristen in Tomohon (UKIT) – GMIM’s centre of theology responsible for training all aspiring GMIM pastors – had been invited to lead the contextual service and give the sermon for the *Hari Ulang Tahun El Fatah Lolah*. Pendeta Roeroe had previously promoted the development of contextual liturgy within GMIM services and had been specifically requested – by Pendeta Djemmy on behalf of the congregation – to present the sermon at the birthday service due to his interest in contextual liturgy. A copy of Hendrik’s liturgy was given to Pendeta Roeroe prior to the service.²⁶⁹ In his writing of contextual liturgy Hendrik was inspired by GMIM precedence in the ‘indigenizing’ of Christian liturgies. He recalled working as a translator for the South Korean delegation at a large contextual service at the *Stadium Klabat* (a large football and event arena) in Manado that had been led by Pendeta Roeroe for the *Christian Conference of Asia* in July 2000.²⁷⁰ At this service *tawaang rangdang* leaves (once used in *opoisme* practices such as *maengket*) were used, offerings of produce made (similar to the pre-Christian harvest roots of *Pengucapan Syukur*), and indigenous cultural dances (such as the *maengket*) performed. On the morning prior to the service at the *Hari Ulang Tahun El Fatah Lolah* Pendeta Roeroe, in consultation with the locally resident *pendeta* and church workers, decided to wear special ‘traditional’ robes due to the traditional context of the service. This was the first time Hendrik recalled seeing such traditional robes being used in a GMIM church service. The outfit was based upon the ethnic costume for Minahasa commonly utilised at Government sponsored *upacara kebudayaan* (cultural events) for both Minahasan and *Propinsi Sulawesi Utara* events, and peculiarly resembles a European military uniform of Portuguese, Spanish or Dutch origins.

²⁶⁹ Pendeta Roeroe is a native *Bahasa Tombulu* speaker.

²⁷⁰ The *Christian Conference of Asia* is an organisation of different Protestant churches of Asia, and includes Pacific and Australian participants, of which GMIM is a member.

Pendeta Roeroe gave an effusive sermon in the church service that day about the contextual liturgy he was experiencing. He praised the contextual format of the liturgy as an excellent model suitable for use and adaptation by other GMIM congregations. Pendeta Roeroe commented that he had traveled widely and had observed that churches in Korea, Africa and Latin America had successfully ‘developed’ contextual liturgies incorporating certain aspects of local cultural traditions into mainstream Christian practice; such as this one in Lolah. He suggested it was similarly necessary for Minahasans to create contextualized liturgies that reflected both European Christian and local cultural traditions, and he praised Lolah’s congregation for their innovations in this regard. Hendrik was personally very pleased with the *pendeta*’s praise, as were many in the broader congregation. Pendeta Roeroe linked Lolah’s contextual liturgy to similar Protestant churches worldwide where certain reconcilable elements of indigenous cultural traditions informed Christian liturgical practice.

Conclusion: Bapak Hendrik as exemplar of modern Christian culture and pastoral power

My relationship with my primary informant Hendrik was central to my research, and discussions with him concerning contestations between Christianity and other indigenous beliefs and practices were integral to my work experience in Lolah. These tensions, in part, inspired Hendrik’s participation in our research, as it did mine. In our almost daily discussions we persistently sought to negotiate – in historical and contemporary perspective – issues arising from our research, things that Hendrik at times found difficult to reconcile concerning his own culture, his modern perspectives, and his Christian faith. Hendrik’s contentions in the reconciling of culture, Christianity and modernity were a constant source of discussion and contestation between us, as we sought to balance an objective and ethical, scientific approach with the valuing of subjective experience. Hendrik hoped to gain a scholarship for post-graduate study in Australia, and under this premise we discussed

our research experiences and issues in these (scientific) terms, challenging each other's objectivity and subjectivity in equal measure. The association of *kebudayaan* and cultural identity with the past and all its negative, backward associations, at times hung heavily upon Hendrik's conscience, and his involvement in the composition of contextual liturgy became his creative means for reconciling tensions raised in the research process.

For Hendrik and many others of his generation and younger in Lolah there is no contemporary rationale for the continuation of the once common spiritual practices of *opoisme*. Hendrik held the view, shared by many other informants also, that certain aspects of local culture remained in the past, and were best understood as elements of Lolah's history. Hendrik and others were worried that the current trend of interest in Tombulu culture, and the related process of *menggali kembali budaya*, would trigger a revitalisation of certain beliefs or practices considered unsuitable in the present spiritual-religious-cultural context of Lolah-Minahasa. The head of GMIM El Fatah Lolah's youth group had this to say about the process of *menggali kembali budaya* in an interview with Hendrik and I:

People should know the history, the past, they must know the culture so that they can see the progress as it has happened from the past, and the development now. Today, people must be able to differentiate between aspects of culture that are good to be applied and those that are bad, that are to be eliminated. That's why it is important for people to learn about the history, to know the history.²⁷¹

Similarly, on several occasions Hendrik expressed the view that the primary usefulness of my research into *opo* beliefs and practices should be that these practices were recorded and understood, so that such elements in the history of Lolah's culture should not be forgotten. He sees it as important that people understand the circumstances that they had progressed from, drawing a clear distinction between the

²⁷¹ Interview with Bapak August Paat (16/12/2005).

past and present, between what is uncivilised and what is modern. Hendrik perceives *opoisme* belief and practice as belonging to the past, along with other unsavoury aspects of Lolah's cultural history, such as headhunting. He is, in his own way, relegating certain experiences and practices – and especially current *opoisme* practices – to a necessary historical place in the progressive history of Lolah's modernisation. Hendrik, like others in Lolah, prefers that these practices be consigned to history books.

Hendrik suggested early on in the research process that part of his interest in participating closely in my research was to gain knowledge and insights into local culture, especially 'traditional' beliefs and practices, to incorporate suitable elements into contextual liturgies. Through our research Hendrik proactively engaged with and utilised ethnographic methodologies and data, whilst orienting himself in regards to the theological guidance of his church. He did the same with the fundamental principles of Indonesian nationalism, which he also subscribed to, and upheld. Hendrik sought to be true to the theology of GMIM and the mandate of the *GMIM El Fatah Lolah's Komisi Kebudayaan*, and maintained that certain *tradisi*/cultural practices could be reconciled with the *nilai-nilai positif* (positive values) of contemporary Christian *kepercayaan* (beliefs) and *budaya*. This mandate was fundamental to the contextual liturgies he wrote for the *Hari Ulang Tahun GMIM El Fatah Lolah* and other services. I was fascinated by how the contextual liturgies he wrote appeared to achieve his intent, and the generally positive responses they generated within the congregation. I suggested to Hendrik that he might consider himself, via his contextual liturgy innovations, as an inventor of traditions, which I explained in reference to its academic usage. He returned that his intentions were to make 'culture be re-born', particularly that which 'has been covered up by modern culture', by 'lifting up, digging-up that culture again'. He suggested that by incorporating acceptable elements of local traditional culture into Christian liturgy he was creating new meaning from old practices. It was his observation, following the

church birthday celebrations in Lolah, that “people are excited by this new liturgy, and if it brings them closer to God then that is good, for the sake of making their Christian faith stronger.” In this way Hendrik’s contextual liturgies had evangelical intentions, reflecting both the contextual trend in GMIM theology and what appeared to be the general consensus and orientation of the congregation in Lolah. He was not pushing against the tide of public opinion, but rather reflecting – and moulding – it in his liturgies, whilst also fulfilling an exemplary role in the negotiation of *kebudayaan* and Christianity within his community/congregation.

Hendrik’s production and promulgation of contextual liturgy was a deliberately selective process consciously intended to influence the congregation’s understanding of what is acceptable in the fusion of Christianity and Tombulu/Minahasan culture. The incorporation of *maengket* performance into church discourse and activities has meta-cultural effects, influencing people’s appreciation of cultural performances as constituting *kebudayaan* itself,²⁷² and as reconcilable with Minahasan Christianity. The vision of *kebudayaan* as belonging to the past is fused with the contemporary realisation of *kebudayaan* as cultural performance (discussed in Chapter Seven). Through its articulation within the church building and Protestant liturgy, *kebudayaan* (as *meangket*, and as the melodic and linguistic structuring components of hymns) also represents a reconciliation of Tombulu and Minahasan identities with a civilised/modern Christian identity. Through contextual liturgy the *maengket* and *kebudayaan* become performative and conceptual technologies of self, in the realisation of culture, productively informing people’s reconciliation of being Christian and being modern, of having a cultural identity with which they are comfortable, and of which they are proud, expressed within a contemporary format and setting that reassures and reaffirms people’s sense of self and community. The *maengket*, and more broadly *kebudayaan*, function as tools in the government of self

²⁷² As per the views of Bapak Tindangen discussed in Chapter Seven.

and community, in discoursing and effecting norms of understanding and the articulation of culture within the community – a process informed by pastoral power.

The exemplar of pastoral power in contemporary Lolah is no longer the pastor, as it had been in the former era of the Christian pastorate or the early years of the colonial mission in Minahasa, when the influence of modern state apparatus was fledgling (as typified by the missionaries Ulfers couple discussed in Chapter Two). By the early twenty-first century the significant development of state and church institutions over the preceding century-and-a-half had fostered a new form of pastoral power in Lolah. Today, the exemplar of pastoral power in Lolah is the individual citizen and congregation member, who articulates pastoral power as a relative exemplar to other members in their community/congregation. Within this domain of government, informed by contemporary cooperation and congruence between state and church discourse and policies, the concept *kebudayaan* actively facilitates understanding and orientation of self and community alike. This is articulated in daily discourse and through significant events such as the *Hari Ulang Tahun GMIM El Fatah Lolah's* contextual liturgy.

The issues which Hendrik wrestled with, and which he sought to resolve in his contextual liturgies, and correspondingly in his everyday understanding and articulation of Christian faith and culture, resemble those that Herder wrestled with in his use of the concept culture (introduced in Chapter One). For Herder and Hendrik alike the realisation of one's self within one's culture is inseparable from spirituality: it is where the individual (and broader community) locates their true sense of self and spiritual belonging within a communal cultural identity. For Hendrik, the realisation of one's self, and the way he wants his intertwined culture and faith 'to be', is (via everyday practice and contextual liturgy in particular) a demonstrative reconciliation of *kebudayaan* with a modern Protestant ideal.

Like Herder and the ethical theologians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hendrik also perceived *kebudayaan* in reference to a developmental ordering of comparative differences. As with others in Loloh he was understood this as a progression from a primitive past to a civilised Protestant present. For Hendrik, *kebudayaan* in Loloh and Minahasa – however diversely realised – is the result of a progressive trajectory of modernisation and Christianisation in which levels of spiritual-cultural-material development simultaneously exist. Within this schema of development *opoisme* and Christianity do coexist, and Protestantism is at its apex. In this vision, beliefs and practices associated with *opoisme* (once been integral to *kebudayaan*) demonstrated a lower/backward/outdated level of culture, that had been superseded by the processes and attainment of modernisation/civilisation. This common view in Loloh was a component of people's conceptual understanding of *kebudayaan* itself, in which *kebudayaan* represented (in part) the backwardness of the past. This reflects the dynamic of self-awareness, and awareness of one's comparative developmental differences with others, which the ethical theologians of mid-nineteenth Sulawesi encouraged their missionary/colonial subjects to consider – to recognize and redress – in themselves and the community. Hendrik and the people of Loloh have been similarly encouraged, via evolving church and state discourse in dialogue with long standing traditions/*adat*, to evaluate different coexisting levels of cultural attainment, in terms of the progressive realisation of civilisation/modernisation and Christian religion. The ideal of a modern, developed, Indonesian Protestant is thus contrasted against the practice of *opoisme* and its associations of backwardness, primitivism, paganism/animism and the past.

The people of Loloh today engage with, and understand themselves, through the use of the concept culture in various relations of juxtaposition to the concepts civilisation/ modern. As discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight, people also positively associate with the concept and experience of culture. Both culture and modernity are desired, valued and experienced by individuals and communities in Loloh and

elsewhere in Minahasa. These concepts facilitate people's understanding and ordering of apparent differences and similarities between self and others. Importantly, these concepts are used to negotiate self (-awareness and realisation) within processes of change: in which the concepts culture and civilisation have themselves informed the actualisation of dynamics of change, in which they have had meta-effects. Culture and civilisation are thus conceptual tools (technologies) in the reconciliation of change – in beliefs and practices, in values and spirituality, in economy and sociality – realised in relation to, and within, civilisation's encompassing progression.

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This thesis explored how the concept culture exists in everyday usage in complementary and interdependent opposition to the concept civilisation, both in anthropological discourse and in the society of Lolah-Minahasa. This mutually informing interdependence – the essential paradox of anthropology’s conception, as suggested by Marshall Sahlins – has long informed people’s use and understanding of the concept culture in diverse and evolving contexts of usage. This thesis traced the evolution of the interdependence of these concepts, since Johann Herder’s initial eighteenth-century contrasting of culture as a critique of civilisation. It linked their development within anthropological discourse to the contexts of colonial and missionary engagement in Minahasa, where their utilitarian applications informed both colonial interventions and the very development of these concepts, in complementary opposition, within Minahasan-Indonesian history. The thesis explored the concepts’ further evolution within twentieth-century post-colonial Minahasa, related to state and church institutional development and discourse, in which *kebudayaan* and *moderen* predominated as key concepts in the culture-civilisation nexus. This has influenced the contemporary understanding, application and realisation of these concepts in the lives of my informants in the town of Lolah today.

A fundamental difficulty, and task of this thesis, was to explore why the concepts culture and civilisation have proved so salient over time and in diverse contexts – Minahasa being just one Indonesian example – where these concepts and their juxtaposition inform people’s lives. The answer lies, in part, in the interdependence of the concepts, in the potency of culture’s critique of civilisation/modernity, in the push and pull of the resistance to, and acceptance of, inevitable change that the complementary opposition of these concepts readily articulates. It lies in the inherent mutability of ways of life informed by contact with other peoples, and the utility of

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these concepts as tools for the negotiation and understanding of change engendered through such interaction. Yet, it is more than that, as culture and civilisation are not merely conceptual tools that people discursively employ to make sense of self, community and processes of change. People live their lives in the knowledge that culture and civilisation/modernity exist as real entities, entities with which they may (or may not) associate and identify (positively or negatively). Culture and modernity are not merely discourse, but are realised in people's lives.

This is related to the meta-effects that these concepts have in producing the very thing that they delimit and define. In the defining of culture, or rather the existence of multiple cultures, Herder pioneered a conceptual domain, characterized by its interdependent and complementary opposition, through which an individual could delimit, understand and order information and experiences about oneself and others. Each culture was unique and inalienable, in contrast to, and in critique of, civilisation's universalising trajectory.

Importantly, 'culture' also provided individuals with a conceptual tool with which they could identify. They could experience/realise culture and civilisation/modernity, in comparative awareness of others and their culture and relative civilisation/modernity. As we have seen through the case study of Lolah-Minahasa, individuals and communities have identified with both culture and modernity in various articulations of opposition over time, and indeed, also do so simultaneously. In contemporary Lolah, for instance, individuals such as Hendrik identify with being culturally Tombulu, being Minahasan (itself a complex identity informed by an ongoing wrestle of cultural and civilisational forces), and belonging to a universalising, modernising Indonesia. In each of these overlapping identifications, culture and civilisation/modernity are at play, as concepts and as meaningful lived experiences. In everyday life and through particular events, such as the contextual liturgy of GMIM Lolah's birthday celebrations, use of the concepts culture and

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modern informs and delimits how culture and modernity are experienced – they inform the realisation of the thing they describe.

Consideration of Hendrik's use of contextual liturgy (discussed at the end of Chapter Eight) provides a fitting case study with which to conclude this thesis, as it exemplifies how an individual employs the concepts culture and civilisation to make sense of, and order knowledge about, oneself and others in relation to processes of change. Hendrik's individual emphasis upon reconciling culture, religious belief and morality, and the desire to be modern, is demonstrative of the dynamics of individual self-awareness that connect two main theoretical threads of this thesis. This is, firstly, the awareness and realisation of self within one's culture (Herder), expressed in comparison with others, and in opposition to the universalising tendencies of civilisation; and secondly, the process of individualisation integral to pastoral power in which the complementary concepts culture and civilisation are important technologies of self-realisation.

As discussed in Chapter One, the locus in Herder's concept of culture is the individual, who realises oneself within the educative and spiritual domain of culture, a realisation whereby the individual expresses or defines oneself in relation to others. Charles Taylor describes this dynamic of individual comparative self-awareness as an *idée-force* of (originally post-Enlightenment Western) civilisation, and representative of a modern worldview or orientation (Taylor 1975:17-8). In the maturing states of Western Europe this orientation evolved within a broad discursive domain informed by an intellectual mix of theology, philosophy, natural sciences, evolving forms of political subjectivity, and a desire to understand and order experiences of, and knowledge about, humans – an emerging anthropology. This was influenced by increased contact and experience with peoples from outside Europe through mercantile, colonial and missionary exploits abroad. State and (to an extent) church institutions of pedagogy (school systems, universities, museums, galleries) and discipline (prisons, asylums, hospitals) developed, demonstrating increased

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sophistication in the management of populations, informed by this evolving Enlightenment domain of discourse. These institutions fostered a pastoral form of power – originally the provenance of the Christian pastorate – within populations in the interrelated domains of Europe and its colonies, such as Minahasa. Pastoral power encouraged individualisation of awareness, values, desires, and responsibilities of government, within the self and the broader societal body, in dialogue with the discourses, programs and officials of state (and church) institutions. Within this newly articulated and developing form of power the concepts culture and civilisation (and later modernisation) evolved as important discursive tools in the realisation of self and other, networked within discourses and disseminated through institutions. This influenced people's conduct, in their negotiation of old and new beliefs, practices and values. Culture and civilisation became technologies of the self within processes of individualisation in which "individual, self-examining and critically reflexive balancing, embod[ied] a continual assessment of merits and faults, the morality of right action and conduct" (Foucault 1983b:230-51).

As I have examined, following Schrauwers (2000), the church continued to develop alongside the state, in both European and colonial contexts, collaborating in the governance of populations, in the exercise of pastoral power, and in the evolution of technologies of self within individuals and populations. I have emphasised the applicability of analyses of governance to the colonial domains of European powers, and the mutually informing links between the two domains, using the Netherlands East Indies (inclusive of Minahasa) as a case study. Through the example of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Minahasa/Sulawesi, I examined the (interrelated) development of institutions of both state and church, in which missionaries were often at the vanguard of intervention, seeking to effect changes in the way people conducted themselves: in the creation of colonial, Christian subjects. Whilst the initial success in converting Minahasans to Christianity can, in part, be attributed to competition between different leaders and communities in the region to

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develop or maintain their positions of authority through close relations with the colonial apparatus, the creation of colonial and missionary subjects (including the missionaries and colonial administrators) engaged the concepts civilisation (and later culture) in individualising dynamics of self-awareness and assessment: as technologies of self-government.

Through the case study of Minahasa/Sulawesi, I examined the development of the pastoral form of power in the early days of colonial and missionary interventions – in which civilisation was a key concept – utilising the Ulfers missionaries as examples of an era when the pastor and his family were exemplars of pastoral care and power. I explored how nineteenth-century missionary and colonial interventions in Minahasa sought to engender people's self-awareness and individual reconstitution in relation to ideals of Christianity and European civilisation. This was facilitated through the development of pedagogical institutions, especially schools, for teachers and children alike, complemented by the more coercive disciplinary programs of state control, including: the *corvée* labour system for infrastructure development (*Heerendiensten*); the forced cultivation of coffee as a cash crop (*Cultuurstelsel*); the restructuring of villages; and the attempted marginalization (if not eradication) of certain traditional practices. Thus began a process of increased sophistication in the activation of pastoral power away from the pastor as pastoral exemplar, towards its articulation – informed by both church and state discourses, programs and agents – in which the individual is a relative exemplar to other members in one's community/congregation.

In the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century a more pluralist attention to differences expressed in terms of culture (or then equivalent concepts, such as *adat*) emerged within colonial and missionary discourse and interventionist practices. This reflected European trends in philosophical, theological and political subjectivities, informed by the emergence of anthropology as an academic discipline and the interrelated colonial domain in which culture and civilisation were key concepts, with intellectual and utilitarian applications. This was evident in the

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application of the concepts civilisation and culture (via *adat*) within the 'sociological method' of Ethical Theology employed by the missionaries Kruyt and Adriani in Central Sulawesi during the early twentieth-century. These missionaries, working within the parameters afforded by the colonial definition of *adat* law, utilised *adat* as a conceptual tool assisting colonial-missionary subjects (new converts and missionaries alike) to understand and orient themselves in relation to old and new beliefs, practices, and social organisation. Individuals were encouraged, through the ethical theologians' anthropological schema of relative development, to individually assess and orient themselves, in comparative relation to others within their community. Indigenous culture or *adat* was understood as a stage within a schema of progressive development or civilisation, and was contrasted to a civilised, Protestant ideal. This was an ongoing process of self-assessment and progressive change, articulated through relations with others, in which individual and community informed each other's values, spirituality and conduct.

This dynamic of comparative self-assessment in terms of one's attainment of intertwined ideals of Christianity and civilisation reflects the ongoing process of negotiated self-definition in Lolah/Minahasa during the early twenty-first century, articulated by Hendrik and others in their everyday lives and at special community events. Hendrik sought to reconcile Tombulu culture with his Christianity and modern worldview. Like others in Lolah, he understood and oriented himself in dialogue with the concepts culture, civilised, modern and development promulgated by the institutions of church and state. Processes of ongoing self-assessment in which these concepts were integral have been evident in the GMIM's history (and the history of other churches before it in Minahasa) in marginalising specific indigenous beliefs and practices, such as *opoisme*, from the activities of everyday life: practices that contravened Christian beliefs and a civilised/modern orientation. Since the beginning of the New Order era the people of Lolah have increasingly judged and marginalized certain indigenous beliefs, practices and traditions that long coexisted

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alongside imported ones, further tipping the balance towards the incorporation of 'civilising/modernising' influences into their lives. As this thesis has explored, this is a consequence of congeries of influence, including increased state and church institutional influence, the dramatic displacement and effects of war, and the economic wealth and experiences resulting from the sustained high price of cloves.

Within this complex of influences upon change in Lolah the concepts *moderen* (modern) and *pembangunan* (development), in opposition to the concept *kebudayaan* (culture), were key concepts in an era of modernisation (*modernisasi*) instigated by the New Order – built upon the meaningfulness of these terms established in earlier periods of Indonesian history. These concepts had meta-cultural and meta-modern effects: they both motivated change and assisted people to understand and order experiences of the changes that these concepts informed. People in Lolah came to appreciate aspects of their *kebudayaan* as being outdated and backward, as *tidak moderen* (not modern). *Kebudayaan* itself became associated with the past, as reflecting the new inappropriateness of certain traditions, as representing the antithesis of a modern, Christian orientation. The distant past, vaguely remembered and deliberately excluded from contemporary popular discourse, was characterized as a period of time when people were *masih primitif* (still primitive) and *tidak* or *belum beradab* (uncivilised).

However, through the post-colonial national project, from its inception in the late colonial period to its heyday during the New Order era, *kebudayaan* in Lolah also came to be understood in a more positive light, as a domain in which one could (consciously or unconsciously) reconcile localised or regional identities with the universalising agenda and identity of the Indonesian nation state. *Kebudayaan* came to be associated with identity through the medium of cultural performance, typified by the performance of ethnic or regional songs and dances. This medium of cultural expression demonstrated the accommodation of regional differences in programs of the state, particularly in fora that celebrated the developmental successes of the

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nation-state, such as the Independence Day Development Parade (*Pawai Pembangunan*). *Kebudayaan* thus came to represent another alignment in the evolving complementary opposition with civilisation/modernisation, articulated within the universalising dynamics of the Indonesian nation-state and its national culture.

The post-New Order era in Lolah-Minahasa has seen another rearticulation of the culture-civilisation nexus as members of the Tombulu-speaking Minahasan diaspora continue to negotiate their place in evolving processes of change via *kebudayaan*. Tombulu sub-ethnic identity has emerged as a desirable signifier of perceived cultural difference, especially amongst the younger generations who had grown up in the New Order and post-New Order eras, in the multi-cultural meeting places of the industrial-urban centres of Indonesia. The once positive association with Manado-Minahasan language and modern oriented identities is being contested by a new interest in the distinct cultural alterity of Tombulu language and identity. Within Lolah and elsewhere in Minahasa, particularly through church and newly emergent Tombulu ethnic identity organisations, people have begun to *menggali kembali budaya* (to dig up and bring back culture). Within *GMIM El Fatah Lolah's Komisi Kebudayaan*, whose mandate is to *menggali kembali budaya* in Lolah, some aspects of *kebudayaan* are considered necessarily reconcilable with positive contemporary, ostensibly Christian, values. Language and cultural performance are the media within which this desire has found expression. Cultural performance provides a discursive and performative domain in which *kebudayaan* is comfortably articulated, positively perceived and enjoyed; a domain of discourse and association established during the New Order era. The new positive affiliation with Tombulu cultural identity has found itself articulated in various fora in Tombulu-speaking Minahasa, as an expression and signifier of cultural difference, as well as a signifier of inclusiveness within broader Minahasan and Indonesian identities. Cultural performance has become a contemporary domain of culture (or cultural expression) in which the long-

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standing association of *kebudayaan* as representative of, and belonging to, the past (inclusive of negative connotations) has been reconciled with the acceptance of *kebudayaan* as represented through cultural performance. Cultural performances of *kebudayaan* are newly articulated and experienced as contemporary and Christian, and as a suitably modern signifier of relative difference and similarity in relation to, and encompassed within, broader Minahasan and Indonesian identities. Cultural performance has become increasingly constitutive of the idea of *kebudayaan* itself.

The process of reconciling – ‘digging up and bringing back’ – past and present understandings of culture in Minahasa has confronted the issue that certain aspects of traditional beliefs and practices, in particular *opoisme*, sit uncomfortably with modern, Christian values. The revitalisation of *opoisme* within *Pakasaan Tombulu*’s public events has caused consternation amongst Tombulu-speaking Minahasans concerned with the appropriate selection of cultural practices to revitalize. Whilst the incorporation of *opoisme* practice into such cultural programs can be interpreted as rendering it as benign cultural performance symbolic of past cultural significance, its articulation within public fora can also be interpreted as a legitimisation of practices popularly and negatively perceived as pagan, backward and outdated. Anxieties over (in)appropriate *menggali kembali budaya* have, however, informed others, such as Hendrik, to seek reconciliation of Tombulu culture with their Christian faith and modern worldview in different ways and through different (more socially important) fora. Hendrik’s contextual liturgy, for example, which took place in Loloah’s GMIM church, was articulated as part of his ongoing individual negotiation of culture, identity, Christianity and modernity. It was also intended to be shared with, and to influence, fellow members of his community and congregation in Loloh. Within the contextual liturgy held upon *GMIM El Fatah Loloh*’s birthday celebrations in 2005, Hendrik innovatively deployed an array of Tombulu cultural symbols. This included Tombulu language, indigenous musical melodies, and recontextualised cultural performance – all reflective of a long history of ongoing cultural recontextualisation –

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in his personal and pedagogical agenda to influence local understandings and experience of culture, in productive dialogue with modern, Christian values and morality.

Hendrik's negotiation of change draws into play the tension between an egalitarian appreciation of culturally defined difference and a hierarchical schema ordering perceived differences, similar to that employed in 'Ethical' missionary practices in early twentieth-century central Sulawesi. Hendrik and others in Lolah/Minahasa seek to reconcile Tombulu cultural beliefs and practices, inherent values and morality, representations and public performance, within a framework of increasing belief in, and practice of, Christian and modern values, informed by the discourses of church and state. This ongoing assessment and self-realisation of Christian faith and civilised/modern ideals by the residents of Lolah, understood in relation to the beliefs and practices of those around them, exists in dialogue with perceived stages in a hierarchical progression from primitivism to modernity. These different stages of development are representative of the progress that has been achieved since former times, and the simultaneous, and uncomfortable, persistence of practices associated with the past.

Through events such as contextual liturgy, and in everyday life, *kebudayaan* acts as a tool, a technology of the self, assisting Hendrik and others in the congregation to negotiate culture, Christianity and a modern worldview. This is articulated within relations between individuals imbued with pastoral power, influenced by the formative role of state and church institutional capacities, agents and discourses. As with Herder's initial use of culture as a critique of civilisation, the use of *kebudayaan* in contextual liturgies is both pedagogical and spiritual in emphasis, expressed within a continuity of traditions, a formative domain in which individuals cultivate self-reflexivity and self-realisation. Within Lolah this continuity of traditions, cultural and spiritual, has long been informed by a negotiation and fusion of indigenous and foreign influences. *Kebudayaan* acts as a technology of self-reflexivity and self-

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realisation in a contemporary reconciliation of this fusion. Within today's complex of church and state institutional and discursive influence in everyday lives in Lolah, the concepts *kebudayaan* and *moderen* assist people in the understanding and realisation of self and others, and in the negotiation of processes of change brought on by civilisation's unfolding.

Similarly, I have utilised culture and civilisation/modernity to understand and orient myself in relation to experiences in Lolah, and in my attempted reconciliation of the concepts culture and civilisation/modernity within anthropological thought. My research had metacultural effects in stimulating self-reflexivity within my research subjects also, which has contributed to renewed interest in, and articulation of, culture in Lolah. In Lolah, my main informant Hendrik has been at the forefront of my actions in stimulating people to reflect upon the concept culture and its relative value, in relation to processes of change. His contextual liturgy was a personal and public demonstration of his doing so. Others, too, have reflected and reacted in various ways, considering culture anew through my prompting. The Ibu-Ibu Lansia reacted to my interest and suggestion to again sing songs that had not been sung for decades. They have taken to this stimulus by revitalizing *mahzanil maengket* songs and dances with much enjoyment, incorporating them into the everyday activities of their group, and now proudly performing them in various state and church fora. Their revitalisation of cultural practices, through the contemporary recognition and acceptance of *kebudayaan* as cultural performance, has contributed to their group identity and the social valuing of the women as cultural knowledge holders within the community.

Through this ethnography I find myself positioned within a continuum of ethnographic 'intervention' in the lives of Minahasans, as an agent (respectfully intended) of cultural change. At the invitation of the people of Lolah I have participated in and encouraged the digging up and bringing back of culture, and influenced individuals and community in the process. I have asked people in Lolah to

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reflect upon and evaluate their contemporary lives and history in terms of culture and processes of change and modernity. I have sought in this ethnography to reconcile my ethnographic practice with the practice of previous ethnographers who have worked in Minahasa in different eras and with different (utilitarian) intentions for the knowledge they produced. However, whilst critiquing earlier practices, I also recognise my methods are related to techniques of comparative self-awareness and evaluation that anthropologically informed thought has fostered in the people of Minahasa over time. This recognition encompasses a genealogy from the early colonial administrators and missionaries, through the era of ethical missiology, the emergence of liberatory nationalism, and the modernising agenda of state and church in the later half of the twentieth-century in Loloh – all of which have engaged concepts of culture and civilisation to encourage self-reflexivity in their subjects. I situate my research also within a history of anthropological philosophy that has sought to produce knowledge and understanding of self and others – of humanity, in its similarity, diversity, and inevitable change – through the use, contrast and occasional reconciliation of the concepts culture and civilisation.

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GLOSSARY

All words in the glossary are in Bahasa Indonesia unless otherwise marked with a single-letter abbreviation – see below legend – signifying their origin. A word may belong to more than one language.

Bahasa Melayu Manado (M)

Bahasa Tombulu (T)

Dutch (*D*)

<i>adat</i>	customary law, customs
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GLOSSARY

adat dulu

customs of the past

GLOSSARY

<i>Arsip Nasional</i>	Indonesian National Archives

GLOSSARY

<i>batu tiga</i>	name of village founding stones in Lolah
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GLOSSARY

<i>cultuur</i> (D)	culture
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GLOSSARY

<p><i>bukum tua</i></p>	<p>Minahasan name for village head (contemporary)</p>
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GLOSSARY

<i>ibadah</i>	prayers/worship
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GLOSSARY

<i>kabupaten</i>	district level of Government
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GLOSSARY

<i>kepala desa</i>	village head
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GLOSSARY

<p><i>main cincin</i></p>	<p>a guessing game played with a ring common to wedding events</p>
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GLOSSARY

<i>maju</i>	to progress, improve
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GLOSSARY

<i>masih primitif</i>	still primitive
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GLOSSARY

<i>moderen</i>	modern
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GLOSSARY

<p><i>orang Manado</i></p>	<p>people of Manado</p>
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GLOSSARY

orang Tombulu

people of the Tombulu-speaking ethnic group

GLOSSARY

<i>Permesta</i>	title of the regional-national conflict (1957-1961)
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GLOSSARY

<i>revitalisasi</i>	revitalisation
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GLOSSARY

roh

spirit

GLOSSARY

<i>Sulawesi Utara</i>	North Sulawesi
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GLOSSARY

<i>Tinekaan (T)</i>	process of spirit entering the body during <i>maweteng</i>
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GLOSSARY

<p><i>tumepi (T)</i></p>	<p><i>opoisme</i> in a deceased's gardens following <i>maweteng</i></p>
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GLOSSARY

<i>wa'ilan</i> (T, M)	person of high status in the Pre-Christian era
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