

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLICISM
IN FLORES, EASTERN INDONESIA:
MANGGARAI IDENTITY, RELIGION AND POLITICS**

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submitted by

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DISSERTATION

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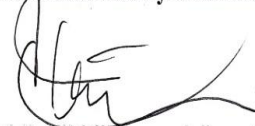


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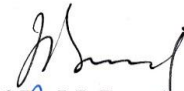
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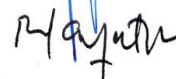
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S T A T E M E N T

I hereby declare that this dissertation has never been submitted to obtain degree at any other university and to my knowledge does not contain the work or opinion ever written or published by others, except the writing is clearly referred to in this manuscript and mentioned in the bibliography.

Yogyakarta, February, 2013

Fransiska Widyawati

To Fr. Bernard T. Kieser, SJ

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a socio-historical study of the Catholicism in Manggarai-Flores, Eastern Indonesia in 1912-2012. The main questions are 1) Why did the Manggaraians convert to Catholicism during the 20th century? 2) How did the Manggaraians perceive Church's missionary activities and what were the problems, struggles and challenges faced by the Manggaraians in dealing with the mission? 3) What are the theological challenges coming from the context of Manggarai? The aims of this study are: to present the development of Catholicism in Manggarai during the 20th century; to depict the impact of Catholicization to the Manggaraians, to map and analyze the main problems, struggles and challenges the Manggaraians faced in dealing with the Church's mission; and to propose theological challenges for the Church of Manggarai based on its real history and struggles.

In terms of methodology, this study is a social research which basically develops historical approach on theology. To get more understanding about the context, multiple disciplines including history of religion, anthropology and sociology are also used. In collecting the data, this research uses two main ways: historical-literature survey and field research. An inter-cultural theology is used as the main framework to interpret and analyze the context and reality found in this study.

This study finds that: 1) Religious activities, one that relates to religious conversion, never present in pure religious motivations but always associate with non-religious interests such as politics and competition with other religions. However, the case of Manggarai portrays that religious motivation is the main purpose of the missionaries while other reasons are used to support the religious one. 2) This study reveals four main reasons and factors why Catholicism grew spectacularly in Manggarai: a) political factors that strengthen Catholicism as an acknowledged religion within the society, b) rationalization and socio cultural transformation, c) the uses of local theology and culture within Catholicism, and d) the Church's contribution to the society i.e. in education field. 3) Manggarai is a responsive society to Catholic religion; the people are easily converted to Catholicism and adopt Catholic as part of their identity. Even so, it argues that it does not mean that the acceptance is experienced without strain, hurt and depression. "Catholic-Manggaraian" identity is constructed through adaptation and conflict. To be both a Catholic and a Manggaraian is the result of long and hard struggle. The dialectical encounter (adaptation and conflict) between Catholicism and the culture of Manggarai shapes a unique identity of the Catholic-Manggaraian: "true Catholic and true Manggaraian". 4) From theological perspectives, Catholic faith cannot be experienced in its pure form apart from cultural expression. Christian faith grows only in certain cultural context. It implies that a religion that fails to take a dialogic connection with the local culture it aims to unite with would be alienated from its own resources. A dialogue between global and local is a must because such a dynamic relation, analogous to

Catholicism and Manggarai, enriches and enhances both sides. Catholicism could be meaningful for the Manggaraians if there are always mutual encounters in important areas of habituation namely basic beliefs, social organization, religious symbols and religious significances to the community.

In addition to the findings and conclusion above, this study also proposes a new theoretical framework, namely “mutual and dominant relationship theory”. The theory explains that the encounter between a religion (Catholic) and a culture (Manggarai) happens in dynamic relations, either in a positive or a negative way. Positively, the encounter happens as a mutual relationship in which one enriches and advances to another. When two different things can support and enforce each other in a mutual relationship then they become rich and meaningful. Negatively, it happens when one acts dominantly to another. Two different things become meaningless if there are no supported elements from each side; if a dominant-relationship is performed. Catholic faith can grow and become part of the Manggarai’s identity because there are always mutual dialogues between faith and local culture. The Catholic faith finds appropriate ground and context for its growth and sustainability. On another hand, the culture of Manggarai can also be alive because the people find and affirm religious/faith aspect within the culture. Otherwise, it will be easily lost by time and by various changes in the society.

Key Words: Catholicization, Manggarai, politics history, identity, struggle, intercultural theology, culture, faith and inculturation.

ABSTRAK

Disertasi ini adalah suatu kajian mengenai Kekatolikan di Manggarai, Flores Barat, Indonesia tahun 1912-2012. Pertanyaan utama penelitian ini adalah: 1) Mengapa orang Manggarai berkonversi ke agama Katolik pada selama abada 20? 2). Bagaimanakah tanggapan orang Manggarai terhadap misi Gereja Katolik dan apakah persoalan, pergulatan dan tantangan yang dihadapi orang Manggarai dalam kaitannya dengan misi Gereja Katolik? 3) Tantangan dan peluang teologis apakah yang muncul dalam konteks perjumpaan agama Katolik dengan keyakinan asli dan budaya Manggarai? Tujuan penelitian ini adalah: menghadirkan sejarah perkembangan agama Katolik di Manggarai pada abad 20, menggambarkan dampak kekatolikan di sana, memetakan dan menganalisa persoalan, pergulatan dan tantangan yang dihadapi orang Manggarai dalam kaitannya dengan karya misi Gereja Katolik serta mengajukan tantangan teologis bagi Gereja Manggarai berdasarkan sejarah dan pergulatan real mereka.

Dari segi metodologi, penelitian ini adalah suatu studi sosial yang secara mendasar menggunakan pendekatan sejatah dalam rangka teologi. Untuk memperluas pemahaman mengenai konteks, data dan lokus penelitian, pendekatan multi disiplin seperti sejarah agama, antropologi dan sosiologi juga digunakan. Dalam pengumpulan data ada dua teknik utama yang dipakai yakni: survey literatur sejarah dan penelitian lapangan. Selanjutnya, teology inter-kultural dipakai untuk menginterpretasi dan menganalisa data.

Penelitian ini menghasilkan beberapa penemuan: 1). Aktivitas keagamaan, khususnya yang berkaitan dengan konversi, tidak pernah hadir dalam bentuk motivasi religius yang murni tetapi selalu berhubungan dengan kepentingan non-religius termasuk politik dan persaingan antara agama. Walau hal ini benar dalam konteks Manggarai, namun motivasi religius adalah yang paling dominan dalam proses kekatolikan di wilayah tersebut. 2) Penelitian ini menemukan empat faktor utama mengapa Gereja Katolik berkembang sangat pesat pada abad 20 di Manggarai. Pertama, karena secara politis Gereja mendapat dukungan yang kuat baik itu dari pemerintah kolonial pada tahap awal kekatolikan maupun pemerintah Indonesia dalam masa kemerdekaan sampai dewasa ini. Kedua, dibandingkan dengan agama tradisional, agama Katolik bersifat lebih sistematis, hirarkis dan logis, yang memungkinkan agama tersebut mudah diterima oleh masyarakat. Ketiga, Gereja Katolik di Manggarai mampu beradaptasi dan sekaligus mengadopsi kepercayaan dan budaya lokal yang menyebabkan orang Manggarai tidak terasing dari kebudayaannya sendiri manakala ia menjadi Katolik. Terakhir, agama Katolik diterima karena masyarakat merasakan peran dan kontribusi Gereja khususnya dalam bidang pendidikan dan kesehatan. 3) Manggarai adalah suatu masyarakat yang responsif dan adaptif terhadap kekatolikan. Orang Manggarai mudah untuk menerima dan berkonversi dari agama tradisional ke agama dunia serta mengadopsi kekatolikan sebagai bagian dari identitas mereka. Namun hal ini tidaklah berarti bahwa penerimaan dialami tanpa masalah, tegangan, konflik, kesakitan dan pergulatan. Identitas “Katolik-Manggarai” dibentuk melalui

adaptasi dan konflik yang lama. Perjumpaan dialektis antara kekatolikan dan budaya Manggarai akhirnya membentuk identitas unik “Katolik-Manggarai”: “Katolik sejati dan Manggarai sejati”. 4) Bagi orang Manggarai, iman Katolik tak dapat dialami dalam bentuknya yang murni terpisah dari ekspresi-ekspresi budaya. Iman Kristiani selalu bertumbuh dalam konteks. Dialog mutual antara kekatolikan dan budaya Manggarai memperkaya kedua belah pihak. Agama Katolik pun bisa berkembang dan bertahan karena adanya ruang perjumpaan entah itu dalam kaitannya dengan keyakinan atau teologi dasar, tata sosial, simbol religius ataupun fungsi agama bagi masyarakat. Hal ini berimplikasi bahwa suatu agama yang berdialog dengan budayanya akan diasingkan dari sumber-sumbernya sendiri. Hal ini menantang teologi untuk mengembangkan pendekatan inter-kultural dan bukan sekadar menerapkan teologi dari luar ke dalam konteks lokal. Perjumpaan yang global dan lokal adalah suatu keharusan.

Penelitian ini juga merekomendasikan suatu pemikiran teoritis baru yakni pemikiran mengenai dialektika hubungan agama dan kebudayaan lokal yang bersifat mutual dan dominan. Menurut pemikiran ini, perjumpaan antara agama (Katolik) dan kebudayaan (Manggarai) berlangsung terus secara dinamis dalam suatu pola relasi yang sifatnya mutualis dan dinamis. Secara positif, perjumpaan dialami sebagai suatu yang mutualis ketika ada dialog dan kerja sama yang saling memperkaya. Jika dua hal berbeda saling mendukung dan memperkaya maka keduanya akan menjadi lebih bermakna. Sebaliknya jika salah satu pihak bertindak dominatif terhadap yang lain, maka keduanya menjadi tidak berarti dan miskin. Gereja Katolik dapat bertahan dan menjadi bagian dari identitas orang Manggarai karena ada hubungan yang dialogal dengan budaya setempat. Iman Katolik menemukan tanah dan konteks yang tepat bagi pertumbuhan dan keberlanjutannya. Di lain pihak, budaya Manggarai juga dapat bertahan sejauh masyarakat dapat menemukan dan menegaskan aspek religius di dalam budayanya. Jika tidak maka ia akan mudah lenyap ditelan waktu dan perubahan di dalam masyarakat. Suatu hubungan keberlanjutan yang mutualis adalah suatu prasyarat.

Kata Kunci: Kekristenan, iman, budaya, perjumpaan, pergulatan, Manggarai, identitas, sejarah, teologi inter-kultural dan politik.

TABLE OF CONTENT

TITLE	i
APPROVAL STATEMENT	ii
PERSONAL STATEMENT	iii
DEDICATION PAGE.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	v
ABSTRACT.....	x
TABLE OF CONTENT	xiv
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Rationale of Study	1
1.2 Research Questions	13
1.3 Research Objectives and Significances.....	13
1.4 Methods of the Study	15
1.5 Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review	21
1.6 The Manggaraiian Orthography and Glossary	24
1.7 The Dissertation Outline	24
CHAPTER II THE MANGGARAI: TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY LIFE AND PRE-CATHOLICISM HISTORY	26
2.1. Manggarai: The Land and the People	27
2.2. The Manggarai's Traditional Community Life.....	34

2.2.1. Family Based Communities	35
2.2.2. Community of <i>Béo/Golo/Gendang</i>	40
2.2.3. <i>Béo/Gendang/Golo</i> as Space and Room	41
2.2.4. <i>Béo/Gendang/Golo</i> as Governance System	50
2.2.5. Community, Beliefs and Rituals	51
2.2.6. <i>Lonto Léok</i> Community: Problem, Law and Decision Making	55
2.2.7. Community and Education.....	57
2.3. Foreign Influences over Manggarai before Catholicism.....	59
2.3.1. The Bimanesse and Gowanese Influences.....	59
2.3.2. Islamization in Manggarai.....	68
2.3.3. The Dutch Colonialism and the Manggarai's Communities.....	70
2.3.3.1. The Coming of the Dutch.....	70
2.3.3.2. Ruteng as the Centre and Its Impact to Local Authority.....	72
2.3.3.3. Road System	73
2.3.3.4. Health and Resettlement	74
2.3.3.5. Schools	77
2.3.3.6. Agricultural	77
2.3.4. Japanese Occupation	78
C H A P T E R III MISSION FROM THE EAST: CATHOLICISM IN FLORES	79
3.1. Religious and Socio-Political Organization of the Flores People Prior to Catholicism	80

3.2. Solor-Flores Mission: The Coming of Catholicism	83
3.2.1. Portuguese Missionaries' Effort: The History	83
3.2.2. Some Note on the Portuguese Missionaries' Mission, Methods and Strategy	92
3.3. The Dutch Government and Clergy at Eastern Part of Flores in 19 th Century	96
3.3.1. Colonialism and Mission Works	96
3.3.2. Pagan-Christian and Pure Catholics Practices	101
3.4. The Coming of Jesuit Missionaries.....	103
3.4.1. The Jesuits' Works and Communities.....	103
3.4.2. Catholic Boys' and Girl's Schools and Catholicization.....	106
3.5. The Divine Word Society Mission Era	111
3.5.1. The Missionaries and Works.....	111
3.5.2. The SVD Strategy	114
3.6.3. On Anthropological Works	117
CHAPTER IV MANGGARAI CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM IN THE EARLY OF 20 TH CENTURY: (1912-1960).....	118
4.1. Colonialism, Islamization and the Coming of Catholicism in Manggarai	120
4.2. The Coming of Catholicism in Manggarai: A Brief History	125
4.2.1. The First Catholics in Manggarai	125
4.2.2. The First Baptism for the Manggarai	127

4.2.3. The Missionaries' Motivations in Spreading Catholicism.....	128
4.2.4. Mission <i>Stasi</i>	130
4.2.5. Schools and Catholicization.....	134
4.2.6. Church Growth in 1930-1950	136
4.2.7. Pastoral Strategy and Ideal Catholic Communities.....	145
4.2.8. Faith Education and Catholic Communities	150
4.2.9. The Church's Social Works	152
4.3. Catholicization and Changes in Manggaraian Traditional Communities	153
4.3.1 Catholicism in Daily Life.....	153
4.3.2. From <i>Béo/Golo/Gendang</i> to School and <i>Stasi</i> : New Centers and Communities	155
4.3.3. Priest and <i>Guru Agama</i> : New Agents	158
4.3.4. Eucharist, <i>Penti</i> and Other Traditional Rituals	162
4.3.5. Catholicism vs. Traditional Religious: Adaptation and Conflicts	163
4.3.5.1. Local Beliefs and Practices	164
4.3.5.2. Marriage	173
 CHAPTER V MANGGARAI CHURCH DEVELOPMENT: 1961-2012	178
5.1. From Mission-Field to a Local Church	180
5.1.1. A Short Way to Diocese of Ruteng.....	180
5.1.2. The Church Growth in 1961-2012	188
5.2. Political Discourse on Religion and Catholicism in Manggarai	201

5.2.1. Political Tragedy in 1965, Question on Religious Identity and the Manggarai	202
5.2.2. “Monotheism Pancasila” Vs. Local Beliefs	207
5.2.3. The Politics of <i>Adat</i> and the Manggarai Catholic People	208
5.3. Catholicism Vs. Traditional Religious: Adaptation and Conflict	210
5.3.1. Local Beliefs and Inculturation	211
5.3.2. On the Custom of Marriage.....	217
5.4. Living Faith in Manggaraian Basic Communities	220
5.4.1. Basic Christian Communities in Manggarai: What are they Looked Like?	220
5.4.2. FGD on Basic Christian Communities.....	224
5.4.3. The Self-Supporting Program and Basic Christian Communities	227
5.5. Faith Education within Communities	235
5.5.1. Liturgy, Devotion and Homily.....	236
5.5.2. Bible Sharing.....	240
5.5.3. People Catechesis for Justice	240
5.6. The Church’s Concern on Injustice Problems of Society	251
 CHAPTER VI TO BE MANGGARAI CHURCH OF MANGGARAI: THEOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS AND CHALLENGES	
6.1. On Faith and Culture	256
6.1.1 Contradictory Relationship.	256
6.1.2. Paralell Relationship	259

6.1.3. Mutual Relationship	262
6.2. Church Community and Structure	267
6.3. To Be the Church of Manggarai.....	270
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION, SUGGESTION AND RECOMMENDATION	272
7.1. Conclusion	272
7.2. New Theoretical Framework.....	279
7.3. Suggestion and Recommendation.....	279
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281
GLOSSARY	301

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background and Rationale of Study

In comparison with other parts of Flores, Catholicism in Manggarai, West Flores, Eastern Indonesia is relatively new. The Dominican Portuguese missionaries had spread the Gospel during 16th-19th centuries in eastern Flores, but they never reached Manggarai in the western part of the island (Prior, 1988). In 19th century, Dutch diocesan priests and Jesuit missionaries also came to Flores and continued to bring the Flores people to Catholicism. They also did not expand their mission to the western part of the island. It was not until the beginning of 20th century when the Divine Word Missionaries, *the Societas Verbi Divini*, (hereafter the SVD), started to introduce Christianity to the Manggaraian people (Steenbrink and Aritonang, eds., 2008; Betray, 1974; Steenbrink, 2007). The SVD missionaries succeeded to bring the Manggaraians into Catholic Church. The Church spectacularly grew. Only in about 25 years, most of the Manggaraians had become Catholics. Christian communities have covered whole land, from east to west from north to south and the number has increased from time to time.

According to the 1980s statistics, more than 80% of the Manggaraians were affiliated to the Catholic religion and today approximately 95 % of the Manggaraians are Catholics. This has stepped up Flores as the only one “Catholic Island” in this biggest Muslim country in the world. Webb (1990) describes that “the Florenese live on an island where ‘even the trees, rocks and birds are Catholic.’”

For the Manggaraians, religion is part of their identity; to be a Manggarai also means to be a Catholic (Erb, 1995; 2007). An intellectual in Manggarai said, *“I’m a true Catholic; whether I pray or attend mass or not is irrelevant. I was born as Catholic. Manggaraian people are original Catholics, we are the real thing”* (Erb, 2003). During local elections, based on my own experiences, I frequently heard people comment: *“Even though he/she (a candidate) is morally bad, it is enough that he/she is a Catholic”,* or *“we don’t want other people (from non-Catholic religion) to have power over us; it is a Catholic land.”*

The Catholic Church is the most influential and prominent institution in Manggarai. The Church’s ritual and celebrations are very essential. The Church also often determines many ‘secular’ activities in society. It is very common for schools, government offices and other institutions to rearrange their schedules in order to accommodate the celebrations of the Church or a parish. Priests or members of the hierarchy and religious orders have prestigious and high status in society. In many cases, they are respected more than local and government leaders.

Church growth studies indicate that some societies are receptive and some are not (Hefner, 1993). This is of course a relative factor and there is no standard or scale that may be used as a base line to measure the degree of receptivity for a given society either at a given point in time or over a span of years. Nevertheless, based on the phenomena of the spectacular growth of the Catholic Church in Manggarai, then it could be said that Manggarai is a responsive and adaptive society to Catholicism. However, it does not mean that the Manggaraians did not experience problems in their encounters with Catholicism. Acceptance also meant struggles.

This study focuses on the development of Catholicism in Manggarai during the 20th century; why did the Manggarai convert to Catholicism; how did the Manggarai Catholic people perceive Catholicism; and the main problems and struggles that confronted Manggaraian the politics of conversion and transformation to be a vastly Catholic land in the contemporary time. It then will lead this study to propose theological challenges for the Church.

What are the motives of the study? Why is this topic chosen? The Church of Manggarai is a big Church in Indonesia. Comparing it to other dioceses in Indonesia, the Church of Manggarai (the Ruteng Diocese) is considered as a “young” Church, but one of the largest Churches in terms of number of people, priests, religious congregations/orders, parishes, and communities. Therefore, one main point of inquiring is how the Church influenced this community in such a short period of time. There must be reasons why Catholicism spectacularly grew in Manggarai. In addition, the processes of Catholicization were done in dynamic,

challengeable and even ironic situation which caused collision, conflict and struggle between the Church on one side and the Manggaraian culture on the other. How all of this happened is a motivating question to this study. It is also very urgent to understand the history of the Church of Manggarai in order to find appropriate theological thought for the local Church and communities.

These following contexts are important to understand how the Church shaped the Manggarai and established Church in that land.

First, it should be noted that the Catholic Church in Manggarai neither entered into an empty room nor to a passive society. Rather, she lived in and within a dynamic and an active society. When the first missionaries started to plant Christian faith in Manggarai, the people already had their own religion and belief systems, history, community, social organization, idea and philosophy of life. The Manggaraian traditional people believe that their village, house and land are surrounded by ancestral spirits. A common practice to placate these ancestral spirits is rituals offerings of animals and foods. All kinds of catastrophes, diseases, disasters and calamities are attributed to spirits and ancestors. Such is a kind of animistic and polytheistic belief system that was also common in other Asian cultures (Andaya and Ishi, 1992: 510).

For the Manggaraians, the Supreme Being is experienced in many ways and entities. People use many names such as *Ema éta, Énde wa* (Roger, 1997; Erb, 1999) (Father above and mother below), *Mori jari agu dédék* (the Creator), *Jari agu Wowo* (creator and giver of life, who gave birth), *Ronan éta, Winan wa* (husband above, wife bellow); *Awang éta Tana wa* (sky above, land bellow), *Par*

agu Kolep (dawn and sun set), and *Amé rinding mané, Iné rinding wié* (the Father who keeps in the day, Mother who keeps at night), etc.

Ritual is an important element for the Manggaraians. From social studies, we understand that ritual gives the members of a community confidence to dispel their anxieties and further discipline their sociality to foster communal organization (Homan, 1941: 172). It provides people with a sense of security, stability, connectedness and belonging. It is also enforced to create social bonds and even to nourish interpersonal relationships (Bell, 1992: 22-32). In Manggarai, rituals are done also for those purposes. With regard to time, sacred time (Durkheim in Bellah, ed., 1973), rituals in Manggarai are done in line with human's stages of life: birth, naming a baby, adult, work, marriage, death and so on. As a traditional agricultural society, the Manggaraians' belief system and practices are also related to their community, land, house, village and work. Therefore, rituals also followed the agricultural season: preparing the seed, planting, weeding, harvesting and so forth. Rituals are held during famines, difficult time, disaster, etc. *Penti*, a kind of thanksgiving ritual done after harvesting, is one of the main rituals for all the Manggaraians. Buffalos, pigs, chickens, goats, eggs are important materials for rituals. *Compang* (rounded stone altar) is a very important place and symbol of the people's beliefs. It is the *tu'a* (the leaders of a village) or the *ata mbeko* (shaman) that led various rituals in Manggarai. The people believe that they can communicate either to the spirits or to their ancestors. They can also predict the people's futures as well.

In early 20th century, European Catholic missionaries arrived in Manggarai and started to introduce Catholicism to the people. They came from different beliefs, tradition and cultural system too. They introduced dissimilar ideas about God, Church, sacrament, salvation, symbols, teachings, etc. All of which were completely different from what the Manggaraians already enlivened for a long time. The encounter between missionaries and the Manggaraians was the encounter between two different religious system and practices, the encounter between two different cultural systems, and even the encounter between two different social structures and advancements.

In terms of differences in beliefs system and practices, being educated in “old exclusive” theological background, many of the missionaries neither respected nor used the local people’s culture in their strategy to plant and grow faith among the Manggaraians. They tended to have negative attitude toward the culture of the people. Many of them perceived local beliefs and practices as part of paganism so they banned people to maintain their beliefs and do their rituals anymore; to be a good Catholic meant to keep away from any kind of idolatry. People who still kept practicing were seen as sinners. This was a big struggle for the people who had converted to Catholicism: could they become a Catholic and a Manggarai at the same time?

Fortunately, not all of the missionaries had negative perspectives toward the traditional beliefs and practices of the Manggaraians. Several missionaries tried to accommodate and use Manggaraian dialects, songs and dances in Catholic liturgy. There were also efforts to translate Latin prayers and songs into the local

languages (Betray, 1973: 1276). Interestingly, several missionaries such as Willem van Bekkum tried to perform a “buffalo mass”, a total fusion between the sacrifice of a buffalo done at the important Manggaraians’ rituals and the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy of the Roman Catholic mass (Erb, 2003: 13). Van Bekkum introduced this to the Manggaraians even before the Vatican Second came with the idea of inculturation. Verheijen (1991) tried to use the local word “*Mori Kraéng*” (the God) in Catholic prayers and songs that made familiar to the local people to call the (Catholic) God based on their local beliefs. Some other missionaries also tried to “Catholicize” some other traditional rituals. In terms of religious symbols, there were also efforts to construct the Church resembling particular aspect of the Manggaraians’ main house (*mbaru gendang*). To put cross on *compang* (rounded stone altar) was another effort to meet Catholicism and the culture and beliefs of the Manggaraians.

However, not all missionaries had the same sympathy toward traditional religion. There was no uniformity from one place to another, even in a same parish. Some priests kept seeing traditional beliefs and rituals as part of idolatry. Therefore, for the Manggaraians, the question of the place of their traditional beliefs in Catholicism became a serious problem. It happened not merely before the Second Vatican Council era where theologically the Church still negatively understood local cultures, but also happened after the era. Some of the indigenous priests did not respect their own culture. Many of them did not know well about the local cultures whether because they spent much of their lives at seminaries rather than in their own village or home or because they were not interested in

learning the culture. They were separated from their cultures. All of these situations encourage this study to seek how Catholicism grew in Manggarai; how the Manggaraians adapted Catholic faith with their local culture; what it meant to be a Catholic and to be a Manggarai at the same time.

Second, in addition to the growth of people's Catholic faith, Catholicization in Manggarai also aimed to expand Catholic communities and to establish Church's social body in local society. It is explained above that, in fact, there were significant differences in social or religious organization between the two.

For the Manggaraians, *béo/golo/gendang* or village is the basic and the most important community (Verheijen, 1948; Verheijen, 1991). The relationship among people in this community is established on deep relation with land, history, culture, universe, etc. both in physical and nonphysical meaning. For the Manggaraians *béo/gendang* has sacral, cosmic and social character. It is not merely about the idea of geographical space, but about the unity of land, culture and history as well. As a physical place, a *béo/gendang/golo* is constituted by a main house (*mbaru gendang*), water resource, altar and grave. In a *béo/gendang* several sub-clans from the same ancestors settle from generation to generation. A sub clan consisted of families that are all unified by either *sanguineous* or marital relationship. The social interaction among families is very strong (Koentjaraningrat, 1977). A *béo/golo/gendang* cannot be separated from the garden. The Manggaraians express it as "*gendang'n oné, lingko'n pé'ang*" (house/village in side and garden outside). A *béo* is headed by *tu'a golo* or *tu'a*

béo. The *tu'as* function to maintain *adat* law, to organize rituals and feasts and to guarantee social harmony.

Interestingly, the physical shape of the Manggaraians' village, main house floor, stone altar and garden are rounded or circular in shaped. A village is settled in a rounded yard with also a rounded stone altar at the centre. The *mbaru gendang* (main house) has a rounded floor and conical shaped roof. The garden is formed and divided like a spider web that resembles the house as well. The architectural structure of the village symbolizes some of the most important values for the Manggaraians namely oneness, unity and harmony. The people enlivened their unity as one family in the expression '*pa'ang olon ngaung musi*' (literally: from the main entrance to backyard. It refers to unity and togetherness), *batang cama réjé lélé* (always talking and discussing something together), *wan koé étan tu'a* (from the youngest to the oldest; all are included), etc. Looking at the physical, social and philosophical symbols and ideas of the Manggaraians, I would say that basically Manggarai is a "rounded community" or a "circular community" with *béo/golo/gendang* as the center.

This was very different from the model of community understood by the first missionaries who deployed Catholicism in Manggarai. When the first missionaries promoted Catholicism to the Manggaraians in the early of 20th century, structurally, the Church understood herself as a pyramidal community (Dulles, 1974; 1988). In Weber's (1959), the differences between world and indigenous religions were depicted as more and less systematic and hierarchic.

World religions had more systematic and hierarchic social structure than the indigenous ones.

In pyramidal model of community, a church was depicted as a hierarchal organization with the Pope at the top of the structure. Under the Pope was the bishops, and the clergy was controlled by the bishops. The lay people were positioned on the lowest level. In addition, in pre Vatican II theology, the church (as the place, organization and buildings) was the centre of the community. People had to devote to the Church. The main activities of the Church were celebrating mass and other sacraments which were done around the church's buildings. The direction of the church was from the people to the church and not vice versa.

In terms of physical symbols, the Church's buildings such as church or schools/classrooms were not rounded in shaped. People did not sit in circular form as they did in their traditional house. People faced to one direction, to the leaders: either priests or *guru (agama)*. This seemed simple, but I would say it was important when it was compared to the local community's symbols of togetherness. The symbols, as Johnson (1992) said, give rise to thought. The symbols point to something behind (Geertz, 1973).

If there were dissimilar understanding and thought about the social institution and structure, how then the encounter between Catholicism and the Manggaraians was experienced? What were the missionaries and particularly the people's problems and struggles?

Since the Vatican II Council, the Church proposed a lot of changes in understanding the existence of the church, community, theology, the world, local

culture, etc. In terms of community, the Vatican Council brought new ideas. Theologically, a church is now understood as a community and fellowship. Instead of pyramidal structure, a church is seen as circular fellowship of people of God (LG #9-18)¹. Ideally, a Church' refers to community, to the people of God. In this sense, it could be said that a Church is seen as a "rounded" community. By this renewed idea, it meant that the communion of the Church can be hypothetically identified as similar to what I have proposed as regards to the underlying 'rounded' social structure of Manggarai community.' How did the Church of Manggarai establish and understand Christian communities after the Vatican II era in Manggarai? How did the Vatican II challenge the Church communities in Manggarai and vice versa how did the rounded community of the Manggaraians challenge the Church?

Third, it must be taken into account that the Church's mission to the Manggaraians was done in and influenced by certain socio-political contexts. Catholicization in Manggarai was initiated during the colonial period. With this political climate, it is a valid approach to understand the processes of colonial intervention in the Catholic mission. Furthermore, Catholicism was first felt when Manggarai was under the political control of the Islamic sultanate of Bimanese. Did Islamization become an important issue to the process of Catholicization in Manggarai? These questions should be answered to understand the context of the Church of Manggarai particularly in early 20th century.

¹ LG (*Lumen Gentium* = light of the nations) is one the sixteen documents of Vatican II.

The Church of Manggarai continuously grew in different political situatedness: in Japanese colonialism era, new independent Indonesia and Old Order, New Order and Reformation era. The differences in the context might affect both the way the Church provided its mission and the way the people perceived over it.

The politics of the Indonesian government both on the national and local level about religion and religious identity have also become important factors in encouraging people to convert to Catholicism and in shaping the face of the Church of Manggarai. Under the ideology of Pancasila, the Indonesian state ideology, and the Indonesian New Order government's regulation and laws, every citizen was obligated to be a member of one of each the five officially religions namely Islam, Christian, Catholic, Buddhism, and Hinduism depicting a relationship between politics of religion and politics of nationhood as a critical rhetoric particularly in the years after 1965, the year when the communists members were exterminated and the communist party (*Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI*) was banned (Kipp and Rodger, 1987; Hoskin, 1987; Morfit, 1987). Likewise, political transition from New Order era or otherwise known as "reformation era" was also another political situation that shaped and influenced the Catholic Church and people in Manggarai. The Catholic Church in general and the Church in Manggarai in particular were not static churches. They were living in dynamic and lively contexts, as well as in thoughts, theology and praxis. They were always changing to face the challenges that arose. There were always efforts to develop, to be better, to dialogue and to contextualize its teachings. In addition,

the Church and the Manggaraians did not stand alone. They were in relation and connection with the Indonesian Church and universal Church as well. What happened in Manggarai was inextricably connected to the broader context both globally and nationally. How all of these shaped the Church and the Manggaraian Catholic people are interesting inquiries.

1.2. Research Questions

There are three main questions of this research:

1. Why did the Manggaraians convert to Catholicism during the 20th century?
2. How did the Manggaraians perceive Church's missionary activities and what were the problems, struggles and challenges faced by the Manggaraians in dealing with the mission?
3. Based on the findings on the above questions, what are the theological challenges coming from the context of Manggarai?

1.3. Research Objectives and Significances

The objectives of this study are:

1. To present the development of Catholicism in Manggarai during the 20th century.

2. To depict the impact of Catholicization to the Manggaraians, to map and analyze the main problems, struggles and challenges the Manggaraians faced in dealing with the Church's mission.
3. To propose theological challenges for the Church of Manggarai based on its real history and struggles.

Here are the significances of this study to religious studies in Indonesia.

1. There are already abundant socio-religious studies about a certain religious community in Indonesia which are done by "Western scholars" such as Aragon (2000) in Sulawesi, Kipp (1993) in Batak, Geertz (1973) in Java and Bali, Waterson in Toraja, Conley (1973) in Kalimantan etc. but there were limited studies conducted by Indonesian scholars. This study contributes to Indonesian religious study from within/insider perspective.
2. Even though there are already some studies about the Catholic Church in Indonesia (such as: Abineno, 1978; Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008; Boelaars, 1991/2005; Cooley, 1978; End, 1980-1989; Heuken, 1995; Muskens, ed., 1972-1974; Prior, 1988; Rosariyanto, 2001; Steenbrink, 2003, 2005; Wilis, 1977) ,works that give specific information about a particular Catholic community are very limited. If there are, most of them were written by priests, the Western priests, and from the perspective of the clergy. Some works are also written for the concern of the Church rather than for the interest of social and

historical studies. Therefore this study enriches knowledge and historical data about a particular Catholic Church in Indonesia.

3. In addition to the contribution to general socio-historical studies on religious issues, this study is also significant to local theological study in Indonesia.

1.4. Methods of the Study

This study is a social research which basically develops historical approach on theology. It is a part of a religious study which examines a certain religious community, i.e. the Catholic communities in Manggarai, Western Flores, Eastern Indonesia as its locus of research. An inter-cultural theology, particularly, is used as the main framework to interpret and analyze the context and reality found in this study. To have better understanding about the context or the locus of any theological studies, Segundo (1993) emphasizes that social and anthropological angles should be included. Therefore in terms of methodology, this research draws upon multiple disciplines including history of religion, anthropology and sociology. Comaroff's (1991: 95-98) states that "nothing can be understood without understanding its historical context that has formed it". Central to all sociological approaches is the idea that religion is essentially a social phenomenon, a 'human construct', and thus can be understood only when it is placed within its socio-historical context (Morris, 2006: 6-7). Kroeber (1958)

believes that sociology is concerned with churches primarily “as operating system of integrating people” and anthropology is concerned with their cultures.

In collecting the data, this research uses two main ways: historical-literature survey and field research. It is important to note that covering the entire history of Catholicism in Manggarai is simply impossible, this research then focuses merely on specific issues that depict the socio-historical backgrounds/contexts that shaped the Catholic Church’s mission, its methods and strategies, its growth/development and its impact to the people and the community. Because the history of Catholicism in Manggarai could not be understand apart from the history of Manggarai itself and of the catholicization in Flores in general, this study also includes a short overview on the life and history of Manggarai prior to Catholicism (chapter 2) and the history of Catholicism in Flores in general (chapter 3). The description about the history of Catholicism in Manggarai is divided into two main periods: mission-field period (1912-1960 > chapter 4) and local Church period (1961-now > chapter 5).

To get the data on this historical survey, this research reads and analyzes written resources that come from some writers who work either about Manggarai in general or about the Church of Manggarai in particular. Reading materials about Manggarai prior to 20th century were written by the Dutchmen and in Dutch language. It was Dami N. Toda (1999), a Manggaraian, who intensely organized and used them for this work “*Manggarai mencari Pencerahan Historiografi*” (Manggarai: Looking for historiography enlightenment). Therefore, this study refers mainly to Toda to this certain period in addition to some other writers such

as Coolhaas (1942), van Bekkum (1946), Freisjss (1860), Verheijen (1967), Erb (1999), etc.

Historical resources about the coming of the Catholic missionaries and the development of Catholic Church of Manggarai from early 20th century up to now are limited. Most of them are written by clergy and for the interest of the Church. There is a series of history of the Church in Indonesia (Abineno, 1978; Muskens, ed., 1972-1974; and Steenbrink, 2003, 2005), but only give short information about the Church of Manggarai. Nevertheless, they are helpful to this study. In addition to those books, this study also uses the Ruteng Diocese's archives and some parishes' archives that record about their activities, programs, and pastoral letters. Some parishes have written their simple "short history" (approximately 1-3 pages). Reading materials about Manggarai, its people, culture, communities, etc. are written by some local Manggaraian scholars such as Lawang (1989, 1995), Hemo (1987-1988), Dagul (1997), Nggoro (2006), Janggur (2010), and Deky (2010).

To supply the data from historical survey, this research also conducted a field research. There were three deaneries in the Church of Manggarai (Ruteng Diocese): Borong (East Manggarai), Ruteng (Central Manggarai) and Labuan Bajo (West Manggarai). There were 77 parishes in Manggarai with hundreds of basic groups/communities. The field research was carried out between October 2010 and March 2012. Due to the possibilities of gathering more information beyond this timeframe outside the field site, however, results are made open to possibilities of enlarging anthropological or sociological data.

During my field research trip, there were several activities and methods being done. In order to get information about the history of Catholic Church, Church's development and some foreign missionaries' activities prior to 1960, I interviewed several history eyewitnesses. The first was a 96-year old priest Fr. Yan van Roosmalen, SVD. He was born in Netherland and started his mission in Manggarai in the 1940s. He worked in some parishes, opened schools in Ruteng including St. Paul Catechetical Academic in 1959. When the interview was done in April 2011, he was still in good condition and could remember many of his activities in the past. He also wrote some unpublished texts about marriage in Manggaraian tradition. All of which are also used in this study. Some other history eyewitnesses of the development of Catholic Church are Mr. Romanus Jolo (87 years old, an *guru agama* in Ruteng), Mr. David (79 years old, a teacher and ex parish council member in Reo), Mr. K. Tjangkung (82 years old, his father was one of the first teachers in the first school in Ruteng), Mrs. Teresa (about 80s years old, a simple grandmother in Denge Parish. She was baptized very late in 1987 when she was in 50s years old), Mr. Dorus (an old *guru agama* in Wae Rebo, 80s years old. Before 1990s, he was very strictly rejected to practice Manggaraian traditional rituals but after 1990s he changed his mind and again practiced local rituals), Mr. Lodo (about 80 years old, an old *guru agama* in Borong), and Mr. Romanus (79 years old, an old *guru agama* from Rangka, west Manggarai).

With regard to the information or perspective about the encounter between Catholicism and Manggarai and the practices of inculturation in Manggarai, I met

and interviewed many people. One of them was Mr. Stanis Tatul (65 years old, an *ex guru agama* and an ex parish council member in 1970s-2008. He is actually my father. Before 1998 he was very strict to reject many of traditional rituals because he considered them as not appropriate for the Catholics. He had never joined any of “traditional rituals” done by his families. For him, to be a Catholic was enough. Starting in 2000 he was totally different for he started to join many traditional rituals and learn them seriously. As a result, many people asked him to lead some traditional rituals especially in his extended families and neighborhood area. Another important figure was Mr. Yosef Ngadot, a 60-year old man. He has “Sanggar Lawe Lenggong” (Lawe Lenggong Traditional Studio). He was active in promoting Manggaraian culture and art, including the ones which are for the purpose of the Church. Another informant was a 68-year old man, Mr. Piet Janggur. He was well known for his knowledge about the Manggaraian culture. Mr. Stanis, Mr. Yosef and Mr. Piet participated in translating Bible from Indonesian to Manggarai in 2010-2012. The project was done under the auspices of National Bible Institution in Jakarta. In addition to those informants, I also talked and discussed with some “*tu’a adats*” in Wae Rebo village and in Kumba village in Ruteng as well as with some intellectual persons who were interested in local culture.

To get the information about the Ruteng Diocese’s program, particularly about how the Church formed and grew faith to the people within communities, I interviewed twenties lay Church’s leaders and activists who are between 40-60 years old. Besides those Church’s activists, I also talked and discussed with some

common people, both old and young men and women in several places such as in Ruteng, Denge, Wae Rana, Borong, Labuan Bajo, and Dampek.

In addition to first-hand interview, I also conducted Focus Group Discussion (FGD) particularly to discuss about the face of Church of Manggarai and its Basic Christian Communities. There were 9 groups I discussed with. The first was with the members of Parish Council of Taga/Golo Dukal Parish. It was done on March 20, 2011. There were 34 men and women who attended the meeting. The other eight (8) groups were third and fourth-year graduate students of St. Paul College. They were from three departments: theology, English and Elementary Teacher Training Department. Each group/class consisted of 30-45 students. They were chosen for several purposes. First, they were from various parishes and basic communities in Manggarai. Therefore they could be good sample to represent the Church of Manggarai. Second, as they were well educated, they could discuss and give critical opinion about the Church. Third, in practice, it was easy to organize the FDG, both in terms of place and time. The FGD was done in their classroom and in about 3 hours for each class in 18-21 March, 2011. To get real depiction about basic communities within the Church of Manggarai, I observed five basic communities during “Rosary Month” (Bulan Rosario) in May 2011. Two were at Borong Parish in Borong Deanery, eastern Manggarai (Lorong Gua I and Lorong Gua II Basic Communities), one at Kumba Parish in Ruteng Deanery, Central Manggarai (St. Joseph Basic Communities) and two in Denge Parish in South Manggarai (Wae Rebo I and Wae Rebo II). I spent 10 days in Lorong Gua I and II, 8 days in Wae Rebo I and II, and 20 days in St. Josef. The

month of May is dedicated to be devoted to Mother Mary, the mother of Jesus Christ by means of praying together as a community from one house to another every night. My strategic intervention is to execute a critical observation during a time that when subjects are keen at their religious and spiritual practices.

I was lucky that during my research I could attend annual meeting of two Deaneries: Borong Deanery and Labuan Bajo Deanery. The meeting in Borong Deanery was held in three full days and was attended by all parish priests, parish council members, religious teachers, “*tokoh umat*” (important people in society) and delegates of young generation and basic communities members. It was done on February 10-13, 2011. While in Labuan Bajo, the attendees of the meeting was similar. It was done on February 22-24, 2011. The meetings aimed to evaluate the deanery’s, parishes’ and communities’ activities and to plan new program for the Church. The meetings gave helpful insights for this research to understand the Church of Manggarai better. In addition, I also asked the attendees to answers a questionnaire. The same questionnaire was spread to the similar meeting attendees in Ruteng Deanery.

1.5. Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review

There are some layers of thought, resources and theoretical frameworks in which this study refers to. The first is related to socio historical data of Manggarai and the Church in Manggarai. Reading materials and resources about the Manggaraians are relatively abundant. It was the Dutch and the Bimanese who

wrote earlier information about Manggarai before the arrival of Catholicism. Prior to 1900 the Dutch General Governor in Batavia such as J.J. Rochussen and de Perez sent some messengers such as Zollinger, Veth, Freijss, Colfs, Morris, Wichmann, Meerburg and Hoedt to search for the Bimanese's authority over Manggarai. Then, they wrote brief reports about Manggarai which according to Toda (1999: 29-30) were full of mistakes because they neither understood the context nor spent enough time in observing the community. Nevertheless, their writings are considered as useful historical resources to this study. The information about the Manggaraians in earlier stages of Catholicism comes from the missionaries who, of course, focused on the development of the Church rather than on the people's struggle. Some other information about the earlier catholicization process comes from the Dutch officers as well.

Starting in 1980s, written resources about Manggarai and its Church have been produced by some local people. Lawang (1989; 1995), the first Doctorate from Manggarai wrote about social stratification in Cancar, Manggarai. He also did some researches about local conflicts. His works help this study understand the traditional Manggaraians' social structure and community. The work of Toda (1999) on the history and historiography of the Manggarai people is a useful "inside" perspective. There are other authors who dedicate their works to their homeland such as Hemo (1987-1988), Dagul (1997), Nggoro (2006) and Janggur (2010).

Publications about the Catholic Church in Manggarai are very limited. Daeng's (1989) dissertation examines the inculturation of Catholic Church in

Manggarai and Ngada. Some other resources come from Church's archives and from the works of some priests and missionaries. I would say that Erb (1999, 2001, 2003, 2007) is probably the most serious researcher who has been pursuing research interest in Manggarai since the 1980s. Some of her works directly talk about the Church in Manggarai. There are still more resources regarding Manggarai included in the body of this dissertation.

In addition to written resources, the life and the culture of the Manggaraians can be "read" through non-written resources. They can be traced from both physical culture and oral tradition. It is important to note that as someone who was born and raised up in Manggarai, all of my experiences as a Manggarai Catholic are also essential resources for this study.

In addition to the usage of those works on Manggarai from sociological perspective, this study uses the work of Weber (1959) who explains the differentiation between indigenous and world religion and why a local community converts to a world religion. It also refers to Hefner et al (1993) on *Conversion to Christianity, Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*. This book elaborates various phenomena on conversions which are useful to understand the catholicization in Manggarai. With regard to theological reflections of the context, this study refers to intercultural theology of some theologians such as Neibuhr (2001), Hieberts (1987) Schreiter (2004), Bevans (2005) and the theology of the Vatican II and Asian theologians as well.

1.6. The Orthography and Glossary on Manggarai

The Manggaraians never had indigenous written scripts. It was the Dutch missionaries who first wrote on Manggaraiian languages and dialects using Dutch orthography. There are many dialectical differences among villages. To help the readers who are unfamiliar with Manggarai, this dissertation provides writing system with “the orthography of the Manggaraiian” as a pronunciation guide. The Manggaraiian language is pronounced somewhat like Italian, with all letters in the word enunciated. The letter “a” is pronounced as “a” is pronounced in ‘father’; “i” is pronounced as in ‘miss’ or ‘meet’; “é” is pronounced as in ‘error’ or ‘may’; “e” is pronounced as in after; “o” is pronounced as in ”tobacco”; and “u” is pronounced as in Buddha. There is a difference in pronunciation between the word “*Ruteng*” (a name of a village) and *Ruténg* (a name of a town); between “*reweng*” (voice) and Réwéng (name of a village); between “*pau*” (manggo) and “*pa’u*” (fall down); and more. All of the Manggaraiians languages and Indonesian words in this paper are written in italic styles to differentiate them from English.

To help the readers understand many unfamiliar Manggaraiian words, a glossary is given at the end of this dissertation.

1.7. The Dissertation Outline

This dissertation consists of seven chapters. The first chapter is an introduction that provides background, questions, objectives, methods, and

theoretical frameworks of the research. Chapter two describes about the Manggaraians' traditional communities. It gives a brief introduction on the history of Manggarai, the land, the people and their traditional community life before the arrival of Catholicism. It provides socio-historical accounts to help portray in which the Church in Manggarai existed. Chapter three is a short overview of the Catholicism in Flores. Even though the history of Catholicism in Manggarai is distinct in comparison to the history of Catholicism in Flores, they are nonetheless interconnected. This chapter particularly focuses on the methods and approaches the European missionaries used to spread the Gospel in Flores. Chapter four describes the Mangaraians conversion to Catholicism in the early of 20th century: 1912-1960. Chapter five is about Manggarai Church development: 1961-2012. Chapter six elaborates theological reflection and challenges for the Manggarai Church. The last chapter is a conclusion.

CHAPTER II

THE MANGGARAIANS: TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY LIFE AND PRE-CATHOLICISM HISTORY

Who are the Manggaraian people? Where is Manggarai in Indonesia? How do their traditional communities, beliefs system and culture looked like? What kind of history shaped and formed the Manggaraians prior to Catholicism? These are some questions of this chapter. It aims to introduce Manggarai and its people, the locus and the subject of this study.

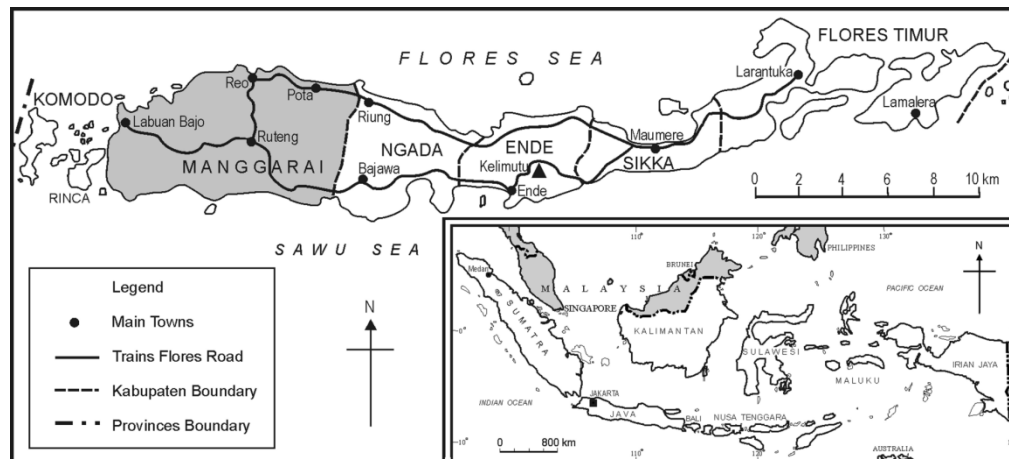
This chapter is organized as follows. The first part provides general information about the land and the Manggaraian people. The second explains the traditional life of the Manggaraians in its original forms. In particular, it focuses on its community life: how a community is built, the aspects that constitute, form and maintain the community; and how a community is enlivened by its members. Information about the traditional community of the Manggaraians does not point to a certain time in a history but refers to the internal and original aspects of a community that have been enlivened since long time ago. There are, of course, differences between one and another community in Manggarai but it is an effort to give common and general description about the Manggaraians' traditional life. There are also differences and changes in characteristics of a community from

time to time. This part is very important to understand the context in which a Catholic Church planted and grew Catholic faith to the people. By understanding the original forms of the Manggaraian traditional life and communities, it will be easy to see the impact of catholicization to the people. More than that, this part is also very imperative for the Church to develop contextual mission and theology based on its local theology and wisdom.

The third part depicts a broader social and political structure that formed Manggarai as a society. It positions Manggarai as a geographical-political unit by elaborating foreigners (Bimanese, Gowanese and Dutch) influences to the Manggaraians prior to Catholicism.

2.1. Manggarai: The Land and the People

Manggarai is located at the western part of Flores Island, East Nusa Tenggara. It occupies about one third of the length of the Flores Island (*see the map*). It is covered by hundreds of mountains and valleys that make the transportation from one place to another very hard. Politically, prior to 2003, Manggarai was single regency with 7106 km² and around 44 islands scattered in the Flores Sea, Savu Sea and the sea between Manggarai and Sape Strait. Only large islands are inhabited such as Komodo, Rinca, Mesa, Papagarang, Boleng and Mules.



In 2003, the district was divided into two. The old one (“the mother”, the way people say it) is Manggarai, the original name, and the new one (“the child”) is West Manggarai. In 2006, the “mother” again born a new child named East Manggarai. Thus there are already three regencies: Manggarai, West Manggarai and East Manggarai. The two new districts still retain the name “Manggarai” as their names. One intellectual man who involved in fighting for the establishment of the West Manggarai district said that “maintaining the name for the new born regency is a necessity. We are Manggaraians and we cannot deny our “*Manggarainity*”. We were born as Manggaraians on the Manggaraian land” (an interview in December 2010 in Ruteng). A rather same opinion came from people in East Manggarai. A madam said, “Even though we are in new regency, we are still one as Manggaraian people on Manggarai land” (an interview in January 2012 in Ruteng). This fact shows that despite political policy and regions separation may bring great impact on people’s lives but it cannot break historical, social, cultural and religious attachments that have been inherited since a long time.

One important fact is that the three regencies, Manggarai, West and East Manggarai belong to one diocese², the Ruteng Diocese, which I would argue that religious bond has become one of the most adhesive aspects in establishing the Manggaraian identity. A lady said, “We are one, because we are all Catholics. This is our religion that our parents have maintained a long time ago”. She believes that Catholicism is part of Manggaraian identity. “They cannot be separated”, she added. As I asked the similar questions to other people, many shared the same opinion that being a Manggarai means also being a Catholic and vice versa (interviews in December 2010 – January 2011 in Ruteng).

In this study, the term ‘Manggarai’ does not denote to any district as a political unit, but rather means a broader meaning that constitutes the land and the people. This study perceives the Manggaraian land as merely a geographical entity, but a plethora of images that include history, culture, and struggle. Such an orientation makes it viable to maintain in this study the word ‘Manggarai’ instead of ‘the Ruteng Diocese’. This is why, this research also uses the term “Manggarai” instead of “the Ruteng Diocese”.

There are various versions explaining about the name and the word “Manggarai”. J.P. Freijss, the first Dutch visiting Manggarai in 1848, wrote that the word “Manggarai” came from “*manga raja*”, which was translated as

² A diocese is a portion of the people of God, which is entrusted to a Bishop to be nurtured by him with the cooperation of the *presbyterium*, in such a way that remaining close to its pastor and gathered by him through the Gospel and the Eucharist in the Holy Spirit, it constitutes a particular Church. In this Church, the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church of Christ truly exists and functions (can. 369) A vicariate apostolic or a prefecture apostolic is a certain portion of the people of God, which for special reasons is not yet constituted a diocese, and which is entrusted to the pastoral care of a Vicar apostolic or a prefect apostolic, who governs it in the name of the supreme Pontiff (Can. 371, 1)

“*rajamenschen*” (the king’s people). He underlined that the “*raja*”/king referred to the Bima Sultan. His translation was actually wrong because in local language “*mangga*” or “*manga*” means “*there is*” and “*raja*” does not mean “king” but “problem”, “cause”, “reason,” and “common”. Therefore “*manga raja*” means “*there is reason*” not “*there is a king*” (Toda, 1999: 68-70; Freijss, 1860: 452; Verheijen, 1967).

Another version explains that people came to the land by a boat long time ago. One of them was “*Manggamaci*”. They stuck their anchors on the beach. Then a big wave washed their anchor away. They asked each other, “Where is the anchor?” And they answered “*Manggar rai*” means “anchor’s away”. They then named the area as Manggarai. Another similar version explains that there were traders who built houses on the coast and stuck their boat with an anchor. Then they went inland to look for stuff to sell. When they came back, they did not find the anchors. It was “*Manggar rai*” (anchor’s away) (Heerkens, 1930: 30-31; Erb, 1999).

This “anchor’s away” version probably is connected with Bima’s manuscript stating that the Sultan of Bima would send *Manggamaci* to Reok at Syaban 8, 1180 *Hijrah* (Muslim’s year) or January 9, 1767. According to Toda (1999: 68-74) this version is not true because the word and the name “*manggarai*” had been known long before it was mentioned on the manuscript.

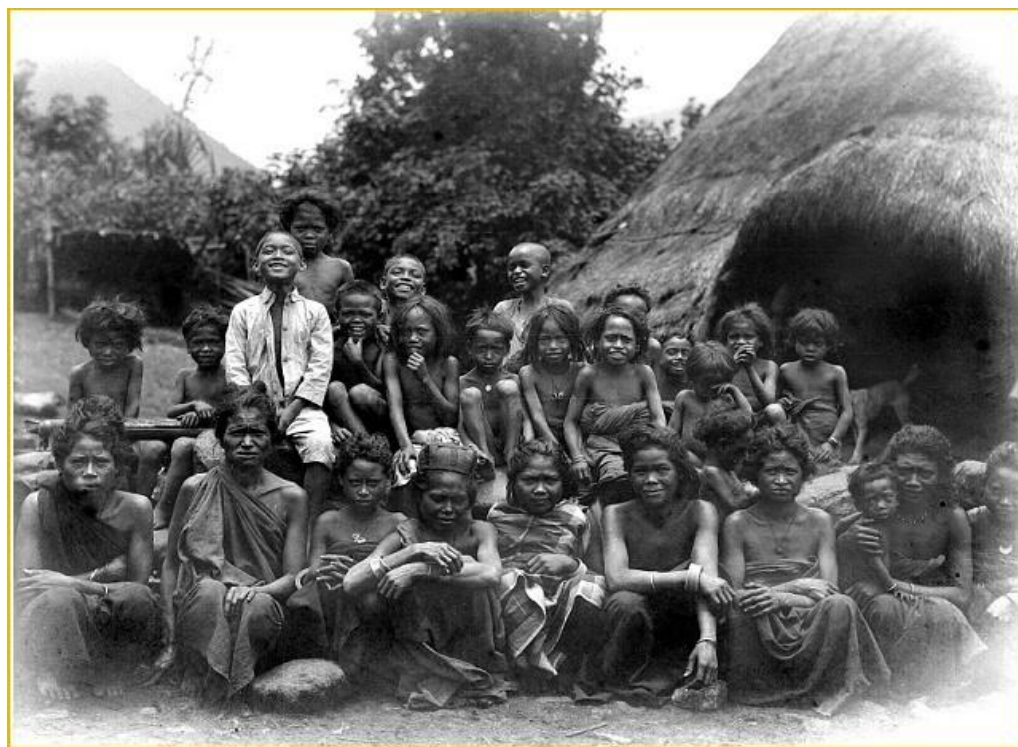
In Manggaraian language, the word “Manggarai” is considered unusual because it has four (4) syllables, “*mang-ga-ra-i*”. It was probably rooted or derived from Sulawesi (Celebes). There have been already many places named

with “Sulawesi’s nuances” such as Labuan Bajo (Lambuan Bajo), Lo’ok (Luwuk), Talo hill (Tallo), Warloka (Wareloka), etc.

Who are the Manggaraian people? Where are their ancestors from? There are also various versions of oral stories about the origins of the Manggaraian. Verheijen, for instance, records that before the foreigners came to this area people believed that there had been local residents as the first humans, the *ata ici tana* (people of/from a land). They came from Mandosawu, Kuleng and Mano. They spread to various regions such as Sita, Riwu, Lambaleda and Cibal (Verheijen, 1948). Other people believed that their ancestors were originated from Ru’a who was regarded as indigenous person of Pongkor. Ru’a had a son named Okong. According to the myth, Okong body’s was covered by hairs. When Okong met outsiders who came to this land, he learned to make fire and to cook. Because of the heat from the fire, his hairs felt down (Toda, 1999: 221; van Bekkum, 1946: 65-75; Lawang, 1989; Coolhaas, 1942, 328-360). Some clans claimed that their ancestors came from Bima and some claimed from Bonengkabo (Minangkabau).

According to a more modern research, the Manggaraian’s ancestors probably came from Taiwan who had arrived on Flores about 2,500 B.C (Bellwood, 1985). Koentjaraningrat (1982: 183) explains that there are impressive differences between sub-tribes in East Nusa Tenggara, particularly in Flores. People in Riung to the east demonstrate Melanesian characteristics like those in New Guinea, while the Manggaraian show Mongoloid-Malay characteristic. Meanwhile, according to Keers (1948), the Manggaraian people are classified in the group of Malays who inhabit the western part of Sumba Island. They are part

of Proto-Malays type with *dolichocephalic* head shape and Niger elements. According to Bijlmer (1930) the elements of the Proto-Malays are dominant for the entire island of Flores, whereas in Manggarai is dominant for the Deutero-Malay. Keers does not agree with Bijlmer because to him the Deutero-Malay elements are found merely in coastal areas.



(Women and Children in Manggarai circa 1920s. Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>)

In terms of language, Salzner classifies the languages of Flores in two subgroup languages: Bima-Sumba and Timor-Ambon. Two-thirds of the island of Flores, from Ende-Lio until Manggarai, is part of the Bima-Sumba subgroup, while Ambon-Timor is used at the eastern part of Flores. Language has been developed in the respective dialects.

Verheijen (1991: 16) adds that besides the Manggaraian language there are other languages spoken by people such as Komodo and Rembong dan Rajong. All of which have got strong influences from Sumba-Bima too. There are about 45 dialects spoken in Manggarai (Verheijen, 1986). Verheijen (1970) composed a language map that classifies those dialects into main groups.

Barung (1998) said that although there are differences in languages and dialects, in general the Manggaraian identify themselves as “speaking Manggaraian” to show “the Manggaraian identity”. This is because most of the Manggaraian people, especially the elites in politics and religion, talk in a language used in the town center. Barung (1998) also explains that Ruteng dialect seems to be “standard dialect” as used in government communications, radio, text of prayers, etc.

In terms of population, according to notes made by Catholic missionaries, the estimated population of the Manggaraian in 1925 was 92,634. This estimation was considered invalid because it did not include unmarried women, widows, and the wives from polygamous marriage. Coolhass (1942), a Dutch *controuleur* who worked in Manggarai during colonization estimated that the Manggarian population in 1927 was around 130,000. The *Volkstelling*, the colonial officers’ reports, dated in 1931 mentioned that the total Manggaraian population was 155,283.

According to the census in 1961, 1971, 1981 the population was 253,493, 320,543 and 397,892 respectively. The population index rate growth between 1961 and 1971 was 2.64% and about 2.42% from 1971 to 1981. According to East

Nusa Tenggara Province Statistic Bureau before the region was divided into three districts in 2000, the total population was 612,218. The Ministry of Religious Affairs noted that 9.94% of the population is Muslims, Catholics 89.57%, Protestants 0.37%, Pentecostal and Hindu 0.04% Buddhist 0.06% and 0.02%. In 2012 the diocese of Ruteng reports that the population of the Catholics is 95%.

2.2.The Manggaraian's Traditional Community Life

Historical information and literary resources describing about the Manggaraian community life before the 20th century are very limited. The Manggaraians have been introduced to literacy culture since the beginning of 20th century. Thus written information about the Manggaraian before 20th century came from foreign people. According to Toda (1999:29-30), most of writers did a lot of mistakes, used "outsider" perspectives, and wrote for their own purposes. By setting "imported" aspects on the history of a society community, a writer sometimes tends to be bias (Koentjaraningrat, 1990: 1). Rich information and sources coming from "inside" perspectives about the community life of the Manggaraian people come from the people's ways of life that have been passed and guarded from a generation to another. The expressions are seen in their philosophical idea of life, their vision, the model of their village, house, and garden, their kinship and governance systems, their rituals, oral tradition, myths, etc. All of which are united to shape all of their entity of life (Huen, at. all: 2000). Some important aspects of the Manggaraian's traditional life are as follows.

2.2.1. Family Based Communities

Traditional Manggaraian communities are primarily family-based communities. A Manggaraian would like to describe their community first and foremost in relation to their family relationship. Horizontal genealogy is formed by relationship among patrilineal brothers (*asé-ka'é*) and marriage relationships (*woé nelu*). For the Manggaraians, a person is belonged to a certain *wa'u* (clan), *kilo hang neki* (extended family), *kilo hang dio* (nuclear family), *anak rona* (wife giver), *anak wina* (wife receiver) and *béo/gendang* (village). A relationship between one and another is determined on their position in their community.

A man is automatically belonged to a *wa'u* (clan). This status is legally ascribed when he was born. He is called as *ata oné* (insider) which is meant part of his father *wa'u* (clan). This status is permanent. It is legalized when he was born. A girl, called as *ata péang* (outsider) has temporary status. Before marriage she is part of her father's *wa'u* and after marriage she is belonged to her husband's *wa'u*. If her husband died or when a divorce (*saung leba*) may happen, she goes back to her father's *wa'u* again (Lawang, manuscript, no year). As a verb *wa'u* means descent which refers to patrilineal clan (Verheijen, 1967: 730; Koentjaraningrat, 1977: 121).

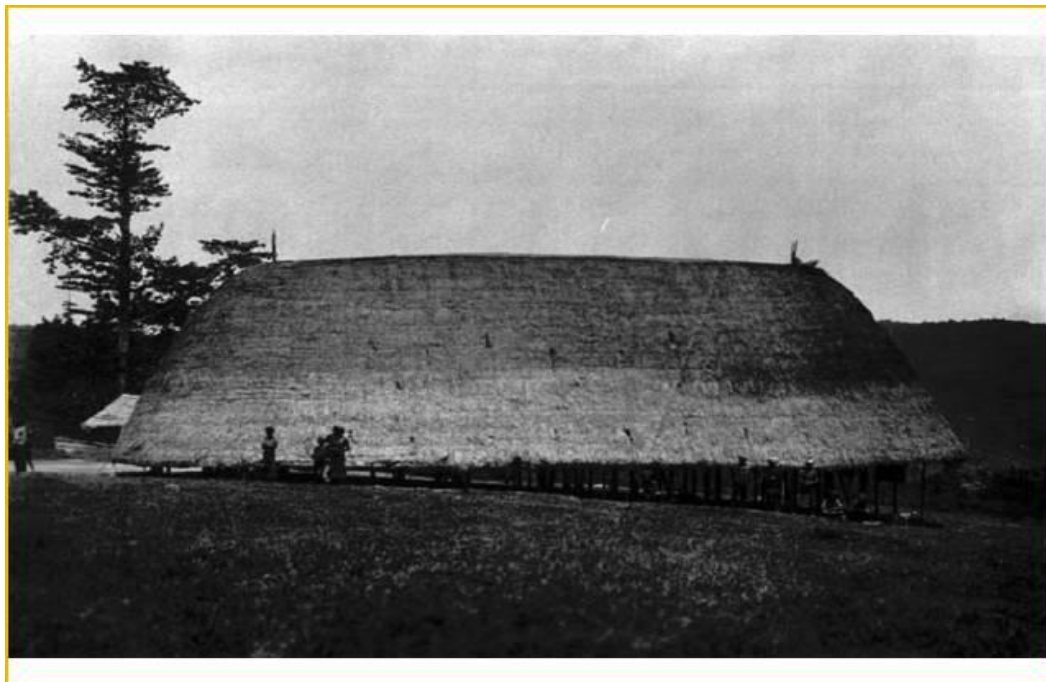
Members of a same *wa'u* or clan share common *ceki*. Literally *ceki* means 'the spirit of ancestor.' In practice *ceki* sometimes refers to a kind of "taboo" or "totem" (Erb, 1999: 42) but it does not automatically mean "totem" (Lawang, n.y:

41). Every *wa'u* has its own *ceki* as “taboo”. For instance, people in Waé Rebo are forbidden to eat civet because they believe that the animal saved their ancestors long time ago. People in Wéol are forbidden to eat *lusa* (*Cajanus Cajan*), a kind of nut. According to Verheijen *ceki* is also seen as “totem” as described by Durkheim (1947: 455-458). Lawang (n.y.: 42) does not agree with Verheijen because members of *wa'u* (clan) do not identify themselves as the animal or plant that called as *ceki*. Even a *wa'u* (clan) may have more than one *ceki*. People in Wéol, for instance, also have both *pesi* and *lusa*, the edible plants, as their *ceki*.

Wa'u in Manggarai functions what Nerton (1968: 353-354) said as social collectivity and social cohesive. *Wa'u* may occupy in a same village and may also live in different villages. For those who live in the same village, *wa'u* is seen as a social group at which people intensively interact with one another. But if they live in a different place, *wa'u* is like a social cohesive and collectivity that unite them because of their common background. They will meet and gather together in *penti*, *kélas*, *nempung*, etc., the rituals and feasts that usually involve all *wa'u*.

When one meets a person whom she or he does not know before, it is very common for her/him to ask about their descendant, parents, family, village or *wa'u*. This is called “*nunduk*” (telling stories to find the grandparents/ancestors). *Nunduk* functions to unite people in particular for those who come from the same *wa'u*, but do not know each other. When someone is traveling to another place, *nunduk*, in practice, helps the traveler to easily get a house for resting and food as well. People are very happy to serve their guests in particular if they come from the same *wa'u* (Lawang, n.y.: 41-44).

Besides as the member of *wa'u*, a Manggaraian is part of *kilo hang neki* (extended family) and *kilo hang dio* (nuclear family). Literally *kilo* means 'family,' *hang* means 'eat' and *neki* means 'together.' Thus *kilo hang neki* means 'families that eat together.' It is actually an extended family. *Kilo hang neki* consists of several families who share food together in a house. The Manggaraian defines it as "eating from a same "*lewing*" (cooking pot). The family could be three generations: the grandfather's family, the father's family and the boy's family. They will live in a same house, cook and eat together. If the father has more than one wife and has several married boys, the number will be a lot. In Manggaraian traditional life, polygamy is normal. Therefore it is not surprising that traditional Manggaraian people had to have a very big house that could be occupied by many families. Van Bekkum reported that a house could be occupied by about 400 people, Stapel wrote about 200 people and Meerburg said about 30-40 people in a house (Lawang, 1989: 57). We could imagine how people organize this house and how they build the relationship among them. What an amazing community!



“Mbaru Lempang”, one big communal house. Resource:
<http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

Kilo hang dio (*kilo*=family, *hang*=eat, *dio*=different) refers to a nuclear family with husband, wife and unmarried kids as its members. In traditional life, a nuclear family was very seldom to have an independent kitchen or to eat alone. A family was part of another family. However, this type, in particular, has been developed under the influence of the Dutch colonialism and the Catholic Church that promoted single small house and monogamous marriage.

The Manggaraian family-based community is a community based on marriage relationship. For the Manggaraians, a marriage is not merely a relationship and an agreement between two individuals, but a union between the families of a bride and a groom. Marriage divides people into two main groups: *anak rona* (wife giver) and *anak wina* (wife receiver). Each has different right and obligation to each other. The relationship is permanent not only during the

marriage rituals and ceremonies. Since a woman is seen as the source of fertility that sustains the community, the family of the bride has to bring bride-wealth (*paca/bélis*) to the family of the groom. The materials used for *paca/bélis* are buffalos, horses, chickens, goats, and money. The completion of *paca* may take years as people say “*toé salang tuak, landing salang waé, téku tédeng*”. This literally means “it is not just like the way of “*tuak*” (a kind of gin from palm tree), but it is water resources way that keeps flowing. The family of groom also gives gifts to the family of the bride. Horman (1961) says the practice as exchange between two sides. The gifts function to bind and to strengthen the two big families and the new nuclear families as well making it hard (or impossible) for a couple to get divorced. Therefore marriage unites persons, people and family.

For the Manggaraians, marriage does not merely have social meaning. Marriage has also sacred meaning that is symbolized the relation between human and God. The Manggaraians call the Supreme Being as “*ronan étan, winan wan*” (husband above, wife bellow) “*Ema étan, Ende wan*” (father above, mother bellow). There are a lot of sacred symbols and rituals with regard to marriage in Manggarai.

There are various types of marriages in Manggarai. Bilateral marriage or marriage between cousins is preferred. *Cangkang* is marriage between those who do not have blood relationship. This creates new communities of families. *Tungku, cako, lili, and tinu* are types of marriage between those who have relationship in different levels and positions (Gordon, 1980; Frazer, 1919; Stauss, 1949; Loeb: 1933). *Tungku cu* is a marriage between cousins. If a brother has a

daughter and a sister has a son, their children can marry each other. Coolhaas (1942: 348) names such as unilateral *cross-cousin coenobiums*, asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage for Fisher (1957: 17) and Needham (1966: 153) calls it as asymmetric prescriptive alliance (Gordon, 1980: 53-54).

2.2.2. Community of *Béo/Golo/Gendang*

*Béo/golo/gendang*³ or village is a basic and very important community for Manggaraians (Verheijen, 1948; Verheijen, 1991). The relationship among people in this community is established on deep relation with land, history, culture, universe, etc. both in physical and nonphysical meaning. Each *béo/gendang* has a name that is usually taken from a thing that exists on that place. Many *béo/gendang* names are the names of tree growing on the place.

Béo/gendang, traditionally, takes place on a *golo* (a hill) and accordingly *béo* is also mentioned as *golo*. In the past, *golo* (hill) was considered a safe place for setting a village from outsider attacks. A *gendang* is independent and free in relation to another *gendang*. Each has their own authority over their member and their land as well.

Sometimes, there is close relationship among *béos* because of their kinship relations. One *béo/gendang* can extend into a new *béo*. This may happen when the member of the original *béo* is too many to live just in a village. Another reason is

³ People generally consider *béo*, *golo*, *gendang* as same even though they are not. All *béos* are *golo*, but not vice versa. A *golo* cannot be classified as *béo* if it is not “an origin village” (“*kampung asal*”). As they have many similarities they are considered as same. I also use those terms in parallel meaning.

for making it easier for people to watch their garden. To establish a new *béo/gendang* is not an easy thing. A lot of rituals and practices should be done. Albeit a new *béo/gendang* is established, people who are supposed to occupy it would still be attached to their original *béo*. Some important rituals and ceremony can be done merely at the pioneer *béo* and some can be performed in new and sub-ordinary *béo/golo*.

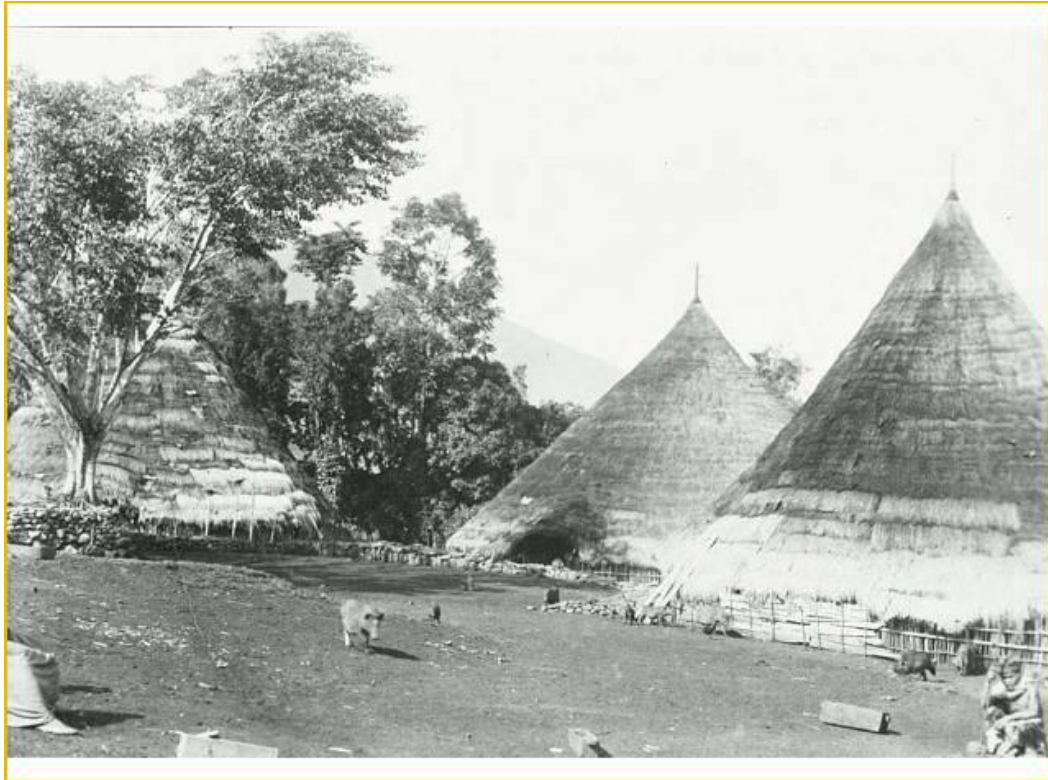
In a *béo/gendang* several sub-clans from a same ancestor have settled from generation to generation. A sub-clan consists of families that are all unified by either *sanguineous* or marital relationship. The social interaction among families is very strong. People know about other family's life (Koentjaraningrat, 1977).

For the Manggaraians a *béo/gendang* has sacral, cosmic and social character. It is not merely seen as geographical space, but it expresses the unity of land, culture and history as well. *Béo* should be enlivened by a number of rituals, works, and social structure. *Béo* is also enlivened in people's vision and idea about wealth, good, future, etc. All of which are the aspects that constitute and construct a community of *béo/gendang*.

2.2.3. *Béo/gendang/golo* as Space and Room

As a geographical space, every *béo/gendang/golo* has to have these four physical areas: a main house, water resource, altar and grave. As a village, *béo/gendang/golo* is circular (or oval) in shape with a number of houses on its side. There is one main house that faces to the village entrance. It is *mbaru niang*

or *mbaru gendang* or *mbaru tembong*. This house is also circular. On the left and right sides are the “common” houses called *béndar*. They are usually rounded in shape, too. In the middle of village there is a rounded *compang*, a stone altar for doing rituals and putting offering to the spirit. There is only one entrance gate from and to the village or *pa'ang*. It faces to the main house, the *mbaru niang*.



(A village with traditional *niang* houses and a rounded stone in the centre of the village. Picture was taken in about 1920s. From <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>)

For the Manggaraian a house or *mbaru* is seen more than merely a place to stay. It is rich in symbols. Each part of house has a certain meaning and story. It tells the people’s story, genealogy, social relationship, religious sign and symbol. It also draws the world of ancestors and spirits. A *mbaru niang* unites and unifies

one to another, a generation to another generation, the present, the past and the future as well (Erb, 1999: 52).

A *mbaru gendang/niang/tembong* is the main and communal house of a *béo* which in other Asian traditions is called as “*great house*” which nominally unites a patriarchal community (Errington, 1989: 238; Allerton, 2003: 121-122; Allerton, 2004: 342). For the Manggaraian the authority of a *béo* is shown by a *mbaru gendang*. The political governance of a *béo* is centered in the house. If the leaders of a *béo* want to decide something important, then they have to do it in this house. An extended village (*béo lor*) without a *mbaru niang* has a lower position and a limited power in contrast to a *gendang*. An extended *béo* subordinates to a *béo pu’u* (main and original village). For all of the village members, *mbaru gendang* has both sacral and social meaning.

A *mbaru niang* is circular in shape. It has only one door used for entrance and exit. It is windowless. Its roof is very high. As the main house, a *mbaru gendang* is usually the biggest house in a *béo*. Thus it can be occupied by a lot of people most especially during a *nempung weki* (family gathering). The door faces to *pa’ang*, the main gate/entrance. Accordingly, when one visits the village, he/she is treated as the village’s guest, the guest of all.

Structurally *mbaru niang* consists of three levels: *ngaung* (underground level), *lété wa* (floor/down level) or *lété lawo* (“the level of rat”) and *lobo* (upper level/attic). They symbolize the three worlds. *Ngaung* or ground level is the place under the house’s floor in which the pillars are erected *Ngaung* symbolizes the underworld, the world of bad spirits or evil. It is a not sacred place. People can

raise animal and put their working tools, woods, trash and even excrement in this place. In relation to foreign domination over Manggarai in the past, *ngaung* was associated with *mendi* (slaves) who supported the higher social group (Erb, 1999: 52).

The second level is *lété wa* or *lété lawo*, the floor, the place for human being. In this place people do their daily activities such as sleeping, eating, cooking, discussing, laying corpse, doing rituals and soon. The room is circular. It consists of several important parts: *kilo*, *likang*, *siri bongkok* and *lutur*.

Kilo/molang is family's rooms; the rooms function as sleeping rooms. The number of *kilo*'s room is determined by the number of *panga* (sub-clans) in the village. If there are five sub clans, for instance, there must be five *kilos*. But if the number is too many, a *panga* may be represented by another, usually the oldest or *rang ka'e*. *Tu'a béo/tu'a golo* live in this house. All of the house's members have to keep the room and the house as well. It also means to keep all of their history, story, culture, etc. Just in case that the oldest cannot stay at the room, his younger brother should replace him. Other families (of the clans in the house) stay outside the *mbaru niang*. Since the Manggaraians social system is patriarchal, "family" here means the family of the son or a brother. The sister's or a daughter's family stays in their husbands family's house and may have a *kilo* room in their *mbaru niang* in their own village.

The *kilos* of a *mbaru gendang* are occupied by a family from generation to generation. They represent their *panga* (clan). Their main task is to keep the house (*lami usung oné mbaru tembong*). This dwelling system makes it easier for the

people in the village to remember their genealogy, to know the relationship between one family and another, and to understand their present and past as well. It, in turn, serves not only as common knowledge for the people, but also functions to give a sense of unity which in effect makes people conscious of their rights and obligations.

The *kilo*'s door faces to *siri bongkok*, the main pillar of the house. There is a fireplace in the front of *kilo* and each has a space to cook or put their cooking tools. Everybody knows what their neighbors cook and eat every day. Food sharing is very common. Besides functioning as a place to cook, fireplace also functions to produce smoke that preserves the house, i.e. the wood and roof that can last long up to more than 80 years.⁴

Another part of the floor is *siri bongkok*, the main pillar of the house that props the house up. It unites the *lobo*, *lété wa* and *ngaung* and the whole *kinang* (rafters). Accordingly, the *siri bongkok* symbolizes unity. *Siri bongkok* is considered as a sacred place that connects the upper world, human world and under world. On this pillar people hang important tools for ritual such as drum, gong, etc. They also put offerings for the spirit and ancestor on the floor around the pillar. A *siri bongkok*, usually *haju worok*, is a heavy, long and strong log. There are usually other pillars called *siri lélés*, which support the house and all of which are connected with each other. It symbolizes the harmony and unity of the people in that village. A house can survive and be strong when every aspect supports each other. The unity is always being emphasized and stressed by the

⁴ People in Wae Rebo, for instance, witnessed that their old *mbaru niang* was around 80 years old. When this research was conducted they were building new houses.

Manggaraian people. They express in their *go 'et* (proverb or wise words) such as *téu ca ambo néka woléng lako* (literally: [we have] to walk together as the unity of sugar cane stem), *muku ca pu'u néka woléng curup* (meaning: [we have] to talk together as a comb of banana), *ipung ca tiwu néka woléng wintuk* (we have to act together like small fishes in a pool), *kopé olés todo kongkol*, *boto koas ného kota*, *boto behas ného kena*, (move together, grow as one group, so we are not separable like fence), etc.

The front floor of the house is *lutur*. It is a place where guests are received. The place is also where performance of ceremonies is held. The third level of *mbaru niang* is *lobo* (great attic). This is a symbol of the upper world. Structurally *lobo* consists of several levels, usually three or more levels. Each of which signifies different symbols and functions. The seeds and crops are usually stored in *lobo*.

Mbaru gendang or *mbaru niang* is a communal house. It belongs to all village members. Wherever the members may dwell, inside or outside the house, in the village or outside, they are responsible for the house. The house functions as the centre of the village governance. All important decisions about the village are made in this house. It is also a place for ritual actions. The house is both sacred and social.

In the middle of the village there is an offering altar called *compang* that is rounded in shape. Its arrangement is made up of stones. In the middle or near the *compang*, there is usually a large *langké/ruténg* tree (banyan tree - *Ficus benjamina*) that is considered to have special powers. Since the tree has a long life

and is resistant to extreme dry weather, *langké* also becomes a symbol of prosperity and wealth. Its roots are very deep and branches are wide and leafy (Nggoro, 2006). The Manggaraian people believe that prosperity and successfulness are supposed to be like *langké*. They express as “*waké ncaler ngger wa, saung bémbang ngger éta*” (Be rooted down to the earth and may your leaves vastly expand). People set material offerings for the ancestors and spirits under the tree.



(A *comfang* (stone rounded altar). Resources: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>)

The village has a common yard in front of the houses called *natas*. It is a public space used for various activities such as “sun bathing” (*dari lesa*), drying crops, playing, talking with neighbor, etc. For example, the Manggaraians famous

whip fighting game known as *caci* is held in *natas*. *Caci*, as a performance, is very rich in social and sacred values. It is a performance that is very rich in social and sacred values (Erb, 2001; Erb, 2008).

Another element of a *béo/gendang* is *waé téku* or (shower) water resources. Even though a village is nearby a river, *waé téku* should be kept in place because it functions not only as a fulfillment of biological needs, but it also relates life to spirits and universe. There are special ceremonies conducted in relation to *waé téku* such as *barong waé* which is done to invite spirits for water purification and *toé meti* for preservation and sustenance of water which is thought to have a spiritual effect of keeping the village away from diseases or ‘bad influences.’ Usually there are two shower places according to gender. Someone who wants to pass by the shower place is obliged to shout a sort of cue to ask whether anyone is having shower or not (*hu..... cebong?*). These calls are made three times (*telu ngkali*). If someone is having shower, then he/she should answer *cebong cé'é* (I am having shower). This means that someone cannot pass by the place. He/she has to wait or find another way. If someone finishes his/her shower, he/she should yell *poli cebong* (I am done). In case of violation, a person can report to the *tu'a* that sets *teging* (sanctions and punishment). The violator has to do *hambor* (reconciliation) ceremony. This is a basic procedure for the community to know rules and to internalize justice, politeness and kindness.

Each village has *lingko* (communal garden), an integral part of community life. House and garden, *mbaru gendang* and *lingko* cannot be separated. They have to complement each other. The Manggaraians always say “*gendangn oné,*

lingkon pé'ang” (*mbaru gendang*/main house in side, *lingko*/garden outside). Once a village does not have *lingko*, it will be discredited. Every *lingko* has a name. Many *lingkos*’ names in Manggarai are the name of trees. People name “*Lingko Tenda*” because *Tenda tree* grows on that place. Some *lingkos* are named because of special characteristics of the land. For instance, there is *lingko* named “*Watu*” (stones) because there are a lot of stones on the place.

Lingko resembles a roof or floor of *mbaru niang*. This shows the unity between village and garden as well as the unity of the people with the spirits, the ancestors and the universe. The centre of *lingko* is *lodok*, a penis-shaped timber of *haju teno*, symbolizing fertility. Nearby is a stone to resemble female genitalia, the symbol of fertility too. From the mid-point will be drawn straight lines outward. Each *panga* will get a part shaped like pizza slices, and each piece will be divided into the families of a *panga*. The method of determining the size is *ponggo* (thumb = large size) and *kindé* (pinkie = small size) systems of measurement.



A “web-spider” paddy field in Manggarai. Resources: personal collection.

Another important place of *béo/gendang* is *boa* (grave). Tombs have important meaning and roles in the Manggaraian community. *Boa* connects the past to the present as well as the ancestors to the people. It also connects the ancestors and the people. When *penti* (thanksgiving ceremony) is held, *wé'ang boa* or cleaning the grave ceremony must be done. Cemetery location is usually not too far from the village. Some village leaders may be buried in *natas* (yard), near the *compang*. Grave is marked by stones. The head should face *ngger lé* (forward the mountains/headwater) and the legs toward the sea/downstream. If someone dies unnaturally or *dara ta'a* he/she then should be buried on reverse direction. Unnatural death is death due to accident, natural disaster or murder. The corpse should not be laid on *lutur* (on the floor of the house), but outside the house.

2.2.4. *Béo/Gendang* as Governance System

In addition to spatial structure and infrastructural placement, community life of the Manggaraian is shown by its socio-political order. A *béo* is headed by *tu'a golo* or *tu'a béo*. The *tu'as'* functions are to maintain *adat* law, to organize rituals/feasts and to guarantee social harmony of the village. Their position is inherited from a generation to another of the eldest family of the eldest *panga*. In a certain case, a *tu'a golo* can also be selected by acclamation of the major *pangas* of a *béo*. *Tu'a golo* is a married male and has charisma to lead *béo*. In addition to *tu'a golo*, there is also *tu'a teno*, a man who is responsible for matters concerning

the land. Both *tu'a golo* and *tu'a teno* can be replaced if they are considered incompetent to lead the village. Besides the two *tuas*, the villagers with special talent and abilities can be appointed to do essential tasks such as spokesperson or ritual leader. There is no salary to village officials. Usually they may have a larger land than other citizens. If they are asked to lead a ceremony at someone else's home, they may likely be rewarded with animals, usually chickens (Roger, at. all, 1997: 52).

2.2.5. Community, Beliefs and Rituals

In terms of belief system, the traditional Manggaraian community has their own indigenous religion which in common anthropological or sociological studies could be categorized as an animistic and polytheistic community. The people believe that spirits of nature and ancestors are everywhere. The ways to communicate with them are to pray and to offer them some food. For the people, likewise the human beings, the ancestors and the spirits need food to eat. The people should regularly share their food so that the spirits and the ancestors are not hungry. The food could be rice, egg, cooked vegetables, or cooked meat. The most important time to share food with spirits and ancestors is during ritual sacrifices. The Manggaraian people believe that spirits and ancestors communicate with them either in direct or indirect way. The spirits can kidnap someone and brought him/her to their places. The spirits or ancestors communicate also through divination or by sending sickness or disaster. A

shaman (*ata mbeko*) and a village leader can communicate with the spirits and ancestors when they are leading a certain ritual.

The Manggaraians also believe that human beings and the universe are created by *Mori jari agu dédék* (the Creator), by *Jari agu Wowo* (creator and giver of life, who gave birth). People have various ways to name the Supreme Being such as *Ema éta, Énde wa* (Father above and mother below), *Ronan éta, Winan wa* (husband above, wife bellow); *Awang éta tana wa* (sky above, land bellow), and *par agu kolep* (dawn and sun set). Interestingly, the names show relationship between two entities: male and female, up and down, light and dark.

In addition to *Mori Kraéng* the Manggaraians also believe in the presence of spirits, *ata pélé sina* (people from next world), *darat, naga golo/teno*, etc. *Darat* inhabit the land, control of forest, large trees, springs; they also can teach spinning and weaving. It may appear in the form of animals. The *naga* is the guardian of the land or houses. *Poti* is a catastrophe, ghost or spirit of the dead (Verheijen, 1991).

Ritual is an important element for Manggaraians as a community. Homans (1941: 172) says that for a community, ritual gives its members confidence, dispels their anxieties and disciplines their social organization. It provides people with a sense of security, stability, connectedness and belonging. It is also to create social bonds and even to nourish interpersonal relationships (Bell, 1992: 22-32).

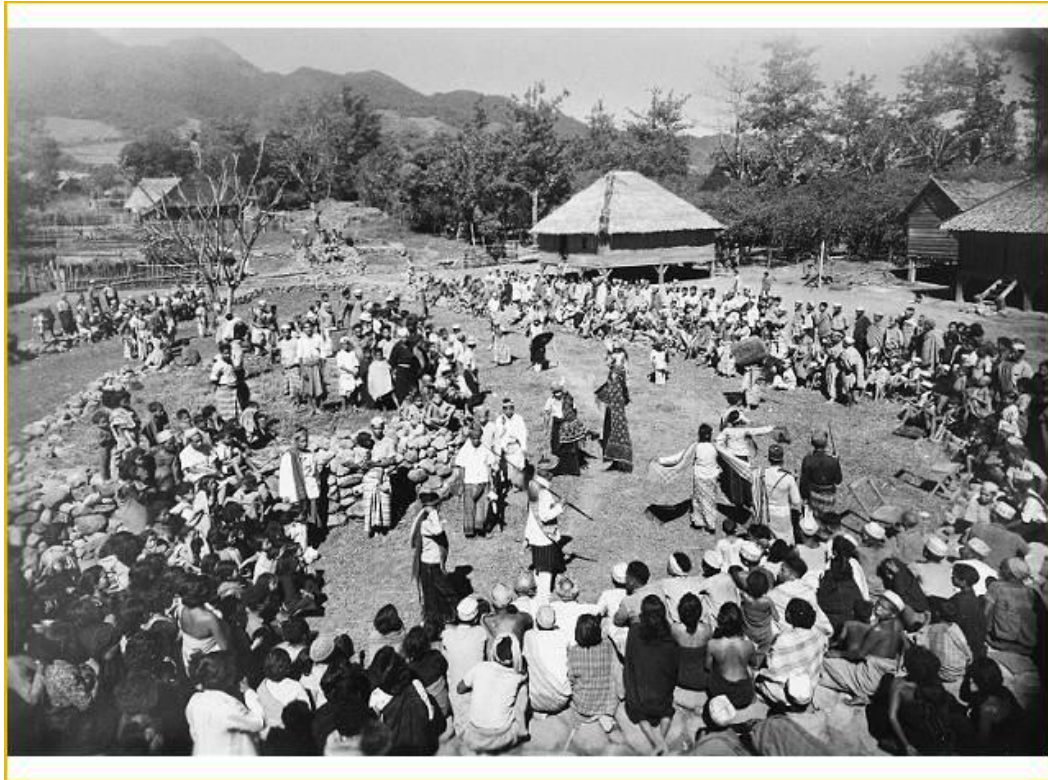
There are various rituals in Manggarai. Rituals are like a circle. It follows important stages of human life: birth, naming a baby, adult, work, marriage, death and so on. For a pregnant woman, a lot of prohibitions are imposed to protect the

mother and her fetus from evil forces. At birth, the baby is greeted with one question “*ata oné ko ata pé'ang*” (outside or inside), a question about his/her position in the entire community. After few days the baby is named in a ceremony of *céar cumpé*. When he is going to travel far the ceremony of *wuat wa'i* is done as prayer for his success. Before marriage, ritual for the bride and groom are very varied. When one dies, a number of rituals are performed as well. All of those rituals function also to celebrate the unity of the community and their unity with their ancestors, spirits, and whole universe. Rituals also follow the agriculture season: preparing the seed, planting, weeding, and harvesting. Rituals are held on famine or difficult time, disaster, etc. Buffalo, pig, chicken, goat, egg are important material for rituals.

The most common ritual is *penti*, a ceremony of thanksgiving done after harvesting. *Penti* is a communal ritual, the ritual all of the village members as expressed as *penti weki, péso béo* (the feast of whole village members). People usually celebrate it every year. *Penti*, as a big ritual, is a series of ceremonies or rituals conducted in a various places such as inside *mbaru niang*, at *compang, mata waé, lingko, boa, natas*, and *family homes*. All of which show the unity among all of physic and non physic, cosmic and religious aspects.

In addition to rituals, myths and stories have important functions for the Manggaraian. In 1938-1947 Aldof Burger (1941) compiled myths and stories which according to J. Verheijen was a product of inaccurate translation and doomed interpretation due to the fact of Burger's inability in understanding local languages. Verheijen did his ethnographic work as he worked as a missionary in

Manggarai since 1937. This implies that when the information was written, Christianity had spread over 10 years in Manggarai. This has certainly affected the content of a myth. In addition, van Bekkum, the first bishop of Manggarai, wrote the life of the Manggaraian in the early 20th century.



A traditional feast done in Mano circa 1935s. The photo was taken by Willem van Bekkum. Resources: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

Verheijen wrote bundles of “Manggaraian texts” (unpublished texts) compiling myths and stories that he got during his pastoral and ethnographic work in different places in Manggarai. All are written in Manggaraian language. The myths and stories are various. Some tell about the creation of the world, human

beings, animals, plants, lake, place, etc. Some explores on human's activity and daily life and some on the spirit world.

For each story, there are several versions. On the myth about human creation, for instance, one version tells that the first couple originated from a bamboo and then proliferated into many. There is also a story that originally *Mori Kraéng* (the Supreme Being) sent a pair of human to earth, but died because they were devoured by horses and buffalo. Then God sent again another couple, but they were eaten by *poti* (*Satan*) to death. Finally God sent again human beings and a dog was given to accompany them. Satan was afraid of the dog so the prototype human beings survived and multiplied. On the story about the creation of plants, it was told that plants came from a child's body, flesh and blood. There are also myths about the creation of chicken, other animals, and places as well (Verheijen, 1991: 173-237). For a community, myths, narratives or stories told at a certain time and passed on from generation to generation serve to show the history of the community in its representation of life and description of beliefs (Risakotta, 2005).

2.2.6. Lonto Léok Community: Problem, Law and Decision Making

Lonto léok literally means sitting in a circle. When the Manggaraians want to talk, discuss, decide or plan something they will sit together in a place, usually in *mbaru niang*. To invite people to discuss and talk something, the leader of a *béo/gendang* send his delegates to the families. This is called *siro*. It is also

possible to call people by beating gong as the sign to gather together. People then come and sit in *léok* (circular) formation on the floor. The *tu'a* (leader) will begin the meeting by explaining the reasons why they are gathered together. It is then followed by discussion session. Everybody has the right to speak and respond to the others. They have to respect each other. The leader of the group has an important task to guide the meeting. He should act wisely when conflict or controversy is occurred.

Lonto léok is considered as the best way to decide something. It is a democratic system. People are invited to *lonto léok* for many purposes. It is done to plan community's activities such as rituals, feast or ceremonies that involve the members of the community. It functions to solve the problem (*caca mbolot*) either within the community members or outside the community. *Lonto léok* is also done to judge a conflict and to determine a punishment for those who broke the rule. *Lonto léok* is as a sacred activity. Once a decision is taken, the community will pray and invite their ancestors or spirits to come. It makes the decision has sacred and legal aspect. This, in turn, gives extraordinary impact to the community to do the decisions.

Law and law "institutions" are clear for every community member. The laws function to regulate the way people live, interact, relate each other and with all universe. Law enforcement is done not by power but by social control and by the charisma and capability of the leaders. Every village member knows how to act in relation to another according to his/her position and kinship relationship.

Seniority, not in term of age but in terms of one's position in a clan, is very important.

Everybody should understand what is good and bad both for them and for the other. In case of violation, the *tu'a* (the village leader) will invite people to decide what the transgressor, his/her family or all members of village should do. All decisions are done in democratic ways, but they have to refer to “*pedé disé empo*” (the message of their ancestors). This is the way they keep maintaining their law. The punishment given to a transgressor depends on the seriousness of the violation. *Jurak* or incest is considered as the most serious violation, more than stealing and raping. It may cause bad consequences for the entire village members and their generations. A set of ritual must be performed to clean the village and to avoid disaster.

2.2.7. Community and Education

How do the Manggaraians educate each other and their young generation? There are four important ways by which the Manggaraians preserve their tradition to the young generation. They are *toing*, *titong*, *toming* and *tatong*. *Toing* means teaching or giving advice. It is the task of a *tu'a* (village leader) or parents to teach those who are younger than them. When a person did a mistake, the *tu'a* will invite him/her and give advices. It can be done personally. But if the mistake is considered big and dangerous for the life of whole community, *toing* or teaching/giving advice can be done in front of a lot of people. Generally, instead

of using direct suggestion or prohibition the *tu'a* or parents will use story, subtitle or parable in teaching someone.

When parents want to educate their children they like telling stories. Through this way they spread moral message to young generation. Stories about the origin or universe, people, plant, place or animals are very common. There are also stories about the life of certain persons, about orphans, the rich and the poor, etc. All are rich in moral values.

If *toing* is related to the words the old people tell to young generation or to the other, *titong* (literally means to guide or to accompany) has broader meaning. It is related to an activity of being together with those who are being taught. Speaking is not enough. The older people must guide and accompany the youth. They have to involve the younger generation in as many possible as activities that they can learn by doing. They guide the youth generation how to do certain rituals, how to work in the garden, how to solve the problems, etc.

They have to *toming* too. *Toming* means giving lively example or model. The parents and other older generation have to act in such way that the youth can follow. They also have to *tatong* or to motivate and to support the youth.

2.3.Foreign Influences over Manggarai before Catholicism

2.3.1. Gowanese and Bimanese Influences

When exactly the foreigners came to the land of Manggarai is not known for sure. Historical information about the presence of foreigners in Manggarai before the 20th century is limited. In the 1930s there was archaeological dig that found statues of the pre-Hindu similar to those found in Pasemah. Excavations conducted in 1950 by Verhoeven in Liang Racang near the northern town of Ruteng and Poco concluded that the area have been used as residential area since long time ago (Verhoeven, 1966).

In the 1960s the villagers in Warloka at western part of Manggarai found a tomb of a person wearing gold bracelets and necklaces. Some Chinese porcelain plates were also found. They probably came from the time of Sung Dynasty (960-1279) and Yuan (1260-1386). In addition there were also other items that may originate from the 14th and 15th century from Vietnam and Thailand (Verheijen, 1987: 6; Verheijen, 1982, 1987; Erb, 1999: 66).

How these items reached this place is still uncertain. One interpretation is they were brought by the Majapahit people who traveled to this place in around 13th-15th centuries when the kingdom of Majapahit take control over this archipelago (Lombard, 1996: 41). This argumentation goes along with the story of Warloka people. According to them, the word “Warloka” is taken from Wuruk Loka which means a place owned by Hayam Wuruk, the Majapahit King. The

word was shortened to Warloka. Near this place, residents found the stone pillars and tables which are connected with the place of Hayam Wuruk (Verheijen, 1982; Erb, 199: 66).

Historically, when the kingdom of Majapahit ruled over archipelago the merchants of Javanese and Malay sold and bought commodity in eastern region of Indonesia over the north coast to the Strait of Malacca (Shriecke, 1955: 18; Parimatha, 2002: 8). In the 13th-15th century Majapahit King claimed that Flores was one of their territories. Prapanca, a prominent poet of Majapahit, for example, mentioned a few places in Flores (Slametmuljana, 1979) in his poetry. The similarity of names of some food, objects, animals, people and places today would also prove the power of Majapahit on Flores, including Manggarai (Kolit, no.year). Unfortunately particular information about the Manggaraians life was not found in the essays of the Majapahit. It seems that the presence of Majapahit only reached few villages. There is no enough historical evidence to support it.

Trading activities in Asia was increasingly widespread since the 15th century. This had slowly influenced *béo/gendang* in Manggarai. In the 15th century the Indian Ocean and South China Sea became a busy trade zone reaching across Asia, linking the center of trade with other areas. This zone included group of islands in eastern Indonesia (Curtin, 1984; Schriecke, 1955). In 1511 the Portuguese stepped in Malacca. The arrival of Europeans increased more intensive relationship and broader markets. Javanese and European traders encouraged people in eastern Indonesia as Bugis, Bima and Gowa (Makasar) (Reid, 1981; Sutherland, 1988; Parimatha, 2002) to find and sell commodities. When the

Europeans (Portuguese and later Dutch) took control over Malacca, the indigenous traders were pushed to remote areas. Some moved to Makasar, South Sulawesi, which had become new trading center in eastern part of Indonesia (Schrieke, 1955: 49). At that time Makasar was also a center of trade textiles from India (Arasaratman, 1986). Along with the expansion of regional trade, Makasar claimed control over lands outside their territories, including Manggarai.

Historically Gowa and Bima claimed that they had controlled over Manggarai since 16th century to early 20th century (Andaya, 1981: 91; Reid, 1981: 1,8). In the 17th century, the development of Islam created Gowa as a powerful kingdom. They sent their troops to various areas in Lombok and Flores including to Manggarai (Rademacher, 1886; Parimarta, 2002). Several villages in Manggarai, until now, still told that their ancestors were Gowanese, the Makasarnese.

As the Gowanese dominated Manggarai, in order to facilitate their trade and political affairs, the authority of Gowa divided Manggarai into small political units: “*dalu*” and “*gelarang*”. It followed their political system in Gowa. They appointed the rulers which were called by their honorific title “*kraéng*” or “*kraéng adak*”⁵ (Morris, 1891: 178; Parimarta, 2002). These titles are still used in Manggarai at the present time. There were four main *dalus* or “*dalu mésé*”: Cibal, Leda, Todo and Bajo. Each *dalu* took charge of several *béo/gendang* (Janggur, 2008). Consequently, *béo/gendang* had to be subjugated to *dalu* or *gelarang* and to the higher authority as well.

⁵ The words “*geralang*” or “*gelara*” and “*dalu*” have been used in Bimanese before 19th century. The words “*Kraéng* or *Keraéng*” was used in Gowa, South Celebes

Despite the Gowanese had power over *béo/gendang*, in fact, the *béo/gendang* stood independently in terms of domestic matter. They continued to have kinship based government and keep their beliefs and practices. Even though the Gowa was an Islamic based sultanate they were not interested in spreading Islam to local people. They considered the local people as too primitive to living together with them. In addition, geographical obstacle made impossible for the Gowanese to deeply reach to the remote villages. Actually, this was beneficial for the local community. They could keep their original beliefs and practices.

In addition to sandalwood, horses, spices, wax and honey, one important “commodity” the Gowanese got from Manggarai was slave (Pires, 1944: 202; Koentjaraningrat, 1964). In 1515 Tomé Pires, a Portuguese merchant, who traveled to Asia and to the eastern islands area of what is now Indonesia, depicted Flores as a beautiful place and was rich in food, horses and slaves. He also told about “little kingdoms” that lived in very primitive way (Pirés, 1944). Every year *dalu* and *gelarang* in Manggarai should provide slaves for the Gowanese as their tax and obligation.

In regards to slave trading, Reid explains that the slave created market.

These slaves constitute the main capital and wealth of the natives of these islands, since they are both very useful and necessary for the working of their farms. Thus they are sold, exchanged, and traded just like any other article of merchandise (Reid, 1983: 1)

Slave trading system was supported by a social system that showed a sharp distinction between the ruling class and ordinary people. Historically, the spirit of slavery had started before the 17th century, before the Dutch Trade Company (the

VOC) formally dominated Makasar (1677). At that time the Dutch already required people to work in shipyards, carpentry, and house and to be staff, concubines and soldiers. The VOC's contact with the Makasar and Bugis had increased a pattern of slave trade in the region (Sutherland, 1988; Reid, 1981; Reid: 1993). There were various reasons why people sold as a slave. It could be part of punishment as they did a certain mistake to the leaders, when they could not pay their debts and obligation, or when they lost in wars. Some were kidnapped (Parimarta, 2002). The slaves were sent to Batavia or to Makasar to be employed in the Dutch's Company. Most of them came from Timor, Flores, Bali and Buton (Boxer, 1965: 240). Not only the Dutch and Makasar were interested in slaves trading, people of Ende and China were also interested in. During this period Batavia became the center of slaving market in archipelago (Parimarta, 2002, 136-138).

Manggarai region was considered as rich in slaves. Not only had the Gowanese sought for slaves from Manggarai, the Bimanese also interested to slaves. Even some pirates passing through this region looked for slaves too. Bimanese was the main rival of the Gowanese to obtain slaves and other commodity materials as well. They frequently engaged in battles.

In 1667 the Dutch troops defeated the Gowa sultanate on a battle in Aru Palaka of Bone. As the result an agreement, called Bongaya Agreement, was signed on November 18th, 1667. This had impacted to Manggarai. The agreement stated that the Gowa had to give some territories, to Sultan of Bima. Manggarai was mentioned too. This agreement supported the Bimanese to have power over

Manggarai. In fact, they had already occupied Manggarai far before the agreement was claimed. The Bimanese domination over Manggarai is written in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie*, volume I page 307. It explains about an oral agreement made between *de Oost-Indische Verenigde compagnie* (VOC) and the Bimanese in 1660 (Coolhaas, 1942: 162-164).

The Bima Sultanate had existed since before the 16th century. They claimed that Lombok and Flores were part of their sultanate. When Gowanese ruled in Manggarai, the Bimanese had been there for trading. Until now, several villages in Manggarai are often told that their ancestors were the Bimanese. In Warloka, for example, there is a story telling about a mother born a son that became the Sultan of Bima. There are also villages located far from Warloka, claim that their ancestors came from Bima who first stepped in Warloka. For example, the family of royal Todo and Pongkor and surrounding villages acknowledge that their ancestors came from Bima (Erb, 1999: 66-69).

Bima in that day was a center that connected the western part of Indonesia to Makasar and Moluccas. Market commodities from Manggarai were sent to Batavia via Bima (Freijss, 1860: 452). When the Bimanese conquered Manggarai, the local leaders had to pay tax i.e. slaves and obeyed trading monopoly in and out of Manggarai. As the ruler, the Bimanese did not act to protect Manggaraian people against foreign attackers hunting for slaves. Many pirates and traders could easily come and kidnap the Manggaraians without protections from the Bimanese. The pirates were the Illano, Sulu, Bajo and Tobelo (Coolhaas, 1942).

Slaving trade lasted until the 19th century (Ricklefs, 1982: 293) and began to decrease when some countries in Europe banned it. There is a note telling that in Batavia there were 18,972 slaves in 1814: mostly were imported from Bali and Makasar. Some of them were also sent to Singapore. Abdullah bin Kadir wrote that when the Bugis traders came to Singapore in 1823, he saw about 50-60 male and women slaves walking in the city. A Bugis man leaded them. Among them there were old, young and babies. Some were sick. Kadir asked one of them where the people came from. The man replied that they were from *Manggarai* and *Mandar*. The man added that a ship arrived in the harbor carrying 300 to 400 slaves yesterday. When Kadir asked the price of slaves, the people informed that one was around 30-40 dollars (Kadir, 1985: 182-183).

After Bongaya agreement was signed in 1667, the Bima sultanate disposed its representatives in Reo, the north coast of *Manggarai*. At first some *dalus*, in particular, those who were still subjected to the Gowanese strongly opposed and resisted to the Bimanese. In 1727 Bima sultan's son married the daughter of Makasar sultan. Bima gave *Manggarai* as wedding gift. The daughter, Daeng Tamina, set Reo as Gowanese power base. In 1731 Musa Lani Alisa, one sultan from Bima, did not agree with marriage bride-wealth being given. He attempted to expel the people of Makasar from Reo. At first he lost. Then he invited *dalus* Bajo to ally with *dalus* Reo to battle against Bima. But he lost again. The Bimanese then asked Todo to attack Reo from the south part. As they moved north to attack the Reo, Bima and Bajo as well kidnapped people from the countryside to be sold as

slaves. With Todo's help, Daeng Tamima's people were beaten off from Reo and eventually fled to Makasar (Coolhaas, 1942: 164-165).

Meanwhile, Todo used this opportunity to extend its authority over other *dalus*. This raised displeasure of *Cibal dalu*. Supposedly the *Cibal dalu* did not want Todo to have major power over *dalus* and *béos*. This was the Todo people were considered as not native/indigenous people. They were the descendant of Mashur from Bonengkabo. The battle could not be avoided between *Cibal* and *Todo*. The *Cibal* had strong army and was assisted by the Makassar troops. The *Cibal* often won in battle until the Bimanese assisted the *Todo*. They also changed their war strategy. The *Todo* sent a woman to spit at the *Cibal*. As the result the *Cibal* lost and 12 small *dalus* under his control had to subject to the *Todo*. Those *dalus* were obliged to pay tax of five slaves per year, wax, honey, cinnamon, etc. To secure its position against the *Cibal*, the *Todo* established kinship relationship through marriage by positioning the *Cibal* as the *anak rona* (wife giver) of the *Todo* (van Bekkum, 1946: 122-130; Toda, 1999: 105).

The stories of battles and wars between *dalus* and *gelarang* and between one and another village to seize land and area were very dominant in Manggarai during the reign of Bima and Gowa. It was recorded also in the writings of van Bekkum.

Like Gowa, Bima was also an Islamic based sultanate and not interested in spreading Islam to the local people. The Bimanese prohibited their people to marry Manggaraians. In a letter stamped on April 17, 1784, the Sultan of Bima, Abdul Hamid, issued a ban for the Bugis, Makasar or Bima, (also if they have

married to people of Manggarai), to settle near the Manggaraian, “because Manggarain can destroy their religion (Islam) and custom. The Bimanese must stay on the coast” (Coolhaas, 1942). Today we can find sub clans derived from Bugis, Goa, Makasar, Serang, Sumba, Bima or Boneng Kabo (Minangkabau).



Some of Bimanese sultanate people with some leaders in Reo, north of Manggarai.
 Photo was taken about in early of 20th century. Resource from:
<http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

Bima’s imperial power began to weaken as a result Mount Tambora eruption in 1815. Many of their important figures died because of the disaster (Parimatha, 1999: 163; Freijjs: 1860: 516). It influenced to their political position. At local level, the sovereignty of Todo increased. Long time after the eruption, the Bimanese even were difficult to recover the effects over their small kingdoms (Wacanaa, no year: 125). Bimanese power weakened in the late 19th

and finally ended in the early 20th century in particular by the coming of Dutch and Catholicism in Manggarai.

2.3.2. Islamization in Manggarai

This is a short overview on Islamization in Manggarai. As explained above, both the Gowanese and Bimanese who had claimed their domination over Manggarai since 16th to 20th century (Andaya, 1981: 1; Reid, 1981) were Islamic based sultanates. They had important role in Islamization in the areas east to East Java between 1000 and 1600 (Pluvics, 1995: 16). In 17th century the development of Islam had increased the power of the Gowanese. Even it grew as the most powerful kingdom in the east part of this archipelago. They sent troops to dominate areas of Lombok and Flores (Parimarta, 2002).

When the Gowanese came to Manggarai for trading (Pirés, 1944: 202; Koentjaraningrat, 1964), although done in an unsystematic way, some of their people introduced Islam to the local people in a very modest way (Yusuf, 1988). Some married with local people and asked them to embrace Islam. Since the Gowanese kingdom expanded to Manggarai in 1626, Islam was well developed in north coast (Reo and Pota), west coast (Labuan Bajo) and south coast (Nanga Lili and Nanga Ramut). Until now there are a lot of Muslims in those areas.

During the Bimanese occupation a more systematic Islamization was done. They introduced a more modern Islam than the Gowanese did. They invited imam to give *dakwah* to the people. Since that period people had been introduced with

sholat and “*rukun Islam*”. Even so, trading activity was still considered as their priority. In addition, they tended to spread the religion merely around coastal areas where business activities were centered. It was also too difficult for them to go to the interior land due to geographical and safety reasons. It is not surprised if the Muslim had existed on the coastal areas.

Since the 18th century Islamization had weakened particularly due to the Sultan Abdul Hamid’s policy. He wrote a letter dated on April 17th, 1787, stating that the Buginese, Makasarese and Gowanese were forbidden to stay near the Manggarai people “because the Manggaraians could destroy their religion (Islam) and culture. The Bimanese should live on coastal areas (Coolhaas, 1942: 328-360). In addition, the indigenous people liked to hunt pig and eat pork which was considered as *haram* for Muslim. Pig was an important animal for doing traditional rituals. This made difficult for them to affiliate to Islam religion. When the Bimanese power on its colonial areas slowly weakened, Islamization also moved very slowly (Wacaana, no year:125). Mostly Islamic communities still lived in coastal areas. When the Bimanese weakened the authority of *Adak Todo*, the local leader increased. Even though the *Adak Todo* received the Bimanese’ influences, they actually did not embrace Islam as their religion. Consequently, Islamization was not encouraged in Manggarai (Robot, 2009; Toda, 1999).

2.3.3. Dutch Colonialism and the Manggaraian's Communities

2.3.3.1. The Coming of the Dutch

On December 31st, 1799, the VOC, the Dutch trading company was claimed bankrupt. All of their assets were taken over by Dutch government. It started colonialism era over East Indies. The Dutch set Batavia as their political centre. From Batavia they extended to other islands outside Java. Flores was one target. Before the Dutch formally occupied Manggarai they sent several of their people to investigate about the Manggarain people, the land and in particular about the Bimanese domination over the Manggaraians. In 1847, Governor General J.J. Rouchusse (1845-1851) sent H. Zollinger to investigate Bimanese domination over Manggarai. He arrived in Berit (Bari), west north coast, at July 12th, 1847. He was there only several hours and found poor information about the domination of Bimanese at that place. The second messenger was Freijss, a merchant. He did more than one trips: in November-December 1854, March 1855 and May-Augustus 1855. He visited some places in Manggarai. He reported abundant information about the local kingdom, the people, the trade activity, the natural resources, etc. Some of his notes were actually wrong. The Dutch also sent Arthur Wichmann in 1888 and C.J. van Schelle in 1889, all of which were sent to investigate mineral and metal in that land. They found "nothing". In 1890 J. W. Meerburg was ordered to collect ethno-historic and political reality of the land, to investigate of mineral resource and other related information. The last messenger

was Houdt who arrived in Pota in 1891. He was tasked to investigate of trading activity and mineral resources as well (Toda, 1999: 173-205).

In 1907 the Dutch did a military invasion in Flores known as “*Inland Flores Operation*” (*Operasi Flores Pedalaman*) or Pacification Operation (*Pax Neerlandica*) commanded by H. Christoffel. This is one of “the bloodiest events in the history of the Dutch” that killed at least a thousand of Flores people (Dietrich, 1982). On August 9th, 1907 Christoffel’s troops arrived in Ende and started to attack people they met. The troops slowly moved to the west and arrived in the land of Manggarai on October 13th, 1907.

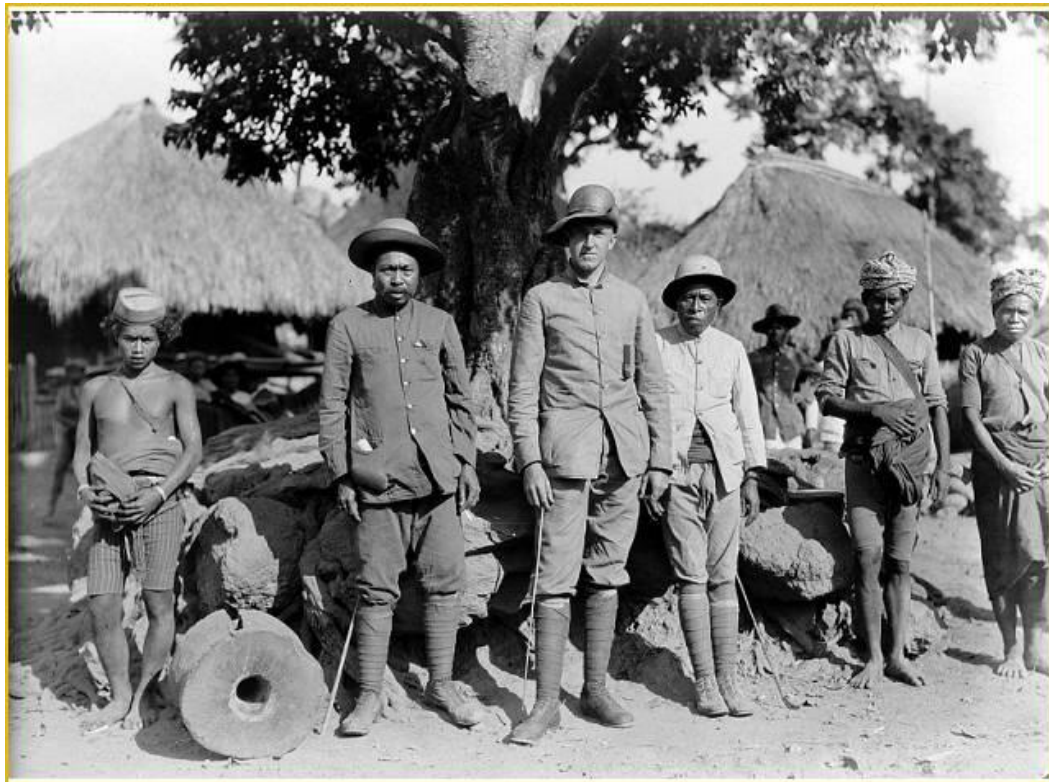
As they arrived in Manggarai, the Dutch offered a “friendship” strategy that they would not attack the people and would acknowledge the authority of the local leaders, i.e. the Kings of Todo-Pongkor. But it did not last long. The Dutch broke their agreement. As the consequence, the wars between the Dutch and the people could not be avoided. During 35 years of its occupation in Manggarai there were a lot of wars such as Rampas Papang (March 1909), Rampas Kuwu (August 1909), Rampas Wetik (1909) and Rampas Pacar (August 1909). The Manggaraians tried hard to defend their land and authority. Colonialism left a deep wound for the Manggaraians. In 1942 the Dutch had to surrender to the Japan. All of the Dutch people were chased away from Dutch Indies, including from Manggarai. In 35 years of its occupation, here are some of the Dutch influences to the Manggaraians.

2.3.3.2. Ruteng as the Centre and Its Impact to Local Authority

At first the Dutch established their “office” in Todo, in the area of Adak Todo-Pongkor, the highest authority in Manggarai. But as the Dutch acted arrogantly toward local people, many of the Todo-Pongkor leaders did not respect to them. This forced the Dutch to find a new place as their centre. In addition, Todo was considered not a good place for living due to geographical obstacle to reach that place and due to the lack of water. Finally they chose Ruteng in the centre of Manggarai. This would make it easy for the Dutch to control whole area of Manggarai.

When the Dutch moved to Ruteng in July 1909, some of the Todo-Pongkor leaders moved too. The Dutch set and established Ruteng as a “town”. Houses, offices, market, health centre, schools, roads were opened that made Ruteng as a most modern town in Manggarai. At the same time, this slowly weakened the position Todo-Pongkor both in terms of authority and region. Ruteng became the centre and Todo-Pongkor positioned as the periphery. This worsened when the Catholic missionaries also chose Ruteng as the centre of their mission and Church hierarchy. When the power of the Catholic became stronger the position of local leader, on contrary, became marginalized. When the Indonesian proclaimed its independence, at first, the Todo king was automatically appointed as the *bupati* (regent). But it did not continue. Since the Indonesian political system changed, the power of local leader changed too. Todo remained marginal. Today, Ruteng is one of the busiest towns in Flores while Todo is just a

small village. Since several decades, the local government has promoted Todo as one of tourist destination because of its history and traditional old houses and cultures.



The Dutch in Manggarai circa 1930s. Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

2.3.3.3. Road System

As the colonial ruled in East Indies, the first Dutch program was to open road that connected one region with another region that made possible for them to control the people. The first road construction in Manggarai was started in 1926 and ended in 1929. It continued Flores “highway” from Larantuka to Ngada that had been constructed since 1915. This new road then connected Aimere (Ngada)

and Reo via Ruteng. “Small roads” then were opened to connect villages to this Flores “highway”. Nowadays people enjoy of this effort. But it was not the same for the people in the past.

In addition to the impact of “forced labor” that caused many of people died, the road construction program in particular had caused culture shock to the Manggaraians. It is explained above that for the Manggaraians land, forest, river, etc. have social and sacred functions and symbols. They are not merely the matter of ground for settlement, farming or road. Land is alive and belongs to their ancestors, generation and the spirits as well. Therefore, the Dutch government programs were disaster for the land and for the Manggaraians community. When the road had been constructed many people were forced to move from their villages and settled their houses near the roads. Besides causing culture shock, this also started deforestation and desacralization as well. It also changed social structure.

2.3.3.4. Health and Resettlement

In 1923-1924, M. Ave Lallement, a doctor from Netherlands, conducted research on public health. The result was 100% of people suffered from diseases *ankylostomosis* (roundworms) and *Ascaris Lumbricoides*. Therefore he recommended that the Manggaraians should not dwell in their big house because the sunlight could not reach the spaces underneath the house, the place to live worms.

As is known, Manggaraian traditional houses were very big and could be occupied by hundreds of people. It had no windows. People usually raised animals and threw dirty things on the ground floor/under the main floor. Since the kitchen was not separated, the houses were smoky too. In early of 20th century, besides rounded shape houses, there were also *mbaru lempang*, square shaped houses, which could be populated up to 400 people.



A house in Manggarai in early of 20th century.
Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

Accordingly, the Dutch forced people to move from their “unhealthy” and “unhygienic” villages and houses to new areas and houses. The Dutch helped people constructing a smaller house that was called as *mbaru meters*. The sun could reach underneath such kind of houses.

Once, Willem Coolhaas, a Dutch *controuler* working between the years 1926-1927 in Ruteng, saw something else. When he started working, the resettlement programs from big house to smaller one was running. He concluded that it seemed that people started to feel weird with the power of the spirit who submitted to the Dutch authorities. So this was good for the work of Catholic missionaries who were actively spreading the new religion for local residents. He wrote this:

This was, according to Manggarai people, something extraordinary. Apparently the spirit had no power. At least they had to bow to the authority of the Europeans. This was the right moment for the missionaries to continue their work with more success than before. They were able to fill in the empty place caused by the proof of the spirit's weakness. This happened just one year before my arrival. Since then the victory of Christianity has become absolute (Steenbrink, 2007: 98-99).

It was not easy experiences for people. Leaving home and their ancestral village meant to deny the spirits and ancestors. It shook their identity. But under the Dutch military forces, the people had to leave their homes and rebuilt new villages. Some still kept their houses, in particular the old generation. In Waé Rebo in south Manggarai, for instance, the people chose not to leave their traditional villages and houses. In fact, neglecting of ancestral houses in many cases were very often reducing the role of the village leaders. It also impacted in disappearing some traditional rituals which should be done only in a big traditional house. This also happened in Kai, Sumba, Batak, and Kalimantan (Steenbrink, 2007: 99).

2.3.3.5. Schools

In the field of education, by introducing school and forcing people to send their children to schools, the Dutch forced new ideas what so called as an awareness to study to the Manggaraian. The schools, in turn, would create “a new and modern generation” that was trained to be like “western person”. Schools were the place to spread new moral, knowledge and life style that were very different with what the society had before. At school the students did not learn about their culture again. They were taken off from their own culture. But it could be denied that education also gave many positive impacts to the Manggaraians.

2.3.3.6. Agricultural

Since 1920 the Dutch had introduced rice farming to the local people. The “King of Manggarai”, Mr. Alexander Baroek, participated in this program. He sent some *dalus* and their people to Bima to learn how to plant paddy. People were also taught about new farming method and new commodities such as cassava, coffee, and several kinds of trees. This means that local communities slowly redirected from food gathering to subsistence agricultural (Janggur, 2008: 53; Toda, 1999). It has caused deforestation and desacralization of the land. Some of land conflicts among people in the years later would probably root in this program.

2.3.4. Japanese Occupation

The Dutch and its allies were defeated by Japan in 1942. Consequently they had to go out from their colonial lands that belonged to the Japan. The Japan entered Manggarai through Reo. They arrested the rest Dutch troops and the Catholic missionaries. The presence of Japan in Manggarai was shorter than the Dutch. From governmental system side, the Japan just continued the system that had been developed by the Dutch. Forced labor for constructing roads, buildings and bridges were prolonged. The Japanese were not interested in Manggaraian culture, beliefs and practices. Their interests were politic and economic. In 1945 the Japan was defeated and Indonesia took challenges to declare its independence (Sato, 152; Toda, 1999).

In the time between the coming of the Dutch and the Japan, the Divine Word Missionaries (the SVD, *Societas Verbi Divini*) started to introduce Catholicism to the Manggaraian. The arrival of the missionaries and their activities to introduce Catholicism brought most drastic and tremendous changes to many aspects of life of the Manggaraian traditional communities more than what the people experienced in the era of Bimanese, Gowanese, Dutch and Japanese. How and why? The answer is on the next chapters.

CHAPTER III

MISSION FROM THE EAST:

CATHOLICISM IN FLORES

When the Divine Word Missionaries started to introduce Christianity to the Manggaraians at western part of Flores in early of 20th century, the Catholic Church in Eastern Flores was three centuries old (Steenbrink and Aritonang, eds., 2008; Betray, 1974; Steenbrink, 2007). At first, it was the Dominican Portuguese missionaries who deployed Catholicism to the Florenese. They worked for three centuries (16th-19th). In 19th century, the Jesuits and the Dutch diocesan priest continued their mission. All of them did not expand their mission to the Manggaraians. Even so, Catholicism in Manggarai should be understood in the whole context of Catholicization process in Flores.

This chapter explains a brief history of Catholicism in Flores. Even though a history of Catholicism in a place was truly unique in comparison with other places in Flores, there were also some similarities. This chapter is an attempt to give general overview with the missionaries' theological backgrounds, motivations, methods and strategies as its focuses. It also includes some aspects on the development of the Church in Flores and its influences to the people.

This chapter is organized as follows. It starts with an exploration on religions and sociopolitical organization of the Flores people before the arrival of Catholic missionaries. Then it presents several phases of the coming of missionaries to the island: the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and the Divine Word Missionaries. It finally ends with the exploration on the impact of Catholic mission to the Flores people.

3.1. Religions and Socio-Political Organizations of the Flores People Prior to Catholicism

Flores is geographically shaped by hundreds of mountains, valleys, precipice, scarp and dangerous south beaches that makes difficult to reach and to unite one to other places. Not until the early of 20th century people knew about “modern road”, the stone and asphalt construction ones. Unsurprisingly, it was almost impossible to have common social and political organizations for the whole land. People lived in separates villages with distinctive customs, beliefs, traditions and socio-political organizations. There were no single languages to unite people of the islands. There have been more than twenty local languages and more dialects spoken by the Flores people.

Before the world religions were spread in Southeast Asia, this vast area had its own religions: native religions and indigenous beliefs. From European reports it was known that native religions were various. There were also some similarities among them such as on their story about human creation, their

worship to the cosmos, and their knowledge about nature, disaster and spirit, their relation to the spirit and ancestors, and their sacred ceremonies and offerings (Andaya and Ishii, 1992:510). People in Flores shared the same reality. The original religion of all the islands was a kind of animism which was uniquely practiced and organized between one and another tribal or village. Ancestor worships were common for the people in the whole island. They believed that the world was ordered and surrounded by spirits and ancestors who granted them prosperity, good luck and fertility but also who sent them catastrophes, diseases and disasters. To communicate with the spirits, people had to do certain rituals and give special offerings.

Monotheism was not considered as their religions' character. People worshiped to different spirits and divine beings. Moon, star, sun, earth, and the whole cosmos were the manifestation of the spirits. The universe was also under their controls. People of Solor, for instance, attributed the spirit as *Lera-Wulang* (Sun and Moon) (Verheijen, 1991: 11-12; Verheijen, 1951). People in Adonara, Alor, Pantar, Kedang, Lio, shared the same name in their local languages. The tribes in central Flores named their Supreme Being as *Lewo Wulang*, *Amapu*, *Deot*, *Du'a Ngga'e* (Dubois, 1944: 25). The Manggaraian called *Ema eta Ende wa* or *Ronan eta Winan wa*. There were still more names.

In addition to animism, before Catholic missionaries printed their foot to the island, Islam was already there. It grew well particularly at the coastal areas. It was not exactly known who introduced the religion for the first time. It could be introduced by the Bimanese people and the Gowa-Makasar (South Sulawesi)

people. The two were important kingdoms of Islam. Both of them took important roles in the process of Islamization in the years 1000-1600 at east areas to East Java (Pluvics, 1995: 16). Islamization was also probably introduced by the Javanese and the Arabic traders who searched for market stuff before 16th century throughout the archipelago (Slametmuljana, 1979). When Catholic missionaries came to this island, religious competitions and rivalry significantly happened as well as economic and political contentions. This influenced to process of Catholicization.

From socio-political structure, there was also no single political power united Flores as whole. Every village or a group of villages had their own headmen, who had different name/title. Some “*rajas*” (small king) enjoyed a kind of “regional” supremacy like the Raja of Larantuka at east Flores, the Raja of Ende at the centre of the island, *Adak* Todo in Manggarai at western part of Flores, etc. In the 14th century the Kingdom of Majapahit claimed to dominate whole archipelago. Yet the book of Javanese *kakawin Negarakertagama* by Mpu Prapanca did not mention Flores on their list as the lands east to East Java that were under the rule of the Majapahit Kingdom (Slametmuljana, 1979: 141). There is no strong evidence to proof that all people of Flores were directly and administratively under the control of that kingdom. It seemed that people from the kingdom came only to certain places and related with few people. In fact, most villages were politically free.

In 16th-18th century people of Gowa (Makasar) and Bima (Sumbawa) came to this island looked for market stuff and slaves. They claimed that they had

gained control and monopoly over some areas of Flores in particular the western part. Toda (1999: 29-30, 57ff) said that in many cases foreign domination, particularly the Bimanese and Gowanese, was not really true. It was the outsiders who claimed of foreign domination over the people. In fact, the indigenous people neither acknowledged their claims nor experienced direct control over their lives. It means that political claims were not always true as they merely came from one side rather than from both sides. Having power over foreign lands was very common to show one's sovereignty in front of his/her friends or rivals. In addition, most of history books were written by the outsiders, using their perspectives and for their own interests. Therefore it would be easy to the writers to manipulate the narration for their own benefits.

3.2. Solor-Flores Mission: The Coming of Catholicism

3.2.1. Portuguese Missionaries' Efforts: The History

The 15th century was known as the "Years of Invention" in Portugal (Andaya, 1981). The Portuguese were searching for a sea route to Asia for trading. At that time, spices were worth many times weight in gold (Andaya and Andaya, 1982: 55). In 1511 Portuguese conquered Malacca. From Malacca they expanded to Ternate and Tidore, the main ports for spices. Once the Portuguese reached Southeast Asia, the missionaries followed. In 1534 Simon Vaz, a Portuguese priest made the first conversion for some people of Halmahera. It was

the beginning of Catholicism in what is now called as Indonesia. More missionaries followed and made many conversions around the southeastern island (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 25ff).

For local people, conversion to Catholic religion was done not merely because of religious reasons. It could be as the consequence of losing on a war against the Portuguese. It could also be as a strategy to get security assurance. By joining Catholicism, people could be part of the Portuguese ally to fight against other rival groups. For many other people, conversion was to follow their leader. As their leader was subjugated to the Portuguese and be baptized, the people had no other choice but followed (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 25-28). More missionaries then came and made more systematic services.

On faith education method and strategy, mission activities mainly aimed for baptism. It would be very happy for the missionaries if there were people who came and joined their religion. The missionaries were willing to live in danger and fear situation for “the expanse of Church and the Kingdom of God”. Without great religious zeal no one could survive doing mission in the dangerous time of war. But at another side, local people also had to struggle against something new and different entering into their life and culture.

To keep and maintain people’s faith, the missionaries regularly celebrated mass and taught the people simple knowledge on Christian faith and theology. They guided people how to be a good Catholic and how to adopt Catholic morals, values and practices in their daily life. In order to be a good Catholic, the most important things the missionaries insisted that the people should leave their “old

faith”, i.e. the practices of paganism. In terms of method, many missionaries referred to Francis Xavier who served around Mollucas Islands in 16th century. The way he planted and grew faith to the people in the island became the model for other Portuguese missionaries, including those who worked in Flores (Prior, 2008). Xavier’s words were used like a “credo” or “main syllabi and strategy” in establishing Christian community and in providing faith education for the people.

He wrote his method as follows:

My method, on arriving in a heathen village, was to assemble the men and boys apart, and begin to teaching them to make the Sign of the Cross three times as a confession of faith in Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one God. I then recite in a loud voice the General Confession, the Creed, the Commandments, the Pater Noster, the Ave Maria, and the Salve Regina. ... All, little and big, then repeated the prayers after me, and that done I gave them an instruction on the articles of faith and the Commandments... I required them one and all to ask pardon for God for the sins of their past lives, and that publicly and loudly, in the presence of heathens who did not desire to become Christians. ... I asked them severally, young and old, whether they believed sincerely each articles of the Creed, to which they replied that they did. I then went again through the creed article by article, asking after each if they believed it, and they answered me, with their arms folded on their breasts in the form of cross, “I do believe”. Thereupon, I baptized in the selfsame way. The baptisms over, I told the new Christians to demolish the shrines of the idols, and saw to it that they crush the images into dust. I could not express to you the consolation it gave me to watch the idols being destroyed by the hands of those who so recently used to worshiped them. I then went from village to village making Christians, and in each place I left a written copy of the doctrine and prayers in their language, with instructions that were to be taught daily, each morning and evening. My joy in doing all this was greater than I could ever tell you by letter or even explain to you were we face to face (Brodick, 1952).

In the early of 16th century, the Portuguese expanded from Molluccas (Maluku) to Solor and Flores (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 73; KWI:

1974). At first the Portuguese merchants came to Solor - Flores for trading. At the same time Catholicism was introduced and deployed. As it is explained above, when the Catholicism was spread, the local people were living as religious communities who adopted animistic-cosmological religion and belief systems. Islam was already there too. Consequently the missionaries had to “compete” and work hard to be able to “conquer” the Muslims and to convince the local residents to a new religion (Catholic). It should also be remembered that the Catholicization was also run concurrently with economic/trade activity and colonialism spirit (End, 1988: 35-38) to conquer new areas (Bosch, 1997:353-354; Bosch, 1993). Therefore it was not surprising that the activity of spreading religion (Catholic) often had great resistance and opposition both from local community and from their competitors as well.

Reid (1993: 147-148) believes that competition occurred in eastern regions of Indonesia during 16th-18th centuries was not just a matter of trade but also of religious competition. According to Schrieke, as quoted by Azra, (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 10), the expansion of Portuguese should also be seen in connection with the Crusades in Europe and the Middle East. The hatred against Muslims in the times of war was filled the soul of the European missionaries in the 16th century. Schrieke states:

Religious zeal, nourished in the tradition of the Crusades and the remembrance of the bitter with the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, certainly continued to be an essential motivation ... The religious element remained a factor of significant in Spanish politics in later times as well. For the inhabitants of the (Iberian) peninsula a Mohammedan was a ‘Moor’, an object of abhorrence (Schrieke, 1955: 38; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008: 10).

It should be noted that Catholicization in these days was influenced by “old” theological spirit. The missionaries believed that Christianity was the only one way to save people. To be the member of Church was the entry door to heaven. Baptism was regarded as the main key to reach it. Unsurprisingly, baptizing as many possible as people was the most important target of the Catholic missionaries at that time. Influenced by this theological background, many missionaries had lack of respect to those who had different faith and beliefs. Indigenous people and the Muslims were perceived “infidels” who should be converted. They had to win their souls for heaven (Prior, 1988: 6). The more people being baptized the better it could be for the church.

Before the Portuguese came to Flores and the surrounding islands, the Arab, Indian and Bengali traders had come to Timor Island. They searched for Sandalwood which was in great demand for preparing perfumes, incense and medicine. When the Portuguese conquered Malacca they quickly became aware of the sandalwood trade. Among the Portuguese traders there were pious men, who talked about their faith with the indigenous people. Through this was the way Catholicism came to this land.

No clear historical evidence shows when and who was the first to introduce Catholicism to the people of Flores and Solor. There is a story telling that in around 1562 A Taveira, OP, a Portuguese priest, baptized 5,000 people in Timor, Solor and Ende Island. There are no reliable data about his activities. At that time, the bishop of Goa had not been established yet. It means that he was not sent by the Goa Church. Another story tells that a layman, João Soares converted

about two hundreds of people in Lewonama on Solor. In 1562, the newly first appointed bishop of Malacca, Mgr. Jorge de S. Luzia, OP, a Dominican Friar, got information from the Portuguese traders that there were a quite number of Catholics in Solor who were in need of spiritual guidance of a clergy (KWI, 1974, vol.2: 59ff).

In the mid of 16th century, in 1562, the diocese of Malacca Church, the only diocese for territories in Southeast Asia, sent three Dominican missionaries, Antonio da Cruz, Simao das Chagas and Alexio, to Solor-Flores to handle mission work in eastern Flores (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 75; See also: Heuken, 2002; Uran, 1985;). They built a simple convent and a small church made from wood and palm leaves. The buildings were surrounded with a fence of palisades in order to protect them from the opponent groups who might unpredictably attack. It was true. After several years they were there, the Javanese traders attacked their convent, but fortunately a few cannon shot from a Portuguese ship just arriving from Mollucas made the attackers dispersed quickly. This victory enhanced the prestige of the mission. They were considered as a strong group that could guarantee the safety of the people. Consequently the people allied to their group. As the result some local leaders of Solor were given themselves to be baptized. Their people then followed. This would help people to be protected from their enemies. They were the first Catholic community (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 76; Heuken, 2002).

In order to protect the friars and local people from more attacks, the missionaries decided to build a sturdy limestone fort. A church of Our Lady of

Mercy was established inside that fort in 1566. The Church became a new centre of the people. The missionaries taught to the people to pray, sing, celebrate liturgy in Portuguese style. Many of them adopted Portuguese-Catholic names and spoke Portuguese. More missionaries were continuously sent from Malacca to Solor. As the result they could advance their mission and built new church in Solor, Adonara and Larantuka, Flores as well (Steenbrink, 2003; KWI, 1974).

Until the end of 16th century missionary activities run slowly but sure. The lack numbers of the missionaries was one serious problem. There were probably only 64 Dominicans serving in those areas in the years between 1562 and 1606. They did not arrive all at once but in phases. Some of them did not stay long enough therefore the continuity of their pastoral works was very difficult. This made impracticable for them to improve skills in pastoral works and knowledge in local culture. Only few Dominicans had a chance to learn people's languages and culture. Some of them preferred to stay in one convent rather than to live permanently in a village. From the fort/convent they visited people in villages (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 79-80; Boelaars, 2005).

In addition to the lack number of missionaries, the slow development of mission was also caused by their deep involvement in "non-mission activity" such as in trading and even in military and affairs (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 80). Before the 17th century the Portuguese government did not consider Flores as part of its colony. Therefore the missionaries neither received salary nor had military support from the government. Their convent and church institution had to support them. It was not surprising if they had to engage in trading, collect

stuff and involve in war. This became boomerang for mission activity. People might show little respect to them. More than that, people perceived many missionaries as their rivals and opponents (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 80ss; Heuken, 2002; Uran, 1985).

In the early of 17th century, the mission was in bad condition because the Dutch trade company (the VOC) attacked the Portuguese and took their fort in Solor in 1614. Since the mission activity was threatened, the missionary decided to move the mission centre from Solor to Larantuka. A year later the Dutch did not consider worthwhile to keep the fort of Solor to be occupied. They destroyed and left it in December 1615. The missionaries could continue spreading the Gospel to the Flores people. In 1651 a new mission post was established in Maumere, western to Larantuka (Berkhoft and Enklaar, 1994). The slowly mission moved to the west.

During the second half of 18th century the mission situation was poor. There were only eight (8) missionaries in the whole area between 1754 and 1804. After 1800 there were no priests in Larantuka. The Church almost stopped growing. In 1834 the Dominicans were expelled from all Portuguese territories. Then the archbishop of Goa sent secular priests because the Diocese of Malacca was superseded by Rome in 1838 and was united with Goa. Only one or two traveling missionaries periodically visited Larantuka, Lela, Sikka and some other places. The tasks of the missionaries were taken over by lay people. In Larantuka the old *Confreria Reinha Rosari* (a brotherhood group that devoted to Virgin Mary) and the *raja* tried hard to keep Catholic faith alive. The local king often

regarded himself as the worldly representative of heavenly *Renha*, the real “*Queen*” of Larantuka (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 93-94).

In 1838 as the result of internal conflict of Churches in Europe, Dominican friars were dispelled out of Portugal. In 1838 the Diocese of Malacca was erased and all the ecclesiastical districts under the diocese were given to Diocese of Goa in India. This weakened the Dominican mission in Southeast Asia regions, including in Flores. No Dominican friars worked in Flores anymore. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the political status of East-Flores and the islands around Adonara and Alor was still undecided. One or two Portuguese friars from Dili, Timor occasionally visited their flocks in Larantuka, Sikka and Maumere. Due to financial problems, the Governor of Dili had to borrow a sum of money from the Dutch. When it proved impossible to pay back around *f* 80.000, the Portuguese had to give some territories to the Dutch for an additional sum of money instead of paying back the loan (Steenbrink, 2003: 73; Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 230).

In 1851 the Dutch formally took over Larantuka and Wureh as the guarantee for the first loan. From that year a treaty about the freedom of religion for native Catholics in Flores was prepared. In 1854 the Dutch parliament rejected the treaty because it only guaranteed freedom of Catholics adherents. The Dutch asked for the same formulation concerning the Reformed Church members in the Dutch enclave of Mancatar, which became a Portuguese area, though there was no single Protestant resident. A new treaty was signed in Lisbon in 1859, which promised freedom of religion in all parts exchanged between the two countries.

On April 20th, 1859 the Dutch finally had already taken possession to all of Portuguese areas Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lomblen and surrounding areas with an additional of *f* 120.000 were given to the Portuguese (Ginkel, 1924; (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 230).

During three centuries of the Dominican Portuguese mission eras in Flores the farthest area they could reach to the west was Ende. They could not reach Manggarai at western part of the island. But many people from eastern areas went to some places in Manggarai working for pearl divers and traders. Some of them had been baptized as Catholic before they went to Manggarai. Therefore they were the first Catholics living in Manggarai. In the early of 20th century, most of teachers teaching at first schools in Manggarai were people from Larantuka and Maumere. They had affiliated to Catholicism and were under the influences of their parents' Portuguese-Catholic tradition. Unsurprisingly until now people in Manggarai still keep and use some "East Flores-Portuguese" words.

3.2.2. Some Notes on the Portuguese Missionaries' Mission Methods and Strategy

This part elaborates some critical reviews about the Portuguese missionaries' methods and strategies in establishing Catholic communities at Solor-Flores. It aims to see not merely the theological aspect of the people's conversion but also to understand the socio-political frameworks that shaped the catholicization process in Flores. Because there are similarities in methods and

strategies of the mission works in some places in Flores, this part, in turn, also helps this study understand the process of Catholicization in Manggarai.

First, it should be taken into account that, the mission activity was done under dangerous, unsafe and insecure conditions. The missionaries of the 16th century had to go to the new area and to meet people they did not know before. They left their homeland, crossed dangerous ocean and had to be ready for pirates and rival groups' attacks. They had not yet developed a theory or method of missionary work. No missionaries had experience and the people they encountered were completely unknown to them. The differences in languages, customs, practices and above all the beliefs were not only unknown but also incomprehensible for the missionaries. They had to proceed by trial and error. The mission activity could not be done unless if they had strong religious motivations. The mission service then should be seen as sacrifice works.

Second, it is important to note that the Portuguese's religious activities were inherent with economic and political interests. The spirit to spread religion to new worlds was mixed with the zeal as well as greedy passion for market, power and wealth. At first, to catholicize the people, negotiation, political and military approaches were important to be afforded. In general, the missionaries had to try to win headmen and the heads of kampongs/villages which would encourage their people to follow. Therefore, Christian identity could be the result of victory over groups with different religions. The controversies among groups in Solor and Flores during 16th-19th century were part of religious resistance between Muslims, Catholics and pagan.

Third, how did the missionaries plant and grow Christian community in Solor-Flores during 16th-18th centuries? In line with the theological background of the centuries, quantity number of baptized people was the priority. Baptism was the main purpose. Preparation for baptism was often very short and incomplete. The instruction could be given, but it was so superficial. It was not deeply taught in order to have strong faith and good Christian live. The baptisms of the nobility were celebrated with great solemnity in order to impress the people. People received Portuguese names that they passed on proudly in their families until today (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 90-94). In some places a simple school was established where the children were given better instruction on Catholicism. People were also introduced with solemn celebrations, procession and devotions. Those celebrations appealed the people to Christianity. When missionaries were not available, baptismal rituals and processions during holy week were still held by villagers. During the long period without catechetical instruction some abuses infused into the Church's ceremonies such as in Larantuka because they did no longer understand until an intensive evangelization was begun after the arrival of the Dutch diocesan priests.

Fourth, the mission work was not dominated as missionaries' effort. Due to lack of missionaries, the roles of head villages or *raja* were very significant in maintaining people's faith and in growing community. The brotherhood of the Rosary in several places, but above all the *Confreria Renha Rosari* of Larantuka, played eminent role in keeping their faith alive, though sometimes under the influence of animistic notions.

Fifth, how did the missionaries perceive local people's beliefs, tradition and custom? All missionaries before 20th century were educated under what so call as "old" theology that showed little respect to other religions including to the practices of paganism. Catholic was the only one and true religion. The missionaries had to win the battle over paganism. They would try as much as possible to destroy pagan symbols and changed them with the Christian ones. Local religions were forbidden and considered as heathen that could demolish Christian faith. In Solor-Flores, crosses were erected by the Dominicans to show that the sovereignty of Christianity over paganism. Those crosses were still kept in some villages till the end of 1920s. During the period of decline in the 19th century these crosses might be regarded as magic symbols that functioned to fight against illness, bad harvest, war and other calamities.

In fact, the effort to destroy paganism could not always be done by the Dominican-Portuguese missionaries. There were some reasons. Since the missionaries had lack of number and of time, it made impossible for them to fully control the people's activity. The Dominicans friars also did not live together with the Catholic communities in villages. They preferred to live in their convent and fort and regularly visited people. The unsafe condition and conflict among rival groups (trade, religion and power) forced them to do so. For the Dominicans it would be very grateful if some people gave to be baptized (Prior, 1988).

Sixth, even though the Solor-Flores people affiliated to Catholicism, many of them did not abandon their old traditions and beliefs. The people mixed or

practiced them for different purposes. There was no “pure” Catholic, dualism was potentially practiced.

3.3.The Dutch Government and Clergy at Eastern part of Flores in 19th Century

3.3.1. Colonialism and Mission Works

On December 31st, 1799, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) was declared bankrupt and its assets were taken over by the Dutch State. This changed political and religious situation in East Indies. The Dutch chose Batavia as the headquarters. From that place they controlled the archipelago and expanded to new regions they did not dominate previously. When the Dutch came to Flores in 1859, its head of army announced to the Florenese that they might still maintain their religion (Catholic). This was to support the Dutch and Portuguese treaty which stated that “freedom of religion is guaranteed for the indigenous people in the areas taken over by this agreement” (Vriens, 1972: 98-149).

At another side, the Florenese would like to keep the Catholic faith because they obeyed to the Dominican Portuguese friar, Fr. Gregorio Maria Barreta’s message saying that “you may change your flag, but not your religion” (Steenbrink, 2007: 7). In addition, for the Dutch it would be better if Flores was catholicized rather than being Islamized. As it is explained above, the Crusades war in Europe and Middle East in the middle century had flamed hatred towards

Muslims. Therefore the idea to give Flores Island to Catholicism in order to constrain Islam was an appropriate and strategic step.

The Dutch, as Europeans in general, had also very negative perspective about animism and paganism practices which were considered as heathen. Beside it was seen not as a true religion, traditional ways of life could be a barrier for modernism program the Dutch wanted to run in their colony territories. In the name of modernity the Dutch then intensely destroyed local religious symbols and banned the people's religious practices.

On September 12th, 1859 by the decision of Governor General a letter was sent from Larantuka to the Apostolic Vicar, Mgr. P. Vrancken, in Batavia asking for sending Catholic missionary to Larantuka:

While waiting for approval by parliament, this government wants to prepare now already the possibility of the execution of this special requirement, by providing the residents of the most important location of our new possession, Larantuka with the convenience to practice the Roman Catholic worship, which seems to be practiced in that area and for which the presence of a Roman Catholic clergyman is required (Steenbrink, 2003: 73).

Mgr. P. Vrancken was very happy receiving this surprising letter but unfortunately the number of clergy for all of Dutch Indies colony territory was only seven; some were ill and some were on leave. He needed one year to send a diocesan priest, Jan Sanders to Flores. Sanders was born in Leiden in 1819 and had worked in Dutch Indies since 1847 (Steenbrink: 2007, 134).

When arriving in Larantuka in the mid of 1860, Sanders reported that there were two surviving Catholic communities with about 7,200 members in Larantuka and 3,200 members in Sikka (Muskens, 1972: 103). There were already seven

churches and twelve chapels in Flores and Adonara. All of which were run by lay people led by a *raja* (a small king) or head villages. He found many problems in organizing the parish including in establishing church building. He was very surprised at the contradiction between the pride of being a Catholic and the resistance against clergy. During his visit in mid of 1861 to Sikka, people were not willing to welcome him in their houses. People had bad experiences with the Portuguese friars, who usually asked for some remuneration for all their services, demanding food, oil, wax and other stuff. Not only the Portuguese did it but also the people who accompanied them. A pastoral visit could become a robbery where everybody tried to acquire as much as possible (Steenbrink, 2003: 132; Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 231). As a Dutch priest, Sanders was salaried as high-ranking colonial officials and had no the material problems as the Portuguese priest had.

Another difficulty for him was how to find his position in Catholic tradition and among his flock in East Flores. As mentioned above, when the number of clergy was limited in 18th century, Catholicism in Flores was led by the *Confreria da Rosario*. It was a Brotherhood of Rosary leading by the Raja/King as its president and was assisted by a number of leaders. They lived traditional Catholic practices which were mixed with their traditional pagan rituals, in particular during priestless time. Christmas, the procession of Good Friday and the Feast of Rosary were of their greatest ceremonies (Priskaty and Riberu, 1963). They celebrated the occasions in very beautiful and luxurious way. A feast could be prepared for months before it was performed. It then could take seven days to

celebrate it. During the time they were indeed on a feast or a party. There were a lot of rituals done in several places. People, men and women, danced, sang, prayed, all were in Portuguese language. All were beautiful and well organized. People deeply participated. They would sleep or stay long night in a big tent built for that purposes. They ate and drank delicious food and drink. Some drunk and yelled out loud.

All of which surprised Sanders who was educated and maintained Latin official liturgy with the Dutch style, of course. He could not interfere with their local Catholic traditions. He did not know what to do. He was so amazed but at the same time he was so shock. During those Catholic feasts he could merely act as a spectator, not more. All rituals were led by the *Confreria*. It seemed that people did not give him chance to lead the ceremonies he did not know at all. During his two years of works he actually baptized people, mostly children of the people. He opened a school and taught the children Christian teachings. It was actually an “illegal school” because was established without the Dutch government permission (Jebarus, 2008: 27). He left Flores in late 1861 due to health problems. His successor Caspar Franssen, another diocesan priest, arrived in December 1861 (Steenbrink, 2003: 79; Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2007: 232).

Caspar Franssen proposed a quick reform of this priest-less Portuguese remnant of Christianity but found no support with the local elite. He preached against polygamous practices of local elite and wanted a prominent role for himself in the liturgy. He also wanted to re-introduce proper Latin for the official

liturgy and Malay for hymn and praying the rosary. He failed like his successor. Until this day Catholics in Larantuka still cherish the special practices of great procession, a rosary prayed in broken Portuguese and the quite spectacular outfit of prominent people during the great procession (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008; 233ss).

It was quite long process, the transformation from lay-dominated ex-Portuguese Catholic tradition to nineteenth century clergy-dominated and Dutch-style Catholicism. In fact some practices never were fully eliminated. For the rest, it took the Dutch missionaries more than fifty years in order to be more or less able to use their style of Catholicism in the Larantuka. A major reason for this was the position of the *raja* (king), the Catholic one, the leader of the Brotherhood. Under the formal Portuguese rule from Dili the *raja* of Larantuka could behave more or less as an independent ruler. The boundaries of his realm were not clearly fixed, but he claimed sovereignty over a territory that extended to Sikka and Maumere to the west and also covered a number of villages in the Island of Adonara. Under the colonial rule, which was exercised, in fact, by the resident of Kupang, the *raja* saw the Dutch Catholic missionaries as both supporters and opponents. The most resident of Kupang for this period was Protestant. In 1862-1864 it was Isaac Esser who wanted to promote Protestantism whenever possible. The Catholic missionaries considered the *raja* of Larantuka as semi-independent ruler. This was most clear in the case of Don Lorenzo Diaz Viera Gondihno who took the dignity in 1887. Lorenzo was educated at the mission school and therefore it was hoped that he would transform East Flores into a truly Catholic

region. The clergy adapted the traditional anthem for the king at Sunday Mass and sang, *Domine salvum fac regem nostrum Laurentium*, Lord bless our King Lorenzo, until they were rebuked by the colonial officials that they were obligated to sing for the Dutch king, not for one of the lower Indonesians rulers (Steenbrink, 2003: 79; Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2007: 232).

Since both Sanders and Franssen failed to influence adult people to change their “Portuguese-Pagan-Christian tradition”, they chose to persuade children and young generation. Therefore they opened schools and introduced “proper” Catholics to that generation. They succeeded though older generations sometimes became angry with the children who did not respect and practice their old tradition anymore. This generation would be important agents and actors in catholicization Flores and in transforming people into Catholic community. Due to health problem, Caspar Franssen left Flores on October 1863 and was changed by G. Metz, a Jesuit priest arrived on April 17th, 1863. This started a new era for Jesuits missionaries to work in Flores.

3.3.2. Pagan-Christian Practices vs. Pure Catholic Practices

It was interesting that when the Portuguese weakened in the southeastern islands and followed by the weakening of the Dominican missionaries in Flores, the Florenese Catholic communities still kept maintaining their faith. With the absence of clergies among them they revived both Christian and old religions tradition. They combined the two. As the Dutch diocesan priests came they were

amazed and shock. The reason was simple. Most missionaries tended to consider the local people, the Florenese, as passive objects and receivers. If the people were baptized they were suppose to have same faith experiences the missionaries had. It was not true. People would receive new ideas but the acceptance would always mean negotiation and accommodation.

The traditional religion, too, was not as static as most missionaries supposed it was. It met the challenge posed by the new religion and by adapting itself and absorbing Christian elements in a creative way. Even when people had gone over to Christianity, traditional religions were not simply disappeared. They lived alongside the Christian faith. Usually, the first generation of Christians shunned all expression of their religious past.

From the beginning, traditional religion and culture also lived within Christian faith. The people received the Gospel, but from outset they interpreted it using a frame of reference of their own. The local Christian people lived the faith in their own way, which was inevitably quite different from the ways of the western missionary. Generally speaking, the Gospel was understood in terms of old magical and mythical worldview. This led to shifts in the understanding of the faith. Christians also tended to understand the Gospel as a new *adat*, a law whose prescriptions had to be followed as scrupulously as those of the ancient law. Sin was not so much a disruption of the believers' personal relationship with God, but rather a brake of some rules. The missionaries responded to this tendency by drawing up "Christian *adat* regulations", which contained prescriptions and prohibitions in matters such as church activities, marriage, burial ceremonies,

keeping or not keeping to traditional customs etc. The sacraments were often understood in a magical way.

Since the two Dutch priests, Sanders and Franssen, were educated under the influence of old theology that gave little respect to local culture and belief, conflicts between them and the people could not be avoided. Conflict here was not always understood as physical resistance but also conflicts in ideas and interest. From one side, the missionaries wanted to establish a pure Catholic community and from another side, people also had to live in their own ways, the way that was appropriate to their culture. Such kind of conflict would be continued to the later period of Catholicism in Flores and even until now.

3.4.The Coming of Jesuit Missionaries

3.4.1. The Jesuits' Works and Communities

G. Metz, a first Jesuit priest in Flores, arrived in Larantuka on April 17th, 1863. At first he assisted Caspar Franssen who was not in good condition and could not work alone for the communities. After Franssen left Flores due to his health problem, more Jesuits came to work in Flores. They were sent by their superior in Batavia under the control of the Bishop of Batavia. Jesuits had started to work in Dutch Indies since 1859. They made many conversion activities in archipelago. Besides working for communities, they built new schools in many regions. The schools were considered very good in quality. Jesuit congregation,

which was founded by Saint Ignatius of Loyola in 1534, has concerned about educational development since a long time. *Ratio Studiorum*, the basic document of educational system of the Jesuits, was very famous. They had a systematic and an integrative educational system. Schools introduced new way of thinking and living. Schools also become a very good place to introduce Catholicism and educate people in Christian faith. This was one strategy the Jesuits developed (Makmur, etc., 1993). Metz and the other Jesuits in Flores used the same strategy.

When Metz arrived in Larantuka, as his predecessors, he also complained about the Florenese people's Christian tradition, "What in fact do I face; Catholics with much pagan superstition or pagan with a little Christian power on them (Muskens, 1974: 417)? This clearly showed his stand on paganism. Even though he was not as progressive as Franssen in transforming people from their old tradition to what he considered as true Catholic tradition, Metz did really intended to do so. Metz complained how difficult was for him to convince people. People preferred to go to chapels led by *Confreria* rather than to the church led by missionaries.

In 1886 Metz was successful to celebrate a clergy-control Christmas and he became the main host. This was the first. He continued to set Latin liturgy at the Church or at least at parish and positioned the clergy as the centre. He also introduced the Malay, the "formal" language for the archipelago, but people did not like the idea. They mixed it with their language. His companions coming later did the same effort. Even though people slowly adapted new ways of being Catholic communities, they did not totally abandon their tradition. Until now

people in Larantuka and surrounding areas cherish to practice their ex-Portuguese Catholic tradition and Latin tradition as well.

Besides serving the “old Catholic flock”, the Jesuits searched for new places and “pagan” communities. When they arrived they made Larantuka their mission centre. By 1868 they had already begun to regularly visit Maumere with Cornelius Omtizigt as the first priest. He discovered small Catholic community of Sikka which was established by Portuguese missionaries. It was from Sikka he traveled to Lio, Ende and some hamlets at the centre of Flores Island. For faith education he composed a simple catechism in Malay-Sikkanese language. Many Jesuits priests were sent to Flores in the year between 1859 and 1913. Besides serving for “the old Catholic communities” they traveled to new places. They baptized as many as possible people, most were children of the villages leaders and landowners children. The missionaries simply requested parent’s permission. These children were left to grow up in a “pagan” environment, no different from that of un-baptized friend. Hundreds of children were baptized without being incorporated into a Church. The Jesuits sent *guru agama* (religious teacher) who could educate the children simple prayers (Prior, 1988: 17-18).

The difficulties the Jesuits usually complained were about people’s negative habit on polygamy, playing cards, gambling, cock fighting and heavy drink of *tuak/arak* (alcoholic gin). The most serious one was the people’s practice of avenger. If someone died and the people considered that the death was caused by black magic (*suanggi*), people would kill those being suspected. This caused serious conflict and long lasting hatred among people. In order to prevent the

habits they tried to persuade the local rulers. They urged the raja and village leaders to put an end of cruel custom and of punishing the killers (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 236).

3.4.2. Catholic Boys' and Girls' Schools and Catholicization

Some Jesuits had very good background in education field. Some had experiences managing schools before working in Flores. One important strategy to introduce Catholicism to the children was by inviting them to schools. Boys were taken from villages to study in Larantuka and Maumere. Generally, at the second grade the missionaries would baptize them. The elementary school in Larantuka was previously established by the Dutch diocesan priest and the Jesuits continued. "Maumere elementary school" began in 1874. Another school in Sikka was founded 10 years later in 1884 and another one was opened in Koting in 1887 (Jebarus, 2008: 28ff).

In 1874 there were three teachers in Larantuka: van Biggelaar, Torco Fernadez, a music teacher from Surabaya and Lambert or Petrus Suplanit from Ambon. In 1880 there were already 62 students in Larantuka; all were boys. All of them lived in boarding house. They studied reading, writing and simple mathematics. Malay was the official language for education. In 1869 people of Larantuka were infected by of smallpox epidemic. Many people died. After this tragedy, the Jesuits sent the smartest student to study health that they could take care of people. The Jesuit sent a student, Michael Lobato, to study at Batavia. He

was the first Florenese resident to be a doctor (Steenbrink, 2003: 189; Vriens, 1972: 113; Jebarus, 2008: 29-30).

When schools for boy were well developed, the Jesuits wanted to open schools for girls. They asked the Bishops of Batavia to send sisters to open school for girls in Flores. In 1878 some Franciscan sisters from Netherlands arrived and opened the first school in the same year. Twenty girls became the first students. They received same curriculum with the boys had. This school developed well and the students were 214 in 1902. In 1890, a new sister order, the Mercy, arrived in Sikka and opened another schools for girls. When the king of Sikka let his daughters to study at the school, people also sent their daughters too. The girls were trained “girls’ skill” such as cooking, knitting and sewing in addition to other regular subjects such as language, math and religious education. Schools become important place for catholicization. Once the children become students they would automatically be baptized. There was no choice. In 1887 the school for boys moved from Maumere to Lela and in 1889 the school for girls also moved due to unhealthy condition of Maumere (Steenbrink, 2003: 201-202 Jebarus, 2008: 33).

The development of school was amazing. In the early of 20th century there were five schools: two in Larantuka, two in Lela and one in Koting. In 1906 missionaries opened “religion school” in Waibalun, Leabo, Lewolaga, Konga and Lamalera, all were in East Flores, and in Maumere at Nele, Halat, Koting, Nita, Paga, Geliting, Ili, Bloro, and Wukak. In 1910 these schools were transferred into common schools. There were also schools set by Dutch government such as at

Lewoloba, Tanjung Bunga, (Flotim), and some places in Maumere and Ende in 1910. The school in Ende had all Muslim students with a Catholic teacher named Ignasius Ussin Diaz from Larantuka (Uran, 1974: 1104).

Since 1900 the school curriculum was developed. Students learnt didactic method to prepare them to be teachers for new schools. They also learnt science, health, history and sport. In 1910 the elementary schools in Larantuka and Lela were changed into higher level, the Standard School or *Vervolgschool/VVS*, a five years education (Jebarus, 2008: 38).

All of the students did not pay for schools. All were free. They lived in a dormitory. The Church gave them simple facilities for living and studying. One Dutch officer protested about it. Y.M. Kluppel, the officer, said that missionaries did educate people of Flores to be beggar instead of educating them to be autonomous and independent.

Historically, at first the Dutch government implemented liberal and secular system of schools throughout the Dutch East Indies. Its regulation issued on May 3, 1871 stated that teaching religion education was not allowed. If a private school could not implement this rule then the school would not be subsidized (Vriens, 1972: 143). This regulation caused burden to mission at Flores. From one side, the school was considered as the most effective way to disseminate and teach the Christian religion. From another side the mission had lack of fund to support and cover school budget. The missionaries continued to negotiate with the Dutch. In February 1911 they achieved an important decision taken at a high level meeting between the representatives of the Dutch from Batavia, from Kupang, the Dutch

representative in Flores and some missionaries who were led by Father Arnold van der Velden. One point of the decision stated “if the mission is able and willing, then the schools throughout Flores will be run by the Catholic mission” (Uran, 1991; Jebarus, 2008: 44-45). This offer was greatly welcomed by the missionaries.

Some negotiations had continued to be made between the various groups since the meeting was held in order to implement school administration in Flores. For example in May, *R.C. Schoolverreiniging* or the Flores Roman Catholic Organization School asked the government to recognize this organization as a public foundation (Steenbrink, 2007: 163-164). In June 1911 another meeting was held in Lela to discuss how the cooperation between government and missionaries was defined; what were the obligations and rights of both sides. Some of the decisions made are following: 1) the *countroleur* or *gezadhebber* have to seek a central, strategic and healthy place to build a village school for one or several villages. 2) A *gezadhebber* should ask village head to mobilize its people to build schools with local materials and to build a dormitory for children who were from far away. 3) People have to provide a home for teachers. 4) People have to pay school taxes. Taxes are handed over to the king and the king gives to *gezadhebber*. 5) Religious education should be a “facultative obligatory” subject at school; children are free to choose any religion, but choose one religion. 6) Within three years school should be founded in Ende and western Flores (Ngada and Manggarai); the three years school in villages, such as those found in villages in Java (Jebarus, 2008: 45-47; Vriens, 1972: 145).

In response to the decision, the first schools in Manggarai, initially on the north coast Reo, Labuan Bajo and Pota in 1911 and in 1912 in Ruteng were established. On March 31, 1913, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, A. F. van Idenburg signed *Flores-Soemba Regeling* rule. One passage of this rule stated that the Jesuit was responsible for the schools management, except the girl schools, in Flores in the period 1913 to 1922 (Jebarus, 2008).

At the end of 19th century the Jesuits lacked of their members to work in whole archipelago. Because of this situation the Jesuit wanted to focus their mission in Java Island and let their outside Java mission move to another religious order. In 1899, the Jesuit left Sumba; in 1905 they left Kalimantan; in 1909 they left Kai, Taimbar and Papua; in 1911 they left Sumatra and in 1913 they left Flores (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 244).

The Jesuit mission period, from 1859 to 1917, was considered slow and short but it still impacted to the steady growth of the Church in the Larantuka and Maumere districts. The situations only allowed them to work in just quarter of the island. When they departed from Flores in 1913 they left behind two strong bases with around 30,000 indigenous baptized people out of around 92,000 population of Flores. In Java, at the period, the Catholics were mostly Europeans and Chinese, except in Central Java where some local Javanese people became Catholics.

3.5.The Divine Word Society Mission Era

3.5.1. The Missionaries and Works

Even though the Jesuits was formally given Flores Island to the hands of the Society of Divine Missionary (the SVD) in 1913, the transfer from the Jesuits to the SVD had to be postponed until the period after World War I. In 1914 Piet Noyen, SVD, the Prefect Apostolic, visited Flores for the first time. He wanted to know about Ende, the place he would choose as his headquarters. Ende was considered as a good place to reach whole Flores. It had a good harbor. His ambition was to bring Flores to the Catholicism. When Noyen met Engbers, a Jesuit superior, in Java, Engbers did not give good impression about Ende (Uran, 1991: 1095-1096). Even so, he finally chose Ende as mission centre in particular in order to constrain Islam and to bring whole Flores to Catholicism. His decision was very strategic and part of the total planning to “catholicize the whole Flores”. As the mission centre moved to Ende, more missionaries were sent to Flores. They continued to keep Catholic communities in Larantuka, Maumere, Sikka and to maintain schools that were already opened by the Jesuits. Since the missionaries wanted to embrace whole Flores into Catholicism, more missionaries were encouraged to expand to new areas, in particular to west Flores; the areas were not touched by previous missionaries.

In December 1918 East Flores was struck by Spanish influenza. Four missionaries, three teachers, twenty pupils of the boarding schools and many more

common people died in Larantuka. One of the priests was the last Jesuit priest of Larantuka, Arnold van der Velden, who died on December 18th, 1918. Another brother and two priests, all were the SVD missionaries, also died (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 245; Jebarus, 2008: 78).

Noyen wanted a mission concentrating on the youth. He concerned on how to educate them in mission schools. He also wanted to break away the influence of the Portuguese practices in East Flores. He dreamed a “new” Catholicism, the Latin one. He died on February 24th, 1921 in Steijl, the Netherlands just before his ordination as bishop (Jebarus, 2008: 80). Noyen’s successor was Arnold Verstraelen who died in 1932 because of a car accident on the new Flores road. A horse, not yet accustomed to the sound of cars, panicked and the bishop’s driver could not control the car either. In the decade of Verstraelen the number of schools increased from 137 to 287 and the number of baptized from 60,000 to 200,000. The number of chapels and churches from Flore increased from 96 to 333 (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 246).

Verstraelen was succeeded by Henricus Leven born in Germany in 1883. He worked in Togo, Africa between 1911 and 1914. The Vatican wanted to nominate Leven but the colonial government asked that he should accept the Dutch citizenship, before formally nominated and ordained. The Dutch did not reject the non-Dutch missionaries to work in Dutch Indies but they preferred a Dutch for the leader of the church in this archipelago (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 246).

In 1926 a first minor seminary, a high school level, was started in Todabelu, highland of Ngada. Its pupils were mostly young teachers with several years of experience at school. The first candidates for priesthood continued their study at the major seminary that was opened in Ledalero, south of Maumere, in 1937. Until the 1950s, the seminary was the only educational institution after primary schools in Flores. In 1950, three Flores students enrolled in academic level; all of them were graduated from minor seminary. On January 28th, 1941 the first priests were ordained and followed by two more on August 15th, 1942 (Cornelissan, 1951). During the Japanese occupation the buildings of Ledalero were confiscated by the Japanese army, but education was still continued in Todabelu. On September 16th, 1945 seven priests were ordained as the SVD's priests. Most of them had not yet finished their studies, but they were allowed to be ordained due to the shortage of priests in this period of turmoil.

During Japanese occupation the bishop and a small number of priests and nuns were allowed to continue their work. From August 30th, 1943 the Bishop of Nagasaki, Paulus Yamaguchi, the Apostolic Administrator of Hiroshima, Aloysius Ogihara and two Japanese diocesan priests arrived in Ende to work in Flores. They learned Malay and were very helpful in the continuation of pastoral work and of the organization of Catholic mission. They could minimize the negative interventions of the Japanese occupation in Flores and Timor. The situation was, at least for clergy and Catholics activities, much better than in other regions. As Indonesia declared independency the Japanese missionaries returned home and the SVD missionaries came back to Flores.

Starting in 1960s the numbers of foreign missionaries decreased and the number of local priests increased. When the Holy See gave diocesan status to the churches in Flores, the SVD as a religious order did not become as the highest ruler in this ecclesiastical district anymore. The bishops in the dioceses had fully autonomy and could act as the highest ecclesiastical leader in his diocese. In the past, an ecclesiastical district trusted to one order (i.e. the SVD in Flores) that was entitled to propose their numbers as head of the local church. This followed the system of *ius commessionis* which then was annulated (Boelaars, 2005: 169). This however does not mean that the SVD did not play important roles. When churches in Flores were appointed with diocese status (local church), a lot of pastoral work was gradually taken over by the diocesan priests who came to more than 250 by the end of century. In the year 2000 there were still 308 SVD priests and brothers on Flores. Among them were 265 priests and just 43 expatriates from eight European countries. Flores which was a “mission region” now has become “resources” of missionaries. There are many local Florenese priests who have been sent to foreign countries, in particular to Europe, since 1980s.

3.5.2. The SVD’ Strategy

To create Flores as a Catholic island was one of the Society of Divine Word missionaries’ dreams. In order to constrain the development of the Muslim, the missionaries tried hard to baptize as many as possible local people. The activity of baptism became their main target. The SVD purposely sent their

missionaries or *guru agama* to the place where Islam population was high. Many conversions happened just like a mobilization. People were invited to be baptized without deep understanding of Christianity. When a missionary visited a village, they “had to” baptize people. The Dutch government also often brought people to the missionaries. After the people became Catholics, a simple instruction on Christian teaching would be given to them too. The village *guru agama* took this task. The teachers were not always educated people. Some might be teachers at schools and the rest did not have formal education qualification and background. They were chosen as their capability and willingness to help the priests.

If it was possible a period of a two year catechumenate under the direction of a *guru agama* or elementary school teacher would be practiced for the elder. Personal conviction and faith experience were left to develop on their own. The *guru agama* also functioned to baptize the old people in the villages. However, this was not the priority of the missionaries. The missionaries had to be satisfied when respected leadership of the hamlets simply permitted their children to be baptized.

School had become important place for Catholicization. Missionaries persuaded parents to let their children to go to schools. The Dutch also forced parents to send their children to study. The student automatically became as catechumens. Most baptism took place during the first year of elementary schooling, anywhere between the ages of eight and late teens. The missionaries would choose some smart students to be *guru agamas* once they finished their study. These men, never women, became the key agents who spread faith in the

remote areas. They encouraged boys to attend schools and taught catechism for adult people in their villages. Every month the *guru agamas* would join pastoral recollection or *ret-ret* at the centre of parish or mission stations. They were unpaid. The miracle was that so many people in each hamlet developed such a deep faith. This deep faith deserved much to the personal sacrifice of the *guru agama* and the dedication of the school teachers. They succeeded. The majority of the Flores people have affiliated to Catholicism.

It seems that the missionaries had no special approach to convert key persons or elder head villagers to Christianity. The missionaries preferred young generation rather than older one. It was enough for the Church if those elder people showed great respect, treated the church persons as friends, and did not oppose the mission works. The Church would be happy that those elder people gave permission to their children to be baptized. For the Church, embracing the children and the youth generation was very strategic because they were considered having no social influence and power to make individual decisions and to express of a personal conviction in particular in relation to paganism. They were dependent upon the older generation and were not able to stand upon their own feet. In this way, the Church tried to break off the paganism influences on the young generation. Baptism and affiliation to Catholicism would create new generation that was deeply influenced by the older generation who kept maintaining “old faith”. This was the way the Church cut of the chain of paganism in Flores (Prior, 1988: 23-24).

3.5.3. On Anthropological Works

Even though many SVD missionaries had negative view on traditional practice and beliefs, some of them interested were in anthropological work. They learn the people's language, culture and beliefs. They also introduced "inculturation", an effort to root the Gospel into local culture, the culture of Flores. The missionaries also use the people's material culture into the Church such as the cloth, language, song, dance, and prayers. Some composed local language dictionaries, translated the Bible into local languages, translated and created Christian stories, catechism, song and mass text in local languages as well (Daeng, 1988). This made the SVD's missionaries different from the previous missionaries who did not adopt local cultures into Catholicism. This was also the reason why the Florenese could easily become Catholics.

There were also efforts to "Christianize" local practices so they could be received as Christian rituals. The missionaries made standardization to measure which practices were rejected as they were part of paganism and which could be maintained. Even though all of those efforts were aimed at making Christianity close to people's culture and context, in many cases people's acceptance was not understood as non-conflict. Acceptance meant also as negotiation, conflict and strain (Molnar, 1997: 393-408). People of Flores have been struggling on the question of their identity and beliefs, what is meant to be Catholics and local people.

CHAPTER IV

MANGGARAI CONVERSION TO CATHOLICISM

IN THE EARLY OF 20TH CENTURY: 1912-1960

This chapter elaborates the arrival of SVD missionaries and the development of Catholic Church in Manggarai in 1912-1960. It is the period of Manggarai Church as mission-field. The questions of this chapter are what were the missionaries motivations to introduce Catholicism to the Manggaraians; how did they introduce the religion to the people; what were their mission methods and strategies; how did the Church grow in Manggarai; what were the changes and the problems arising as the consequences of the encounter between Catholicism and the Manggaraian traditional custom and beliefs.

Through the historical survey done in this period, this chapter emphasizes that likewise Catholicization in eastern part of Flores (chapter 3); Catholicization in Manggarai was introduced through the helps of colonials. For the Dutch colonials, it would be easy for them to run their program, to control the people and to organize the society if the Manggaraians were affiliated to Catholicism and were gathered as Christian flocks. For the missionaries, the colonials' political power to subject people, the land and the local leaders opened broader possibilities to expand and strengthen their mission within local communities.

Political factor was one important in the early process of Catholicization in Manggarai. That conversion activity went together with colonization is not a new theory. Pedersen (1970), for instance, emphasized that Christianization in Batak could be possible because of the Dutch colonials invasions and helps in that area. This is similar with what Aragon (2000:84) found in Central Celebes. Hefner's (1993) also stressed on the contribution of Dutch colonials to the Christianization in Java.

Catholicization in Manggarai was also introduced to constrain Islam. Both the Dutch and European Catholic missionaries did not want Islam developed in Flores, including in Manggarai, but Catholicism. Therefore, Catholicization was believed could block their expansion. It supports Reid's (1993:147-148) argumentation that the competition in eastern Indonesia among several groups were also motivated by religious reasons in addition to political and economic interests.

Through various strategies, particularly education and cultural transformation, the missionaries were successful to attract the Manggaraians to accept Catholicism and to slowly transform Manggarai from more traditional and isolative community to a more "modern" society. In Weber (1959) argumentation, a world religion is easily accepted by local communities, including when the people got new insights explanation about the world, nature and human being's life. In Manggarai, (Catholic) education was shaped the Manggaraians to this way. For the missionaries, educated persons would easily accept Catholicism.

Another main point that when the Manggaraians accepted Catholicism, the main question and struggle for them were about the place of their local beliefs and culture in Catholicism. In this period of history, there were many missionaries who totally rejected local beliefs and culture which were considered as the practice of paganism. This hurt the Manggaraian. But among those missionaries, there were few missionaries who respected to the local culture and accommodated them into Catholic liturgy and theology. This encounter between Manggarai and Catholicism started to shape the Catholic-Manggarai identity.

This chapter is organized as follows. It starts by presenting the reasons and motivations why the European Catholic missionaries were interested to come to introduce Catholicism to the Manggaraian people. It continues with exploration on the missionaries' conversion activities on the second part. It includes their methods, strategies, and the Church's growth in the period. On the last part, it discusses the impact of Catholicism to the Manggaraian and the people's reaction to the new religions.

4.1.Colonialism, Islamization and the Coming of Catholicism in Manggarai

Both colonialism and Islamization issues were two important factors in determining the arrival of Catholic missionaries in Manggarai in the early of 20th century (Widyawati, 2012). Until the end of 19th century, the Catholic missionaries serving at the eastern part of Flores had no signal to enlarge their mission to the western part. They focused their activities at Larantuka, Maumere,

Sikka and some villages closed to those areas. The Dutch colonial was also there. The Dutch started to expand to the western and northern part of Flores Island in October 1907 through a series of military aggression known as “Inland Flores Operation” (*Operasi Flores Pedalaman*) or Pacification Operation (*Pax Neerlandica*) commanded by Captain H. Christoffel. The aggression started from Ende to the western part. It was “one of the bloodiest events in the history of the Dutch”. It killed at least 1,000 local people, in particularly those were in around Ngada region (Dietrich, 1986; Jobse; 1982). The troops reached Manggarai on October 13th, 1907. It was the beginning of Dutch colonialism in Manggarai.

As the Dutch moved to the west, the mission had new challenges. An early initiative to start a religious mission to the Manggaraians came from the Dutch anxiety of the spreading of Islam in this place. Far before the Dutch colonials stepped their feet in Manggarai, some of their higher officers in Batavia and in other residencies already had few information about Manggarai which was under the control of Bima, an Islamic based sultanate. But how far and strong the Bimanese’ domination over the Manggaraians were actually not identified well. The Dutch got information merely from the Bimanese people and traders who probably gave unbalance and unreal data.

That Manggarai was an Islamic majority region also became common information among the Jesuits missionaries who served in eastern and center part of Flores Island. As it was explained in the previous chapter, it was one reason why the Jesuits did not want to enlarge their mission to Manggarai. The Jesuits preferred to spread the Gospel to those “pagan” people rather than to the Muslims.

Engbers, one of the Jesuit priests, for instance, rejected to do mission activity in coastal area of Ende because there was already a lot of Muslims living there. According to him, Catholic could not grow well in such environment (Betrray, 1973: 1096). For them to convert the “pagan” people to Catholicism was considered easier and better than to convert the Muslims. Therefore any pagan tribes become target of world religions conversion activities in the area that is called as Indonesia today. Unsurprisingly, a race between Catholicism and Islam in spreading their religion among the “pagans” had become one of big issues since 16th century (Reid, 1993; Schrieke, 1955). Besides Islamization issues, geographical obstacle and lack of number were also other logic reasons for the Jesuits not to expand their mission to Manggarai.

When for the first time the Manggaraians were introduced to Islam was unknown. It is received that Islam did not come by a formal Islamization, as the Catholic did, but it came with trade activity and political interest of people from other clans who had already been introduced to Islamic religion. It is explained in the second chapter that in general Islam was introduced by the Bimanese and Gowanese who came for political and economic motivations to Manggarai rather than to spread the religion. It is not surprised if Toda (1999: 55) says that Islam as a culture has broader influences than Islam as a religion in Manggarai. “*Woni*” or not eating pork was one significant symbol for a tribe to associate with Islam. People from Todo, for instance, had practiced of “*woni*” (not to eat pork) but did not know anything about *sholat* (Islamic prayers). This was one influence of the Bimanese over the Todo people (Toda, 1999:56). People in Ntaram, Congkar who

received many influences from old traditional Islam culture also had “*woni*” as part of their culture (Robot, 2009) and *sholat* as well.

Nevertheless the Dutch understood that Manggarai was under the Islamic influences and Islamization was going well there. This was why the Dutch encouraged the Catholic missionaries to expand their mission to Manggarai in order to constrain Islam. This suggestion actually would benefit both sides. Since most of the missionaries were from the Nederland, it would be easier for the Dutch to work together with the missionaries than with the Muslims. In addition, once the local people had affiliated to Catholicism, they could easily receive the Dutch “modernity” program.

At first the Dutch high level officers in Flores were the Protestants. The missionaries complained that they did not support their mission activities. Since 1906, A. Couvreur was appointed as a *controleur* for Flores. He was a Catholic and sympathetic to Catholic mission. His successor, Anton Hens, was a devout Catholic and openly supported mission (Steenbrink, 2007: 81).

In October 1907, after visiting and inspecting some areas at western part of Flores, the *controleur*, Couvreur, wrote a personal letter to the head of the mission in Larantuka. He explained that Nanga Panda, Aimere (in Ngada) and surrounded areas were fertile and good land to be occupied. The number of people was dense and they had better civilization than the people in eastern Flores. He convinced the priest that those areas were economically and spiritually good both for the Dutch colonials and the Catholic Church. He urged mission to take step to expand to this places. Unfortunately he got no response from the Church.

He wrote another letter to Mgr. Lupen, the Bishop of Batavia. It was a provocative letter. He wanted that the areas on central and western Flores should be deserved to be mission target in order to constrain Islam.

(...) If we do not do act fast, Islam will occupy the interior and we will have lost this case forever. This is the most regrettable because until now the mission settles in the economically and also spiritually most backward part of Flores. This is a region with some promise, but it will never be able to keep pace with Manggarai and the region north of Ende. Also the density of the population in these regions is much higher than in Maumere and Larantuka. If we act fast, Flores, with the exception of a few coastal places, can be secured for the Catholic Church, including the fertile Manggarai, until now under the influence of the Muslim Bima, including the whole interior Ende (Steenbrink, 2007:81).

Because the letter was ignored he wrote another letter, an official letter dated October 1st, 1907. He wrote in the name of Captain Christoffel. He insisted that if the Catholic Church did not want to expand their mission to Manggarai, the area would be given to the Protestant Church in Batavia. He again mentioned that it was important in order to constrain Islam. His warning was seriously thought by the Church.

It seemed that the Bishop of Batavia, Mgr. Luypen, realized of the Dutch's warning. He, therefore, encouraged the missionaries to go to Manggarai as his response to the *controleur* Couvreur's letter. As the consequences, in 1910-1912, some Jesuit priests reached Manggarai and visited Catholic people from Larantuka and Maumere who worked in Labuan Bajo at west coast. On one visitation trip to Manggarai, H. Looijmans, a Jesuit priest, for the first time, baptized five Manggaraians in Reo, at north coast of Manggarai. It was new era of Catholicism in Manggarai.

“Islamic phobia” and the race between Catholic and Islam in converting people were very important issues in whole archipelago since 16th century. Since appointed as a new Apostolic Prefecture of Flores in 1913, Mgr. Piet Noyen, SVD preferred Ende as its headquarters. Ende was a Muslim majority area. For the SVD, it was very strategic. Ende was in the centre of Flores Island. Therefore Ende was the best starting to Catholicize whole Flores and to constrain Islam. Since Ende was also the headquarters of the Dutch, Noyen believed that the colonials would support Church mission. “Wars” and hatred against Islam were openly expressed. Noyen wrote a rude letter to his friend, Father Mary Joseph Claessens, an ex missionary, in Netherlands:

The construction of the roads has been finished now, the conditions in the interior are quite save. The hajis (pilgrims who had return from Mecca) will spare no cost or energy to plant their poison of their doctrine of the mission (Steenbrink, 2007: 87)

Flores should be devoted to Catholic. It was a big dream of the SVD missionaries. Unsurprisingly Christianization was done in marathon in order to restrain Islam. The quantity aspect was dominant.

4.2.The Coming of Catholicism in Manggarai: A Brief History

4.2.1. The First Catholics in Manggarai

The first Catholics living in Manggarai before 1912 were not local people but those from eastern Flores who were working as pearl divers, merchants and

laborers in Labuan Bajo, at western part of Manggarai. They were from Larantuka and Maumere and some were from Sumba, Manado, and even from Philippine (“*Sejarah Paroki Labuan Bajo*”, a manuscript, no year). Since the Catholicism had been introduced prior to the people in their home land far before they went to Manggarai, some of them were Catholics. There is a note reporting about 99 Catholics working in Labuan Bajo in around 1904 (Steenbrink, 2007: 151; Laan, 1973: 236). Labuan Bajo was known for pearl that had been exploited since a long time by foreign company. Labuan Bajo was one entry door for merchants to sell and buy stuffs to and from Manggarai. The port probably had been used by traders from Bima, Java, Taiwan and China since 16th century (Erb, 1999).

The Jesuit priests working at eastern part of Flores Island knew about those Catholic workers and visited them. In 1910-1911, J. Engbers, one of the Jesuit priests, came to Labuan Bajo, celebrated mass and baptized of those Catholics’ family children. He also taught them simple religious education. There is no more information about them.

In addition those workers, the first Catholics living in Manggarai were teachers. In 1911 a school was opened in Reo, at north coast and in 1912 was opened in Labuan Bajo. Both schools were opened by the Dutch in corporation with Jesuits priests. The teachers were Catholics from Larantuka and Maumere. They were trained in Catholic mission schools and were baptized during their education year.

4.2.2. The First Baptism for the Manggaraians

The first baptisms given to the Manggaraian was on May 17, 1912 in Reo. Historically, a Jesuit priest, Henricus Loijmaans, visited a Catholic family from Sumba named Andra. Andra himself was baptized by the Catholic missionary in Sumba. Because Sumba was devoted to Protestantism many of Catholics people were marginalized. The Jesuits priest suggested Andra to leave out of Sumba. Together with the Jesuits, Andra, at first, sailed to Labuan Bajo. They found some Catholics from Larantuka there. Even so, they thought that Labuan Bajo was not a save place for Andra to live. There were too many Muslims occupying at that place. It would be dangerous for Andra's faith. They then sailed to north coast, to Reo. As they put their anchor in Reo they agreed that it was a good place for living. It was calm, green and fertile. Andra stopped and the priest continued their trip to the east ("Sejarah Paroki Reo", a manuscript, no year).

Before leaving, the priest reminded Andra "*jangan kalah*" (do not give up = keep your Catholic faith). Andra and his families always reminded the words. Therefore the place where the priest delivered his message then was called as "*Jangan Kalah*". Latter it was mentioned as "*Jengkalang*". The name is used until now, Jengkalang village. Andra then married a Manggaraian, a Muslim one. When H. Looijmans, SJ came back on May 17, 1912 and stopped by in Reo of his trip from Labuan Bajo, he found Andra still maintained his faith. He baptized Andra's wife, Agnes Siti Mina, and four other people: Katrina Arbero, Henricus Andra, Caesilia Weloe and Helena Loekoe. The priest gave sacrament of marriage

to Andra and his wife too (The Ruteng Diocese's unpublished manuscript, no year).

In 1913 the Jesuit formally left Flores and moved to Java. There were no more Jesuit priests coming to Manggarai. The SVD missionaries replaced their position. They continued and expanded Catholic mission in Manggarai.

4.2.3. The Missionaries' Motivations in Spreading Catholicism in Manggarai

It was true that through the helps of the Dutch colonials, the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) had possibility to start catholicization in Manggarai. But it should be noted that the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) also had their own motivation beyond political interests and competitions with other religions. Since the beginning of its establishment, Arnold Janssen, the founder of the *Societas Verbi Divini*, the Divine Word Missionaries (SVD) wanted his convent to be an overseas missionary congregation. He sent his members to expand Christianity mission abroad. For him, "to proclaim the Good News is the first and greatest act of love of neighbor". Janssen founded the SVD in Steyl in Netherlands in 1875. In 1882, the society started sending missionaries in to China's Shandong. In 1892, missionaries were sent to Togo, West Africa (<http://www.divineword.org/> downloaded December 2012). In 1913, the SVD missionaries arrived and begun their mission in Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, from where the missionaries started Catholicization in Manggarai in 1915.

For the missionaries, to go to the mission field in early of 20th century was not an easy task. They had to sail for weeks or months. Extreme weather and dangerous pirates were real threats. Once they arrived in new mission area, they had to struggle with different culture, languages and way of life. In the beginning of 20th century, when the SVD missionaries arrived in Manggarai, the local people lived in a traditional and primitive context. There was no road to connect one to another place. The people's house was simple and dirty. People lived in very poor condition. This was very different with the life of the missionaries in Europe. The missionaries had to adapt to the situation. Only those who had deep motivation could survive. The spirits to invite people to the "Kingdom of God" was main inspiration for them to live on. Jesus' words "Go, then, to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples: baptize them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit" (Mat. 28:19) was their spirit. Without such zeal, no missionaries could endure working in foreign country.

Noyen, one of the first missionaries from Netherland said that "the main tasks of a missionary are to win the pagan, to guide them to receive baptism and to maintain Christian communities" (Mukese and Jebarus, eds, 2004: 10). He believed that to love God meant to sacrifice. This motivated him to dedicate himself for years in Manggarai. Another Dutch missionaries, Willem Janssen said that "I have to die here (Lengko Ajang, eastern Manggarai)...when I arise, my flocks will arise with me" (Chen and Suwendi, eds, 2012: 51). Such spirits encouraged and motivated them to do their mission in Manggarai.

4.2.4. Mission Stasi

Two years after the Jesuit priest baptized the five Manggarai, the SVD missionaries started to visit Manggarai. Since Mgr. Noyen had established new mission centre in Ende the way to go to Manggarai was smooth. In October 1914 Mgr. Noyen visited Manggarai. He departed from Maumere by KPM (*Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatscappi*) ship to Reo and from Reo to Labuan Bajo. He then went on horseback to Ruteng from Labuan Bajo. There were already schools in Ruteng and Labuan Bajo. The teachers were from Larantuka, Eastern Flores. In that year, the Dutch also had already finished building their administrative centre in Ruteng. While visiting people on those places, Mgr. Noyen baptized some people and gave them spiritual guidance. From Ruteng he went back to Ende and also baptized some people on the way home (Jebarus, 2008b; The Ruteng Diocese, Unpublished Manuscript). There was no story why the elder people agreed to be baptized by a “foreign” person whom they just met at that time. It could be the Dutch who forced the people to be baptized or the people were brought by the teachers who taught in those places. Some of the baptized people were pupils of the schools who were encouraged by their teacher to be Catholic.

Mgr. Noyen was the first SVD missionary coming to Manggarai. He was known as a dedicated and enthusiastic person. He wrote many letters asking for his European colleges to send more missionaries to Flores. He died in Steijl, Netherlands, in 1921 as he went home for recovering his health.

In addition to Noyen, Wilhem Baack, a school inspector in Flores also visited Manggarai around 1916-1918. This Germany priest started his work in Timor in 1910 and in Flores in May 1915. He visited several places in Manggarai such as Wae Mokol, Kisol, Borong, Sita, Ruteng, Todo, Reo, etc. to see the possibility for opening schools at those places. He baptized pupils at the schools he visited and people at the villages he stopped by (Jebarus, 2008a: 67). He recommended the Church to build new schools in Manggarai in order to accelerate the spread of Catholic religion. Two new elementary schools were set up in 1919 and 1920, one in Pongkor and one in Rejeng, Lelak (Sukma, Unpublished Manuscript, no year).

Manggarai was a promising land for Catholicism. Since the number of Catholics and mission schools increased, the Apostolic Prefecture in Ende decided to establish a permanent mission centre (*stasi*) in Manggarai. Father Berhard Glanemann was sent to set it up. Ruteng was chosen as the mission centre. When Glanemann arrived at Ruteng on September 23rd, 1920, Ruteng had already become the Dutch headquarters in Manggarai. The Adak Todo-Pongkor, the local authority was based on that place too (Janggur, 2008). Ruteng was chosen because the missionaries hoped that the two powers (the Dutch government and the *Adak Todo*) would assist Catholic Church in spreading religion to the Manggarai people. Political supports were very essential.

Glanemann thoroughly prepared Ruteng as a *stasi* (station, a branch of a parish). It was part of Ende. He established a house, a temporary building church, and a dormitory for the students who were studying in the mission school. He

visited villages and asked people to join Catholic religion. As Ruteng was set up, some other missionaries were continually sent from Ende to work in Manggarai. Frans de Lange arrived in the same year of the arrival of Glanemann. Willem Yansen followed on March 6th, 1921. In 1922 Glanemann moved to Ende. He was changed by Franz Dorn. In the same year, the Apostolic Prefecture in Ende sent Franz Eickmann, Rodolf Wolf, Leo van Well and Thomas Koning. In 1924 a five year *standaardschool* was founded in Ruteng. This gave opportunity for the students from a three year elementary schools in outer villages to continue studying in higher level in Ruteng. The missionaries chose most of the students graduated from this school to open new schools in the own villages. The missionaries paid them as teachers. In this way Catholicism grew. All the students of those schools would automatically be baptized. Catholic schools and boarding house became new “centre” and communities in Manggaraian society. Steenbrink (2007: 113-114) says that Catholicism was started from “elite” communities, the community of educated people.

After Ruteng, two new mission centers were founded: Rekas *Stasi* in 1924 and Lengko Ajang *Stasi* in 1926. The first was at western part of Manggarai and the last was in eastern part. Rekas *stasi* was part of Labuan Bajo *dalus*, the place where Muslim was the majority. Before the arrival of Catholicism, as it is explained above, Labuan Bajo was one of the Bimanese headquarters in Manggarai. All small *dalus* under its authority were Muslims. The missionaries purposively chose Rekas, near Labuan Bajo, as new mission centre in order to constrain the development of Islam at the western part of Manggarai. Before

setting Rekas as a mission centre, the missionary sent a teacher to build a school. School was always an entry door for Catholicism in Flores in general and in Manggarai in particular. The teacher of the school was a very important pioneer. Fransiskus Fernandes from Larantuka was the first teacher sending to Rekas. He moved from Labuan Bajo elementary school. When a teacher could gather students, he could easily teach and introduce them new religion. A missionary would regularly visit and baptize those students and celebrated Eucharist with them. Elder people from villages might join. Usually the school teacher also introduced and taught Catholicism to the young and old people in the village. When several people had affiliated to Catholic religion, some people from the village might follow. This was the way Catholicism grew among Manggaraians. In 1924 Franz Eickmann set Rekas as new *stasi*. He built church, school, dormitory and houses for the teacher and priest.

Lengko Ajang *Stasi* was set up in 1926 by Bernard Glanemaan. He worked in Ruteng in 1920-1922. He moved to Ende and came back again in 1926. From Lengko Ajang *stasi*, the missionaries served and visited people on eastern part areas of Manggarai.

Beside sending priests to Manggarai, the Church in Ende and Batavia also sent several builders to design and build church's buildings. Alfonsus Rodriques and Fransiskus Baker were very prominent of their capability in building new model houses, western houses. They built not merely church's buildings but also assisted people to build a small and healthier house, called "*mbaru meter*". As explained in previous chapters, before the Dutch colonials and Catholic

missionaries arrived in Manggarai, they lived in a very big house that could be occupied by hundreds of people. Their houses were considered unhygienic. The missionaries and the Dutch promoted and forced people to leave their houses (KWI, 1973) to new houses. It was the task of the builders to teach people how to build a new “modern” house.

4.2.5. Schools and Catholicization

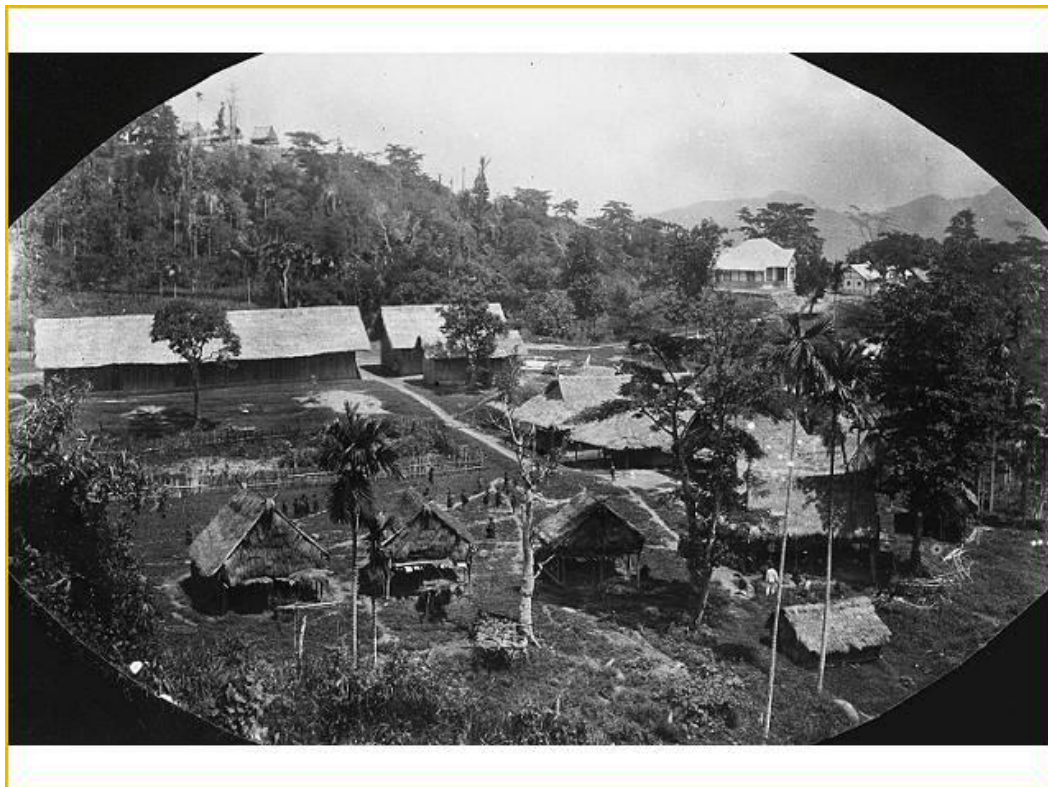
Since the Dutch government enacted a *Flores-Soemba Regeling* regulation, signed on March 31st, 1913, regulating the Catholic missionaries were given fully authority to run formal education in Flores and Sumba; the number of schools increased. In 1922, A.J.L. Couvreur, the Dutch controller in Flores ordered that there might be one “village school” for 1,000 people. The rule also stated that every head village had to provide land for schools, dormitory and teachers’ houses. Even though his ambitious could not completely be realized, the number of school was increasing. The regulation benefited Catholic mission. The Jesuit missionaries in eastern Flores had proofed that school was very effective way to introduce Catholicism to the people in Flores. By gathering students at schools they could easily increase the number of Catholics. The students would automatically be baptized usually when they were in the second year grade.

The SVD missionaries continued to do the same strategy. In cooperation with the Dutch colonial they opened as many as possible schools in villages including in Manggarai. On the first five years after Ruteng was set up as a

mission centre, the SVD missionaries had opened 24 elementary schools in many villages in all over Manggarai (SUKMA, manuscript, no year; Bandur in Chen and Suwendi, 2012: 258-260). There was also a three-year school.

The schools functioned not merely to gather and educate pupils but also to create what so called as a new Catholic community centre outside of a *béo*/village both in physical and non-physical aspects. Physically, the church's buildings such as schools, teacher's house(s), dormitory and sometimes a simple chapel that were established outside a *béo/gendang* became new "village centre". Since the buildings were different in shape in comparison to traditional houses and might have different accessories and religious symbols such as cross, the statue of "Mary" and Rosary, schools areas created new atmosphere in Manggaraian society. In some senses it also became new "rival" of a *béo/gendang* particularly when in the further development a school surrounding areas became a parish and a new orientation place to living. People moved out from *béo/gendang* and built houses in surrounding areas.

In non-physical aspects the presence of schools in traditional Manggaraian society could be observed through new habits the students practiced such as praying in Catholic way, singing religious song and celebrating Church's sacraments and rituals. All of those new things that for the people in nowadays are considered common were experienced as something strange and shocking for the Manggaraians in the early of Catholicism period.



A school and parish centre in Lengko Ajang, eastern Manggarai in around 1930-1935. Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

By educating the young generation of the Manggaraians, the missionaries created intellectual groups within the community. In the future, they would be the new agents and leaders for their society. Because they were educated in “Catholic ways” they probably would have different attitude and thoughts with those who were not educated in such way.

4.2.6. Church Growth in 1930-1950s

Because Catholic Church grew very fast, Ruteng *Stasi* (station) received a higher status. The Church’s leader in Ende changed Ruteng from merely a *stasi* to

a deanery⁶ on September 29th, 1929. The Church leaders in Ende sent more missionaries to open and develop new mission in more villages in this region. It made possible to the missionaries to advance their mission. In 1930 an unusual large church was built in Ruteng, the precursor of the cathedral church of Ruteng. It was the largest church in the Dutch East Indies at that time (Bettray, 1973: 1255ss). Until 1940, seven new *stasis* were established: Nunang (1926), Ranggu (1936), Pagal (1939), and Todo, Benteng Jawa, Denge and Ka Redong in 1940. There were about 190,000 people were Catholics, including 72,980 children under the age of six years in 1942 (Sejarah Keuskupan Ruteng, Archive, manuscript, no year).

On September 2nd, 1942 Bishop Leven asked the sisters from the Holy Spirit Congregation (the SSpS, *Congregatio Misionaris Servarum Sancti Spiritus*) to come to Ruteng to assist the mission (Chen and Suwendi, eds., 2012: 77). They opened schools for girls, dormitories and vocational education in Ruteng (Bettray, 1973: 1253-1258). Their houses were established just east to the SVD's. Both the SVD and SSpS were founded by a same person, Arnold Yanssen, in the Netherlands. Therefore both are known as "brother and sister".

During the Second World War missionary activities had difficult time. Japan's victory over allied soldiers affected to mission works in Flores in general including in Manggarai. When Japan won the war, the Dutch and German missionaries were banned to work in the Dutch East Indies areas. All missionaries in Flores were jailed in Ndonga, Ende. There were around 156 people with 77

⁶ A deanery or *Vicarate Forane* refers to a group of several neighboring parishes entrusted to a *vicar forane* under the authority of the diocesan bishops (Canon 374#2; Canon 553#1)

priests, 21 brothers and 58 sisters (Leven, a Manuscript, no year). Initially it was expected that the missionaries were only temporary being arrested and would return to their mission area again. But it was not the case. On July 15th, 1942 the missionaries were shipped to Makasar. There were more, 113 missionaries with 70 priests, 14 brothers and 29 sisters (Heyden, a Manuscript). In Manggarai, seven of the German missionaries were interned. Some were George Rosenau, Wilhelm Peters, Fritz Georg Spectenhauser and Wieger, who died on “van Imhoff” ship on January 19th, 1942 when the ship was attacked by the Japan on their way to India.

In May 1942 the Japanese army came through the north coast of Reo and interned the rest priests and brothers. It was a difficult time for mission works. During the Japanese occupation Bishop Hendrikus Leven came to Manggarai for weeks and tried as much as possible to maintain the mission. A native SVD priest (a Timorese), Yan Bala Letor, recently ordained, was tasked to Manggarai. He visited from one to other villages in Manggarai (Bettray, 1973: 1253-1258).

During the Japanese occupation in Flores, the government forbade all schools to provide religious education. All schools might be neutral from religion influences. All religion education books were forbidden too. It is interesting that there was a well known religious instruction book, titled “A Giant Searched for the Almighty”. It told a story of Christopher, a strong man, who could help people crossing a fast-flowing river. One day a little boy asked Christopher to help him crossing the river. Christopher said yes but actually he could not do it. The boy was too heavy to be carried. The boy introduced his name as Jesus Christ the

“Ruler of the World”. The Japanese were very offended when Jesus was titled as the “Ruler of the World” for the Japanese saw them as the super power rulers on the world. Consequently the “Giant” book was strictly prohibited circulated by the Japanese colonizers (Cornelissen, 1978: 61-62).

In addition to the prohibition religious activities, the Japan also often robbed the Church’s property. At first they said they wanted to borrow them but in fact they never returned them back. Since this time, the Manggaraians have been familiar with the term “Japanese borrowing style” which meant that someone pretends to borrow something but he or she actually does not want to return the things back; to borrow means to possess (Jebarus: 2007b).

In 1943 Mgr. Paul Ayiro Yamaguchi, the bishop of Nagasaki, Japan, Mgr. Aloysius Akira Ogihara, the Apostolic Administrator of Hiroshima, and two priests from Japan: Mikhael Rokuro Iwanaga and Philipus Sigeru Kyono arrived in Flores to help and maintain Catholic mission. A new Japan Colonel for Flores, Tasuko Sato, a Shinto religion adherence, arrived at the same time. He was very sympathetic to Catholic Church (Sato and Tenien, 1959) and allowed the Church to grow in this island.

The first diocesan priest from Nusa Tenggara, Lucas Lusi who was ordained in Timor in 1944, was sent to Manggarai to help mission work. Due to a limited number of missionaries, two SVD priests, Markus Malar and Zakharias Ze, were ordained before they actually finished their study. They came and helped mission work in Manggarai. During this difficult time mission work was actually held by religious education teachers, the *guru agama* such as Gabriel Tjankoeng

and Damasus Agas. The first *guru agama* in Manggarai, Gabriel Tjangkoeng died in 1992.

When the Japan was defeated, Indonesia proclaimed its independence on August 17th, 1945. In fact, Flores was too far from Jakarta that the resonance of the proclamation was little. As the Japanese went home, the Dutch missionaries' way back to Flores was smooth. The coming back of the missionaries enlivened the Catholic Church in all over Flores and the missionaries again took important political and social roles in Flores Island. In December 1945 the Dutch colonials reoccupied Nusa Tenggara and Dr. J.J. van Mook of the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) began to organize the establishment of *Negara Indonesia Timur* (NIT, Eastern Indonesia State) with Makasar as its capital. Some rajas (small kings) of Eastern Indonesia attended the Malino (South Sulawesi) Constitutional Conference of the NIT on July 15th, 1946. Another council was held in November. The nine rajas (small kings) of Flores (six Catholics, three Muslims) agreed to form "*Flores Federasi*". Don J. Thomas Ximenes da Silva, the raja from Sikka, was appointed as chairman. He then became the first District Head (May 1949-December 1951) of Flores which was administratively as a single administrative unit (Aritonang and Steenbrink, eds., 2008: 250-252).

Since many of the Catholic missionaries played important roles in political arena, church mission raised again. Some missionaries came back to Manggarai and some new priests were sent to strengthen the Catholic Church. Since 1940s several new *stasis* were established. In 1940, a new *stasi*, Ka-Redong *Stasi*, was

set up as part of Ruteng parish⁷. Lengko Ajang Stasi was divided into new *stasis*⁸: Benteng Jawa (in 1940), Loce (in 1947), Lawir (in 1951) and Reo (in 1952). In western part of Manggarai, from Rekas *Stasi* two new *stasis* were born: Labuan Bajo (in 1955) and Wangkung-Boleng (in 1955) (Archive of the Ruteng Diocese, a manuscript, no year). This rapid development encouraged the Vatican Church to appoint Manggarai as a new Vicariate Apostolic on March 8th, 1951. Willem van Bekkum was chosen as the first Bishop. Van Bekkum arrived in Manggarai in 1937 and had worked in several *stasis* before his appointment as the first bishop. He also did anthropological work on Manggaraian. When Manggarai was granted the status of *Vicariate Apostolic* there were 23 priests and two brothers in Manggarai. All were European missionaries. In 1953 the *Ordo Fraterum Minorum* (the OFM,) missionaries came to Manggarai. They had worked for Pagal *Stasi* since 1958 (Bettray, 1973: 1255ss).

In 1950 Nusa Tenggara was divided into three regions: Bali-Lombok, Flores and Timor. Manggarai was under the Vicariate Apostolic of Ende (Flores). In 1951, the Pope Pius XII divided Flores into three Vicariates. Amazingly because the Manggarai Church made very well progress, together with Ende and Larantuka (all were “old Churches”), Manggarai also received the status of vicariate. Mgr. Antonius Thjissen, SVD was appointed as the bishop of Ende, Mgr. Wilhelmus van Bekkum, SVD as the bishop of Ruteng and Mgr. Gabrieel Manek, SVD, a Timorese. Historically, since the establishment of Vicariate

⁷ A parish is a definite community of the Christian faithful established on a stable basis within a particular Church; the pastoral care of a parish is entrusted to a pastor as its own shepherd under the authority of the diocesan bishops (Canon 515#1)

⁸ A *stasi* is part a parish.

Apostolic of Batavia in 19th century, all of churches in Indonesia were under the authority of that Vicar. There was actually effort from some Church leaders to divide the Dutch Indies area into several ecclesiastical districts. But unfortunately, the Dutch General Governor did not agree the idea because it would be hard for them to control too many ecclesiastical missions. It took several years of discussion (1896-1902) between the Vatican and the Dutch government to realize the division of ecclesiastical regions. Starting in 1902, 14 provinces had been established (Steenbrink, 2007: 6-7). It related to the system of *ius commessionis* at which an ecclesiastical region was given to a certain religious order who was entitled to propose one of their members as head of the local church. Under this system, Flores was given to the Society of Divine Word (Musken, 1974:729). At that time, no Manggaraians were baptized.

For the Dutch the division of the mission regions from Batavia into 14 districts was fussy. It was especially because the vicars had same status to the vicar of Batavia. Therefore in order to have “centralistic” relationship and communication between the Catholic Church and the government, the Dutch forced the Church to establish an office functioning as to an official communication centre between the church and state. The office would act on behalf of all churches. Consequently, in 1924 the Church established *missie-afgevaardigde*, an ecclesiastical delegate for contacts with government. In 1930s this office was flagged under the *Centraal Missie Bureau* (CMB) (Karel, 2007: 9; Hadiwikarta, 1981). This would be the embryo of MAWI (*Majelis Wali Gereja Indonesia*) which later changed to KWI (Indonesian Bishops

Conference/*Konferensi Wali Gereja Indonesia*). When this body was built, Catholicism has just started in Manggarai.

In 1934 there were twelve ecclesiastical districts in the archipelago. The number of missionaries was about 2,000 working for around 400,000 Catholics. The Catholics in Java were mostly Euro-Asian, and the indigenous Catholics were mostly in Flores, some in Central Java and in some islands at the eastern part of the archipelago (*Geredja Katolik 1934*: 165). At that year, Church in Flores was under the authority of Lesser Sunda Island including Timor, Sumba, Sumbawa, Bali and Lombok. In 1936 Timor stood alone.

The new status as an Apostolic Vicar encouraged the Manggarai Church to steadily grow. In regards to education field, the number of Catholic elementary schools continuously increased. In 1950 the first secondary school was founded by Jan van Roosmalen, SVD with 30 students at the first year. In 1955 a school for girls was set up by the Holy Spirit (the SSpS) sisters. In 1955 and 1956 two other secondary schools were founded, one in Ranggu, the Sadar Ranggu Elementary School and the last in Mukun, The Pancasila Mukun Secondary School (SUKMA, Manuscript). A teacher training school was opened by the Saint Aloysius brother congregation (the CSA) in 1957 (*Kongregasi Para Bruder St. Aloisius, 2012*: 125). In 1959 a Catechetical Training Centre was opened by Jan van Roosmalen, SVD. After ten years this training centre was changed into an Academic Higher Education that educated students to be “guru agama”/catechist (Decky, ed.: 2008).

Until the 1950s, there was no native Manggaraian priest working in Manggarai. There was only limited number of Florenese being ordained as priests. An effort to educate Florenese to be priest had been done in 1920s. In 1929 a seminary was opened at Todabelu, Mataloko, in Ngada. Several Manggaraian boys had been sent to study at the seminary since the 1930s until a new seminary at Kisol in eastern Manggarai was opened in 1955. The first Manggaraian priests were ordained in 1960, a year before the status of dioceses gave to the Manggaraian Church. In 1961, the Manggaraian Church received a high ecclesial status, from Vicariate Apostolic to a diocese (local Church). This prominent status transformed Manggarai from a mission-field to a local Church.



A Church in Nggorang in 1940. The photo was taken by Willem van Bekkum.

Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

4.2.7. Pastoral Strategy and Ideal Catholic Communities

The pastoral strategies the early European missionaries implemented in Manggarai could not be separated from the general policy of the Dutch for all churches in East Indies which was centered in Batavia. In the 1920s, the Church in Batavia always emphasized and promoted the unity and uniformity of the Catholic churches in various regions by setting detailed rules concerning the Christian life in a standard called “church discipline”. These rules included, for example, days of fasting and abstinence of eating meat at least seven Fridays during Lent. Other rules regulated on activities to be prepared on the days prior to Easter and Christmas. It also regulated about holidays. In term of liturgy, the Church emphasized the use of Latin as the official language for all churches (Steenbrink, 2007).

Receiving communion on Easter was the highest religious obligatory for being a good Catholic. It became a standard to measure whether one was holy and good Catholic or not. Since the number of missionaries (i.e. priests) was limited in ratio with the number of villages to be served, the Church regulated that Easter communion might be extended. It means that the communion received after Easter could still be seen as Easter communion (Steenbrink, 2007).

The distance from a village to a mission centre could be very far. This situation made difficult for people to celebrate Eucharist in a *stasi* at which Easter was centered. The Eucharist could be extended. A priest then visited villages that were far from a *stasi* centre after Easter. People who lived close to the village

could join. The communion received was still considered as Easter Communion. During Easter or Christmas season, people walked in flock from their village to a *stasi* or place at which Eucharist was held. They brought food, drink, torch, etc. They would stay for days in their family's house. As the feast finished they went back. The tradition created special experiences to the people that also created such kind of Christian identity. It was a good memory for a Catholic. The trip was like a journey of Mary, Joseph and Jesus from Nazareth to the God's Temple in Jerusalem. It was also like the Israel journey from Egypt to the Promised Land. Mr. Nober, baptized at the age of 8 years old in around 1940, proudly told that long time ago he, his family and his neighbors walked from Cumbi to Rejeng (about 15kms) on Easter or Christmas season (interview in June, 2011).

Another "church discipline" being emphasized was an obligation to do a confession at least once a year. In connection with all of those detailed rules, the missionaries carefully observed and reported the activities of the Christian community on those aspects as the sign of Church development. For example, in Manggarai the missionaries noted that the average of people who participated in confession sacrament was 3349 in 1925-1926, 18,929 in 1933-1934, 12,802 people in 1939-1940 and 16,165 people in 1948-1949. In 1935-1936 it was reported that around 2.5% of people did not participate in Easter communion (Bettray, 1973: 1265).

In addition to those disciplines, another orientation often emphasized by the Catholic Church in East Indies in 19th and in the early of 20th century was to build a "pure" and "vibrant" Christian community by "creating church as the

community's main orientation". This was done through two things: church activities and social events.

For the former, orientation on the Church activities, the Church created church buildings as the "central" of community life. Thus liturgy, taken place in church's buildings, was over emphasized than other activities. People were invited to give enormous attention to sacramental celebration and devotion. It started by baptism celebration then followed by first communion. Sunday Mass became a standard and the most fundamental obligation for Catholic community. People were forbidden to work on this holy day. "*Neka kerja lesu Minggu*" (do not work on Sunday) was announced and practiced as very important by the Manggaraians. Since the very beginning, the missionaries also introduced the Manggaraians various Church's feasts besides Easter and Christmas such as the feast of the assumption of Mary into heaven (August 15th), the feast of Sacred Heart of Jesus, Immaculate of Mary (December 8th), etc. The missionaries encouraged people to celebrate those church liturgical feasts joyously and lively. The efforts succeeded to create such an identity feeling of being good Catholics to the local people (Steenbrink, 2007: 137).

In addition to sacrament and church's feasts, the SVD missionaries in Manggarai also introduced popular devotion such as Cross of Christ, devotion to the Heart of Jesus, the Blessed Sacrament and Rosary since the beginning of Catholicism in that area. Since 1920, there have been groups of devotion to Mary, the "Sodality of Mary" (Diocese of Ruteng, a manuscript). In 1923 people were asked to pray Rosary with special intention for the conversion of sinners, i.e. the

pagans who had not become Catholic yet. In 1925, the Rosary prayer performed in churches during the celebration of the Eucharist or Sunday worship. On December 8th, 1935 on the feast of Mary Immaculate Conception, the “Cave of Lourdes” (*Gua Maria Lourdes*), was blessed in Ruteng. In 1924, the Manggaraians gloriously celebrated the procession of Jesus as a Christmas infant. Even in Rekas the people performed “Christmas drama” inside the church in the same year. They also celebrated the blessing of candles on the feast of St. Belasis that is no more practiced by the people nowadays. Since the 1920s, people in Rekas had regularly practiced Cross Line devotion in their church. Even, they also held a cross procession from church to villages. A strong and heavy cross was carried from the church to be planted at the centre of a village (Betray, 1973: 1268; Rekas Parish, Manuscript).

According to Steenbrink (2007: 138), missionaries were not much emphasis on religious practice in families such as on praying before and after meals. They were propagated but religious life concentrated much more on what was done in church buildings than in family homes. This was quite different from what was practiced by the Muslims and Hinduism people in Indonesia, where prayer in family homes was a daily religious practice, while mosque or temple visits were reserved for more occasions, once every one or two weeks. There were not many signs of religious activities for Catholics at home. Most of the renewal Catholic lives in this period were related to social or devotional held activities in churches and parish or *stasi* centre.

In order to create glorious and magnificent impression on liturgical celebrations, since the very beginning of Catholicism in Manggarai, some missionaries introduced songs and dances on liturgy. Some of the missionaries who previously worked in Togo, Africa tried to combine the African singing ritual tradition with the local Manggaraian dance and songs to be used in church liturgy. In 1920s, Latin coral songs were introduced to the students and common people as well. They began to sing in church or at school. Choir group was encouraged. Students' choir was very popular. In Ruteng Church, harmonium was played in the Church in 1920s.

Students had to learn "*baca not*" (to "read note"/to sing note) at school. It became one important skill the students had to master. Until 1970s, almost all students knew how to "*baca not*" (sing note). Today is different. Some elder teachers complained that the Manggaraian youth generation could sing but did not know the notes. In 1930s, Hendrik Tjengga, Wowor and Damasus Agas, some of the teachers in Ruteng, participated in compilation the Manggaraian version song and prayers as well (Betray, 1973: 1271). Some songs were translated from European lyrics. It was the early form of "*Dere Serani*" (Christian Song) (Betray, 1973: 1268; Rekas Parish, ms., no year). On May 13th, 1922, the students and teacher of Standard School in Ruteng sang *Le Momang Maria* (To Love Mary) for the first time. The song was translated from African-Togo language.

On social activities, in the first decade of Catholicism in Manggarai, missionaries could not organize specific social activities yet for their focus was on baptism and church discipline. As Christianity community grew, some

missionaries started to introduce various social activities groups which were regarded as church's program. In 1928, for instance, when Theodore Thoolen was assigned to Rekas, he set up *Gerakan Pemoeda Penjaga* (Youth Group), credit unions, and journalistic/press group in order to embrace people to the Church. Most of their activities were centered and done around the *pastoran* (priest's house) or church buildings (Ruteng Diocese, a brochure, no year).

4.2.8. Faith Education and Catholic Communities

For the first half century Catholicism in Manggarai, faith education was aimed first of all to prepare people for baptism and to introduce church discipline, prayers and practices. The prayers and the liturgy were in Latin. The missionaries asked people to memorize the prayers and simple catechism. The main prayers were *Credo* (a creed), *Pater Noster* (Our Father), *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), and *Salve Regina* (Angel's Prayer). *Guru agama* (religion teachers) played important role in doing such tasks. They used simple catechism book. In 1925s the Central Mission Bureau in Batavia published booklets, papers and magazines on religious education material to be used by missionaries and *guru agama* all over Dutch East Indies Church. Some were in Dutch and some were in Malay. In 1928, van Valsen wrote a catechism on Dutch language which had become very important book through the decade (Velsen, 1928). An Indonesian version was provided too.

In Manggarai the *guru agamas*" usually visited villages and taught people at the evening. They walked from one place to place, gathered people and taught

them. The missionaries used to give them kerosene for their lantern. People in Manggarai usually called them as “*guru lentera*” (lantern teacher) as they came with their lantern on their hand. Lantern was considered as luxurious stuff for the Manggaraian in the early of 20th century. Only missionary could buy the stuff, probably either from Java or even from Europe.

As the *guru agamas* were mostly from the village of the people they taught, it was easier for the people to follow and understand their teaching. They used Manggaraian to teach and used simple method. If a missionary visited people on a village, the *guru agama* would bring people to be baptized.

Faith education in general was done for conversion. It aimed primarily to extend church through baptism (Blair, 2001: 9-11). The Church was described as “institutions that provide baptism” (Shorter, 1972: 21). During this period, baptism was the “key” and “entry door” to salvation and heaven. According to Prior, a lot of people in Flores were baptized without proper preparation. Even many of them were mobilized or forced to do it. (Prior, 1988) This created a lot of nominal Christian.

In line with the theology developed at that time, the expansion in quantity was the goal of the first missionaries. Gonzáles (1999) classifies it as a “Type A Theology”, a mission as saving souls and extending the church (Beavens and Schroeder, 2006: 36-38). Salvation, in addition was understood as something personal. It happened when one believed Jesus as his or her personal savior. It had interior and spiritual aspects. It had no socio political liberation and transformation sense of salvation (Sollé, 1990: 102-103).

Accordingly, an ideal Christian community was described as a community that gave much attention on sacraments, devotions, liturgy and another gathering around their church building. Church building orientation became central in the life of Christian community. Strengthening of the people was strengthening the Church as institution. The church was understood as a *societas perfecta* (Bosch, 1991: 369). All sacramental and disciplinary power emanates from an ordained leadership (Prior, 1988: 8). In Avery Dulles' model of church it is categorized as institutional and hierarchic centre model (Dulles, 1974).

4.2.9. The Church's Social Works

Baptism and conversion from traditional-indigenous beliefs to Catholicism had become the target of early missionaries in Manggarai. Religious activity was priority and social works were dedicated to religious aims. School or education field was the most important one. Schools had become important place to spread and introduce Catholicism. Children were introduced to read, write, count and speak foreign language (Malay and Dutch). Schools brought the Manggaraians into formal education world to learn new knowledge, habit, culture, language, morals, etc.

Beside working on education field, in cooperation with the Dutch colonials, the missionaries also promoted healthy and hygienic way of life. Church's buildings such as chapel, school, priest's house, teacher's houses, etc. became the examples of hygienic houses. The church's builders helped people to

build such kind of house. Missionaries sometimes offered or lent money and materials to the people to build houses.

In economic field, the missionaries promoted new agriculture system. People were encouraged to open paddy field and to plant coffee, clove, cinnamon, and some kinds of fruit and trees. Missionaries provided seed, mostly was sent from Buitenzorg (Bogor).

4.3. Catholicization and Changes in Manggaraian Traditional Communities

There were certain changes and adaptations in the life of the Manggaraians after accepting the Catholic religion. Perhaps these changes were not as great as one can observe today or at least after more than 50 years of Catholicism in Manggarai. Nevertheless they were important in demonstrating the ways the Manggaraian adjusted to their newly adopted religion while maintaining a largely traditional social organization and religious system. The changes are as follows:

4.3.1. Catholicism in Daily Life

In daily life, the external expressions of Catholicism among the Manggaraians was limited. Perhaps the most obvious one was crossing oneself before and after eating, drinking and sleeping. Mr. David (79 years old) told that when he was at elementary school in Rejeng in 1940s, he could observe that many elderly people would automatically do cross sign and mentioned “Jesus, Mary and

Joseph” if there were thunder and lightning (Interview in June, 2011). Mr. Romanus (80s years old) from Ranggu said that there were few families who regularly prayed together in their bed rooms before they went to bed in his village. As a *guru agama*, he and his families also did so. In his parish, it was not until 1960s people would visit one to another house to pray Rosary in Ranggu and surrounding areas (an interview in Taga in 2012).

The most common expression of Catholicism was to attend Sunday Mass. The Catholics would go to a church or a chapel or a school to attend mass if there was a priest. If there was no priest, a Sunday ceremony would be led by a *guru agama*. The people would visit *stasi* or parish in particular on Christmas and Easter. Attending mass become an important standard of “being a good Catholic”.

Guru agama as the leader of Catholic flock on a village would probably perform more obvious expression of Catholicism. They might wear rosary, hung cross on the wall of their house, had statue of Mary or Jesus or “Holy Family of Nazareth”, or had “holy pictures” such as the picture of Jesus, Mary, Pope or Saints, etc. They might believe that those materials could be functioned as any other traditional objects: to protect people from dangerous threat.

As the pioneer and the leader of a Catholic community, some *guru agamas* rejected to directly participate in “pagan ritual and practices”, particularly if their parish priest was not allowed them to do so. It would be good for them to act like a pastor or a missionary. But many other Catholics kept maintaining their old traditions. Catholic prayers and liturgy was like addition rituals to traditional ancestor worship. Among common Catholic people Catholicism was however a

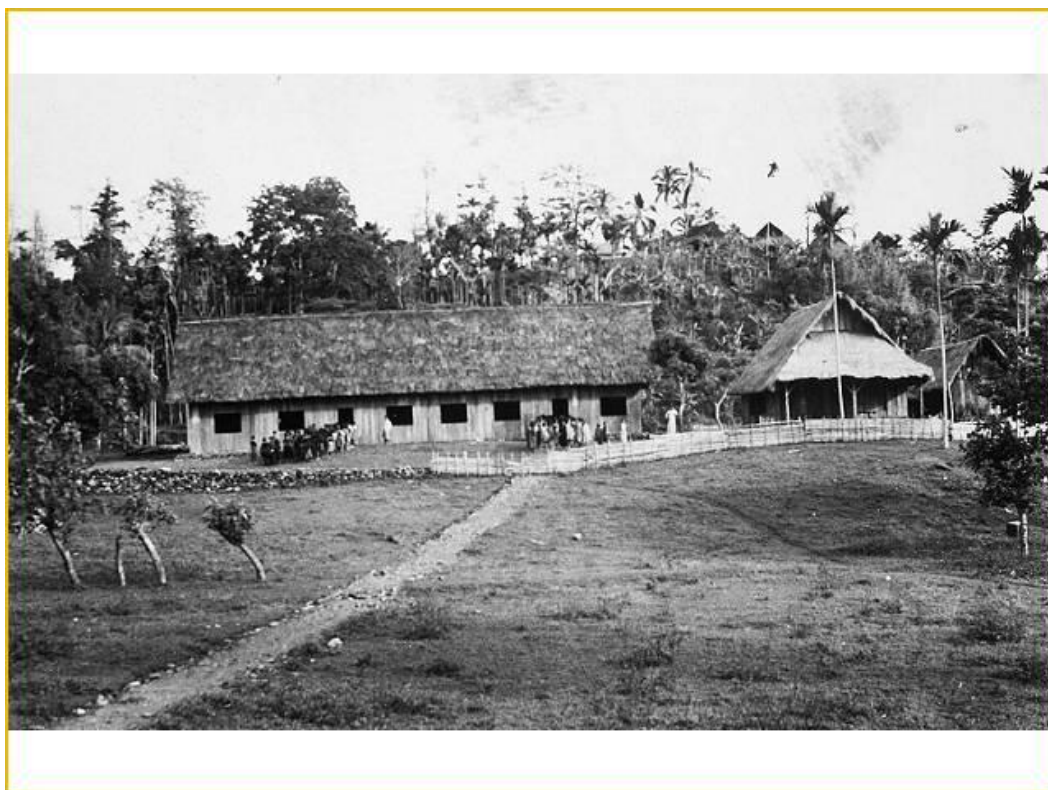
religion paralleling or supplementing to their traditional beliefs and practices. Mr. Stanis told that in around 1960s, Mr. Anggo, his father (died in 1973 in 80s years old) told them stories about Fr. “*Lalong Bakok*” (in Manggarai means White Cock), a the Dutch missionary. Since he was a “white”, he named himself in such way in order to be closed to the local people. Whenever he visited Mr. Anggo’s house he never asked them to abandon their traditional practices. It seemed that he did not mind them to do their traditional rituals. As the consequences, until the end of his life, Mr. Anggo old did not abandon his *adat* and was diligent to attend Catholic mass as well (interview in January, 2012).

4.3.2. From *Béo/Gendang* to School and *Stasi*: New Centers and Communities

It is explained in previous chapter that the traditional Manggaraian’s life physically and geographically centers on *béo/gendang*. A *béo/gendang* is not merely as a place for dwelling. It has social, philosophical and religious functions. Every single physical aspect symbolizes something else. All aspects are related each other and together form a holistic idea. If one aspect is destroyed it will cause unbalance the whole aspects.

One of the impacts of the coming of Catholic religion in Manggarai in the early of 20th century was a question on *béo/gendang* orientation. This related to the Dutch and Church agreement on education. In 1913 the Dutch government issued a regulation on school policy in Flores. One of the regulations stated that a

school should be founded in villages and the head of the village should provide places/land for that purposes. As the consequences, when the colonials and Catholic missionaries came to Manggarai, they asked the head of village to provide lands for schools.



A School building in Manggarai circa 1930. Resource:
<http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

In general land for school was not inside a *béo/gendang* yard. The reason was simple. To build a school (including teachers' house, sometimes dormitory, chapel and priest house) the government and missionaries asked for large land. Generally a *béo/gendang* was built on a hill with circle in shape and was surrounded by houses. Therefore the heads of village (*tu'a*) usually granted land outside the *béo/gendang* for school. Since the Manggaraians perceived land and

village as something sacred, it could be also imagined that the people might not want to have “foreign” appearance near to their sacred house and land. The leader then gave a land outside or rather far from the *béo/gendang* centre. In some cases, either the missionaries or the government decided the land for schools.

Slowly but sure, the school became a crowded place because many activities, either the school’s or church’s activities, were held around the school environment. In further development many school locations in Manggarai were developed to be a *stasi* and a parish. The place started to be a new society orientation in doing new and “modern” activities. School (and *stasi*) became centre for *modern* activities. It also became the centre for youth generation and intellectual group too.

Both the Dutch colonials and the missionaries encouraged and forced people to live outside *béo/gendang* for hygienic reasons. Living together in a very big house and in an isolated *béo/gendang* was considered as unhealthy and not strategic. People were forced to move from their houses and *béo/gendang*, usually to the place around school/*stasi* and near the new road. As the result since 1930s the number of big house that could be occupied by hundreds of people had decreased. People started to live in smaller houses or *mbaru meter*, a small square house.

Additionally, since the Dutch, the Catholic missionaries and local leader introduced new agricultural system to the Manggaraians, the people started to open new gardens and rice field. This had forced them to build new house in their garden that made easier for them to watch their plants from monkey, wild board or

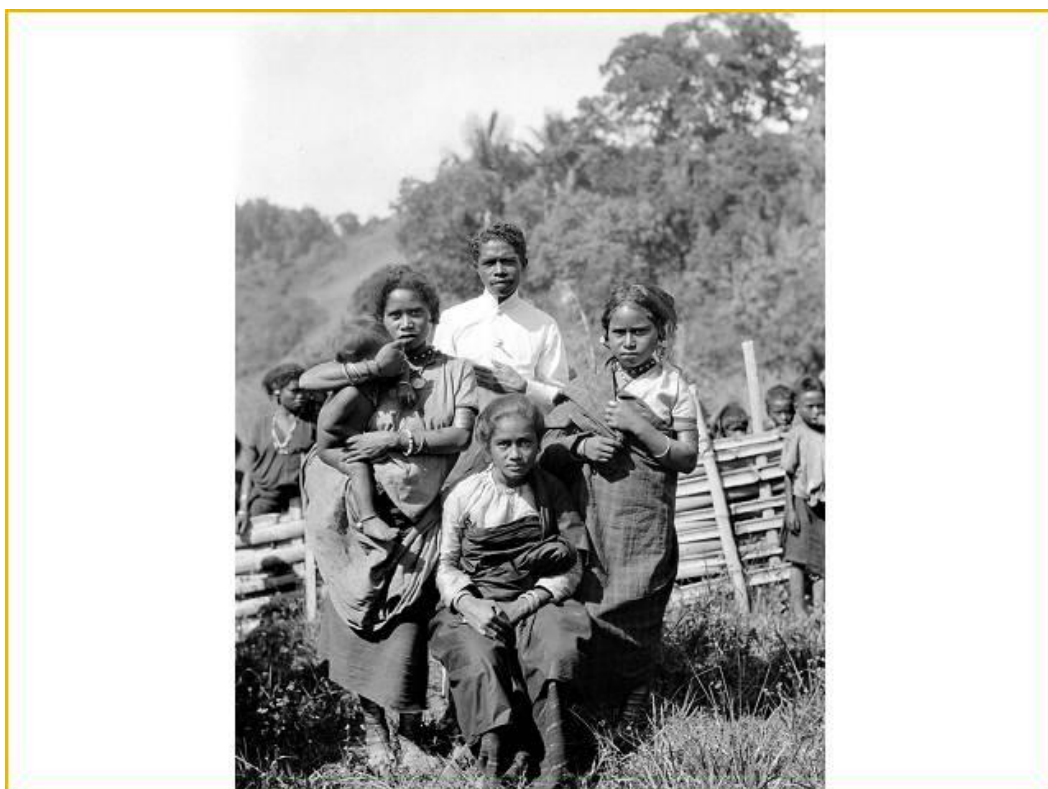
birds' attacks. People were also encouraged to settle their houses near the road. This would help the missionaries and the Dutch to reach them. It would also help people to reach another place and to transport their harvest. Accordingly, many families left their *béo* or *golo* and built new residential area.

The increasing number of Catholic families around schools or *stasi* location formed new community, a Catholic community, outside *béo*. It grew to a Catholic society with a chapel or a school as its centre. All of those situations, however, impacted to *béo/gendang*. In general, *béo/gendang* started to be marginalized. It became periphery in particular in term of social, political and economic aspects. *Béo/gendang* was associated with pagan, primitive and traditional ideas. It functioned merely in traditional rituals and *adat*/culture role matter.

4.3.3. Priest and “Guru Agama”: New Agents

When a *béo/golo* was positioned as periphery in comparison to a *stasi* or a school, the role of *tu'a-tu'a béo/golo*, leaders of village, started to be marginalized. In traditional Manggaraian community, the most important agents and actors in organizing their social and political life were *tu'a-tu'a béo/golo/gendang*. In addition to those people, *ata mbeko* or shaman, a person regarded as having access to, and influence in, the world of ancestors and spirits, also was slowly marginalized as their tasks were transformed to the hands of Catholic leaders.

The coming of Catholicism to Manggarai created new agents and actors. First of all was priest. He was the main key person in a Catholic community. He acted as a new leader and centre for Catholic community. He offered sacraments. He became a mediator between people and God. Consequently in some senses he replaced the task of *tu'a-tu'a béo* to control people and the task of *ata mbeko*, the shaman, to perform rituals.



A family of a teacher in Manggarai. Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

The second was *guru agama* (religious teacher). Because the number of priests was limited, the Church's works were assisted by *guru agama*. Those religious teachers played important role in Catholic Manggaraian community. They were considered as the priests' friends as they worked for the Church. The first teachers in Manggarai came from Larantuka, Maumere, Sikka and Manado.

They were educated in mission schools. Their educational background and task in educating children positioned them as high class. People were very respectful to them. When many Manggaraians were educated too, some were appointed to be teachers in all over Manggarai. They did not merely teach students at school but also introduced Catholicism to elder people in villages. They taught Catholic teachings and practices. They organized religious activities at a *stasi* or school. They introduced Catholic song and choirs. They prepared people to be baptized, to receive Eucharist communion, to receive marriage sacrament, etc. They also promoted Christian way of life. All which had positioned them as important agents and key role within Manggaraiian society.

Some old people I interviewed with such as Mr. David, Mr. Pit, Mr. Romanus from Rangu, Mr. Romanus from Elar, etc. agreed that the role and the position of guru agama in the past was very prestigious. People respected to them. The Manggaraians called them *tuang* (lord) *guru*, a same title that was used to call priest, *tuang* (lord) *pastor*. Until today people usually said that there were only two “real” *tuangs* in Manggarai, *tuang guru* and *tuang pastor*. This was actually to express the significance role of the teachers.

There were two types of *guru agama* in Manggarai. The first was the teacher who taught at schools. They were graduated from a mission school. Usually the Church or government paid them to do their works at school. They also worked for people and community. For this task they were not salaried. The second was those who were appointed directly by the missionaries to help them serve church and people. Since they did not receive any formal education they did

not teach at school. They were chosen because of their fidelity to the priest and capability to work with people. In the Dutch colonial era, some of them offered themselves to be teacher to avoid them from “forced labour”. The missionaries would teach them simple knowledge on Catholicism. They also learnt by seeing and following the priest. They usually helped the priests in preparing altars and mass. They sometimes accompanied the priests to visit villages. They also became the “interpreters” for the missionaries. They were not paid to do such activities. Missionaries sometimes gave presents to them such as food, clothes, kerosene, money, etc. They would be proud to serve the priest. The missionaries usually stayed on their houses when they visited their villages. They were very proud of it. Many common people would admire at and probably were jealous to them.

The number of *guru agama* increased every year in the beginning of Catholicism in Manggarai. In 1924-1925 there were around 29 people and in 1940-1941 there were approximately 1004 *guru agamas* (Betray, 1973: 1271). During Dutch occupation all adult males were required to involve in “forced labor” such as on road construction at least 40 days a year which was divided into two terms, each was 20 days. If they could not participate they had to pay “*belasting*” (amount of money) to the Dutch (Toda, 1999: 331). At first the missionaries asked the Dutch to free “*guru agama*” from work labor and *belasting* as well. The Dutch agreed. But because the number of those religious teachers increased significantly, the Dutch insisted them to pay the *belasting*. As they worked for the Church, the missionaries paid for them. In 1940, Catholic Church paid 10,000 guilders for the exemption of those religious teachers from forced

labor. This, however, increased their social status. They got very good position in society (Betray, 1973: 1271).

In 1929 the Dutch government forbade Catholic missionaries to have land property and to manage lands for the wealth of the Church. This regulation was applied for all areas in Dutch East Indies. In order to keep and maintain Church's property in Manggarai, a Church Committee was founded. The members were the lay people, mostly, *guru agama*. When the Japanese defeated the Dutch, the missionaries were interned and forced to leave Manggarai. *Guru agamas* again played important role in leading people in social, political and religious activities. This gave them high position in Manggaraian society (Ruteng Diocese, M.s., no year).

4.3.4. Eucharist, *Penti* and other Traditional Rituals

It is explained in the previous chapter that rituals play important roles in Manggarain traditional community. Rituals follow human stages and nature sessions. The most important ritual in Manggarai is *pentí*, a thanksgiving ritual, "*pentí weki péso béo*". It gathers a lot of people of one clan. *Penti* is held after harvesting time at which people give thanks to the ancestors and spirits for the harvest they have. *Penti* itself consists of set of rituals done in several places such as inside *mbaru niang* (main house), people house, garden, water resources, grave, *compang* (village altar), etc. To do *pentí*, people of a *béo/gendang* have to plan it far before it should be held. *Tu'a-tua béo/gendang* or heads of village must

discuss about how and when the rituals should be done. *Penti* is considered as a big feast for the Manggarai. In addition to *pent*, there are other kinds of rituals in Manggarai.

When Catholicism was introduced to the Manggaraians, the missionaries insisted the people on the importance of Eucharist as the centre of Catholics life. Mass should become the most important rituals of the Catholics. Since the beginning of Catholicism there were always efforts from missionaries to explain about the importance of Eucharist for Christian life. As the consequences, it slowly changed the Manggaraians' perspectives on *pent* and other traditional rituals as well. Eucharist was considered as the priority and they could postpone the traditional rituals.

4.3.5. Catholicism Vs. Traditional Religious: Adaptation and Conflicts

One serious problem faced by the missionaries was on the question about the place of the Manggaraians' beliefs, rituals, moral and practices in Catholic religion (Daeng, 1998). Actually this problem should be more serious for the Manggaraians, how did they place their traditions in new religion. As Catholics, could they keep maintaining their *adat*? This part presents some adaptations and conflicts the people and the Church experienced in the encounter between faith and local culture in 1912-1960. Since the resources were very limited, in addition to some books, the data are based on information getting from interview with several older people who still remembered what had happened.

4.3.5.1. Local Beliefs and Practices

The first problem of the encounter between Catholicism and traditional religion was the matter of local religion and practices. In general, both the Dutch colonials (Catholics and Protestants) and missionaries had negative perspective about indigenous beliefs and practices. This was common for the western to categorize tribal beliefs as the practices of paganism. It was explained in the second chapter that when the Dutch colonials arrived in Flores, in order to run their development program, many of them destroyed local people's religious symbols and banned of the people's practices that were considered as barriers for development or modern way of life. The Western in general had negative view to traditional practices. As Christians, either Protestant or Catholic, the Dutch colonials perceived traditional beliefs and practices as the practices of paganism (Lonergan, 1972; Küster, 2001). In addition to support their government program, banning and destroying pagan could be seen as good and worthy in the name of their religions. It was not surprised that there was systematic plan to support religious mission that could convert people from "wrong" tradition to better religion.



People put offerings on the top of bamboo in a village in Manggarai in around 1930s.

Resource: <http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl/>

Many of Catholic missionaries serving in Flores in 19th-20th century had same opinion. In eastern Flores, many missionaries gruffly banned the people to practice and do traditional rituals. If they did, the people were accused committed to idolatry which was considered as one of serious sins in Catholics. Since the beginning of Catholicism in Flores, there was always effort either to destroy the local beliefs or to convert of the people's old tradition to Catholic one. Djawa witness that:

A person who had visited our villages or worked there in the year or twenties or thirties (ed. 1920s-1930s) would shake their heads to see the big difference between the villages today and in the past. Before Catholicism came, the villages filled with houses and people, crowded with the traditional festivals; the people were strong and sturdy. Then Catholicism came. The first target of the missionaries what was the so-called "Idols Wood" and "offering"

to the ancestors. This was considered a major barrier for Catholicism. Then immediately with the spirit of Christ who chased away the merchants at the God's temple and with the spirit of St. Paul, the missionaries destroyed and eradicated the woods which were considered as pagan darkness. As many as possible pagans being baptized, and the "Idols Woods" and "offerings" to the ancestors were exterminated until the roots. In the village there must be the Cross of Christ, nothing else...

Unfortunately the destruction of tribal and village community was not accommodated by a very positive and constructive program. People lost their direction; they had nothing to unite them. At the same time they lost their social and duties to others. People started leaving the villages, lived in spread areas, in the gardens, and occasionally visited their village. When they returned home they came with malaria.... Villages were deserted and abandoned (Djawa, 1970: 19-20)⁹.

In Manggarai, many missionaries wanted a total transformation from old religious tradition to Catholic. In many villages, missionary came and put a big cross in the middle of village. It had become a victory symbol of Christianity over paganism. People of the village were hoped to leave all of their old tradition and to transform to pure Catholic practices. Traditional rituals, symbols and practices were categorized as idolatry and therefore should be left. People who still kept them would be marginalized. Mr. Stanis from Mbohang shared his experience:

One day in 1958, many people were gathering in a family's house in Mbohang village. They were doing "*pandé manuk*" (kill a chicken) ritual to thank to their ancestors and to ask for wealth as well. I was about 12 years old at that time. I was one of the people. The ritual was not finished yet when Fr. Smith, a Dutch missionary, passed by the village. As he knew that people were doing "pagan" rituals, he entered the house where the people were gathering. He rudely took the chicken from the *tu'a* (ritual leader) and threw it away. He was very angry to the people. He reminded that as the Catholics the people should not do such kind of ritual. All people were quiet. They just listened to him. But when he went away, they continued doing it. They were afraid of "*nangki agu*

⁹ My own translation

itang” (punishment and calamity from their ancestors) if they did not do it. It was not the first. He did similar reaction over the people who performed their *adat*. (The story was told to me in September, 2011).

Mr. Romanus Jolo (87 years old) from east Manggarai told that his parish priest, European priest, who served in around 1940s-1950s was also strict in rejecting local religion practices.

At first the missionary attended the traditional rituals the people did. He observed it. For he thought that a ritual was in contrary to Catholic values, he then banned people to do them again. He asked his *guru agama* to tell to the people to abandon their traditional practices anymore. In his Sunday speech/homily, he often urged people to abandon their rituals otherwise they would be committed as pagans (An interview in August 2011).

Interestingly, not all missionaries working in Manggarai in the early of 20th century had a strong negative view on local religion, tradition and culture. It was generally believed that the SVD missionaries were different from the Portuguese friars and Jesuits priests who worked in eastern Flores centuries before. They were considered radical in rejecting local pagan practices. The SVD missionaries, on another hand, would be considered as moderate (Prior, 1988). In general the SVD convicted that not all of traditional rituals and beliefs should be rejected; some of them just needed to be “purified”. The Catholic Church would determine the standard whether one ritual was appropriate to Catholicism or not.

Efforts to accommodate Manggaraian tradition into Catholic liturgy had been done since the first decade of Catholicism in Manggarai. At first was the use of Manggarain language in the Church. A Dutch missionary, for instance, Franz Dorn who arrived in Ruteng on April 14th, 1922, began to translate some prayers

into Manggaraian language. Thomas Koning did the same effort. They tried their best to preach in Manggaraian language as they celebrated mass. At first they just read the homily text prepared. Later they did without text. Some teachers in Ruteng assisted them. On May 13, 1922, teachers and pupils of a Standard School at Ruteng sang Christian the song “*Le Momang Maria*” (to love Mary) in Manggaraian language for the first time. In 1930 a small prayer book in Manggaraian was available (Bettray: 1973, 1269).

Some of missionaries came to Manggarai in around 1930 were those who had studied anthropology. Therefore they respected to local tradition and beliefs. Besides serving working on religious activities, some of them dedicated to anthropological work. Aldof Burger, for instance, compiled Manggaraian words into simple dictionary for his dissertation. He also collected the Manggaraians myths, stories and rituals. Burger died during the World War II, before he could publish his work. In 1946 Prof. G. J Gonda, his promoter, printed Burger’s dictionary. Their works were helpful for the missionaries (Toda, 1999: 30-32).

By employing indigenous language in translating the Bible and liturgy and by the utilizing some tradition symbols the missionaries wanted to show that the local cultures did not stand in direct contradiction to the Catholic doctrine. It is important to note that the utilization of Manggaraian language in the Catholic bible, songs, speech/homily was crucial to the rapid growth of the Manggarai Catholic church in this period. After studying the local belief system, the missionaries tried to fit local religious categories, including the Supreme Being.

This actually was common not only in Manggarai but also in some parts of Flores (Molnar, 1997: 397).

The attitude and methods to adapt local culture into Catholicism in Manggarai in this period were best exemplified by the works of Willem van Bekkum, SVD and Jilis A.J. Verheijen, SVD. Both of them conducted extensive ethnographic and linguistic studies on the Manggaraian cultures. Knowledge on local traditions was then used to facilitate conversion to Catholicism and to contextualize Christian faith within local culture.

In 1930s Jillis A. Verheijen arrived in Manggarai. Before coming to Manggarai he learnt anthropology. He was probably the most prominent priest who dedicated himself on Manggaraian culture and tradition. During his pastoral work, Verheijen had opportunity to travel around Manggarai. He collected Manggaraian vocabularies and compiled a dictionary (Verheijen, 1970). His Manggaraian dictionaries have been considered as very systematic and have been referred by people until today. He also collected myths, rituals, stories and other traditional Manggaraian rites (Verheijen, Manggaraian Texts, unpublished Text, no year). He did research on Manggaraian beliefs and wrote a book on the Manggaraian Supreme Beings (Verheijen, 1951, 1991). He always introduced the using of “*Mori Kraéng*” (God, the Creator) into Catholic prayers and liturgy.

He did a lot of interview with elder people and participated in people’s ritual. He also asked for people to write. The people he asked for were those were educated in mission schools. It means that they had affiliated to Catholicism too. It is interesting that about those people he wrote:

The older people have been educated in pure paganism and the adult generations, even after conversion to Christianity, have experienced paganism from their own observation and they still admit its culture. All those who wrote notes for me were born of pagan parents and educated in this circle. They remain in full and friendly contact with their families, and even if perhaps (!) assimilated Western and Christian concepts, they can still understand their pagan companions. My most important writers, M. Dangku and J. Ngantas, spent six and nine years in school, but after that stayed in their village many years before writing their stories for me (Verheijen, 1951: 3; Steenbrink, 2007).

It is interesting that his co-writer did not feel compelled to write their former faith and Verheijen himself did not feel that their conversion to Catholicism made their resources cannot be accepted or not reliable.

Besides working for academic works, Verheijen was active in promoting the use of Manggaraian language and rites as well in Catholic liturgies. As the result, since 1937 missionaries usually held a meeting, once a month, in Manggarai to talk about the issues. Even there was also a meeting, held once in three months, in Ende to encourage the use of vernacular in prayers, homilies and songs. He wrote:

Actually the Manggarai was rich in traditional songs which were very unique. There are both solo and chorus kind of songs. Some were sung with dances and some were not. They used drum as their musical instrumental. What is needed is to motivate the people, the *guru agama*, other teachers and those who have special talents to compose Catholic Manggaraian songs¹⁰ (Verheijen, 1938: 11).

He encouraged *guru agama* to compose local Christian songs. As the result, since 1936, some *guru agamas* and lay people composed Christian songs which then were compiled in a text named *Déré Serani* (Christian Songs). *Déré Serani*¹¹ was probably the best example of using the Manggaraian local theology

¹⁰ My own translation

and values in Catholicism. For instance, in 1936, Mr. Paulus Manti composed two songs: “*Doing koé ga*” (Be aware) and “*Moriga Kristus*” (My Lord Christ) which were originally the songs/prayers the people sang before they went for war. The first song (*Doing koé ga*) invited people to be aware. On the second song (*Moriga Kristus*) Jesus Christ was depicted as the hero who won the war. In 1937, the *guru agama*, Alo Loes, composed two Christian songs based on the folksongs which told the story about slaves who asked for mercy from his lord. The first song “*Yo Mori go Amé Dédék*” (My God, My Creator) was originally a song of a slave to praise his lord *Kraéng Cibal* (the Tu’a/leader of Cibal). The lord of Cibal was transformed to the (Catholic) God. The second song, *Sanggéd ité ho’o* (we all) was an invitation to praise the God that He would bless the people (Jehandut, 2012: 46-69).

There were more songs composed in 1937-1960s by some *guru agamas* in over Manggarai. In 1941 all the songs were compiled in *Déré Serani* text book. In 1947 when van Bekkum was the Deanery of Ruteng, the *Déré Serani* was printed for the first time in Ende.

Wilhelmus van Bekkum who arrived in Manggarai in 1937 was another missionary who deeply concerned to the uses of local cultures into Catholicism. Since the very beginning of his arrival in Manggarai he did some experiments on Manggaraian-Catholic liturgy. Before the Second Vatican Council proclaimed the importance of local culture to the Gospel, van Bekkum devotedly spoke the importance of incorporating the elements of “pagan” in the liturgy of the church. In a conference held in Assisi, he clearly expressed it (Bekkum, 1957: 95-96).

From the beginning van Bekkum investigated carefully the Manggaraian ceremonies and feasts. From there he combined the celebration of the Eucharist with the customary feast. *Penti*, thanksgiving feast of Manggarai, for example, was being “Christianized”. He also sought to bring traditional songs and dances into church liturgy what so called as “*inculturation*”. This effort was intensified when he became the first bishop of Ruteng Church (Jehandut, 2012).

Van Bekkum was also known for his *Misa Kerbau*” (Buffalo Mass). It was a total fusion between the sacrifice of a buffalo, done at important Manggaraian rituals, and the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy of the Roman Catholic mass. With this the blood sacrifice of traditional *adat*, (customary ritual) done at the *compang* (village altar) and initially offered to the ancestors as an atonement of wrong-doings and a request for prosperity, was offered as part of the sacrifice of the mass (Erb, 2003: 13).

Van Bekkum also showed great respect to *mbaru gendang* (main/communal house) and other aspect of a traditional village. He used the local material to explain the Christian values. For instance, in a meeting held in May 15, 1958 in Ruteng, the Church emphasized that

“*mbaru adak* (main house) is the source of life and salvation both in terms of material and spiritual. Therefore the houses and the people’s traditional rituals and practices should not be broken or thrown away but should be Christianized. The wood using to bind a buffalo on *compang* (stone altar) would be changed by a cross; the *compang* could be functioned as new altar; the blood of buffalo would be changed by the blood of Christ.” (Diocese Ruteng, Archive, 1958)

In fact, not all missionaries had the same sympathetic feeling to traditional religion as Verheijen and van Bekkum had. Therefore there was no uniformity from one place to another place, even in the same place. Some priests kept seeing traditional beliefs and rituals as part of idolatry. People's reaction of the inculturation "test" also varied. Some did not like the Catholic religion to adopt local elements into the liturgy of the Church of Manggarai. But some were happy with the idea of inculturation because as if the Church has entered in the local culture and local culture got the price and value in the new religion. There was also radical reaction to reject the idea of mixing Catholic and Manggaraian rites (Daeng, 1989).

4.3.5.2. Marriage

Marriage was considered as one serious question since the beginning of Catholicism in Manggarai. This was because of the different approaches between the Manggaraian traditions and the Catholic Church. There were several main things: issue of marriage ceremony/ritual, polygamy and cross cousin marriage. For the first, it was questioned whether traditional marriage ritual could be accepted as a legal one or not and what should be the proper liturgy to a couple to live together as a Catholic family. The questions had not become problems for Catholic Church before 18th century. When the Portuguese missionaries came to eastern Flores, they did not question about that. It changed with the coming of

Dutch missionaries who had been trained to receive Catholic ceremony as the true ritual for a marriage.

Actually there was a proposal to include the ceremony in accordance with local “pagan” tradition but “because of the wish to promote uniformity, this should not be encouraged”. This became common ground for the Churches in East Indies. The church gave emphasis that the common Catholic rituals, the *Rituale Romanum*, had to be followed as much as possible without local additions (Steenbrink, 2007:17).

Marriage was one of serious problems for all of churches in Flores in the early of Catholicism in Flores. When the Florenese Church officials held a synod in Ndonga, Ende on August 16-22, 1935, those issues were discussed seriously. There was hard debate between two contrasts groups. The first wanted a pure Catholic rules and another wanted an acknowledgement on pagan marriage tradition. Negotiation was done. The *Pastorale Manuale*, a guidance hand book for churches in Flores, finally accommodated some aspects on local tradition. It stated that pure pagan marriage could be recognized as a valid marriage relationship. It meant that a couple who had lived together as a family and had been united by their traditional custom marriage did not need to do other Catholic marriage rituals as they converted to Catholicism. A baptism was a must but not the sacrament of marriage. It also regulated that bride-wealth (*paca/belis*) could be tolerated as it was considered positive to keep marriage from divorce (Prior, 1988).

Pastorale Manuale could not answer and end all problems. Differences of opinion between one and another missionary also increased the complexity of the problem. In fact, the church tended to use “church standard” rather than to accommodate the local practices. Prior (1988) said that the Florenese Church did not deeply root in local context.

For the Church in Manggarai, the issue was not just a matter of rite or liturgy. In Manggaraian tradition, marriage has not been simply an agreement between two people, between a bride and bridegroom. Marriage involved two big families, between *anak wina* (wife receiver) and *anak rona* (wife giver). Marriage was not merely to bond two people but to unite two big families. Marriage had social unification and values. There had been various stages should be done by the two families around marriage rituals and ceremonies. Each side had different position, right and obligation as well. Bride-wealth or *paca/belis* was important material exchange between the two families. It would bind the couple that made divorce almost impossible (Gordon, 1980).

Marriage also had sacred meaning. It united human beings with the world of ancestors and spirits. All symbols used in marriage steps ceremonies were obvious describing the Manggaraian cosmological beliefs. Marriage was a hope of fertility and prosperity for all generations.

For the Manggaraians, a marriage would be good and valid as all of rituals, right and obligation of the two side families had been done in properly way. *Wagal* would be the last ritual and *tudak* (prayer) would be offered. This led the couple to live as a legal family.

This would be problem for the Manggaraian when the missionaries emphasized merely on Church ritual as the way to unite and legalize a marriage. For the Church a marriage sacrament was the only one sign for a couple to be received as a Catholic family. Otherwise they lived in sins. The sacrament became the standard.

This problem was really difficult for missionaries in those days (and especially it might be for the Manggaraians). In mid 1920, a priest who served in Rekas had a serious talk with the Dutch *controleur* about the practices of some missionaries who rashly baptized the local people who were considered living in sins as they did not receive the sacrament of marriage. The priest felt that although they had been baptized, but they would continue to live in a sinful way when husband and wife had a sexual relationship. This, according to him, would not happen if the missionary did not baptize them (Bettray, 1973; Steenbrink, 2007).

However, not all missionaries were very strict to adopt Catholic rule about marriage in Manggarai. Many missionaries did not force old couples who were baptized at the old age to have marital sacrament. Until 1960s there were still many old couples who did not bless their marriage in Catholic ways.

The second hot issues on marriage matter were polygamy and marriage between relatives. Polygamy in Manggarai was practices for special reasons. For instance, a husband was allowed to marry another woman if his wife could not give him children. It would be practices also if a family wanted a son. It still was considered common and normal for a husband to marry more than one woman even though they had already had sons. Even so, it did not mean that a husband

could do it easily. The process to marry was same. A husband could not act alone; he was still part of his families (Boylon in Chen and Suwendi, eds, 2012).

Tungku cu or cross cousin marriage was highly recommended in Manggarai tradition as it was seen as the way to sustain and to strengthen family relationship between brothers and sisters. Since both polygamy and cross-cousin marriage were not allowed in Catholic Church, these became real problems for missionaries and in particularly for the Manggaraians. The Church started to ban husbands to have more than one wife. Since then, the practice of polygamy that was encouraged by local *adat* decreased.

How did the Church of Manggarai grow after 1960? How did the Church accommodate and adapt local cultures after 1960? How did the people react over it? It is elaborated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

MANGGARAI CHURCH DEVELOPMENT: 1961-2012

This chapter focuses on the development of the Catholic Church in Manggarai in 1961-2012. The starting point of this stage is the appointment of Manggarai as an independent local Church (or diocese) by the Holy See in January 1961. Together with other 25 dioceses in Indonesia, the Church of Manggarai transformed from a mission-field to a diocese/local Church. The status assumes that a Church is no longer considered as a foreign entity and institution but a local and native one: the Church of people.

When the status as a diocese was given to the Manggarai Church in 1961, the Church already increasingly grew. Most of the Manggarai became Catholic. The majority of them were the second Catholic generations who were baptized in childhood and were educated in “Catholic way” because their parents had already become Catholics. The Church also became part of Manggarain society. The Manggarai Church steadily promoted various efforts to be a local Church. What were the efforts? How did they affect to the people? What were the responses of the people? What problems arose? How the status of local Church impacted to the way the Church understood local cultures and communities? How the Church

dealt with some classic problems as depicted in the previous chapter? These are some questions to be answered in this chapter.

The transformation from mission field to local Church in 1961 was not the only significant momentum of shifting for the Manggarai Church. Since then, there were major changes which conditioned the way the Church did its mission among the people and at the same time influenced the people either. Some of them related to political changes in Indonesia, particularly, in relation to religious discourse. The killing mass of the members of the communist party (the *Partai Komunis Indonesia*, the PKI) and the way the government imposed religious identity in public sphere for Indonesian citizens was also important factor in growing the Church of Manggarai and in determining the people's religious identity. The New Order's political discourses about monotheism Pancasila, "adat", (world and acknowledged) religion and local beliefs gave impacted to Catholicism in Manggarai too. By all means, socio-political post New Order also shaped the character of Manggarai Catholics.

In addition to external political situations, from internal body of Church, shifting theological paradigm in understanding local culture, communities, hierarchy, people's participation, etc. in the Church which were illuminated both by the Second Vatican Council and by new universal and national theological movements were important factors to the development of Manggarai Church. How then all of these factors shaped the Church of Manggarai from 1961 up to now and how the people struggled are the focuses of this chapter. In addition to books, documents, Church's files and archives, this chapter is also enriched by

field research data which were collected through interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD), observations, questionnaires and discussions.

The chapter is organized as follows. It starts with an explanation about the general development of the Manggarai Church from 1961-now, its changes from the status as a mission field to a local Church. The second part elaborates some political factors in shaping the Manggaraian's Catholic identity. The third part discusses what so called as "classic problems" of the encounter between Catholicism and Manggaraian local beliefs and culture. The fourth part presents the face of Basic Christian Communities (BCC) within the Church of Manggarai; what were they looked like and how the Church grew faith to the people and how the Church developed the communities as well.

5.1.From Mission-Field to Local Church

5.1.1. A Short Way to Diocese of Ruteng

In January 1961, the Holy See appointed the Manggarai Church as a new diocese in Indonesia with Ruteng Diocese as its name. This hierarchical status was also given to another 24 dioceses in Indonesia. Since the Manggarai Church was still very young at that time, it was seen as an excellent achievement of the local Church. While other ecclesiastical regions in Flores needed three centuries to have the same status, the Manggarai Church got it only in 40s years since the first coming of Catholic missionaries to the land. This proved that the Divine Word

Missionaries (the SVD) succeeded to grow the Church and the Vatican acknowledged its spectacular growth. The Manggarai Church was seen as a big Church and was worthy to be a local Church.

This is the process of how the Church of Manggarai and other “old” churches in Indonesia also get the status of local Church (diocese) in the same year. Historically, when Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, all Catholic Churches in Indonesia were still considered as churches in mission-field. Boelaars (2005) mentions they were “churches *in* Indonesia” and not “churches *of* Indonesia”. The highest ecclesiastical status was Vicariate Apostolic at which a bishop was directly under the control of the Vatican and had limited autonomy.

The Indonesian proclamation from Japan did not directly encourage the Indonesian Church hierarchies to question of its “Indonesianity” (*keindonesiaan*) status of Catholic Church (Boelaars, 2005: 126ff). The status of Apostolic Prefectures were accepted and enjoyed as something normal and good in particular for the Church leaders whom mostly were foreign missionaries. Before the Japanese military expelled the Dutch missionaries (including other Europeans missionaries whom were sent from the Netherlands to serve in Indonesia) out of Indonesia there were only 16 “Indonesian” priests out of 570 priests. It meant that the number of “Indonesian” priests were only 6% (Buku Tahunan CMB, 1940; Boelaars, 2005: 95). “Indonesian” priests itself did not mean that they were native Indonesian or indigenous persons but they were born in Indonesia (Dutch Indies) from Euro-Asian parents. The first Indonesia priest was ordained in Java in 1926 and in Flores in 1941 (*Sedjarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia*, 1971: 66, 114). In

Manggarai, the first ordination of an indigenous priest should be waited until 1960 (Cornelissen, 1978). Therefore, in early of independence era, foreign missionaries were still dominant in leading Indonesian Churches. This was one reason why Indonesian churches barely questioned of Indonesian hierarchic status of the Catholic Church.

According to Mgr. T. van Valenberg, the chief of Central Mission Bureau (CMB, *Centraal Missie Bureau*) in 1940-1956, as quoted by Boelaars (2005), it seemed that there was no serious effort from Indonesian Church leaders to ask for independent hierarchic status (diocese) for churches in Indonesia. The issue of the establishing of Indonesian Church hierarchy was actually blown from Vatican rather than from this newly born country.

In 1945-1950 the Dutch wanted to take Indonesia under its control again. It created tension between Indonesia and the Dutch which caused political instability situation inside Indonesia (Riklefts, 1981: 273-280). This impacted to the Catholic Church. During this situation most of Apostolic Vicars, the highest Catholic Church leaders, probably were not sure about the Indonesian political status. Since the Apostolic Vicars were mostly from the Netherlands, they would not consider this situation. As the consequences no Vicars questioned about the local church (diocese) status for Indonesian churches. The Vatican had deep sympathy to Indonesia particularly in regards to the tension between the Indonesian and Dutch about West Papua in 1950s. Therefore Vatican wanted to propose a local church (diocese) status for Indonesian churches. For the Vatican, it would be one kind of support to this newly born state (Boelaars, 2005: 140).

In early independent era, the Indonesian church leaders focused on the question of “Indonesianization” of the “mission” rather than on local hierarchical status. This particularly was to respond to the internal political situation. In 1950s issues about “de-colonialism” was debated among Indonesians politicians and citizens. The Western, especially the Dutch was the target. The movement to reject the Dutch (including the missionaries) was very strong in Java. In 1950 Indonesian government issued a regulation stating that those who could not be Indonesian citizens in 1950 and the years after should have visa to stay in Indonesia. Particularly, for those who worked in religious institution and mission, they had to get “permission letter” from the Religious Ministry Affair if they wanted to keep serving in Indonesia. In fact, the number of the Dutch and other Europeans was high at that time. The Catholic foreign missionaries were about 90% out of total Church’s servants (Muskens, 1969: 280-283; KWI, 1959: 13-14). In Manggarai there was no indigenous priest already. All were the European missionaries. This situation was very serious for Indonesian Churches.

In 1950s, “anti-Dutch” movement kept going. In September 1953 the Indonesian government regulated that no more missionaries would be allowed to enter to Indonesia (Muskens, 1969: 400). On December 6th, 1953, the government instructed around 500,000 of the Dutch to leave Indonesia immediately. Three days after it, 500 of the Dutch companies started to directly being controlled by the Indonesian government. In 1958 those companies were “nationalized”. There were also regulations that forbade foreign people to teach at schools and forbade schools to use foreign language as main instructional language. In fact, the

number of Catholic schools was high and many missionaries worked at those schools too (Steenbrink, 1993).¹¹ Many Catholics saw that de-colonialization was also an anti-Christian movement. In particular because many regulations issued by the Ministry of Religious Affairs considered unbeneficial to Christian and Catholic Churches in Indonesia. Many of Catholic institutions should be “nationalized”.

Anti-Dutch movement in Java and Sumatra had barely impacted in Flores including in Manggarai. The Church with Europeans missionaries as the leaders got prominent status in Manggarai society. People respected and depended on them. Even so, as part of Indonesia, the Indonesian law should be erected in all over Indonesian regions. One of them was on the regulation about education. As explain in Chapter 3, in the early of 20th century the Dutch government gave dominant responsibility and right to the Catholic Churches to run and control all schools in Flores and Sumba (Jebarus, 2008). The regulation was known as “*Flores-Sumba Regeling*”. Due to the political situation, this agreement could not be adopted in new Indonesian condition. The Catholic Church could not keep monopolizing education in Flores. As the result, some Catholic schools had to be changed to state schools. In 1952, the Catholic missionaries in Manggarai should give twelve (12) elementary schools¹² to the government (Yayasan SUKMA,

¹¹ Until the middle of 20th century, in fact, most of the precious and on the top grade schools were private (particular) schools which held by the Christian foundation (Catholic and Protestant). Many of Muslim parents sent their children to those schools. The students were asked to regularly join Christian religious education class after their parents signed a letter of agreement. Some Muslim groups did not agree the idea. The race between Muslim and Christian group in education field was obvious in Indonesian history.

¹² Those schools were SDK (*Sekolah Dasar Katolik* - Catholic Elementary School) Reo I, SDK Reo II, SDK Labuan Bajo, SDK Lete, SDK Kisol, SDK Urung, SDK Rejo, SDK Pocong, SDK Wetok, SDK Anam, SDK Lengor, and SDK Mules.

manuscript, no year). In fact, both local and national government could not establish a school for Manggaraians before 1980s. The Catholic Church still played important roles in this field.

Even though de-colonialism and Indonesianization issues did not encourage the Indonesian Churches' leaders to talk about local hierarchical status of the Churches but the issues forged them to think about Indonesianization of the Catholic Church. In 1955, the bishops gathered in Jakarta for the first time in Indonesian independent era. There were 25 five bishops; three of them were Indonesians, one was an Italian and the rest, the most, were the Dutch. They still used the Dutch language in the meeting as usual (Boelaars, 2005: 42). It perhaps was considered normal not merely because most of them were the Dutch but also because Soekarno, the Indonesian President, also used the same language when he had meeting with his ministries or parliaments. But the bishops then realized that they had to use Indonesian language instead of the Dutch if they really wanted to forge Indonesianization of the Catholic Church. Therefore the meeting was the last meeting using the Dutch. One of their important decisions was the Church would send letters to all religious congregations' and orders' leaders reminding that they had to adapt their education institutions as well as other institutions with the Indonesian state ideas. The bishops also encouraged the religious orders and congregations to place Indonesian persons on strategic positions of their institutions (Hadiwikarta, 1981: 21). Again, the meeting did not talk about the Indonesian Church hierarchy.

In August 1958, the Indonesian government issued a regulation on “naturalization of foreigners” (No. 62/1958). In response to the regulation the Church (bishops) encouraged missionaries to adopt Indonesian citizen starting in 1958. Some decided to do that; some were back home and some else got visa for temporary living in Indonesia. In Manggarai, Jan van Roosmalen, a Dutch priest, for instance, decided to change his nationality to be an Indonesian.

It is mentioned above that the idea to establish Indonesian Church hierarchy primary coming from the Vatican desk. It was proposed in response to the political instability situation between the Indonesia and the Dutch government particularly in regards to West Papua. For the Vatican, the establishment of Indonesian Church hierarchy could be seen as the Vatican’s “acknowledgement to Indonesian independence at one side and at another side as the way of consolidation of Indonesian Church leadership” (Boelaars, 2005: 140). Therefore, in 1961, 16 years after Indonesian proclaimed its independency, the Pope John XXIII through *Quod Christum Apostolic Letter* established Indonesian Church Hierarchy. All Apostolic Vicariates changed to dioceses and all the vicars become the bishops. There were six (6) ecclesiastical provinces: Jakarta, Semarang, Medan, Makasar, Pontianak and Ende with the total number of 25 dioceses in whole archipelago. Three of the bishops were Indonesians: Mgr. A. Soegijapranata, SJ (Semarang), Mgr. A. Djajasepoetra, SJ (Jakarta) and Mgr. Gabriel Manek, SVD (Ende).¹³

¹³ It is clear in the history of Indonesian Church that East Timor (Dili) had never being acknowledged as part of Indonesian church. As Indonesia claimed East Timor as part of Indonesia, the Diocese of Dili was still not considered as part of Indonesian Church.

The Manggarai Church was one of 25 dioceses being given the status of as a diocese. It was part of Ende province. Mgr. Wilhelmus van Bekkum, a Dutch missionary, was ordained as the first bishop. The diocese name was Ruteng Diocese. As it is explained in the chapter 2, Ruteng itself is just a small town in centre of Manggarai. It has grown as Church and government central. The diocese includes all parts of Manggarai, including small islands in surrounding areas.



The old Cathedral of the Ruteng Diocese which was built in 1930. Now it is used for categorical services. Resource: personal collection.

As a diocese, a local church, the SVD was not as the highest ruler in this ecclesiastical district anymore. The bishop now has fully autonomy and could act as the highest ecclesiastical leader in his diocese. In the past, an ecclesiastical district trusted to one order (i.e. the SVD in Flores) that was entitled to propose their members as head of the local church. This followed the system of *ius*

commesiois which then was annulated (Boelaars, 2005: 166ss). This did not mean that the SVD did not play important roles. The first bishop was an SVD and his successors were SVD too except the last one who was ordained recently in 2010. In 1961, when Manggarai Church had become a diocese, there were only two Manggaraian diocesan priests. The dominant priests were the SVD. Until now the SVD still has many members in Manggarai and works in many parishes and institutions.

5.1.2. The Church Growth in 1961-2012

When Manggarai Church was appointed as a diocese, Ruteng Diocese, in 1961, the number of Catholics was not more than 200,000 people spreading in 28 parishes. The bishop was Mgr. Wilhemus van Bekkum, SVD who served with only two Manggaraian diocesan priests and some more Divine Word Missionaries. The missionaries were mostly European priests. In 1969, the number of Catholics increased to 81.1% with 229,547 Catholics of 283,000 total Manggaraian populations. There were 32 parishes with 17 Manggaraian priests and 31 foreign priests. At the end of Mgr. Willem van Bekkum Episcopal period in 1972, there were 45 parishes and 59 priests, 19 religious brothers, 45 sisters and 72 educated catechists (Regus and Deki, 2011; Jebarus, 2008). As it is explained in the previous chapter, Mgr. Willem van Bekkum was known for his inculturation concerns before the Second Vatican Council talked about such idea. He actively learnt of Manggarai traditional rituals and practices and tried to adopt

them in Catholic liturgy and celebration. An old *guru agama*, Mr. Piet Janggur who worked with him in 1970s witnessed that “after van Bekkum, no more priests, including native priest, who concerned on the Manggaraian culture, not even today” (interview in August, 2012).

The second bishop of Ruteng Diocese was a Manggaraian Divine Word Missionaries priest, Mgr. Vitalis Djebarus, SVD who was appointed as Apostolic Administrator in January 3, 1972 and was ordained as a bishop in May 3, 1973. Mgr. Vitalis Djebarus was not the first Manggaraian became a bishop. The first one was Mgr. Donatus Djagom who was appointed as the bishop of Ende some years before. The Manggaraian Catholics were very proud of having two indigenous bishops. This has also strengthened the Manggarai-Catholic identity.

During his Episcopal era, Mgr. Vitalis Djebarus started to introduce “self-supporting program” (*Gereja Mandiri*) which became popular during the third bishop’s period (Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD). In 1974 the number of Catholics was 298,521 and 314,831 in 1976. There were 345,312 Catholics in 1978 living in 50 parishes and 215 stations. The Atmajaya Research Centre (PPA-*Pusat Penelitian Atmajaya*) reported that in years of 1972-1979 the Manggarai Church was ranked as number one on Church growth in Indonesian. Conversion from traditional religion to Catholic increased. In 1979, Catholic population made 87.5 % and the rest were Muslims, Protestants and little number of animists (PPA No. 71, 1981: 4).

According to Indonesian government census in 1980 there were 3,541,652 Catholics in Indonesia or 3 % total population of 147,331,823. Some 43% of

Catholics in Indonesia were in East Nusa Tenggara Province and 31% of it was in Flores. There were seven dioceses in Indonesia with more than 50% of Catholics: the diocese of Atambua 91.6%, Ruteng (Manggarai) 89.9%, Ende 80.8 %, Dili 80.4 %, Agats 73%, Merauke 73% and Larantuka 53% (PPA, 1981).

In January 4, 1981 Mgr. Vitalis Djeburus ended his task in Manggarai. He moved to Bali and was appointed as the bishop of Denpasar Diocese in the same year. Before a new bishop was appointed for Ruteng Diocese Fr. Gerardus Mezenberg, SVD led the Manggarai Church as a Capitulars Vicar. In December 15, 1983 the Church was led by Max Nambu, a diocesan priest, as a Diocesan Administrator (Regus and Deki, 2011: 221). There were 65 priests (7 diocesan priests, 58 religious priests) working on 48 parishes at that time.

The third bishop was ordained in March 25, 1985. Like his predecessor, Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD was a Manggaraian too. When he started his Episcopal era, 89% of Manggaraians was Catholics. The Catholic Church has become the most important institution for the people. The number of priest, other religious order members, parishes, stations, basic communities etc. increased. Manggarai has become a big Catholic society. Since the first years his Episcopal period, the bishop continued the previous bishops' idea on "Self-supporting" (*Gereja Mandiri*) program in particular in financial aspect. Since the diocese received limited financial aids from European donators, the diocese could not afford fund for the parishes. So the people have to pay for their parishes' activities and to pay salary for their own priest and other pastoral officers. (It will be elaborated in another session of this chapter).

In 1992 Manggarai Church merrily celebrated its 80 years anniversary. People from parishes in all over Manggarai gathered in Ruteng town for days. In a meeting of all pastoral workers in that year, it was decided that the diocese should involve as many people as possible to plan the diocese's the Church's long-term program. The diocese should do a synod. As the result, the first synod was held in 1994-1995. The meeting that was attended by delegations from parishes, religious orders, church's organization and institution, social workers, government officers, etc., recommended a Diocese Pastoral Manual 1995-2006 (Sekretariat Keuskupan Ruteng, 1995). The manual contained a ten year program of the diocese. I would say that that ten-year program tended to build and to strengthen Catholic institution rather than to empower people. The orientation was centered in Church rather than in society and people. Some people critiqued that the Church had not become the church of people but the church of the priests and other church official personals. Tarsi Hurmali, an NGO member in Ruteng, for instance, often complained about this matter (some informal talks with him in Ruteng in 2010-2012).

In 2002, the diocese consecrated a very big new cathedral which was built about 500 meters far from the old one. Different from the old Church which two of its tower resembled the roof of the Manggaraians' traditional house, this new Church was totally constructed in European style. There was no aspect's of the Manggaraians' traditional house at all. The Church was very big and could be occupied by thousands of people. Some people I talked with commented that it was probably better if the cathedral resembled our traditional house rather than the

European one. But, some did not care. They were very proud of the Church that was very good, modern and stylish. When the new cathedral was consecrated, both Catholic liturgy and local *adat* of blessing a new house were done. *Adat* rituals were completely performed before a merry Catholic mass was done. It was commonly practiced in Manggarai that for any celebrations, all *adat* rituals should be done before Catholic liturgy which was seen as the “peak” of all *adat* and to complete the *adat*.

In 2006-2007, under the leadership of Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD, the diocese held the second synod. The synod was rather different with the previous one because it involved all people in Basic Christian Communities in all over Manggarai. At first, a group of expert formulated several simple questions to be discussed by the people in grass-root levels. The group then trained many facilitators to guide the communities in discussing and talking about the questions. The questions were to ask what the people think of their Church (the diocese, parish, and communities). They were invited to evaluate the Church, to identify the dominant social problems of their society and to talk what kind of Church they like to. The research results were organized and interpreted by a well prepared and skilled team from parish, deaconate and diocese level.

On its summit meeting which attended by hundreds of delegates from parishes and basic communities, the Church decided a ten-year program. Different from the first synod, the second has more focuses on social issues in the society. For each year, the diocese concerns on a certain pastoral issue (Pusat Pastoral Keuskupan Ruteng, 2005). The year of 2008, for instance, was dedicated as the

year for environmental concern. All of parishes and people were invited to save environment by promotion anti-deforestation and planting as many trees as possible on their garden. The church did intensive socialization, education and discussion with the people about the importance of preserving forest and water resources (Pusat Pastoral Keuskupan, 2006). The year of 2009 was focused on poverty issues. The Church actively promoted people to be the member of credit union (CU), to live in economic and simple way, to develop grassroots economic, etc. The year of 2010 was devoted to education issue. The year of 2011 was focused on youth issues: how to empower young generation and to prevent them from social degradation. The year of 2012 was on family issues. In addition to that, in 2012 the Church of Manggarai celebrated of its centennial anniversary. Therefore this year, 2012, the Church concentrated on that celebration. In regards to the centennial anniversary of the Manggarai Church, the Church raised the issue about “inculturation” in order to revive the Manggaraian aspects on Church’s liturgy. Every parish should celebrate mass on Manggaraian language and wear Manggaraian cloths every third week of month.

In regards to ecclesiastical district, until 2008, there were five deaconates in diocese of Ruteng. But since 2008, the diocese reorganized its deaconates district that could be same with the political unit of Manggarai regency. Until 2003 there was only one political unit of regency, the regency of Manggarai and the diocese area was same as the Manggarai regency area. In 2003 the regency was split into two, Manggarai and West Manggarai and in 2006, Manggarai was again split into two, Manggarai and East Manggarai. In line with the political

changes, since 2008 there have been three deaconates areas: Manggarai, West Manggarai and East Manggarai. This is believed that the Church could easy to organize its program and organize people.

During the Episcopal period of the late bishop Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD, the Manggarai Church continued growing. In 2002 the number of Catholic was 579,755 of 616,907 Manggarain populations. There were 63 parishes with thousands of pastoral parish councils, hundreds of catechists, 111 priests, 33 brothers, 184 sisters, etc. In 2004 the Catholics made 96.6% with 199 priests, mostly diocesan priests and 70 parishes. There were also many other Manggaraian priests working as missionaries outside the diocese including in foreign countries. If in the past Manggarai was considered as a mission-field, today the fact is different; many Manggaraians (priests, sisters, brothers) become missionaries in foreign countries in all over the world (Diocese Archive, m.s).

During his Episcopal time, the late bishop, Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD always opened his heart to let many convents and congregation to work within Manggarai Church. In 1961 there were only 5 religious orders/convents working in the diocese. In 2002 the number was 20 and increased to more than 50 orders in 2008. Most of them had big and luxurious house in Ruteng that made this small town looked like what people usually say as “the second Vatican”. Many people questioned of those orders’ contribution to the Manggaraians. The bishop was often critiqued because he gave permission to too many orders to work in the diocese. The critiques were actually based on the reality that the convents showed

no significant contribution to the people around their society. Olin, a 40s years lady said that

Many sisters (nuns) congregations only came to take out our Manggaraian girls to be their members. They would bring the girls to serve in European countries while the order did not serve to the people in Manggarai. The Manggarai Church should not permit too many orders to come here unless they would contribute to our society (A talk, in April, 2011).

Some annual pastoral meeting attendees in Borong and Labuan Bajo gave similar suggestion to the convents to have more services to the people around their houses rather than merely to do their domestic tasks (recorded from “Pertemuan Pastoral Tahunan Dekanat Borong” on 10-13 February, 2011 and “Pertemuan Pastoral Tahunan Dekanat Labuan Bajo” on 21-24 February, 2011).

Several people complained that since the coming of those orders in that town the land owners in Ruteng and surrounding areas have sold their land extremely expensive. What those people meant was like this. Before the congregations/orders came to Manggarai and bought land in Ruteng for building their houses, it was not too difficult for the common people to buy land in order to build a house. But then the orders that were from rich countries (mostly European) bought the land in very high price. As the result, the price of the land incredibly increased that the local common people could barely afford them anymore. Therefore, many people blamed the Church for this matter.

On October 13, 2008 Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD died in Jakarta. At that time the number of Catholic was 673,596 spreading in 76 parishes and with 242 priests, hundreds of sisters, brothers, and fraters and hundreds of educated

catechists and parish council as well. There were 256 Catholic Elementary Schools, 50s Secondary Schools, two academic colleges, and some hospitals and health centers. A year after the death of Mgr. Eduardus Sangsung, SVD a new bishop was consecrated for the diocese of Ruteng. The bishop, Mgr. Hubertus Leteng, is the first diocesan bishop in Manggarai. Since the beginning of his Episcopal period he has deep commitment to fight against mining exploitation and exploration which have become serious problems for the people of Manggarai since last decade.

How Catholicism was experienced by the Manggaraians in their daily life? It was clear that Catholic has become part of Manggarai society. The Church has become the most important and influential institution rather than the government and cultural/*adat* institution. It was very common for people to adjust of their activities, holidays and plans to the Church's liturgical calendar. The Church's feasts and celebration were the people's feast and celebration too. People, for instance, usually would have big party on the first communion celebration of their children. Some families also had party on baptism day of their babies. The people celebrated Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost sessions merrily. There were many parishes organizing sport competition such as soccer, volleyball, badminton, chess, etc. among basic communities groups or stations during the sessions.

The Manggaraians were very respectful to Church's hierarchy: bishops, priest and brother, fraters and sisters. People positioned them as high class on the society. They listened to their voices and in many cases were afraid to express the feeling of disagreement in front of the clergies. Many people though that their

voices were always right as they spoke in the name of God. There were also many people who did not want to clearly critique and openly reject of their ideas. They were afraid of being cursed, they said. People often said that it was not good to stand against of their conviction. It was better to just follow and agree with them. Some said that many priests enjoyed of being respected in such way. Many people critiqued that many priests in Manggarai acted like big bosses who wanted to be served by the people and not vice versa.

People were very proud to have a priest or sister in their family more than any other jobs. Many families would be respected in different ways before and after they have a priest or nun in their families. Priest ordination was a very big celebration and party for an extended family in Manggarai. There was tradition that an extended family of a bridegroom would collect money to pay bribery to the families of a bride. When a man of a family decided to be ordained as a priest, his extended families would also collect money to celebrate his priesthood celebration as if he would marry a girl. Even, not only extended family would collect money to support the party but also people from the village and neighbor villages. Lila, an intellectual madam in Ruteng said that “the Manggaraians always had much money for party but had nothing for sending their children to good schools or to hospital when they are sick” (a talk in March, 2012).

Sunday was a very special day for the Manggaraians. People attended mass and usually did not work in their garden. A person who frequently attends mass would be considered as a good Catholic by the people. Churches of the parishes were full of people during Eucharist celebration. Churches were

important buildings for the Manggaraias. People would dress up as good as possible when attending mass. In special occasion people would wear the best and newest cloth they had.



A lot of people joint one celebration in the Cathedral of Ruteng Diocese in 2007.
Resource: Personal collection

In addition to Sunday mass, Rosary Prayers which was done every night in May and October were probably the most popular devotions among the Manggaraians. For the people, gathering together every night from one to another house during May and October were very special. In general they did not merely pray but also drink, talk various topics and sometimes eat together. That people like to gather with their neighbor was very deep rooted in their culture. Harmony and togetherness were worth values for the society. The Catholic nuances were

apparently felt also in non-religious activities. On wedding party or state memorial days, for instance, Catholic prayers would be offered. It would be possible that a certain text of Gospel would be delivered in the speech on those occasions.

The Catholics atmosphere could be easily observed from the people's houses. Almost all the Manggarai's houses were decorated with "Catholic symbols". People hung cross in many rooms: living room, sleeping room, above the room's door. Usually there was also a "prayer corner" where one or more statues (usually the statue of Saint Mary or Jesus or Holy Family, or Saint Joseph, etc.) were set on a special decorated table. People might light candle when they were praying in front of the statue. Since several last decades people have started to ask "blessed salt and water" from their parish priest. They used the blessed salt and water to keep them away from Satan or bad spirit. Many people wore Rosary on their neck or put on their pocket. Some people would automatically mention "Jesus, Mary and Joseph" as the expression of shocking or fear. Some middle class would have Catholic rituals to bless their new house. Some also asked a priest to bless their motorbike or car. Starting about five years

Webb's statement that "*The Florenese live on an island where 'even the trees, rocks and birds are Catholic'*" was true for the Manggaraians. Catholicism was part of their identity and it was clear from the symbols they performed. But it was interesting that the identity as the Manggarai was part of Catholic identity. The discussion on this will be elaborated in another session of this chapter.

This year (2012), the Manggarai Church celebrated its centennial anniversary. Starting in 2011, parishes and diocese did a lot of activities to celebrate it that involved all people. Almost all the people I talked with expressed of their proud and happiness to celebrate the jubilee and to be Manggarai Catholic people. On 17-21 October, 2012 the diocese celebrated “a peak week of Jubilee” (*pekan puncak*) of its 100 years anniversary. Hundred thousands of people joint the five days celebrations. On the last day, Susilo Bambang Yudohono, the president of Indonesia with some of his ministers and followers joint the celebration. There were various comments of his presence in Manggarai. Many people were very proud. A man said that, “that the President of Republic Indonesia came and joint our centennial anniversary was to prove that our Church is a big Church”. Some commented on the successfulness of the Church Anniversary Committee to invite the number one people in Indonesia to come to Manggarai. Some were proud of the president’s speech on the day that stated “Manggarai is a big Church that has contributed to the development of Indonesian in particular throughout education works.” Some had cynical comments both on the coming of the President to the celebration and to the luxurious celebration itself as well. There was a comment that the president’ visitation was part of political plan to support certain political party and persons who would run for the next provincial election. There was another comment that the celebration was too luxurious for most of the Manggaraians who were considered living in poverty (from various resources). Putting besides all of those negative comments, it was so clear that the people were very happy and proud of celebrating 100 years of the

Catholic Church in Manggarai. The celebration was to convince the one coin with two sides: Manggarai and Catholic. The atmosphere of Manggarai-Catholic was adequately evident around the celebration. The Church intensively revived the using of *Déré Serani* (Christian Songs), traditional prayers, dances and clothing in Catholic liturgy. There were a lot of traditional symbols using around the celebration. All of which were to show the efforts to be the “Church of Manggarai”.

5.2. Political Discourse on Religion and Catholicism in Manggarai

The reasons why Manggarai becomes a Catholic society and why the people are very proud of being Catholic are not merely as the result of the SVD missionaries’ and local Church’s efforts. It should be the result of the social political situations both on national and local level. In particular, it is influenced by the Indonesian government’s political discourses about religion, *Pancasila* (the Indonesian national ideology) and “*adat*” after the 1965 tragedy of communism *coup de étate* (G 30 S/PKI) and the mass killing in 1965-1966. The way the Indonesian government imposes religious issues in public sphere since 1965s created significant impacts to Catholicism in Manggarai. This section discusses how the Indonesian political discourses on religious impacted on the growth of the Church of Manggarai and on the Manggarai’s religious identity.

5.2.1. Political Tragedy in 1965, Question on Religious Identity and the Manggarai

The year of 1965 was an unforgettable year in the history of Indonesia. In September 30th, 1965, a group of people, identified as Indonesian Communist Party, (hereafter, the PKI, *Partai Komunis Indonesia*) wanted to do *coup de étate*. They attacked and killed several military generals. The attack was defeated by the National Military under the command of Soeharto who become the second the president of Indonesian just a year after the tragedy.

After September 30th, all of Communist Party members were chased and eliminated (Abdullah, 1981). The mass killing (massacre) in the year of 1965-1966 has become the bloodiest event in Indonesian history. The members of PKI or people who were underestimated as part of Communism Party “became the targets attack in the worst episode of domestic slaughter in Indonesia’s history” (Ricklefs, 1981: 272). How many people died on the tragedy is not sure. There is an estimation reporting that approximately around hundreds of thousand people died and many more were living under social stigma (Ricklefs, 1981: 272). Until now the event is unclear. There is no single answer to explain about it. It is still like an unsolved mystery.

During the New Order regime, under the authority of President Soeharto, the government had clear statement about the September 30th tragedy. The PKI was responsible for the tragedy because they wanted to change Indonesian ideology (the Pancasila) into an ideology of communism. It was the PKI’s dream

to establish Indonesia as a communist country. The government saw it as a dangerous movement for the country. Therefore in 1966 the government declared PKI as an illegal and forbidden party (TAP MPRS/1966). There was a lot of ways by which the government convinced the Indonesians that the communism should be eliminated.

Hefner (1990:58) says that the tragedy of 1965-1966 has drastically changed everything in Indonesian politic direction, particularly in relation to religious life. Since then, the New Order government positioned religious issue as a strong political issue. First of all, the PKI was simply identified as atheism. Those who did not have religion would be accused as a communist. This caused a serious question about people's religious identity in public life. As the consequences, in order to avoid of being accused as a PKI (atheists), a person should embrace one of five formal religions (Islam, Catholic, Christian, Hindu, and Buddhism). In the years of 1965-1966 and after, some studies show that there was conversion wave from traditional religions to one of formal religions. Willis (1997), for instance, reports that only in six months around mass killing approximately 2.8 million people converted to Christian (Catholic or Protestant) in particular in Java, eastern Indonesia and north Sumatra (Cooley, 1968: 6-7). A significant number of people also converted from traditional religion to Hindu in Java (Lyon, 1980: 205-220).

How the tragedy of 1965-1966 influenced the Manggaraians and Catholicism? In 1965s there were about 25 people as the active members of PKI in Manggarai who could show their "card member". They were very critical to the

government and state which were considered as corrupted and not taking apart of poor people. According to Webb (1986a, 1986b; 2002) some of the PKI members in Manggarai were sometimes also discussing and criticizing of the missionaries' life style. They also accused the missionaries for kept maintaining "colonial style" in running the Church. They also critiqued of the missionaries' luxurious life style. Accordingly they sometimes propagated "Anti-Catholicism" but rather as "sentimental annoyance" than an open attack to the Catholic Church. They particularly wanted to critique the bishop of Ruteng Diocese who, according to them, collected money in order to build a new Church. In fact, their rumors could easily be rejected by all Manggarai Catholics who did trust to bishop rather than to them. Even so, few people believed it. The rumors were actually based on the gap between the people and the missionaries. Most of people lived in very simple house made of bamboo and coarse-grass roof while the missionaries had big and luxurious houses and facilities. Some also compared the food they had. This issue, according to Webb, particularly was spread by intellectuals who lived outside Manggarai and did not know the real situation. Many missionaries lived simply in remote villages. Even so, it could not be denied that during economic crisis situation of Indonesia around 1960s, the missionaries enjoyed much better life than people did. Missionaries got much money that made them easy to get land, build houses, buy cars and have much access to travel off.

Webb (1986) wrote that a missionary witnessed that in fact, the PKI members wanted to critique the government (national and local) policy in response to national economic crisis. According to them the government showed

no responsibility to poverty problem of the society. The government often paid the teachers' salary very late. Some government officers were accused as corruptors. All of which became the reasons why the people wanted to join the Communist Indonesian Party (PKI). They believed that it would change the situation. In fact, according to Webb (1986a; 1986b), most of the PKI members had very limited information about communism.

It was interesting that the members of the PKI were very active in Catholic Church in Manggarai. They regularly attended Sunday Mass, Rosary Prayer and other Church liturgy celebrations. They had also good communication with people and with their pastors or "Parish Council" members. There was no dichotomy between the PKI and Church.

After the tragedy of September 30th (G 30 S PKI), all of the PKI members were hunted and chased, including those in Manggarai. How many people were killed in the year of 1965-1966 in Manggarai was unknown. According to Webb (1986), at least there were 25 five people because they had the PKI "card member". Probably more people were killed. Mr. David and Stanis told that as far as they knew there were around 100-200 people killed (an interview in 2011).

What are the impacts to the mass killing to Catholicism in Manggarai? As it is explained above, the animosity between the PKI and the Catholic Church was not as clear cut in Manggarai. Even though some of the PKI members were very critical of the Church, most of them were devoted Catholic followers. But because the New Order government convinced the people that the PKI was as same as atheism or anti-religion, people started to believe that the PKI was an anti-

Catholic group. Therefore, many people started to think that “*émé méu toé Katolik, méu ata PKI*” (“if you are not a Catholic, this means you are a PKI”). Some people also believed that the PKI and those who were killed as being accused as the PKI members in 1965-1966 represented a real threat. Some even said that “*ata PKI, ata lawan agama*” (the PKI was against the religion, i.e. Catholic) (based on some talks with Mr. Stanis Tatul, Mr. David, Mr. Pius, Mr. Romanus, in 2010-2012).

The tragedy impacted to new conversions from traditional religion to Catholicism in Manggarai. Before 1965, the number of Catholic people in Manggarai was not more than 68% (Vriens, 1972). The rest were those who still maintained their traditional religion and refused to be baptized. Most of them were elderly people. Usually, their children already became Catholics. After the tragedy many young Catholic generation asked their parents or grandparent to be baptized (to have a formal religion). The young generation would find difficulties to get a job or develop their career if their parents or relatives had “not having religion yet”.

In addition to elderly people, conversion to Catholicism was also done by Chinese. Before 1965, many of them enjoyed having their ancestral beliefs. But after 1965, they were forced to affiliate to one of five “true” religions. In fact, there would only two choices for them at that time: either to be a Catholic or to be Muslim. Most of them decided to affiliate to Catholicism. The reasons were simple: Catholicism was a major religion and they could still eat pork. Only very few numbers of them chose Islam, in particular those who lived in Reo, on the

north coastal area. In 1969, the number of Catholics increased to 81.1% (Regus and Deki, 2011; Jebarus, 2008) with 229,547 Catholics of 283,000 in the total Manggaraian population and in 1980 Catholic population made about 89.9% of total population in Manggarai (PPA, no.67, 1981). People in Manggarai often called those who converted after the PKI era as “*Katolik zaman PKI*” which means Catholics from the PKI time (Interview with an old priest in 2011).

5.2.2. “Monotheism Pancasila” vs. Local Beliefs

During the era of the President Soeharto, the first principle of *Pancasila*, “*Belief in One God*”, was seen as an ideal type for the Indonesian religion system, i.e. monotheism religion. The word “*Esa*” (Single/One) was interpreted as monotheism. In many practices, this principle was understood not merely as a ban for atheism but also for syncretism and all local beliefs that were polytheistic and animistic in character (Dhakidae, 2003: 193).

In Manggarai, since many missionaries forbade people to do their traditional practices that were accused as the practice of polytheism, the politic of New Order post 1965 strengthened the position of Catholic Church. For some people the reasons why should not do their traditional practices were not only because they were forbidden by the Catholic Church but also because the government did so.

When I was in elementary and junior high schools in 1980s, both my religious education teacher and the Moral of Pancasila (PMP, *Pendidikan Moral*

Pancasila) teacher often explained that the first principal of *Pancasila* was same with the first principle of the Ten Commandment, “I am the Only God”. The Manggaraians should not “*imbi pina naéng*” (believe in many divines/gods). The Manggaraians should not worship to many gods: the god of tree, the god of stone, the god of water resource, etc (polytheism).



A traditional ritual of “*pandé manuk*”, killing chicken to “read” of the people’s future.

5.2.3. The Politics of “*Adat* and the Manggarai Catholic People

In Indonesian New Order era, local traditional beliefs and practices were not acknowledged as religions but rather as “*adat*” or “culture” which had lower position than world religion. The Indonesian government also used *adat* to strengthen national and local identity (Smith, 1993; Erb, 2007; Atkinson, 1983). Local cultures and *adat* were seen as Indonesian’s national property. They

enriched national identity and supported the idea of “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*” (Unity in Diversity) (Acciaoli, 1985;; Pemberton, 1994; Picard, 1997). In order to build national identity on the basis of local cultures, the national and local government often encouraged people to perform their “*adat*” or culture. Sometime a competition was held. The *adat* was used as “entertainment”.

When Frans Sales Lega became the regent/*bupati* in 1967-1978, the local government often held *adat* performance and competition in Manggarai. There would be a group of judge who ranked and graded the *adat* performances (Erb, 2007). *Adat* was changed from cultural and sacred ritual to entertain activity.

When Antony Bagul Dagur became the regent in 1995-2005, he paid a lot attention to “Manggarai culture”. Many people said that he often saw himself as “person of *adat*” (*tokoh adat*), a person who well understood the Manggarai culture. He sometimes saw himself as an *adat* leader. He liked to sing Manggarai songs whether in political, social or private party/celebration. He liked to wear Manggarai traditional cloths. He wrote a book on “Manggarai Culture” (1997) and asked people to learn of Manggarai culture and to read his book. He also involved in many village or family traditional rituals. He often identified himself as a “*tu’a*” who knew about *adat*.

As the consequence *adat* rituals were done out of its original purposes. It became secular and popular. In the past, people would do *adat* only for certain reason, on a certain time, and at a certain place. The rituals were led only by certain person who had authority and knowledge on that.

Since 1980s, the Indonesian government has promoted *adat* for tourism industrial interest. To attract as many tourists as possible the government encouraged the people to revive local *adat* and to perform them in front of the tourists. People, in particular the youth generation, were encouraged to learn their *adat* that they did not know well before (Erb, 2007). As the result, many young people were interested to learn their *adat* so they could explain it to the tourists. Therefore there was transformation in handling *adat* from *tu'a* (village leader) to tourism players.

In regards to Catholicism, the way the government considered *adat* as merely human creation and communities' property rather than something sacred and religious, in fact, also strengthened the position of Catholicism. Therefore, political factor is an important factor to Catholicism in Manggarai.

5.3.Catholicism and Traditional Religious: Adaptation and Conflicts

It should be noted that, in 1960s the progress of Catholic Church in Manggarai was spectacular. It is explained above that most of Manggaraian have converted into Catholicism. Most of them were baptized at very young age and were "educated in Catholic way". This was very different with the first Catholic generation who converted to Catholicism at old age. This gave impacts to the way the people saw their local beliefs and tradition in relation to Catholic faith.

5.3.1. Local Beliefs and Inculturation

After his consecration as the first bishop of the Ruteng Diocese in 1961, Mgr. Wilhelmus van Bekkum continued his effort to integrate Catholic faith within local culture. He promoted *inculturation* by including traditional rituals into Catholic liturgy. As the bishop he regularly visited parishes and villages in all over Manggarai to celebrate mass either around *compang* (stone altar) or in *mbaru gendang* (main communal house). By doing it, he wanted to accentuate the values of local symbols before Christianity. He changed “idol wood” erected on *compang* with cross. He also tried to Christianize some local rituals such as a series of *penti/hang woja* (thanksgiving) rituals. He explained the similarity between local and Christian theology. He encouraged the Manggaraians to do their traditional feast and rituals. He insisted the positive values and functions of the Manggaraian traditional *adat* rituals and feast to the maturity of one’s personality. For him, the rituals were good in order to balance between sacred and profane aspects. Rituals were the media to communicate with God, with human beings and with nature (Bekkum, 1987: 2; Jehandut, 2012: 109ff; Woda, 1984: 5; Jehanu, 1987:205).

During his Episcopal period, he encouraged to print the *Déré Serani* (Christian Song book) thus it could be widely used by people in all parishes in the diocese. When the *Déré Serani* (Christian Songs) was reprinted for its third edition in 1963, he wrote an introduction of the book. He was excited. He appreciated the *guru agama*, *adat* leaders, and teachers in Manggarai for their

incredible works. He hoped the book could be one way to communicate faith and local culture (*Déré Serani*, vol. 3, 1963: 3; Jehandut, 2012: 66-67). He also appreciated the members of Vatican II Council whom he introduced the book, for their positive reception and critics.

In addition to do inculturation in Manggarai, Van Bekkum also promoted the idea to universal Church, including to the members of Vatican II Council. On one of the first sessions of the Council, he presented a paper “Liturgical Adaptation to Indonesian Culture”. He insisted that the Church could Christianize and sanctified local agricultural rituals such as a ritual opening new garden as he already practiced in Manggarai. He also encouraged the Churches leaders to using of local language in Catholic liturgy (Wiltgen, 1967: 7-8; Jehandut, 2012: 11).

Even though van Bekkum often invited his priests to do inculturation in Manggarai, still many western missionaries and even local priests did not agree with him. Some rejected not only the uses of local aspects in Catholic liturgy but also undoubtedly banned people to do the rituals outside the Church buildings. Therefore there was no uniformity form one to another place. A European priest in Wae Rana, Eastern Manggarai (working in 1960s-1980s), for instance, had never practiced inculturation in his parish. He did not like the idea to combine local and Latin-Roman Catholic liturgy. A man from Wae Rana shared that:

Until the end of his life, our parish priest did not like all things related to local *adat* rituals. He never attended any *adat* feasts. For him, to be Catholic was enough. There was no need to commit to local *adat* anymore. The two were contrary each other. As the result, the people in our parish did not know about inculturation. Local prayers were not allowed to be used in mass. Sometimes he also forbade people to do *adat* rituals, but sometimes he did not care if the people still practiced in their village. We were confused.

Since we knew that people from other parishes could still maintain their *adat*, we also did them secretly. We would not tell him or let him know if did so. However, we were fear of hell. We felt we have sinned. But, at the same time, we could not abandon our *adat*. We were afraid of our ancestors (An interview in April, 2011 in Wae Rana).

An old guru agama in Wae Rebo, South Manggarai, Mr. Dorus (80s years old) shared similar experiences. He worked as a village *guru agama* in 1960s-1990s. Because his parish priest, a European missionary, did not allow the people to do *adat*, as a *guru agama* he agreed with the priest.

Starting in 1960s, as a guru agama, I did not do *adat* rituals anymore. I just prayed in Catholic way. I neither did killing chicken ritual nor did *adak téng hang* (a ritual to give offerings to the ancestors). I also did not practice other rituals, even the very simple one. If my extended family performed *adat*, I rejected to come. I often insisted them not to do so. It was since 2000s I totally changed my mind. I again did our *adat* and never left them anymore. (An interview in Wae Rebo, in May 2011)

In 1972, a new bishop for the Diocese Ruteng was concredited to change van Bekkum. The second bishop, Mgr. Vitalis Djebarus, SVD was a Manggarai. During his Episcopal time, he continued van Bekkum's efforts on *inculturation*. He visited parishes and villages to explain the Christian aspects of the local beliefs, ritual and symbols. For instance, he compared the Blood of the Christ with the blood of sacrificed animals. As the Christ has filled His Blood to the salvation of human beings, a community that used animal blood in their rituals should unite the rituals with the Christian faith. He also compared the way the Catholic devoted to saints as similar to the way the Manggarai prayed to their ancestors. He convinced the people that to combine between Christian and local practices were good. He invited people clearly mention the God, the Father and Jesus Christ

within their *adat* prayers. By doing this, the *adat* was Christianized (based on some talks with Mr. Stanis, Mr. Pit, Mr. David in 2011-2012). He also encouraged some lay people and teachers to compose more Christian Manggaraian songs to add the collection of *Déré Serani* book. The book was reprinted again in 1973, 1975, 1977 and 1981.

In 1980-1985 there were series of inculturation seminars and workshops provided by the diocese to parish council members. In 1981, for instance, Fr. Thomas Tepo, a local priest, again insisted on the similarities between local rituals and Catholic liturgy. A similar workshop was held by other priests in Reo, north Manggarai in 1982 and by the Commission of Liturgy of the diocese in Ruteng in 1984 (Jenahu, 1987: 106). With his people and some *tu'as* (*adat* leader), Fr. Thomas Tepo performed an already Christianized *Hang Woja* ritual (a kind of thanksgiving ritual) in Reo. He combined the local and Christian prayers and symbols (Jehanu, 1987: 132).

In 1985-2000s, there were no new significant efforts in regards to inculturation. During this period the number of local priest considerably increased and the number of foreign missionaries drastically decreased. Mr. Pit Janggur and Mr. Yosef Ngedot said that many local priests neither had good understanding about their own culture nor wanted to seriously learn them. They enjoyed Latin-Roman liturgy that was already provided/printed for them. They were regret that local priests were lazy to learn and to try something new from local resources. Some of them even were antipathy to their local *adat*. There were several priests

rejected to celebrate mass in certain village once they knew that the people also did *adat* rituals (interviews in 2012).

In around 1980-1990, a group of local priest Catholic together with some lay people and priests from Java introduced “Catholic Charismatic movement” (*Gerakan Karismatik Katolik*) to the Manggaraians. The movement insisted on “new life” in Christ and Holy Spirit. People were encouraged to leave their “old” life by accepting Jesus Christ as the only Savior. People should live under the guidance of Holy Spirit. The members of the group were encouraged neither to do *adat* rituals nor to keep *adat* symbols and magic. All might be demolished. As the result, many of its members did not respect to local *adat*. They also would blame other people who still kept doing their *adat*. Several local priests, the active members of the Charismatic movement such as Fr. H.A, Fr. L.S, Fr. ZJ (all are initial names) often showed great angry to the people who kept doing *adat*. Sometimes they would reject to visit and serve the people whom did *adat*.



A group of Church choir

During this period (1980s-2000s), inculturation was not big issue in the Church of Manggarai. The Church focused on “Self-Supporting Program” (*Program Gereja Mandiri*) that will be elaborated in another session of this chapter. In regards to the using of *Déré Serani* in Catholic mass, in general, it could be said that this period was probably the worst. There were several reasons. Since 1980s the Church started to use *Madah Bakti*, an Indonesian song book printed in Java. In 1990s, the Nusa Tenggara Church printed another Indonesian song book *Yubilate*. Many parishes intensively used those two books and very rare to use *Déré Serani* anymore. In addition, there was also assumption among young generations that speaking Indonesia was considered better and cooler than speaking Manggarai. Even so, when the Manggarai Church (people and institution) talked about inculturation, it mainly referred to use of *Déré Serani* or other local material cultures in Catholic mass.

It is interesting that starting in “Reformation Era” (after the falling of Soeharto in 1998), there was *adat* revival everywhere in Indonesia, including in Manggarai (Davidson, Henley and Moniaga, eds., 2007). People did not feel “afraid of” the Church as they felt in the past. It was very common to observe people performed *adat* rituals. Many of them tried to dig and find the most original forms of those rituals. Many tried to exclude Christian symbols (words, prayers, God’s title, cross, etc.) from the *adat* practices. They wanted only the aspect of Manggaraian culture. Some young generation also enthusiastically learnt *adat* in particular for the purposes of tourism business. All of which had nothing to do with inculturation.

5.3.2. On the Custom of Marriage

Marriage has become a very complicated and crucial issue since the beginning of Catholicization in Manggarai. The differences approach and moral laws between Catholicism and local *adat* about marriage are not easy to solve. People have to negotiate between Church's and *adat* laws.

In terms of marriage sacrament, since the Catholic Church has become the most influential institution within Manggaraian society, people perceive the Catholic laws on marriage as more important than *adat*. For instance, many couples, and of course their families as choose to get marriage sacrament first and *adat* later. A couple will feel unconfident and guilty if they already live together but do not get sacrament of marriage even though they are already legalized by *adat* and not vice versa. The Indonesian government's law about marriage is also one important factor that motivates people to legalize their marriage by a religious institution. In order to get marriage certificate (including birth certificates for the children) from the state, a couple should prove that they already got marriage in a certain religious institution. Otherwise they cannot get it.

In terms of polygamy, although the local *adat* allows husband to have more than one wife for certain reasons (Roosmalen 1987, 1989a, 1989b; Boylon, 2012, Boylon in Chen and Suwendi, eds., 2012: 202) but since the Church does not allow the practices of polygamy decreases. If there are, the reasons for polygamy are not because of *adat* but of personal attitude of a husband.

In terms of a cross-cousin marriage (*tungku cu*: a marriage between the son of the sister and the daughter of the brother) (Roosmalen, 1989a, 1989b), the practice also decreases. It will be very difficult for the couple of *tungku cu* to get sacrament of marriage (canon # 1090-1091). They have to wait Church's dispensation which is not easy to get. The couple of *tungku cu* experiences that psychologically and religiously unconfident to live within the Church community because they will be considered as living in sin.

Usually for the "*tungku cu*" couples the Church will give them dispensation so get sacrament of marriage only once in certain period such as one a year or one in two years. There is no fix schedule and rule about it. Generally, the dispensation is also given not only to a single couple but to all *tungku cu* couples. The dispensation is considered as the Church's grace or bonus to those who are "living in sin" for years. Once the dispensation is granted to the couples, usually a parish will give the marriage sacrament at once for all. The practice is known as "mass marriage" (*kawin massal*). Many people perceive that "mass marriage" is not as prestigious as "common marriage". Mass marriage will be given only for those "in problems" and is celebrated all at once for so many couples. There is no such "personal" touching aspect. Even so, some *tungku cu* couple I talked with said that they were very happy when the Church gave them dispensation to have sacrament of marriage. They could "normally" live in the society again (interview in May 2011).

I know a "*tungku-cu*" couple who did their sacrament of marriage not in Manggarai in 1999 because their families strongly rejected of their relationship.

Their families also knew that it would be almost impossible for them to have marriage sacrament in Manggarai unless they have to wait the dispensation from the Church. Unfortunately nobody knew when the Church would give. The families also did not agree if the couple would live together without a legal sacrament. Because both of the couple studied in Kupang, West Timor, they then decided to ask for the sacrament marriage from a parish in Kupang, West Timor. None of their families from Manggarai attended the celebration. It seemed that the parish that allowed them to have the sacrament did not really understand the relationship between the bride and groom. As far as I knew, it was very bad time for the couple to struggle for their marriage.

Another problem regarding to marriage is on the practices of “bride-wealth”. Bride-wealth is the property a groom’s family brings to a bride family. In Manggaraian tradition, both bride and groom family have certain right and obligation on marriage. Bride-wealth is one of them. It functions to unite the two families that makes possible for the couple to divorce. In practice, the problem of bride-wealth is complicated. Some people said that the “bride-wealth” is not fit to modern idea of life. Some reject as it is practiced as “*belis = beli istri*” (buy a wife). Some say that it has been the reason for a husband (and his family) to treat his wife unjustly as the wife has been “bought”. The way the Manggaraian collect money from families is accused “to make people poor”. People have to pay for *adat* and they cannot afford for good education or health program for their family. In some cases, disagreement between a groom and bride families about the amount of *paca/belis* (bride-wealth) can cancel a marriage. This will hurt the

couple. Therefore some priests often remind the people of the negative practices of *paca/belis*.

5.4. Living Faith in the Manggarai's Catholic Basic Communities

How the Church formed basic Christian communities in Manggarai? What were the communities looked like? What were their functions? How the Church grew faith for the people within the communities?

5.4.1. Basic Christian Communities in Manggarai: What were they looked like?

The term "Basic Christian Community" (BCC) is relatively new in the history of Indonesian Church including in Manggarai Church. Originally, the term came from Latin American Church. It has been popular since 1980s as the result of liberation theology movement (Gutiérrez, 2001; Hennelly, 1990). According to liberation theology Basic Christian Community is a small group of people living in a neighborhood area at one parish. The group makes the bible as the centre of their life. They live in joy, spontaneous joy, and the simple joy of the poor. They criticize the socio political problems in the light of Gospel not of political interest. The characteristic of community is shown on their expression of sharing each other: sharing of faith, of prayer, of the Word, of the problems of their life, of the solutions, of material goods, of physical aids, of opinion, etc. They live not just

for themselves but also for others (Boff, 1981: 53-54). The communities should be established from below. It is a spontaneous and responsive group that aims to respond to their contextual problem. In further development of liberation theology, the Church perceives Basic Christian Community as an ideal community for Church. Therefore many churches in the world adopt it. In 2005, the Indonesian Catholic Church, for instance, encouraged all of local churches in Indonesia to develop such kind of community at the grass root level (SAGKI Committee, 2005).

How Basic Christian Community (BCC) was understood in the Church of Manggarai in 1960-2012? It is explained in second chapter that for the Manggaraians, the basic and main community is *béo/gendang* or village. It is a family (clan) based community living in a certain space. It is centered in a rounded village. The people are united each other not merely by their blood relationship but also by their land, house, history, beliefs, etc. Since the Manggaraian traditional community is a cosmological based community, the people are in a unity with whole cosmos and with the world of the spirits and ancestors as well. A village is independent and autonomous in relation to another village. Each has certain right and authority. Even though the boundary is clear, there is friendship and deep relation between a *béo/gendang* and another.

Since the coming of the Dutch and especially the Catholic Church, *béo/gendang* as the basic community of Manggarai has drastically changed. In terms of place, new places outside of *béo/gendang* have become new centers such as school surrounding areas, parishes, and government offices. *Béo/gendang*

becomes periphery. In terms of social authority, new “modern” leaders such as teacher, priest, government has taken the position of *tu’a*. In terms of law, *adat* law is marginalized by the Church and government ones.

In terms of Christian Basic Communities, since the Manggarai Church became a diocese (local Church), there were serious efforts to group the people in accordance to a certain basic Christian group. As the result, a village will be part of a *stasi* (a branch of parish) and a *stasi* is part of a parish, a parish is part of deanery and so forth a deanery is part of a diocese. Such kind structure is common in Catholic Church. The lowest group is considered as grassroots community.

When the number of people in a village is not too many, a *béo/gendang* is categorized as only a group. But when the population increases it may be divided into two and so forth. In 1960s, in order to create special identity, each basic community had special flag to differ them with other groups in Ruteng. The name of a saint was chosen as the patron of the group. On special occasion such as on Christmas or Easter all groups would hang their flag inside the Church building. To be the member of a certain Catholic group became “new” identity in addition to the member of a certain *béo/gendang* (village). This also gives impact to the influence of *béo/gendang* within society.

What are the functions of Basic Christian Community in Manggarai? Besides they function as part of a parish, the most significant function of a community is as a Rosary Prayer group. Every May and October, the “months or Rosary”, people gather and pray together from one to another house every night. Parents and kids, males and females will gather in one house. They pray the

Rosary together. After praying the host may serve the people simple drinks and foods. Sometimes they have dinner together. They do the activity every night. They move from one to another house until the last day of the month. It takes around 2-3 hours a night. They talk and discuss many things either. Once the number of houses in a community increases to more than 30 or 31 (the number of days of a month), usually, a group may be divided into two groups. As a community, they usually help, support, and visit each other.

Starting in 1970s, the Rosary Prayer groups are functioned as the “branch of parish”. It is the best place socialize either parish’s or diocese’s program. The parish usually asks the groups to perform choir in mass, to clean the church buildings, to work in parish’s garden and in some cases, and sometimes to provide foods for the priest. During Easter, Pentecost, or Christmas, a parish usually holds sport competition among those groups.

Starting in around 1980s, when the Church promotes “self-supporting Church” program (*Gereja Mandiri*), every community is responsible to collect money to support their parish and diocese. In addition to collect “*uang Gereja Mandiri*” (self-supporting fund), the groups also collect money for different purposes such as Christmas derma, and Easter derma.

Starting the end of 1980s, the diocese introduces Gospel/Bible sharing for as new activity within the community. Therefore, in May or October, in addition to pray Rosary as usual, the community sometimes reads a text of Holy Gospel which is followed by a sharing activity. People give comment to a certain verse(s) of the Bible, interprets it, and relates it with their life experiences. This is the

beginning that people in community become active speaker rather than merely listener in Catholic ceremonies. But unfortunately, only few communities regularly do it. People in Wae Rebo, for instance, have never done such activities because the lack of facilitators in guiding the activity. Starting in 1990s, “people catechesis”, a faith education program for community has been introduced to the community too. This activity will be elaborated in the next part.

In late 1990s, the Diocese of Ruteng intensively promoted about the importance of basic communities (*Umat Basis/Kelompok Umat Basis*) in a Church. Series of workshops, pastoral meetings, parish council trainings and seminars were done (Ruteng Diocese, Archive, m.s.). Since then, many parishes changed the term of “group” (*kelompok*) or “group of prayer” (*kelompok doa*) into “basic community” (*komunitas basis*) or “basic community group” (*Kelompok Umat Basis, KUB*). The Church also encouraged the community to have a “Catholic name” by choosing either a saint’s name or another religious word such as: St. Michael, St. Mary, Holy Virgin, Trinity, St. Anna, Virgo, etc. If someone asks a person where he/she is from, the person probably would answer that he/she is from “St. Francis group”.

5.4.2. Focus Group Discussion on Basic Christian Communities

In order to know the faces of Basic Christian Communities in Manggarai, this research conducted a survey which was followed by a focus group discussion. The participants were the students of Saint Paul College (*Sekolah Tinggi*

Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan St. Paulus, Ruteng). Why this study chose them as the participants? The reasons were simple and logic. They came from various part of Manggarai which meant that they came from various parishes, deanery and basic communities. Therefore, it would give broader and general overview about communities in Manggarai. They were also considered as persons who had well understanding about the Church's living. They could also give critical opinion about the reality around them. There were 254 respondents from 8 (eight) classes of the third and fourth years grade students. A class consisted of 30-45 students. They were from 192 Basic Christian Communities of 62 parishes in Ruteng Diocese. There were 23 parishes from Borong (East Manggarai Regency) Deanery, 29 parishes from Ruteng (Manggarai Regency) Deanery, and 10 parishes from Labuan Bajo (West Manggarai Regency) Deanery.

They filled a questionnaire with 38 numbers of questions (see the attachment). The questions asked about their basic communities and activities done in their communities. From 254 respondents, 100% of them told that the main activities of their communities were to pray Rosary (in May and October), collect money (self-supporting, Christmas derma, Easter derma, etc.), clean the Church building and garden, and practice choir for a certain Church's liturgy/mass. About 59% said that sometimes their communities had bible sharing and catechesis activities. The activities were not done regularly. It depended either on parish's program or on the availability of the facilitators for leading them in those activities. Only about 0.87% mentioned that their communities ever talked about the problems of their society such as about poverty, corruption, degradation

of environment, lack in human resources capability, gender, mining exploration, corruption, nepotism, etc. Those problems were part of the real problems of the Manggarai society.

When the respondents were asked to comment and discuss about the faces of their communities, they agreed that the faces of the Basic Christian Communities in of the Church of Manggarai too “sacramental” and “liturgical”. The communities did not concern on the real problem of the society. They said “our Church was imbalance”. They also agreed that they need to transform their communities. They need a Church that encourages them to concern on the problem of the society.

In addition to the group of the students, this study also observed and participated in six basic communities’ activities: 2 in Borong, 3 in Ruteng, 1 in Wae Rebo. All of which focused on liturgical activities such as praying Rosary and inviting priest to have mass and in collecting money for Church’s purposes. A very vocal man in Bugis I community in Borong said that “our Church is like a beggar, asking and asking for money and money. When will we have a Church that supports us?” But many of people were satisfied with the Church and communities’ activities. For them giving money, attending mass and praying together were good and enough for Catholics. Some did not agree if the Church should participate in what they said as “profane” and “political” activities. But some people, like in St. Josef in Ruteng did not agree. They liked the Church that concerns to the real problems of society. Many of young Church’s leaders also

have the same dream. But in practice, most of communities in Manggarai had too much “sacramental” and “liturgical” faces rather than the Church for the people.

Today we can be observed that prayer group or “basic community” is just merely as the branch of a parish. This represents the body of a parish. It is also represent a centralistic model of community as it merely follows the parish program and refers to higher level. It depends on parish too.

5.4.3. The Self-Supporting Program and Basic Christian Communities

One of the Ruteng Diocese’s programs that relates to basic community is “self-supporting program” (*Program Gereja Mandiri*). In the past, this program aimed to forge for indigenization of the Catholic Church in Indonesia and to limit the foreign mission domination in local church. It was an attempt to indigenize and empower the local Catholic community. The idea actually did not emerge from the Church of Manggarai but it had become national issues since the beginning of 1960s (Boelaars, 2005). After independence, the Indonesian government tended to debar the church to receive funds from foreign institutions. It was also difficult for foreign missionaries to enter Indonesia. The situation forced the Indonesian Church to find solution. The idea of “*Gereja Mandiri*” (self-supporting Church) then was raised.

Literally “self-supporting” Church means a Church should stand up on its own feet. In broader perspective, it is understood as the Church’s efforts to empower and participate all of its members in developing and enliven their

church. By this, the people will feel the Church as their own Church rather than the Church from outside.

Our Church has to be autonomous. It should neither depending on the Western supports nor relying on foreign missionaries. We have to stand on our own feet, working with our own power, increasing the lay people's participation in all parishes"... This would be stagnant if parish priests would take over all of people's responsibilities and if they worked alone to define the face of the parish (Hooijdonk, 1987: 28-29).

Mgr. Vitalis Djebarus, the first indigenous bishop of the Ruteng Diocese started to promote "self-supporting program" for Church of Manggarai in 1970s. In 1974 he wrote a Pre-Easter Letter "Toward a self-supporting Church of Ruteng Diocese". He wrote

It is the time for Church of Manggarai not to depend on foreign support. We have to stand on our feet. We have to find ways to live our own Church. All people of God have to actively participate in developing Church" (Ruteng Diocese, archive, m.s, 1974).

The idea of self-supporting Church is also inspired by the Second Vatican Council that positions the people of God as the main character of the Church. Accordingly, all of people are invited to be Church and to enliven the Church. In one side, the Church is nothing without the people and in another side; the Church should exist for the people. The Church should empower the community. Self-supporting program is one way to realize the community's obligation for the Church and at the same time is understood as the Church's task to empower local and basic community. The Manggarai Church, in practice, associates "self-supporting" with these three things: personnel, money and people's participation. A local Church is considered independent ("mandiri") when it is served by local

priests (clergies or leaders), when it uses their own money to run the Church and when its members actively participate in the Church (Diocese Ruteng, archive, m.s).

Until the end of 1970s, most of priests serving in Manggarai were not local people. In order to realize the Church's idea on "*mandiri*" (self-supporting) in term of personnel, the Church always encouraged the people to support local seminary education and to send their children to study there as well. The Church also encouraged the people to pray for "more calling" (more people to be priest, brother and nun). As far as I remembered, my community always put the "more calling" on the top rank list of our Rosary prayers in May and October in 1980s-1990s. The hope and prayers were answered. At the end of 1980s it could be said that Church of Manggarai started to be "*mandiri*" in term of ordained personnel. The number of local Manggaraian priests, in particular the diocesan priest, has increased since 1980s. They led parishes, schools and other diocese's institutions. Starting in 1990s there are a lot of priests, nuns, and brothers from Manggarai are sent as missionaries to foreign countries, to Europe, United States, Australia, and Asian countries as well. People might say that "in the past we were 'a mission field area', but now we provide and send missionaries to abroad. We are no longer mission land".

In relation to priest, it has been a most prominent job for people in Flores including in Manggarai. The Manggaraians are very proud if one or more of their family members become priest. Priest has high status in Manggarai society. The people respect the family who has priest in their member. Until the end of 1980s,

priests are mainly those who had high education in Flores. Starting in 1990s there has been a lot of scholars from various educational backgrounds but the position of priest is still a “high class”. When I was in elementary and junior schools in 1980s, almost all of class mates, the boys, would say they wanted to be a priest. To be a priest was seen as very cool and prestigious. It was looked as a promising job. Even though today many boys would mention other jobs to be, however becoming a priest was still considered prestigious for the Manggaraians. People show great admiration to a priest. An ordination celebration is considered as very big party for the Manggaraian families. It involves a lot of people and for sure; it is highly cost. Many people critique that the Church does not give living example how to live in simple way. But many people do not agree. They still like to have a big party when a priest is ordained.

The second aspect of *mandiri*” is in the matter of money. This is a sensitive issue. *Mandiri* (independent) in term of money is understood that the Church (parish) should find and use their own resources to do their activities rather than to ask for money from the diocese. It means that all the communities within a parish should provide money to run their parish. They have to pay their priest and other parish’s staffs, to buy materials needed for the parish, to build Church’s buildings, etc. When self-supporting program was proposed for the first time, many people rejected and did not understand why the Church should ask money from the community.

Since the beginning of Catholicism, the Church has been associated with wealth. Even though the foreign missionaries serving in Ruteng Diocese were not

rich people according to the standards on their original countries, but in comparison with the Manggarai people who lived in very poor and traditional way, they were associated with very rich men. This was also because usually they enjoyed better food, houses, transportation and communication equipment, etc. (Webb, 1986b; 1990). In the past, missionaries often gave money to the people. Some would lend the money so the people could build house, pay school's fee, buy medicine, foods, clothing, etc. Some missionaries even opened roads to connect one to another village. Some did water project for villages and provided seed for farming.

With funds from *Miserior*, the German government, and contributions from the Lenten collection of the Dutch and the German Catholics, in ten years between 1963 and 1973 approximately DM 23.5 million was contributed to the Flores-Timor Plan (FTP). Between the years 1969 and 1971 the Dutch Catholic Church gave about DM 5.5 million or US\$ 232,000 for particular small scale projects such as the installation of good drinking water. In the past 30 years or so, there were also a lot of money granted to the Churches in Flores, including in Manggarai to do hygiene, health and education programs. All were carried out under the auspices of the FTP (Webb, *Ibid*). All of these had impressed that the Church was a rich institution. Webb (1990) even says that the Church in Flores educated people to be "beggar" as they always provided "everything" in free to the people.

Starting in 1980s, the number of foreign missionaries decreases. Most of parishes are led by local priests. They are from simple family and do not have

much money to support their parishes and even their own living allowance. The diocese, at another side, cannot provide money for parishes anymore. Therefore, “self-supporting” program in term of money is seen as the best solution to solve the problem.

In addition to “self-supporting money”, there are already several ways at which people the Church get money from the people. The first is “*derma*” of “*kolekte*” (from the word “to collect”). When people attend mass or other church’s liturgy activities; they may give a sum of money. Derma is not new in the history of the Church of Manggarai Church. In 1920s, some Dutch Catholic families attended mass in Ruteng started to give derma. They gave example to the people and also encouraged people to do so (Bettray, 1974). But many missionaries did not encourage people to give derma whether because the people were poor or because the Church had their own money. If the people gave, they would give in very small. It was not surprising that when indigenous priests encouraged communities to give derma, the people often said that the priest had “money faced’ and were not benevolent.

Derma, in fact, is not “an obligation”. People may give and may not. In addition to derma, a parish also asks people to give money on special occasion such as Christmas derma or Easter derma. “Self-supporting church” money is different. A parish asks people in community to regularly pay “self-supporting Church money” (*uang Gereja mandiri*). It is such not an option but a requirement. A parish (the priest and parish council members) decides how much a family should give a year. In general it is determined on the economic status of a family.

So there are differences between one and another according to their income. Pupils at school would also pay “*Uang Gereja Mandiri*” throughout the schools.

Since the Church over emphasized in collecting money rather than in providing “religious services” to the community, many people were not satisfied. As the result, almost all people simply understood “self-supporting” program with money. Some people I talked with expressed that they would be very upset if there were priests or parish council members who clearly expressed his/their anger on the altar because the community did not collect “self-supporting money”. People did not like a Church that focused on collecting money. A basic community at which I did Focus Group Discussion in Borong, East Manggarai, for example, strongly critiqued of the Church’s policy on money matter. A man said that “our church only knew how to take out money from the people but did not know how to give the money back to the people”. Some people even critiqued that the church tried to “sell” their services to the people (interviews and discussions in May 2011).

In addition, the clergy may have been critical of their involvement in material side of life than either to provide better spiritual guidance or empower community (Erb, 2006). The task of clergy or priest is often described as “*sakrament dan sak-semen*” (sacrament and sack of cement) (Prior, 1988). It refers to priests (Church leaders) who merely serve sacraments and build church building rather than provide deep faith education for the people.

At another side, some priests sometimes complain that people are unwilling to pay, to support their own church and to enliven their parish. In

several Church meeting that I often attended, some priests said that actually people had a lot money (such as for doing a bid feast/party) but would say “do not have” for the purpose of the Church. What the priest meant was like this. In Manggarai, people liked to have big party, including in celebrating someone’s baptism or first communion or marriage. The party usually cost a lot of money. In some priests’ opinion it was very strange that people could provide money for the party but would say “do not have money” for the Church.

It seems that there is no good communication between the community at one side and the Church at another side. The “self-supporting Church” program reflects a gap between the church and the community. It also reflects a “top-down” model of pastoral. Erb (2006) says that the tension may reflect strains between struggles for “power” over the community and to enable “empowerment” of community. In addition I would say that the Church of Manggarai has understood the empowerment as same as to strengthen the church as an institution rather than to strengthen church as a community of people.

The third aspect of “*mandiri*” is in term of communities’ participation in parish’s life. A community is considered active if they join and participate in parish program such as to serve mass, to clean the church’s building, to provide choir group for special occasion, and to attend all parishes’ activities. Choir groups are probably the most popular activities of basic communities in Manggarai. The Manggarai like to sing and they sing very well. There are a lot of very good choir groups in Manggarai. St. Josep’s choir group in Kumba, for instance, often performs their choir not only in their parish’s mass but also in

other parishes. *Cantate Domino* is another famous choir group from St. Vitalis, Cewonikit parish. People will pay them to sing if they are invited for special private occasion such as on marriage celebration. There are also many choir groups with local Manggarai liturgical songs as their specialization. A group from Mbohang, Ketang parish, for instance, was often invited to perform traditional songs in Ruteng. They already had a formal recorded album. There is also such kind of group in Langgo and Carep in Kumba parish. They are very famous. In regards to the participation in liturgical matter, it could be said that many communities already involve in such activities.

5.5.Faith Education within Communities

How did the Manggarai Church grow people's faith within communities? As mentioned above, in 1960s-1980 faith education for the people in grassroots level (prayer group/basic community) was not been systematically afforded. The Church mainly focused its activities around the Church buildings rather than inside the communities. For the Church it was already good if people regularly attended Sunday Mass, Church feasts, and other Church activities which were centered in Church building or parish centre. There was no special program to provide faith education for the people in grassroots community. At grassroots community level, people gathered for praying together only during "Rosary months". Church buildings and parish was the central.

Starting in 1980s, the diocese introduces “bible sharing”. The activity requires “skillful facilitator” and assumes that people share (talk) their experience during the activity. Due to the limitation of facilitators, only several communities do it regularly. It does not reach all of communities. In addition, many priests and parish councils also are not interested in such program for they focus on to provide sacraments and to build churches’ building. Starting in the late of 1980s, the diocese introduces “people catechesis”, “faith education from, by and for the people”.

5.5.1. Liturgy, Devotion and Homily

In the years around 1960s, the Church still focused its activity on conversion people from traditional religion to Catholicism. It meant that the aspect of quantity was still on the top rank of the Church’s aim. As the focus was to invite people to Catholicism, the Church acted especially as an institution to provide baptism. The Church focused on giving sacraments, celebrating liturgy and strengthening church structure and institution. Therefore, people mainly learnt of Catholicism merely from priests’ homily. Liturgy, devotion and homily were main medium to grow people’s faith and to develop community. Some *guru agamas* would probably teach people in community.

Until the end of 1970s, the Church of Manggarai mainly focused on teaching faith education for students at schools. There was no systematic and well-planned faith guidance program for people in grassroots level or in “prayer

group”. A priest sometimes visited people in village, celebrated Eucharist and delivered homily. To give more knowledge and understanding of Catholic teaching and moral, priest delivered homily in mass or other liturgical celebrations. Homily was the one and foremost media to introduce Catholicism to the people in grassroots level. He might talk with several people and gave some words about Catholicism. Some students of Catechetical Academic in Ruteng sometimes visited some prayer groups of a parish or village during “Rosary Month” (May and October). After praying Rosary they sometimes delivered simple homily explaining of the Bible and Christian teaching.

In some places a *guru agama* who prepared people to baptism also taught them how to pray and introduced simple knowledge on Catholicism and Catholic moral values. An *ex guru agama*, a very old man in Borong I interviewed in 2010 told of his activity of teaching people. He said that he asked people to do the sign of cross, to memorize main prayers such as Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, 10 God’s Commandments, and 5 Church’s Instructions. He also introduced simple knowledge about the Father, Jesus, Holy Spirit, Church, Heaven and Hell.

Mr. Romanus, one of the first educated catechists in Manggarai, shared the same story. He taught people in Ruteng and surrounding areas. He is 87 years old now. He said that on Catholic moral and values, he taught people how to be a Catholic one. According to him, people were encouraged to abandon their pagan practice, to join Sunday Mass regularly, to receive Easter and Christmas communion and to do penitence sacrament at least one a year. If the people did so, it could be said that they were good Catholics.

Mr. David, a 77 years old man, witnessed that he has never become a formal *guru agama* in 1960s-1980s. But because he was a teacher at school and was graduated from high school, sometimes people also asked him about Catholic teachings. What he could do was to explain about Catholicism as he learnt at school. He said that when he was at schools he studied of catechism which explained simple knowledge about the Father, Son, Holy Spirit, Mary, Church, Heaven and Hell. His teachers, some were priests, always emphasized on abandoning the practice of dualism (paganism and Catholicism) if someone wanted to be a Catholic. To be a good Catholic meant to leave pagan rituals and to attend mass regularly.

5.5.2. Bible Sharing

In the beginning of 1980, catechetic commission of Ruteng Diocese started to introduce “bible sharing” to the people in grass-root level especially for those in town or parish centre. At that time only few people had Bible in Manggarai. Most were *guru agamas*. To read bible was not popular. People would listen to the Bible on Eucharist or Sunday prayer. Some stories from the Bible had been translated into Manggarai language since 1940s but only some priests and few *guru agamas* had the text. Teachers at school used simple catechism and text book to teach student on religious education. Not all the teacher had the Bible. Bible was rare and expensive. *Guru agama* usually got it free from priest.

In bible sharing activity, a group of people was gathered to pray. Then a text of the Bible was read aloud and the participants were invited to choose one or more favorite verses and then explained why he/she liked the text. Sometimes they also shared their faith experience in relation to the text. The experiences they talked were personal experiences which might have or not have relation to the topic given by the facilitator. The activity aimed to know the text, to enrich and to strengthen each other but no solution of problem would come from the activity.



The members of a basic community in Borong are drinking and talking after praying Rosary in a house, May, 2011.

According to the survey conducted by this research, only few communities or prayer group did Bible sharing in 1980s-1990s. Some groups/communities that involved in Bible sharing were mostly those in Ruteng, the centre of diocese.

They were facilitated by educated religious teachers (catechist), nun, brother and students of Catechetic Academy at that town. Whereas only few groups outside Ruteng did the activity. Most of people in villages did not know about it. The main activity they did in their communities was to pray Rosary. A text of Bible might be read and a simple homily probably was delivered by a “*guru agama*” but it was not followed by a sharing activity. The member of “*Lorong Gua*” community in Borong Parish, for example, said that it was only the beginning of 1990s they knew about the Bible Sharing. The people in Wae Rebo, even, have never involved on such activity. They only prayed Rosary. The people of St. Joseph community in Ruteng said that they usually participated in Bible sharing in 1980s-1990s. They were lucky because some of their community members were sisters and catechists who were active in guiding them in that activity. The people who have ever involved on Bible sharing witness that the activity helped them to understand the Bible better. It also enriched and strengthened their faith because people would learn from other people’s faith experience, how God spoke to them in their daily life and how they as Christians should follow Him.

5.5.3. People Catechesis for Justice

In 1977 a group of biblical scholars, theologians, moralist, educators, academicians (in particular from catechetical institution), sociologist, politicians and anthropologists coming from dioceses in Indonesia, including from Manggarai, gathered in West Java to talk about faith education for people in basic

community. The forum, named as “Indonesian Inter-dioceses Catechetic Assembly” (*Pertemuan Kateketik Antar-keuskupan se-Indonesia/PKKI*), proposed “people catechesis” (*katekese umat*) as a new model of faith education for Christian community. The assembly defined “people catechesis” as a dialogic faith education that engages people of a community to talk and to discuss of their daily problem, to respond it in the light of God’s Word and to find real action for a community. The forum suggested that “people catechesis” should be done by, from and for the people. The model, however, was influenced by the spirit of Second Vatican II which sees church as “people of God”. It was also inspired by the term of “democracy” (“a government from, by and for people”) which was popular in Indonesia around the year (Telaumbanua, 1999: 85-86). The second meeting of the forum, held in Klender, Jakarta in 1980, emphasized on the similar issue (Ibid: 86-88; Hubert, 1981: 15; Setyakarna: 1981). On the third meeting, held in East Java in 1984, the forum suggested three steps in catechization: sharing experience, confronting the experience with the Gospel and deciding a concrete action (Telaumbanua, Op.Cit: 90).

People catechesis is different from Bible sharing as it does not merely reflect of the Bible and share of their personal life but it urges the participants to talk about a certain situation of the society. It directs not merely to grow “personal faith” but a social responsibility to the society. It invites people to critically talk about a problem of their society. As people of faith they then are invited to do something to solve the problem.

By the mid of 1980s liberation and contextual theology has been growing rapidly in Latin American and Asia as well. The theologies strongly recommend church participation in struggling for justice and peace. Accordingly, Church has to involve on transforming society. Working on social political sphere is a must. It is part of church's effort to realize the Kingdom of God in the society. This notion gave impact to the development of catechesis in Indonesia. On the fourth meeting of the forum (1988) it was suggested that faith education should encourage people "move" from church-centered and sacramental centric orientation to the concern of social problem of society. Faith has to encourage people to critically read "the sign of times". Faith that concerns on people's anguish and grief and promotes inter-religious dialogue is a true faith. In doing such kind of catechesis, the meeting proposed the social analysis as a tool to investigate socio political problems of society (Lalu, 2005: 14-15). This topic was emphasized again on the later meetings (KWI Komisi Kateketik, 1993; 1997).

Since 1990s, the forum has proposed that people catechesis should critically response to structural social injustice problem, corruption, collusion, nepotism, deforestation, and other social problems that have increased in Indonesia society. It has insisted that a Basic Christian Community should be a transformative community that helps people to concern on social injustice problems and people of catechesis should be the media to encourage people to do so. Faith should be fruitful in concrete action (KWI Komisi Kateketik: 2005). The idea behind the catechesis is that faithful people have to participate in searching the meaning of their life and faith by realizing and responding to the problem of

their society. People have to be historical subjects and agents to promote faith and justice to their society. Faithful people cannot be the watcher and listener only; they have to do something to their society.



People in one basic community are doing catechesis in May, 2011.

Going along with Indonesian direction on faith education, the Church of Manggarai has also afforded people catechesis in Manggarai. The Ruteng Diocese Catechetical Commission, the body that is responsible for faith education, has started to introduce people catechesis to the people in early 1980. The task of the commission was to provide and produce materials, to train of catechesis facilitators, and to encourage parishes to afford catechesis for their basic communities. For the materials, in general the commission tended to follow the topic or theme that was suggested by national or regional Development Feast

Action committee (*Panitia Nasional Aksi Puasa Pembangunan*). Every pre-Easter the committee that was centered in Jakarta offered a certain topic to be discussed and talked by Catholics people in Indonesia. The topic was various. It usually talked about real social problem of society and how the Catholics should perceive the problems as part of faith reflection during Lent season (pre-Easter season). Every diocese was hoped to develop faith education materials based on the topic or theme given and to encourage people to do people catechesis during the season.

The task of the Catechetic Commission of Ruteng Diocese was to develop and provide guidance materials to be processed by the people in basic communities. The commission also trained facilitators how to guide catechesis with the people in community. In practice the catechesis was usually offered during Lent. But it was actually not limited during Lent session but any time a parish or a group could organize it. The Catechetic Commission sometimes provided catechesis materials for pre-Christmas session or during special Church occasion.

Catechesis topic and materials were various from year to year. In general the Catechetic commission just followed the topic given by National Development Feast Action (*Aksi Puasa Pembangunan Nasional*). The commission task was to develop the materials so that relates to the context of Manggaraian society. Topic could also be taken from regional (East Nusa Tenggara) catechetic assembly. In certain occasion, the Catechetic Commission of Ruteng Diocese also created its own topic.

The process how to develop catechesis materials and activities in Ruteng Diocese was as follows. At first the commission invited a team or a small group of people (not more than 10 people) who were “expert” in catechesis to talk and discuss about the topic they wanted to use for people catechesis activities. The member of groups was catechists, priest, *guru agama*, bible expert, or any people who were considered understand the topic and knew how to develop catechesis modules. They would intensively discuss and talk about the topic. A general topic usually was divided into several sub topics accord with the number of catechesis meeting in a basic community. So far there were usually three sub topics to be proceeded in three different meetings. The team then developed catechesis module for every meeting. They usually prepared and finished the module in around one or two months. When a catechesis module was ready, the team would socialize and introduce the topic and the module to delegate catechesis facilitators from parishes. They, in turn, would socialize and introduce the materials to other facilitators in their parishes. The facilitators then invited people in basic community to talk and to discuss about the topics. They would relate the topic with their situation. They were also invited to analyze their own situation, to speak up according to their context and to do something for their community as the follow up of the activity.

Since last decade, the Church of Manggarai has promoted “social catechesis for justice”. It was a catechesis activity that concerns on social injustice problem of a society. It aimed to invite people to realize of their concrete problems and as the Christians they were invited to care and concern on it. In

2004, for instance, in response to the massive conflicts between groups in some places in Indonesia,¹⁴ the national committee proposed “Managing Conflicts for the Common Good in the Spirit of Fellowship”, as the topic of National Development Feast Action (*Aksi Puasa Pembangunan Nasional*). The Catechetic Commission of Ruteng Diocese developed the same topic for Manggaraian Catholic people. In 2005, the same commission offered a topic on “Just and Fair Election” to prepare the Manggaraians to involve in 2004 first direct presidential elections and 2005 local election. It aimed to educate people to support just and fair election (Komkat, 2005). In 2005, the national committee on Development Feast Action (APP, *Aksi Puasa Pembangunan*) proposed a topic on “Building Justice: Attitudes and Behavior.” It set justice as the centre of the faith education, and the Ruteng Diocese proposed the same topic for its faith education program (Komkat, 2005). In 2006, the topic was “No-Corruption Culture.” This was part of the church’s responsibility in dealing with massive corruption in Indonesia (Komkat, 2006). In 2007, the same national committee offered “Developing Economic Justice for All” as the catechesis topic (Komkat, 2007). In this way the Ruteng Diocese tailored its faith education activities for people in the basic communities.

In 2006-2007 Ruteng Diocese held a synod to decide the long term program of the church. It started by a taking a survey to ask about the problems causing the most concern in the community, why they happened and what the

¹⁴ During the beginning of the reformation era, the Indonesian national political situation was terrible. There were many conflicts and riots. Many of them had relationship to religious sentiment issues such as Ketapang (West Jakarta) riot, in 1998, Kupang riot on November 30, 1998, the Ambon-Poso conflict in 1998-2005. Thousands of people died in those conflicts.

church and community should do to fight these problems. The people in the basic communities discuss these questions guided by facilitators that had been trained by the diocese or parish. The survey resulted in a list of problems the community thought should be dealt with by the church. The problems of deforestation, poverty, lack of education, juvenile delinquency, declining moral values in the family, corruption, collusion and gambling were in the top rank (Synod Committee, 2007). The basic communities also proposed recommendations and alternative ways to cope with these problems.

One final outcome of the 2006-2007 synods was a five years diocese pastoral program. In 2008 the topic was “1000 Trees: Saving our Environment.” It was aimed to grow people’s awareness on degradation of environment in particular to the forestry problems in the diocese (Komkat, 2008). In 2009 the topic was “Cooperation (Credit Union) for Economic Justice”. Through this topic communities were invited to become involved in a local cooperative to help them manage their economic life (Komkat, 2009). In 2010, the topic was “Education as our Responsibility”. It was provided in response to a lack of education of people in the society (Komkat, 2010).

In general there were three main steps of a catechesis meeting: understanding the concrete situation/ problem, interpreting a problem according to Christian teaching and deciding a concrete action. On the first step, a facilitator who organized the meeting would introduce the topic they were going to talk about. A short story or news or experience or statement was delivered to bring the community to the problem they were focusing on. It was followed by a dialog.

People in the community were invited to give their response, to discuss and to analyze to the story delivered. They were directed to understand it and to relate the story with their own concrete problems. The facilitators asked the people to understand the problem, to know why it happens, how the problem influences to the society and the actors or agent involving in the problem. In another way, people were invited to do social analysis of the problem. On the second main steps the facilitator invited the community correlate the problem with Christian values or teaching. A short Bible text or Church teaching was probably delivered. People then were invited to see what the Bible or Christian teachings/values talks about the problem, what could the community learn from the Bible or Church teachings or values. In this step the community should encounter socio historical problem with Christian's teaching. The last step was deciding a concrete action. The community would decide what they should do, whether personally or together, to respond to the problem. Accordingly, a catechesis encouraged a community to do something.

Mr. Domi Waso and Mrs. Deta Dudet, senior catechists in the diocese, who were very actively in providing people catechesis for their communities commented that the people catechesis approach was very good models of faith education for communities because it involved all of people to critically embody and experience of their faith. People were invited to talk about their life, faith, church and society. People were not merely as the church's object but they were active agents of the church. People now had opportunity to talk about their church, their community and society (interviews in February 2011). Many of facilitators

said that many people were very brave to do self-critic, to criticize of their Church and government as well. People catechesis helped people not to receive all of Church's and government's policy uncritically. They learnt how to speak of justice (interviews in February-March 2011).

Even though people catechesis was considered as a good faith education for justice in fact not all of basic communities in Ruteng Diocese regularly carried out the activity. A catechist said that “not all of priests see the program as something important to the people. Many priests only celebrated mass and offered sacraments but not faith education.” Another said that many parish priests liked to make the parish and church environment as the centre of people's activity. They were already satisfied if many people gather around the buildings. They did not pay attention to activities in basic community” (Pastoral Meeting in Borong, in February 2011). In a pastoral meeting held in Labuan Bajo in February 2011, a priest was so regret that people catechesis program in parishes in the diocese depended on the priest's “interest”, if a priest was interested in that activity he would afford catechesis in his parish, but he was not, then, the activity was not proposed for the people”. A member of the diocese catechesis commission complained that many priests kept catechesis module in their office and had never let the books be used by people. In a catechetical meeting held in Ruteng, Labuan Bajo and Borong, many attendees evaluated that many parishes did not concern of people's faith growth and social justice issues as well but only on liturgical and sacramental activities that were centered on church buildings. “Our Church still focuses on altar, it has not moved to public concern”, another catechist said. Some

also complained that many people, including priests, still saw activities in church and parish centre more important rather than the activities in basic communities. “Many of parish program tend to call people to the church and not to bring church to the people,” a priest said (recorded from pastoral meeting in Labuan Bajo in February, 2011).

In some parishes, people catechesis could not be afforded because there were no enough trained facilitators to guide the activity. Some basic communities had “bad” experience that the facilitators did not know how to guide the activity well. People said that the facilitators did not facilitate them into good process but only read the module. Some commented that it was too long the Church has formed the Manggarai to be listeners only so it was not easy for people to speak up. Some preferred to pray Rosary and hear homily rather than to talk of their situation. Some also rejected to discuss of social justice problems on church meeting because according to them it was not the task of the Church to speak about social problem. The task of the Church was to provide spiritual activities such as prayers, mass and sacraments. However this conviction could not apart from the Church’s old theology that also shaped the Church of Manggarai since a long time. This was new challenge for the Church of Manggarai how to convince people that faith should be linked to concrete problems of human beings and how faith education should relate to human’ concrete concerns too.

What was important the Church of Manggarai was how to encourage community not only to talk of social injustice problems of society in catechesis meeting/program but to act as a liberatory community. It means that people do not

merely give response to social injustice problems during catechesis meeting but in their concrete life. More important than that is how the Church herself has become just agents for Manggaraian society. Church does not merely function to morally speak but also to realize justice for the people; how to be Church for people in particular for oppressed people.

5.6. The Church's Concern on Injustice Problems of Society

Linking faith, Church and justice has been one of crucial problems in the history of Catholicism in Ruteng Diocese. At one side, it cannot be denied that the Church has endeavored to spread the faith, to seed the Gospel and to develop the Manggarai so that people may live in better way. The Church has provided spiritual guidance, opened schools, supported health, agricultural, animal husbandry program, constructed roads, irrigation and drinking water project, supported local economic and market activities, etc. to the Manggaraian society. All are done as theological task to present the Kingdom of God, the kingdom of love, mercy and justice to the society. At another side, the Church of Manggarai has been accused for social injustice problems in Manggarai.

The history of Catholicism as being explained in this and previous chapters, for instance, showed that in the past, sometimes the Manggarai Church tended to negatively perceive Manggaraian culture. This gave negative impact to the people. Catholicism was experienced as “foreign power” that shocked and caused instability of the people's traditional world view. Church was too often to

present herself as “super power” institution and the “owner” of the truth. The local Manggaraian people were positioned on lower level that they had to adapt to the Church’s standardization. For many people, the presence of the Church wounded and hurt. “There was big hurt in the hearts’ of the Manggaraians in the past”, a Manggaraian intellectual man said. Other people comments that “now we lost many aspects of our traditional cultures because the Church banned and accused them as part of primitive, uneconomic and paganism.” “The Church also took out the role of our traditional leaders and made us powerless.” Some also critiqued on Church program of to “Catholicize” traditional rituals which also moved the role of traditional rituals leaders to the hand of priests or “*guru agama*”. The influences of the traditional village leaders decreased with the coming of Church. In fact, sometimes it happens also nowadays.

One another significant issue about justice in Manggarai society is about poverty. According to national standard on Gross National Product (GNP), East Nusa Tenggara province is one of the poorest provinces in Indonesia. The level of human index ranks the Manggaraians (east to west) as poor region. It means that many of people are living in poverty. In another side, many people often critique that Church should responsible to this condition. Accordingly, the Church is blamed as it failed to help people get out of the poverty problems. Even the Church is always blamed for not to be part of poor people. The diocese, parishes, religious orders are considered have much better economic condition in comparison to the people. The Church enjoy better houses, food, good facilities, transportation, communication and entertainment equipments in comparing to

most of people (Webb, 1990). A man in Borong said that our Church did not do justice, it always asked people to collect money but never brought the money back to the people. Another said that our Church is like the beggar or thief, took our money but did not give us good services. Church did not help people out of their poverty (talks in February-May 2011).

Many people also were disappointed to the Church that does not stand by the people to fight for their justice. Several years ago, for instance, the church's main leader was criticized of being too close to the local government. Some people used the term "*uskati*" from *uskup* (bishop) and *bupati* (regent) to negatively critique the relationship between these two leaders (Erb, 2006). Many people evaluated that the merger between the church and the government positioned the church much closer to the government than to the people. The church preferred to support government programs, which many accused of being unjust, than to stand by and defend the people. One prominent example was the case of a government program to "re-green" Manggarai. In 2003, when the police shoot some farmers who were rallying on a demonstration against the local government's re-green policy, the bishop was blamed because he was considered not on behalf of the farmers but tended to stand on the government side (Embu, eds: 2005).

Many people also gave much criticism in term of an unjust salary system, corruption inside the church body, collusion, etc. But it could be denied that the Ruteng Diocese church also participated in struggling for justice and peace. Since last years, the church has become deeply involved in the struggle to reject mining

activities that were considered threatening to the people's lives and the environment in Manggarai. Church was been praised for its concern on forestation program, etc.

For the Manggaraians, bad or good, failed or success, Church and Catholicism have been part of their life, history, identity and struggle. They are both Manggarai and Catholics. It is like a coin with two sides. They are very proud to be the Manggaraian Catholics.

CHAPTER VI

TO BE MANGGARAI CHURCH: THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION AND CHALLENGES

If the previous chapters elaborate two main questions of this study, why did the Manggaraians convert to Catholicism in 20th century and how did the Manggaraians perceive the Church's mission, based on the findings of those questions, this chapter answers the third question: what are the theological challenges for the Manggarai Church. It moves from a socio-historical approach to theological reflection and analysis. It is an attempt to understand the context by reflecting and confronting it with some theological thoughts applied by this study. It aims to find new theological challenges that culturally appropriate for the Manggarai Church.

This chapter consists of several parts. The first part discusses some types of the encounter between Catholic faith and Manggaraian local beliefs and culture from theological perspective. The second part elaborates on the aspects of Church and Manggaraian local community. The last part reemphasizes what is meant to be Manggarai Church rather than Church in Manggarai.

6.1. On Faith and Culture

Considering the history of Catholicism in Manggarai in 20th century, it could be concluded that in general, the encounters between Christian faith and Manggaraian local culture and beliefs happens in three main types. The types are “ideal types” that are used merely to categorize and to analyze the context.

6.1.1. Contradictory Relationship

The first type of the encounter between Catholic faith and Manggaraian local beliefs and culture is experienced as two contradictory things: Christian faith against local beliefs and culture. Such kind of relationship happens not merely at a certain stage of Catholicization in Manggarai but it may occur any time. It could be also perceived by any agents: local or foreign priest/ missionaries, lay people or religious order members.

In early of 20th century, at the early stage of Catholicization in Manggarai, many of pioneer foreign missionaries strictly rejected and purposively destroyed the Manggaraians’ local beliefs and practices as they were regarded as the practice of paganism. The missionaries banned people to commit to idolatry. The same attitude is also expressed by local priests at the era the Catholic Church becomes local Church (diocese) in Manggarai. For them, to be a Catholic meant to abandon their “old” faith. Local beliefs and cultures were also seen as the barrier to modernism and economic way of life.

There are several examples of the Manggaraians' beliefs and practices that are commonly seen as against Christian faith. First is the practice of *haruspex* ("*toto urat*", literally means to examine the intestine of a sacrificed animal). In the practice of "*toto urat*", a family or community gather together and do a set of ritual to thank to the ancestors/spirits, to give thanks and praise, to ask for blessing and to predict their fate. In one part of the ritual, a *tu'a* or *ata mbeko* (a leader or shaman) will kill an animal such as a chicken, pig, or buffalo. He (never she) then cuts the body of the animal and check the liver and other innards of the animal looking for the signs that show the fate of the family or community. In this practice, the community believes that human's fate (bad or luck) is determined by the liver, *vena cava* (Latin: *venae cavae*) and other innards of the animal. People believe that a *tu'a* or *ata mbeko* (the leader or shaman) has special charisma to "read" the ancestors' or spirit's will. A certain sign that shows the community's fate will be revealed by the animal's inner part of body. He then tells the community about the sign and its meaning. Based on the signs, the community members know their future. The practice of *toto urat* (*haruspex*) is often rejected and banned by the Church. In the past, many of missionaries or priests convinced the people that only God knows and determined the human's fate. The people neither trusted to animal's innards body nor to *tu'a* or *ata mbeko*. People might do certain ritual but they had to overstep the *toto urat* one.

Another example is the practice of putting offerings under big trees or on big stones or a certain place in a deep jungle or near water resources or another eerie place. The practice is seen as idolatry because it is considered as to worship

many gods. It means that it destroys Christian monotheism. In addition to rituals, some practices that are seen in contrary to Christian laws are the practice of polygamy, cross cousin marriage, and black magic.

It should be noted that all the “bad” things are found in the Manggaraian culture and not in the Church’s practice. It happens because the standardization is decided and justified by the Church. All the Church’s practices are considered better and truer than the people’s.

In theological studies, Niebuhr¹⁵ (2001, original 1951), one of prominent theologians, categorizes the relationship between Christian faith and local culture as two contradictory things as “Christ against Church” type. According to him this exclusive type sees Christ and culture as rivals. Culture cannot be seen as media and place where Christian faith can grow well. The Church’s old slogan “*Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*” is the concrete example of this paradigm. History is the history of rising Church or Christian culture and a dying pagan civilization. In this contradictory relationship, the local beliefs and culture are considered not as good soil to grow and develop faith. It has no good values for Christianity. The culture cannot help the people to realize of their faith. The culture is against salvation. Catholicism cannot stand together with the local culture, but the culture of the western. In general, this type is mainly practiced by many Churches in all over the world before the Second Vatican Council.

¹⁵ Niebuhr develops five models of the relationship between faith/Christ and culture. In addition to three types (Christ against culture, Christ in paradox to the culture, Christ to the culture) applied in this study, other two types are “Christ above culture” and “Christ transforming culture.”

In addition to Niebuhr, Hiebert (1987) defines this similar type as Christ versus culture. According to him, in the past, many of western missionaries were fails as they simply saw the Gospel as belong to their culture. For them, local culture should be transformed to their culture (western culture) as a local religion should be transformed to Christianity. As the result, people from nonwestern culture saw the Gospel as something strange as it was rooted out of their culture. Actually many people rejected mission activities not because they refused to receive the Christ but because they were alienated from their own culture. It is true in the context of Manggaraians. Until in 1970s, many old people, for instance, rejected to convert to Catholicism not because Catholicism was consider not good, but because they did not want to be alienated from their culture. Conversion to Catholicism would be danger to their culture and to their fate.

The questions why the Church should always determine everything for the local people and not vice versa, why a dialogue between two sides does not occur, how to involve and include local people in understanding their local beliefs/culture and Christian faith are some of theological challenges for the Church, especially to the Manggarai Church.

6.1.2. Parallel Relationship

A more moderate relationship between Christian faith and Manggarai local beliefs and culture is described as a parallel relationship. In this type, the two things are considered substantially good within and for itself and not with and for

another. Local beliefs and culture are acknowledged and appreciated as they are outside the Christian faith, and vice versa. Therefore they cannot be mixed and or put together. There is no relationship and communication each other.

In this point of order, a Manggaraian will practice a certain traditional ritual because he or she is Manggaraian and not because he/she is a Catholic. He or she will not see Catholic values upon the practice. In contrast, he or she cannot celebrate his/her Catholic faith through his or her culture. Local beliefs and practices have nothing to do with Christian faith. There is demarcation between the two. There is no inter-cultural communication of moral and faith values.

Such ways of perceiving Christian faith and local beliefs and culture in a detached relationship are very common in Manggarai. It may happen because of several reasons. First, it is practiced when at one side the Church prohibit to the people to do their traditional beliefs and culture but at another side the people are afraid of *nangki agu itang* (to be punished by the ancestors) if they do not do *adat*. The Manggaraians believe that disaster, calamity, infertility, famine, and sick are the punishments from the spirits and ancestors. In order to keep them away from bad luck, they still practice of their local beliefs and culture but they do not contrast them with the Catholic faith. Since culture is part of community's life and identity, people cannot live without it. It is part of human's life as well. Once they become Catholics, they cannot be taken from their culture. Therefore, people negotiate: they will follow Christianity but at the same time they are still considered themselves as true Manggaraians. Second, it happens when the Church and the people fail to see Christian faith values within local beliefs and culture or

when there is no effort to deeply reflect and dialogue local theology for and from Christian theology. As the consequences, people do not perceive local beliefs and culture that can enrich and advance Christian faith and vice versa.

In theological field, according to Niebuhr (1951), this type of the encounter between Catholicism and local culture is best explained as *Christ and culture in paradox*. It is a dualistic paradox view between Christ and culture. Both Christ and culture are seen in a parallel relationship but there is no connection between the two. They are good in their own context and position. There is a demarcation lying between them. This type is considered not appropriate because there is no dialogue between culture and faith; they walk alone and do not enrich each other.

There are several examples of rituals which theologically have similar values within the two traditions: Catholic and Manggaraian but in general both are practiced. For instance, in Catholic tradition, sacrament of baptism functions to name a person/baby and to include she/he into Catholic Church community. In Manggaraian tradition, there is also a similar ritual namely *cèar cumpè*. It functions to include the baby to the community and to name him/her as well. Since there are a lot of common and shared values and functions within those rituals, they can be mixed together. But in practice the Manggaraians may practice both of them because they do not see the relation between the two.

Another example is between ritual of *wagal* and sacrament of marriage. *Wagal* functions to unite and bless a couple on their marriage ritual. It is the last and the most important step at which a couple is legally united as a new family. In

that ritual, the couple, their families and relatives are gathering in the bride's family house. A set of sacred rituals will be led by a *tu'a* (leader) or shaman (*ata mbeko*). This is similar to the practice of sacrament of marriage in Catholic tradition. Since the Church or the people do not try to dialogue between these two rituals, they are both practiced or they do not common and shared theological values within the ritual.

Therefore, theological challenges and imperatives for the Manggarai Church are on how to develop and reflect Christian faith within and from the local context and vice versa. It is also imperative to the Church to creatively combine and unite Christian and local beliefs aspects within lively and meaningful liturgy, laws, practices, and social structures and relationships.

6.1.3. Mutual Relationship

The third type of the encounter between Catholic faith and Manggaraian local beliefs and culture is a mutual relationship. In this type, there is an inclusive dialogue between Catholic faith and local beliefs and culture, a dialog that makes possible to both sides to share common values and faith and to enrich each other. From theological perspectives, it is believed that Catholic faith cannot be experienced in its pure form apart from cultural expression. Christian faith can grow and develop only when it lively adapts and uses local theology and culture. The human's encounters and experiences with God happen within cultural real context. The culture is the media and place where people express their faith to

God in unique and distinctive ways. Therefore, it is the task of a faith community to dialogue and deeply reflect God's Word within their culture. At the same time, the God's Word also functions to enlighten the culture. In Niebuhr's theory (2001, original 1951: 116ff), this type is categorized as *Christ of culture* type. This type offers accommodation which believes that Christ is the One who fills and makes culture perfect. The encounters between Christianity and local culture are imperative to mutual dialogue. A religion that fails to dialogue with local culture would be alienated from its own resources. A dialogue between global and local is a must because such a dynamic relation, analogous to Catholicism and Manggarai, enriches and enhances both sides.

In Niebuhr's theory (2001, original 1951: 116ff), it is categorized as *Christ of culture* type. This type offers accommodation which believes that Christ is the One who fills and makes culture perfect. For the cultural Christian, history is the story of the spirit's encounter with nature. Küster (2001) develops Niebuhr's idea to an intercultural. It is a theology that involves a Church to create a mutual dialogue with local cultures. According to Hiebert's (1987), the Gospel is present in cultural dimensions namely: cognitive dimension (knowledge, logic, and wisdom), affective dimension (feeling, art) and evaluative dimension (value and discipleship). For Hiebert, even though the Gospel was given into Jews culture from the time of Abraham to Jesus Christ era, it did not limit merely to that culture. The Gospel is God's message given in a certain culture. The Gospel is God's revelation and it is communicated in a certain culture without losing its divine entity.

The theology of Vatican II proclaims that Church should enter into an open and mutual dialogue with the culture. The history of evangelization should be a process of cultural adaptation, of “communion with various cultural modes,” “a living exchange . . . between the Church and the diverse cultures of people” (GS¹⁶ 58, 44). The council noted that the Church profits from the treasures buried within the diversity of human culture and that

... from the beginning of her history, she (the Church) has learned to express the message of Christ with the help of the ideas and terminology of various peoples, and has tried to clarify it with the wisdom of philosophers, too. Her purpose has been to adapt the Gospel to the grasp of all as well as to the needs of the learned, insofar as such was appropriate. Indeed, this accommodated preaching of the revealed Word ought to remain the law of all evangelization. For thus each nation develops the ability to express Christ’s message in its own way. At the same time, a living exchange is fostered between the Church and the diverse cultures of people (GS 44).

Looking back to the history of Catholicism in Manggarai, this third type is practiced mostly in liturgical aspects. The Manggarai Church often defines it as “inculturation”. The most common examples of the inculturation are the using of local songs, language, rituals, theology, the image of Supreme Being, dances, symbols within Catholic liturgy. In addition, the God is titled as *Mori Kraéng* (the God), Jesus the Christ is titled as “*Yesus Kristus Morigé*” (My Lord Jesus), and *compang* (traditional stone altar) is seen parallelism with Eucharist altar.

There is also effort to Christianize or to give Christian value to some of local rituals. For example is the “Buffalo Mass” which is originally promoted by

¹⁶ GS, *Gaudium et Spes*, is a pastoral constitution document of the Second Vatican Council that explains the task of the Church in the modern world. It consists of 93 articles. The Second Vatican Council promulgated sixteen official documents.

van Bekkum, a Dutch missionary. Buffalo is one of important animals for rituals in Manggarai. As buffalo is the most expensive animals, people use buffalo as their sacrifice only on certain rituals. A ritual that uses a buffalo is considered as a big ritual. In Christian theology, Eucharist or mass is understood as the “peak” of any liturgies. Therefore, combining killing buffalo ritual and mass in one liturgy is an attempt to unite local and Christian theology. More than it, the blood of the buffalo is interpreted as the blood of the Christ who sacrificed Himself in Golgotha. By combining the two rituals, they enriched each other. There is a mutual relation between faith and culture.

Unfortunately, mutual relationship between Christian faith and Manggaraian local culture is primary centered in liturgical aspect. Inculturation that originally refers to any efforts to root faith within local culture is narrowly practiced. It is limited only in liturgy. In some cases, it is also practiced as “retraditionalization” that is merely to revive the tradition rather than to root the Church into the culture. The culture is seen as the material property instead of the place to grow people’s faith.

Through the Federation of Asian Bishop’s Conference (FABC)¹⁷, the Asian bishops emphasize that “inculturation is not mere adaptation of already-made Christianity into given situation, but rather a creative embodiment of the Word in the local Church. This is the fundamental process of inculturation. In this process of inculturation people receive the Word of God, and make it the principle

¹⁷ The Federation of Asian Bishop Conference (the FABC) has been the most influential body in the Asian Church since the Second Vatican Council. It has strengthened the bonds of communication among Catholic communities and their bishops and has contributed to the development of a shared vision of the Church and her evangelizing mission in Asia.

of their life, values, attitudes and aspirations. “Inculturation is a dialogical encounter process understood in its deepest meaning that comes from the salvific movement of the Triune God, because evangelization itself is above all a dialogue between the Gospel message and the given reality” (FAPA I, 138-139).

The real question of inculturation should arise about the real meaning of the Church for the community and their culture. The relation between faith and culture is always complex. It is the process of learning to present Jesus Christ and the Church with authentic indigenous face and heart requires deep listening and challenging dialogue. It is a question about what constitutes “real Catholic”. For instance, there is often the additional issue of a highly centralized and hierarchical model of authority that needs to be transformed in the interests of enabling genuine local churches to emerge (Phan, ed., 2002: xii; Hall, 2007: 8).

The Federation of Asian Bishop’s Conference looks at evangelization as an integral activity involving the whole human community, every group, and every person. Inculturation has to do with dialogue: with culture, with the poor, and with other religions as well. In Asian context, “there will be no complete evangelization unless there is dialogue with other religions and cultures. There is no full evangelization if there is no answer to the deep yearning of the peoples of Asia (Darmaatmaja, 1999, 891; Chia, 2003: 83). An inculturated Church “comes into existence and is build up through a deep and mutually enriching encounter between the Gospel and the people through the cultural medium, but includes, as well, experiencing, understanding and appropriating them though the cultural resources of a people” (FABC Paper 60: 18).

Affording deeper mutual relation between Catholicism and Manggaraian local culture is a real theological challenge for the Manggarai Church. The Church could be meaningful for the Manggaraians when it concerns to the real problems of the society, when the Church is the Church for the people and of the people.

6.2. Church Community and Structure

One aspect of the encounter between Catholicism and local beliefs and culture that theologically challenges the Manggarai Church is on Church as local and basic community. When the missionaries introduced Catholicism to the Manggaraians in the early of 20th century, theologically the Church understood the Church as a *societa perfecta*, a perfect society. In regards to the model, Bellarmine (1588) explains that Church is seen as a political society alongside any other governments. This model is susceptible to clericalism which positions the clergy better and higher than those they serve to. In this model, lay people and the members of Christian community are seen as passive members. The relation between lay people with clergy is structured in pyramidal model. The role of the people are limited and depended upon the clerics (Pope, bishops, priests, deacons). The relationship between the Church hierarchy and community is top down. The hierarchies are the decision makers. There is no power sharing. The power comes from one hand, the hand of clergy (Dulles, 1988).

Such of way of understanding the Church as a pyramidal community does not fit to the local Manggaraians social structure and organization. As it is

explained in the previous chapters, local Manggaraian community is a “rounded community”. The Manggaraians community originally is centered in a *béo/golo/gendang* (village). The relationship among people in this community is established on deep relation with land, history, culture, universe, etc. both in physic and nonphysical meaning. A *béo/golo/gendang* cannot be separated from the garden. The Manggarai expressed it as “*gendang'n oné, lingko'n pé'ang*” (house/village in side and garden outside). *Béo/gendang* has sacral, cosmic and social character. The social interaction among the members is very strong (Koentjaraningrat, 1977).

From physical shaped, the traditional community of Manggaraians is circular. It can be seen from the shapes of the village itself, its *mbaru gendang* (main house), *compang* (stone altar) and *lodok* (garden). All of which are to indicate one, unity and harmony. They are some of important values for the Manggaraians. All the members of community are seen as one family. The Manggaraians uses many proverbs to express their values such as *pa'ang olon ngaung musu* (literally: from the main entrance to backyard), *batang cama réjé lélé* (always talking and discussing something together), *wan koé étan tu'a* (from the youngest to the oldest; all are included), *néka koas ného kota, néka behas ného kena* (do not separate and against each other), *muku ca pu'u néka woléng curup*: (we have) to talk together as a comb of banana), *téu ca ambo néka woléng lako*: (we have to walk together as the unity of sugar cane stem) and *ipung ca tiwu néka woléng wintuk*: (we have to act together like small fishes in a pool).

All of these expressions show the community as one big family in which every member should care and support each other. No one is excluded. Life is shared with the other and is meaningful with other people.

The spirit of Manggaraian rounded community is similar the first disciples' community in Jerusalem (Act 2:42-47). They are one family, they gathered together to pray, to listen to God's Word, to discuss of their life and to support each other. They care of the poor, the widows and were willing to share their property to support those in need. They share their life. Therefore, Manggaraian local community could be shared with and be the model for local Christian community.

Theologically, the Second Vatican Council gives new insight about Church as the communion of people of God. The Church is a community whose members live in communion. In this model, the hierarchy is at the service of the people of God and enables the laity to actively participate in the life and mission of the Church. The Church is not just an institution; it is also a community whose members are in communion with God and with one another. It is not just a worshipping community; it is also a prophetic and servant community. Its mission is not only spiritual, it is also temporal. Its characteristics follow the sense of "being together." The Church is seen as a community and communion – a community of faith, hope and love and a communion of life, love and truth. Moreover, the Church is the People of God participating in Christ's prophetic, priestly and pastoral mission. Thus, lay people were given impetus to participate in the Church's life and mission. The Church is not only concerned about heaven

but also concerned about the earth and all its problems. The Christian Community is a prophetic, celebrating and serving community (Birondo, 1985: 25).

Comparing these two communities, it challenges the Manggarai Church to enliven and develop a kind of community that is not merely ecclesiological grounded in Christian theology but also culturally rooted within the real context of the people. Manggaraian Christian community can be seen as “*léok*” (round/circular) Christian community and Manggarai Church is “*léok*” Church.

It should be noted that a rounded community should not merely circular in its shape but primary in characters and in its concrete actions or relations. The Manggarai Church should be the family, home and community for all of its members. The Church is the place where everybody is included and embraced. It is a community that cares the common interests of its member. It is a community where power is justly shared. It is a home for justice and peace for all of its members and for the integrity of whole creation as well. In terms of Basic Christian Communities (BCC), under the model of Church as “*léok*” (rounded/circular) community, basic community should function as a grassroots community. It is not the branch of parish. It is the place where community members have space to empower each other, to fight for justice and liberation.

6.3. To Be Manggarai Church

The Manggarai Church is already 100 years old this year (2012). During a century Catholicism has become part of the Manggaraian life, history and

struggles. Catholicism lives within their heart, mind and life. The Manggaraian is Church and Church is the Manggaraian. The Manggaraians are very proud of being Catholics. For them, Catholicism is part of their identity: Manggaraian Catholics or Catholic Manggaraian. It is an amazing achievement of the Church, of the people. Finally, to end this works, of all the challenges the Manggarai Church faces is primary on a concrete question of how to be a Manggarai Church rather than to be Church in Manggarai. To be Manggarai Church assumes that the Church is a local Church, the Church for and of the people. The Church is not a foreign body but a real and lively rounded community of the Manggaraians. The key is on the people. Only the people, the Manggaraian Catholics, could determine to which direction is their Church is directed. They are active agents in the world and in their history. The encounters between Catholicism and the Manggaraian beliefs, culture and tradition occurs not between material or theological aspects but primary between person and person, people and people, agent and agent. They are active agents that give meaning to their faith, culture and history. Mutual and communicative dialogue with all the people, the culture and faith is very imperative.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

*“Langkas haéng Ntala, Uwa Haéng Wulang;
Waké Ncaler Ngger Wa, Saung Bémbarang Ngger éta”
(Be high up to the stars, grow up to the moon;
be rooted down to the earth; and be leafy upon)*

7.1. Conclusion

There are four main findings in this study.

1. This study concludes that religious activities, one that relates to religious conversion, never present in pure religious motivations but always associate with non-religious interests such as politics and competition with other religions. It is true in the context of Manggarai. Catholic religion was introduced not merely to expand the Christianity but also to constrain the development of Islam and to support colonial activities in that area. More to what precedes, the case of Manggarai, as I have argued, portrays that religious motivation is the main purpose of the missionaries while other reasons are used to support the religious one. There are some notes on this point:

- a. That Catholicization goes together with colonization is not a new theory. It supports the theory of Pedersen (1970) about Christianization in Batak, the theory of Aragon (2000:84) about the Christianity in Central Celebes or Hefner's (1993) theory about Christianity in Java. The cooperation between European Catholic missionaries and European colonials enriched each other: the Church could get more people to be baptized and the Dutch could easily run their program when people were organized by the Church. Because this mutual collaboration, Catholicism could vastly expand in Manggarai.
 - b. That Catholicization in Manggarai in early of 20th century was done in order to constrain the development of Islam is in line with the theory of Reid (1993:147-148) who see the competition in eastern Indonesia among several groups which were also motivated by religious reasons in addition to political and economic interests. It also supports the theory of Schrieke (1955:38) who emphasized religious zeal, nourished in the tradition of the Crusades and the remembrance of its bitterness to the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, certainly continued to be an essential motivation to the missionaries to spread the Gospel.
 - c. That religious motivation, as central in the mission's inspirations, appeared visibly through the missionaries' indefatigable efforts to grow faith and Church for the people in Manggarai.
2. This study finds the following reasons and factors why Catholicism grew spectacularly in Manggarai:

- a. In the early of 20th century, colonization was one important power in forcing people to convert into Catholicism. In particular it happened when the Dutch could control local leader who either could impel his people to follow his religion or facilitated the new religion to grow in his region. This theory is supported by Steenbrink (2003). Even if Steenbrink's claim may be truthful in some historical points and anthropological cases, his observation isn't necessarily pertinent in the case of Manggarai. I argue that the political domain of religious conversion in Manggarai is not the life-blood substance of Catholicism in the area given the fact that when the Dutch ended its colonial reign in Manggarai, the development of the Catholic Church did not cease in functioning. In fact, the years after the colonial period in Manggarai are a time of vast increase and growth in terms of religious knowledge and Catholic spirituality. In Indonesian independence era, particularly after 1965, the Indonesian government's political discourses on religion that gives significant support to world religions rather than to local beliefs is also a factor that strengthens Catholicism in Manggarai. In this sense, this study agrees with the theory of Atkinson (1983) and Kipp Smith (1993) and Erb (2007) who emphasize religious transition within Indonesian society under the influence of New Order's government.
- b. This study partially agrees with Weber (1955; see also in Hefner 1993:3-46) who sees rationality, legality and systematization of

doctrines, institutions, and sacred hierarchy within Catholicism (as within other world religions) are important reasons to why indigenous community converts to world religion. Weber explores the differentiation between indigenous and world religions. For him, since world religions provide more logic and systematic explanation about nature, life and human beings, they are more acceptable than local beliefs. The Church of Manggarai's strategies to provide education, to develop modern health centre, housing resettlement, road construction, and agricultural are successful in transforming the Manggarai from traditional to modern, logical, scientific and systematic ways of life. All of which had attracted people to receive Catholicism. In this sense, Weber is true. But, I argue that his theory is only partially true because, in fact, even though the Manggaraians have converted to Catholic as one world religion, it does not mean that they totally abandoned their indigenous beliefs and practices. Even in the more modern era, the Manggaraians become more attached to their traditional culture and beliefs.

- c. This study argues that another possible explanation to answer why Catholicism easily grew in Manggarai can be linked to the missionaries' effort of inculturation. By adopting local theology, languages, songs, values, dances, clothing, and by Catholicization of some local rituals and beliefs, the Manggaraian people would not be alienated from their old beliefs once they become Catholics. They

could be both Manggaraians and Catholics at the same time. This model of self-identity “Catholic-Manggarai” becomes the most fundamental character of the people.

- d. Another fundamental reason to why Catholicism spectacularly grows in Manggarai is found in the Church’s social contribution and significances to the society. For the Manggaraians, the meaning of Church is primarily experienced through the presence of numerous Catholic schools and good health centre. It is the Catholic Church that brings the Manggaraians out of backwardness to a more modern and an open society.

3. This study reveals that Manggarai is a responsive society to Catholic religion; the people are easily converted to Catholicism and adopt Catholic as part of their identity. This supports Hefner’s (1993) argumentation that some societies are receptive and responsive to Christianity. Even so, it argues that it does not mean that the acceptance is experienced without strain, hurt and depression. “Catholic-Manggaraian” identity is constructed through adaptation and conflict. This supports Erb’s (1995, 2003, and 2007) argumentation that emphasizes the idea that to be both a Catholic and a Manggaraian is the result of long and hard struggle. Therefore, it argues that the dialectical encounter (adaptation and conflict) between Catholicism and the culture of Manggarai shapes a unique identity of the Catholic-Manggarai: “true Catholic and true Manggaraian”.

- a. If Catholicism and the culture of Manggarai are regarded as two contradictory encounters then there is no integrated identity but a single choice: either a Catholic or a Manggarai.
 - b. If Catholicism and the culture of Manggarai are regarded as two dualistic encounters then there will be demarcation between the two.
 - c. If Catholicism and the culture of Manggarai are regarded as mutual-dialectical encounters then there will be integrative dialogue between the two. A Manggaraian could be a Catholic and maintain his/her being as a Manggaraian at the same time, thus, Catholic-Manggaraian. Both enrich each other.

4. From theological perspectives, Catholic faith cannot be experienced in its pure form apart from cultural expression. Christian faith grows only in certain cultural context. It implies that a religion that fails to take a dialogic connection with the local culture it aims to unite with would be alienated from its own resources. A dialogue between global and local is a must because such a dynamic relation, analogous to Catholicism and Manggarai, enriches and enhances both sides. Catholicism could be meaningful for Manggaraians if there are always mutual encounters in important areas of habituation namely basic beliefs, social organization, religious symbols and religious significances to the community.
 - a. In terms of basic beliefs, the Manggarai Church can use local theology and develop new intercultural theology rather than merely adopt

western theology. Theologically, the Manggaraians' traditional religion and belief are very rich. For instance, local theology about immanent and relational God which perceives the God as mother and father (*inè agu amè*), as husband and wife (*rona agu wina*), earth and sky (*tana agu awang*), up and down (*èta agu wa*), sunrise and sunset (*par agu kolep*) challenges Christian theology in new understanding about God. In terms of religious symbols, the Manggarai Church can adopt local religious symbols such as *compang* (traditional stone altar) the relevance of the Cross, the blood of buffalo or chicken to explain the significance of the blood of Christ, and *mbaru gendang* to understand about the Church.

- b. In terms of socio-religious organization, the Church can use Manggaraian local "round community" to understand the Second Vatican Council's theology on the Church as the communion.
- c. In terms of religious significances, the Church can participate in building a Manggaraian society that is premised on the ideals of justice and peace. The Church can be an alternative community that favors the fight against poverty, lack of human resources, environment degradation, corruption, unjust mining, etc; the problems that the Manggarai people face in this contemporary world.

7.2. New Theoretical Framework

In addition to the findings and conclusion above, this study also proposes a new theoretical framework, namely “mutual and dominant relationship theory”. The theory explains that the encounter between a religion (Catholic) and a culture (Manggarai) happens in dynamic relations, either in a positive or a negative way. Positively, the encounter happens as a mutual relationship in which one enriches and advances to another. When two different things can support and enforce each other in a mutual relationship then they become rich and meaningful. Negatively, it happens when one acts dominantly to another. Two different things become meaningless if there are no supported elements from each side; if a dominant-relationship is performed.

Catholic faith can grow and become part of the Manggarai’s identity because there are always mutual dialogues between faith and local culture. The Catholic faith finds appropriate ground and context for its growth and sustainability. On another hand, the culture of Manggarai can also be alive because the people find and affirm religious/faith aspect within the culture. Otherwise, it will be easily lost by time and by various changes in the society.

7.3. Suggestion and Recommendation

This study is only one possibility approach to describe Catholicism in Manggarai in 1912-2012. Catholicism in Manggarai is a rich field to be studied by

various social science disciplines such as by theology, sociology, anthropology, history of religion, politics and religious studies. This study could be a starting point. Here are some exemplary workable themes that this study has started to talk about, but have not been treated in depth. Scholars from the study of theology may develop advanced research on local Manggaraian theology about the Supreme Being which was usually presented in very unique mutual relationships up-down (*awang éta, tana wa*), sunrise-sunset (*par agu kolep*), husband-wife (*ronan éta, winan wa*), mother-father (*endé éta, ema wa*), day-night (*amé rinding mane, iné rinding wié*), etc. Such theology could be an alternative thought in understanding mutual relationship among human beings and between human beings and nature. They may also study about Christological aspects of local songs, prayers, rituals and symbols. Scholars in the field of History could develop a deeper study that attends to the historical construction of Manggarai's social transformation from traditional to modern society. Scholars in the fields of sociology and anthropology may examine Manggaraian marriage, kinship, social organization, material culture, traditional houses, etc.

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- <http://www.divineword.org/>

G L O S S A R Y

Manggaraian Words	Meaning
<i>Adak</i>	Custom
<i>Agu</i>	With
<i>Anak rona</i>	Wife giver
<i>Anak wina</i>	Wife receiver
<i>Asé</i>	Younger brother/sister
<i>Ata</i>	People, person, someone
<i>Ata mbeko</i>	Shaman
<i>Ata oné</i>	Insider, male
<i>Ata pé'ang</i>	Outsider, female
<i>Ata pélé sina</i>	People in the other world
<i>Awang</i>	Sky
<i>Bakok</i>	White
<i>Bendar</i>	House
<i>Bélis</i>	Bride-wealth
<i>Béo</i>	Village
<i>Béo lor</i>	Extended village
<i>Béo pu'u</i>	Origin village
<i>Caca mbolot</i>	Solve a problem
<i>Caci</i>	Whipping game
<i>Cako</i>	Cousin marriage
<i>Cangkang</i>	Marriage between those who do not have blood relationship before.
<i>Céar cumpé</i>	A ritual to name a baby; a ritual by which a mother of a new baby is allowed to do regular social activity after being isolated inside the house after giving birth
<i>Cebong cé'é</i>	I am having shower
<i>Ceki</i>	Taboo, custom of certain clan
<i>Compang</i>	Stone altar at the centre of a village
<i>Dalu</i>	A local leader, a district
<i>Dara ta'a</i>	Death caused by an accident or disaster
<i>Darat</i>	Spirit, inhabit the land, control of forest, large trees, springs; it may appear in the form of animals.
<i>Dari leso</i>	Sun bath
<i>Dédék</i>	Create
<i>Déré serani</i>	Christian song
<i>Ema</i>	Father
<i>Ema éta, énde wa</i>	Father above and mother below (God)
<i>Eme</i>	If
<i>Éndé</i>	Mother
<i>Éta,</i>	Above

<i>Gendang</i>	Drum, village
<i>Go'ét</i>	Poetic phrase
<i>Golo</i>	Hill, village
<i>Guru agama</i>	Religious teacher
<i>Haju</i>	Wood, tree
<i>Haju teno</i>	A kind of tree that is planted in the centre of <i>lodok</i> /garden
<i>Hambor</i>	Reconciliation
<i>Ici</i>	Content, core
<i>Ipung</i>	Small fish
<i>Jari</i>	Create
<i>Jari agu wowo</i>	Creator and giver of life
<i>Jurak</i>	Incest
<i>Ka'é</i>	Older brother/sister
<i>Kawing kampong</i>	“Village marriage”
<i>Kélas</i>	The last/closing ritual for the death
<i>Kilo</i>	Family
<i>Kilo hang dio</i>	Extended family
<i>Kilo hang neki</i>	Nuclear family
<i>Kinang</i>	Rafters
<i>Kindé</i>	Pinkie, smallest finger
<i>Kolep</i>	Sun-set
<i>Kopé</i>	Knife
<i>Kraéng</i>	Lord
<i>Kraéng adak</i>	Lord/ village leader
<i>Lami</i>	To keep
<i>Tembong</i>	Dragon fly; traditional/main house
<i>Lalong</i>	Cock
<i>Landing</i>	But
<i>Langké/ruténg</i>	Tree (banyan tree - <i>ficus benjamina</i>)
<i>Le momang Maria</i>	To love Mary (a Christian song)
<i>Leso</i>	Day, sun
<i>Lété lawo</i>	The level of rat/upper level
<i>Lété wa</i>	Floor/down level
<i>Lewing</i>	Cooking pot
<i>Liking</i>	Fire place for cooking
<i>Lili</i>	A widower marries his wife's sister or widow marries her husband's brother
<i>Lingko</i>	Communal garden
<i>Lobo</i>	Upper level/attic
<i>Lodok</i>	A penis-shaped timber
<i>Lonto léok</i>	Sitting/meeting in circular shape,
<i>Lusa</i>	A kind of plant, <i>cajanus cajan</i>
<i>Lutur</i>	Floor, guess room
<i>Manga</i>	There is; available; exist
<i>Mbaru gendang</i>	Main house
<i>Mbaru lémpang</i>	Communal (big) square house

<i>Mbaru tembong</i>	Main house
<i>Mendi</i>	Slaves
<i>Méu</i>	You
<i>Molang</i>	Bed room
<i>Mori</i>	Lord
<i>Mori jari agu dédék</i>	Lord, the creator
<i>Naga golo/teno</i>	The guardian of land/houses
<i>Natas</i>	Yard
<i>Nangki</i>	Punishment/disaster (from the ancestor)
<i>Neka</i>	Don't
<i>Nempung</i>	Gathering, party
<i>Nempung weki</i>	Family gathering
<i>Ngaung</i>	Basement, underground level
<i>Ngger le</i>	Forward the mountains/headwater
<i>Nunduk</i>	Story, to tell a story
<i>Pa'ang</i>	Village entrance, gate
<i>Paca</i>	Bride-wealth
<i>Pa'u</i>	Fall down
<i>Panga (sub-clans)</i>	Sub clan
<i>Par</i>	Sun-rise
<i>Par agu kolep</i>	Dawn and sun set
<i>Pau</i>	Mango
<i>Pedé disé empo</i>	The message of their ancestors
<i>Penti</i>	Thanksgiving ritual
<i>Poli</i>	Already
<i>Ponggo</i>	Thumb = large size
<i>Poti</i>	A catastrophe, ghosts or spirits of the dead
<i>Raja</i>	King
<i>Rang ka'é</i>	Older brother's inheritance
<i>Rang asé</i>	Younger brother's inheritance
<i>Reweng</i>	Voice
<i>Réwéng</i>	A name of village
<i>Rona</i>	Husband
<i>Ruteng</i>	A name of tree, Banyan tree
<i>Ruténg</i>	A name of a town
<i>Salang</i>	Way, road
<i>Saung leba</i>	Literally: leaf of a kind of plant; a kind of sanction for doing immoral behavior
<i>Siri bongkok</i>	Main pillar of the main house
<i>Siri lélés</i>	Pillars
<i>Siro</i>	Invite
<i>Suanggi</i>	Bad spirit, black magic
<i>Tana</i>	Land, ground
<i>Tatong</i>	To motivate and to support the youth
<i>Teging</i>	Sanctions and punishment
<i>Telu ngkali</i>	Three times

<i>Tinu</i>	Care
<i>Titong</i>	To guide or to accompany
<i>Toé</i>	No, not
<i>Toé meti</i>	Not stop flowing (of spring water)
<i>Toé salang tuak</i>	Flowing forever
<i>Toing</i>	Teaching or giving advice
<i>Toming</i>	Giving lively example or model
<i>Tu'a</i>	Old
<i>Tu'a béo</i>	Leader of village
<i>Tu'a golo</i>	Leader of village
<i>Tu'a teno</i>	Leader of village who has authority to divide land
<i>Tuak/arak</i>	Gin, alcoholic drink
<i>Tudak</i>	Prayer
<i>Tungku cu</i>	Cross-cousin marriage
<i>Wa</i>	Bellow, under
<i>Wa'u</i>	Inheritance, descent
<i>Waé téku</i>	Spring
<i>Wagal</i>	Traditional marriage ritual/feast
<i>Waké</i>	Root
<i>Wé'ang</i>	To clean
<i>Wé'ang boa</i>	To clean grave
<i>Wina</i>	Wife
<i>Woé nelu</i>	Kinship
<i>Woni</i>	Not eating pork
<i>Worok</i>	A kind of tree
<i>Wowo</i>	Satan, spirit
<i>Wuat wa'i</i>	A ritual before someone leaving for a long trip

Some Manggaraians' Poetic Phrases:

- *Bantang cama réjé lélé*: talk and discuss together before doing something
- *Boto koas ného kota, boto behas ného kena*: move together, grow as one group, so we are not separable like fence
- *Ema étan, ende wan*": father above, mother bellow; title for god, supreme being
- *Gendang'n oné, lingko'n pé'ang*: village inside, garden outside
- *Ipung ca tiwu néka woléng wintuk*: (we have) to act together like small fishes in a pool
- *Kopé olés todo kongkol*: unity and harmony

- *Lami usung oné mbaru tembong*: to maintain and to keep main house
- *Langkas haéng ntala, uwa haéng wulang; waké ncaler ngger wa, saung bémbang ngger éta*”: be high up to the stars, grow up to the moon; be rooted down to the earth; and be leafy upon
- *Muku ca pu’u néka woléng curup*: (we have) to talk together as a comb of banana
- *Mori Amé rinding mane, Iné rinding wié*: God, the Father who keeps in day, the Mother who keeps at night
- *Pa’ang olon, ngaung musin*: from front yard to back yard/all are included
- *Ronan éta, winan wa*: husband above, wife bellow; name/title for god
- *Téu ca ambo néka woléng lako*: (we have) to walk together as the unity of sugar cane stem
- *Wan koé étan tu’a*: from the youngest to the oldest (all are included)

The way the Manggarai call the Supreme Being

- *Amé rinding mané, iné rinding wié*: the Father who keeps in the day, Mother who keeps at night
- *Awang éta tana wa*: sky above, land bellow
- *Ema éta, énde wa*: father above and mother below
- *Jari agu wowo*: creator and giver of life, who gave birth
- *Mori jari agu dédék*: the creator
- *Par agu kolep*: dawn and sun set, etc.
- *Ronan éta, winan wa*: husband above, wife bellow