

MISSION AND DEVELOPMENT IN MANGGARAI, FLORES EASTERN INDONESIA IN 1920-1960s

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the mission and development in Manggarai Flores, Indonesia in 1920-1960s. These two activities were carried out by Catholic Church missionaries from Europe. Before this religion came to Manggarai, this region was in an isolated and backward condition. People lived in primitive way of life. The new development was carried out with the arrival of the Dutch colonists who worked closely with the Catholic Church missionaries beginning in the early 20th century. The Church utilized the support of the Dutch colonialists while running various development programs as important strategies to gain sympathy from the Manggarai people. As a result, the Church was accepted and became the dominant force in the community. This proves that missions that are in line with development or religion which at the same time pay attention to religious and secular aspects can win the hearts of the people. By using the historical approach, this paper aims to present a history of mission and development relations in Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia while providing a critical analysis of how religion, government and society are interwoven.

ABSTRAK

Paper ini mengeksplorasi misi dan pembangunan di Manggarai Flores, Indonesia tahun 1920-1960s. Dua aktivitas ini dilakukan oleh misionaris Gereja Katolik yang berasal dari Eropa. Sebelum agama ini datang ke Manggarai, wilayah ini berada dalam kondisi terisolasi dan terkebelakang. Masyarakat tidak mengenal infrastruktur modern. Pembangunan baru dilakukan dengan datangnya penjajah Belanda yang bekerja sama erat dengan misionaris Gereja Katolik mulai pada awal abad 20. Gereja memanfaatkan dukungan Belanda sekaligus menjalankan aneka program pembangunan sebagai strategi penting untuk mendapatkan simpati orang Manggarai. Hasilnya Gereja diterima dan menjadi kekuatan dominan di dalam masyarakat. Hal ini membuktikan bahwa misi yang sejalan dengan pembangunan atau agama yang sekaligus memperhatikan aspek religius dan kultural dapat memenangkan hati masyarakatnya. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan historis, artikel ini bertujuan untuk menyajikan sejarah hubungan misi dan pembangunan di Manggarai, Indonesia Timur sambil memberikan analisis kritis tentang bagaimana agama, pemerintah dan otoritas masyarakat terjalin erat.



INTRODUCTION

Religious missions are usually not in exclusively spiritual matter. Many religions carry out missions and development together. Both are interventions aiming at the transformation of people that comprise them (Scheer, Fountain, & Feener, 2018, p. 1). The missionaries may offer development as a strategy to attract sympathetic of the people to adopt their religion. However, it can also be the content of the religious mission itself. The history of the spread of religion in Christianity in Indonesia studied by Pedersen (Pedersen, 1970) in Batak, of Aragon (Aragon, 2000) in Celebes and of Hefner (Hefner, 1990) in Java clearly shows how missionaries employed development strategies to accelerate conversions as well as to smoothly organize society according to their own concept.

During the colonial period, European missionaries worked with the colonialists to win their goals. Mission and development coincided. Christian agents during the colonial era often have considered their role to provide a range of services, including education, healthcare, new techniques in agriculture and new culture in as a complement to religious activities (Scheer, Fountain, & Feener, 2018, pp. 107-108). Meanwhile, before the 20th century, European colonials began justifying their transnational empires with the word "civilizing mission". By which colonial rule was considered a moral duty that had to be maintained for the sake of the colonized (Grubb, 2009, p. 9) (Hirono, 2008). In so, doing the colonial authorities drew heavily on Christian mission rhetoric and incipient humanitarian morality. Christian mission was used to buttress colonialism. It was included similar justifications for the moral and political necessity of development projects (Jewsiewicki, 1989, p. 3)

This paper elaborates mission and development in Manggarai, Flores Eastern Indonesia in 1920-1960s. It brings how the Christian missionaries have engaged modern program in a broad range way and being transformed by diverse projects

of development in Eastern Indonesia. The Catholic Church started its mission in Manggarai, the western part of Flores Island, East Nusa Tenggara Province in the early of 20th century. It was three centuries later than in the eastern part of Flores.

Manggarai was isolated and backwardness. This area began to be touched by development with the arrival of Catholic missionaries in the early 20th century. The missionaries came only a few years after the presence of Dutch colonial in this region in 1907. The role of the colonial government was not denied in presenting the missionaries in this land (Widyawati, 2013). In collaboration with the Dutch, the Catholic Church created changes to regional development through an educational program, house construction and resettlement, health services, road infrastructure, etc. With funding from the European Church, missionaries built Manggarai to slowly get out of isolation in the early and middle of 20th century.

Through this paper, the role of Catholicism in developing and shaping Manggarai Flores, Eastern Indonesia in 1920-1960s is described and discussed. This is a period in which Manggarai Church was still seen as part of mission land, not yet an independent local Church. It was only in the middle of the 20th century, to be exact in 1961, that the Manggarai Church became an independent diocese, a local church (Boelaars, 2005). By using a historical approach, this paper aims to present a history of mission and development relations in Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia while providing a critical analysis of how religion, government, and society are interwoven.

RESEACRH METHOD

This study is a social research which basically develops historical approach. It is a technique of finding, analyzing and describing information relating to certain historical periods. It elaborates both field and historical-literature survey. Writing resources about the coming of the Catholic missionaries and its the development of Catholic Church of Manggarai from early

20th century up to 1960s are limited. Some of which were written by clergy and for the interest of the Church. Some were from the side of the Dutch colonial writers. Both had internal point of view. In addition, this study also uses the Ruteng Diocese's archives and some parishes' archives that record about their programs. Some contemporary studies of the Manggarai Church have also become important sources for this research. Though limited, they are helpful to this study.

To supply more data, this study also conducted a field research. It focuses on evidence of missionary involvement in development work in this region. Part of the data was obtained from the interviews of the related informants and partly from the physical evidence of the development carried out.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Manggarai: The Story Behind the Name

Manggarai is a place, ethnicity and also the name of a language. Manggarai is in the western part of Flores and occupies about one-third of the island's territory. Originally, Flores was named *Nusa Nipa*, which means the island of a snake. This name is associated with the shape of this island resembling a snake as well as the habitat of various types of snakes (Orinbao, 1969). The name Flores originally came from the Portuguese language, *Cabo de Flores*, which means cape of flower or Tanjung Bunga in the local language (Laan, 1962-1968). This name was given by a Portuguese, S.M. Cabot when he set foot on the eastern point of the island in the 16th century. Since 1636, this name was officially used by the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Hendrik Brouwer (Petu, 1967). *Tanjung Bunga* (Cape of Flower) has been a real name of a place at the easternmost point of Flores Island.

While the origin of the name "Manggarai" has several versions. J.P. Freijss, a Dutch envoy who visited Manggarai in 1848 wrote that "Manggarai" came from the word "manga raja", in Dutch "rajamenschen" (meaning king of a

society). What the king meant by Freijss, of course, referred to the King or Sultan of Bima who at the time of the arrival of Freijss to Manggarai, was mastering this region (Freijss, 1860). But Dami N. Toda (Toda, 1999, pp. 67-70) a researcher in Manggarai historiography stated that Freijss made a misinterpretation because of his lack of understanding of the local language. In the Manggarai language, "mangga" or "manga" means "there" and "raja" contains several meanings namely something, problem, or cause. It does not refer to king (*raja*). Therefore, the word "manga raja" should not be translated "there is a king" but "there is a cause" or "there is a problem" or "there is something" (Verheijen, 1967).

Another version tells us that in ancient times a group of people came to Manggarai via a sea route using a simple boat. Upon arriving at one of the beaches in the area now called Manggarai, they anchored the anchor and went down this land. After traversing the land, they returned and found the anchor had been washed away by the waves. They asked each other where is the anchor of their boat. Some people answered, "Manggarai" which means "missing anchor". This event inspired them to call this place Manggarai (Heerkens, 1930, pp. 30-31; Erb, 1999). Besides this version, there are also other versions circulating in the community. Until now, there is no agreement which version is considered the most correct.

Before 2003, the Manggarai region was a single district. It is bordered by Ngada Regency at the east and by Sape Strait near Bima, Sumbawa at the west. In 2003, Manggarai Regency was divided into two, namely Manggarai and West Manggarai. In 2006, Manggarai was again divided by giving birth to a new district, East Manggarai (Lon & Widyawati, 2017, p. 132). Today people often refer to "Manggarai Raya" (Great Manggarai) to explain the whole Manggarai which covers all three districts at once (Erb & Widyawati, 2018, p. 82).

Interestingly, these three districts are

still united in an ecclesiastical region namely the Ruteng Diocese. Religion has been the strongest bond that unites the three districts. It is obvious that religion can unite the state/political area. Although the nomenclature of the local church is officially named Ruteng diocese, the name "Manggarai Church" has been more popular in hierarchical and community daily talks (Widyawati, 2013).

Manggarai Prior to Catholicism

Information about Manggarai before the coming of Catholicism and Dutch colonials into this region was actually very limited. In the 1930s, Verhoven conducted an excavation in the village of Liang Racang and Poco, north to Ruteng, the capital of Manggarai. The result was found that this area had been a community settlement since ancient times (Verhoven, 1966). In 1960 the villagers in the western part of Warloka in West Manggarai discovered the tomb of a person wearing a necklace and a gold chain. Nearby were ceramic plates which probably originated from the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) and Yuan (1260-1386). There were also other items which probably originated in the 14th and 15th centuries from Vietnam (Erb, 1999, p. 66)

How did these items arrive here? One possible answer is that they were carried by people from the Majapahit kingdom (Lombard, 1996, p. 41). This is in line with the story developed in the local community. They believed that the name Warloka derived from the word Wuruk Loka, which means the place of Hayam Wuruk, the king of Majapahit. This word has been modified. Around this place were also found objects which local people associated with Hayam Wuruk (Erb, 1999, p. 66). However, this argumentation was also challenged because the name Warloka might be more suitable with the name of one village in Sulawesi, which shows traces of the influence of Gowa (Sulawesi) that had existed in this region since the 16th century.

In the 16th century, when Portuguese set foot in Malacca in 1551, trade in Asia intensified. The European and Asian

traders encouraged people in the east such as in Bugis, Bima, and Gowa to look for commodities (Parimatha, 2002). When Malacca was captured, local traders were urged and some sought new possibilities in the eastern region. Makassar in Sulawesi became a new trade center for the eastern region of the region now called Indonesia (Schieke, 1955, p. 49). Fabrics from India were sold in this market (Arasaratman, 1986). By becoming a new trade center, the Sulawesi people increasingly intensified their search for merchandise around their island, including Manggarai. Some commodities from Manggarai were horses, sandalwood, honey, yellow wood, wax, and especially slaves. In regards to slave trading, Reid explains that the slave created a 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 articles of merchandise (Reid, 1983).

This was the beginning of Sulawesi's influence in this area. The evidence of the presence of Gowa in Manggarai can be seen from the form of houses on the coast that are the same as the forms of houses in Sulawesi. In addition, there are quite a number of villages who claim their descent comes from Gowa. The super-government system and the *gelarang* (sub-district) and the mention of *kraeng* (lord) are also evidence of the influence of Gowa (Parimatha, 2002). The terms are still popular and are used in various matters for the Manggaraians today. Some old figures also testified that this was closely related to the footsteps of Gowa in Manggarai.

Besides Gowa at Sulawesi, the Bima sultanate also claimed to have master Manggarai from the 16th century to the early 20th century. In 1667, the Dutch defeated Gowa in the battle at the Alaka Palaka Bone. In the Bongaya agreement signed on November 18, 1667, it was stated that Gowa had to give a portion of its territory to the Sultan of Bima. One of them was Manggarai land. This agreement further gave the legitimacy of Bima's

power over Manggarai which had actually existed in Manggarai earlier. This is written in the Encyclopaedia van Nederlandsch-Indie, volume I page 307 that there was an oral agreement between de Oost-Indische Verenigde company (VOC) and Bima in 1660 (Coolhaas, 1942, pp. 162-164). Some villages in Manggarai such as Todo, Warloka, Pongkor call their ancestors Bima people. (Erb, 1999, pp. 66-69). Bima's power weakened with the eruption of Mount Tambora in 1815, many of their important figures died (Parimatha, 2002, p. 163).

What changes have occurred to the Manggaraian community with the presence of these two sultanates? Basically, the presence of both was mainly oriented to profit and power. They came to this area mainly because they were interested in local natural resources to be sold in the market at that time. In addition, every year, they obligated *dalu* and *gelarang* (the local leaders) to provide slaves for the Gowanese as their tax and obligation. Until the end of abad 19, slaves were one of the best-selling commodities in trade between countries. Even the name Manggarai in Batavia (Jakarta today) was given because many slaves came from Manggarai quarantined at that location in Batavia/Jakarta before they were sold abroad. Thus, physical or infrastructure development in order to change this region was not in the ideals of the two sultanates. They themselves preferred to live in groups in coastal areas and not join communities that remained isolated. Social change was mainly related to the naming and structure of the village such as *kedaluan* and *gelarang* as mentioned earlier. In addition, in some circumstances, the language used by both influenced some of the Manggarai regional language and vocabularies (Boxer, 1965).

In terms of religion, these two Islamic based sultanates did not seem to have the intention to spread Islam in this region. In fact, in a letter stamped on April 17, 1784, the Sultan of Bima, Abdul Hamid, issued a ban for the Bugis, Makassar 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". Until the middle of the 20th century, Islam spread mainly in coastal areas among their own families (Coolhaas, 1942, pp. 328-360).

Colonialization and the Coming of Catholic Religion in Manggarai

The power of Bima and Gowa weakened in the late 19th century and was increasingly marginalized by the presence of Dutch colonials and European Catholic missionaries who spread Catholicism. Historically, 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. Dietrich (Dietrich, 1986) wrote that this is one of "the bloodiest events in the history of the Dutch" that killed at least a thousand Flores people. On August 9th, 1907 Christoffel's troops arrived in Ende and started to attack people they met. They slowly moved to the west and arrived in the land of Manggarai on October 13th. Before going to Manggarai, Dutch officials in Batavia already had the knowledge that Manggarai, which was under the control of the Bima sultanate, was vulnerable to the spread of Islam. This fear forced them to urge the Catholic Church in Batavia to immediately send missionaries to convert the Manggarai people.

Initially, European Jesuit missionaries, who had begun the Catholic mission in the eastern region of Flores since the 16th century, were encouraged to expand the mission from east Flores to the west in order to reach Manggarai. However, they were quite pessimistic about that. In addition, the limited number of missionary workers made them unable to fulfill this desire. Therefore, until the end of the 19th century, although the eastern region of Flores had been dominated by Catholicism, Manggarai in the western part of the island had not been touched by Catholic missionary activity.

Shortly after the Dutch occupied Manggarai, the Flores region controller named A. Couvreur wrote a letter to the head of the mission in Larantuka. He said that Manggarai and Ngada (east to Manggarai) were very fertile and had a large population so they should have been targeted by the spread of Catholicism. He was worried that Islam would develop in this region. Because he did not get a positive response, he wrote on behalf of Captain Christoffel with the threat of giving Manggarai to the Protestant Church if Catholic missionaries did not immediately take a stand (Steenbrink, 2007, p. 85).

Bishop of Batavia responded to this threat. He encouraged the Jesuit missionaries to reach the Manggarai area in West Flores. As the result, in around 1910-1912, several Jesuit missionaries came to the Manggarai area. They visited Catholics from Larantuka and other eastern Flores who worked as pearl divers in Labuan Bajo in West Manggarai. During a trip, a missionary baptized the first Manggarai people in Reo, at south coastal, on May 17, 1912. This event marked the beginning of the Catholic era in Manggarai. Although some people have been baptized, still until the end of their tenure in Flores, an actual Catholic mission was not carried out systematically by Jesuit missionaries (Widyawati, 2013, p. 126).

Because of the insufficient number and resources, the Jesuit missionaries left their mission in Flores slowly. The Societa Verbum Divini (SVD) missionaries changed their assignments. This congregation was based in Netherland, the same country as the colonials. In 1920 the Apostolic Prefecture in Ndona Ende decided to make Ruteng, in Manggarai as the center of a new mission at the west part of Flores. This was obvious that the Church planned to create Flores as a "Catholic Island". The Catholic mission office was located right next to the Dutch government office in Puni, Ruteng (Aritonang & Steebrink, 2012). With this, colonial and religious cooperation became clearer and stronger in Manggarai.

At that time both the Dutch and the

Catholic Church still had to face another challenge, Bima's power over Todo. Todo was a village that had more power over other villages in Manggarai at the time when the Dutch entered Manggarai. The negotiations between the Dutch colonials and the Catholic Church were taken to benefit both. The Dutch approached the Bima Sultan, Muhammad Salahuddin, to be willing to release Manggarai and appointed Kraeng Bagung, the Todo outrageous figure, as "the first king of the Zelfsbestuur (swaprada) government" over the entire Manggarai region (Toda, 1999, pp. 313-315). As a result, on May 24, 1924, Bima was officially no longer "in power" over the new status of Manggarai namely swapradja or "waarnemende bestuurder van landschap Manggarai". The release of Manggarai from Bima is celebrated with the slaughter of buffalo and other animals a sign of happiness (Toda, 1999, p. 327).

The Dutch then appointed Kraeng Bagung, the local leader of Todo, as a king of Manggarai. Since he was a not Catholic (still a native religion), both the Dutch and the Catholic missionaries found a way how to have a leader that could support the Catholic mission. In 1931 the Dutch appointed Alexander Baroek, a very young man, as king and Bagung as "king of speech". This decision was very strategic because Alexander Baroek was a graduate of a Catholic school in Lela at eastern part Flores. Thus the Dutch strategy and missionaries to tame Manggarai were achieved. Stenbreenk (Steenbrink, 2007, p. 81) said, "he could not yet show strong authority in front of other local rulers and even less against the Catholic clergy, who took charge for him during his education".

With this, in fact, the Catholic Church easily won and smoothed out all the cloaking efforts in this region. With the help of the local and colonial government, all efforts to introduce Catholicism went smoothly. Kraeng Baruk and Bagung provided land and various facilities for the religious mission. They also forced people to support the Catholic mission

and to convert to this new religion.

As the result, the growth of the Manggarai Catholic Church was extremely fast. Between 1920-1927, the SVD missionaries succeeded in making three religious centers, in Ruteng (1920), Rekas (1924) and Lengko Ajang (1926). Every year approximately 2000 people were baptized. In 1930 there were 9706 Catholics. In 1930 Manggarai Catholics numbered 49,169. Because the church's growth was very fast, Ruteng received a higher ecclesiastical status, namely from the station (*stasi*) to the diaconate on September 29, 1929. At that time a big church building was established at Ruteng. It was the largest church in the Dutch East Indies (Borgias, 2015, p. 278). The church then has been known as the cathedral of Ruteng.

Until 1940, missionaries continued creating several new religious centers such in Nunang (1926), Ranggu (1936), Pagal (1939), and Todo, Benteng Jawa, Denge and Ka Redong in 1940. It was estimated that there were 190,000 Manggarai people became Catholic including 72,980 children under 6 years of age in 1942 (Widyawati, 2013, p. 138). All of them were fully supported by the Dutch government.

When the Dutch and their allies lost during the Second World War, Dutch missionaries in Flores were forced out, and some were imprisoned in Ende and taken to Makassar. Church activities were carried out by lay teachers who remained loyal to the Catholic Church (Betray, 1974, pp. 1254-1258). When the Japanese troops arrived, at first the Japanese invaders did not support the Catholic mission at all. However, when a Japanese Colonel, Tasuko Sato, who was a Shinto fell in love with Flores and was amazed at the Catholic Church mission (Sato, 1959), he quietly supported the Church's mission in Flores, including Manggarai. This made the Church continue to grow again.

When Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945, Dutch missionaries returned to Flores. Even more than that, the lively independence that was echoed

in Jakarta was very small in eastern Indonesia, including Flores. In December 1945, the Dutch again occupied Nusa Tenggara and established the State of East Indonesia (Negara Indonesia Timur, NIT) so practically, what was called the Indonesian state which was proclaimed by Soekarno insignificant for the people in the NIT region. With the return of missionaries and even the Dutch government to Flores, they returned to power. This greatly benefited the growth of the Catholic Church. This lasted until December 1951 (Aritonang & Steebrink, 2012, pp. 250-252). For this reason, the work of the Church remained the most dominant even until the end of the 20th century.

Development of the Manggarai Community

Before the coming of Catholic European missionaries to Manggarai, this region had been isolated, primitive and without modern infrastructure such as school, health clinic, road, water installations, electricity, etc. Since the 16th century, Bima and Gowa, the Islamic based sultanates, had claimed to have power over this land. These people came just for trading, exploiting the local resources and strengthening their own power. There was no evidence that they wanted to develop this area. Therefore, until in the early of 20th century, Manggarai had still isolated and neglected. The isolation was also because of its geographical obstacles. Manggarai has been formed by a series of mountains and hills that made communication and connection difficult from one to another place. People lived in a primitive way.

Once the missionaries started their mission in Manggarai, they decided both to convert people to Catholicism and to develop the society. Both were done hand in hand. By running development programs, the church organized the community according to their plan while attracting the people to embrace Catholicism. Here are the works of the Catholic Church in early and the mid-20th century.

Educational Programs. Since the European missionaries step foot in Flores in

the 16th century, they had opened schools as the main strategy to convert people. It has worked very well in the eastern part of Flores since the 17th century. They benefited from regulations made by the Dutch government which gave dominant responsibility and right to the Catholic Churches to run and to control all schools in Flores and Sumba (Jebarus, 2008). The regulation was known as "*Flores-Sumba Regeeling*". It helped both for acceleration the number of conversions and the transformation of the society. The church targeted children and young generation to be first converted. The missionaries then used the same strategy in Manggarai, western part.

The missionaries opened the first school in Reo in 1911. Reo is in north coastal where Bima and Gowa's descendant Muslims lived. In 1912, two schools were reopened in Labuan Bajo and Ruteng. Labuan Bajo is at the west coastal area. At this place, Muslim families from Bima dan Gowa were many. It was very clear that Catholicization was deployed in order to counter the development of Muslims in this areas. The school had become the main entry point for the Catholic Church to attract people.

Then since 1919, almost every year a community school was built. Until 1946, there were 59 schools built in various regions in Manggarai. This number was very fantastic and continued to grow. In 1950, a junior high school was also founded by Catholic missionaries at Ruteng. Likewise, the first high school and the first tertiary institution (1959) in Manggarai were the works of the Catholic Church (Widyawati, 2015, pp. 14-15). In terms of education, the presence of the state (Indonesia) was very late. The state-owned school just opened in the 1970s. Even some Catholic schools were "forced" to be transferred to state-owned schools.

Regarding the many schools opened by missionaries and local churches in the past have been criticized by Webb (Webb, 1990). He stated "educated" people became very abundant and unbalanced with the jobs available to them. Webb also observed that schools made people abandon

agricultural culture and therefore missionaries seemed to be less concerned with the problem of starvation. Webb's opinions have been not always accepted by quite a number of Manggarai people. Some people said that the school actually has made very significant changes in the lives of the Manggarai people.

Houses Construction and Resettlement. When the missionaries starting their mission in Manggarai, people still lived in traditional and backwardness way. They lived in groups in one village and run a communal way of life as a big family (Lon and Widyawati, 2017). Their villages were usually in the highlands. In the local language, a village was called *golo* which means hill or plateau. 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 the early 20th century, both rounded shape and square-shaped houses, the traditional style of local house, could be populated up to 400 people (Lon & Widyawati, 2018).

The type of houses was unhealthy. In 1923-1924, M. Ave Lallement, a doctor from the Netherlands, conducted research on public health. The result was 100% of people suffered from diseases *ankylostomiasis* (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 (Steenbrink, 2007, pp. 98-99).

Accordingly, the Dutch and in collaboration with the missionaries forced people to move from their unhealthy and unhygienic villages and houses to new areas and houses. The Dutch and missionaries helped people constructing a smaller house that was called as *mbaru meters*. The sun could reach underneath such kind of houses. It was not easy for the Manggaraians to adopt the resettlement and housing program. The house and village were

more than as places for dwell. They connected to the spirits and Gods they believed too.

Once, Willem Coolhaas, a Dutch *controller* working between the years 1926-1927 in Ruteng, saw something else. When he started working, the resettlement programs from a big house to a 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 and missionaries' authorities. Thus, 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, pp. 98-99).

In fact, neglecting of ancestral houses in many cases was 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, pp. 98-99). Even if viewed from a health standpoint, the development in the housing sector promoted by the church in the early 20th century was very good, but on the other hand, it also affected the shifting and changing cultural identity (Allerton, 2003).

However, gradually the Manggarai people have preferred to build healthier and smaller houses. In addition, the Church has also set up a wood workshop, where people could use it. Even the Church trained local people to be a good carpenter to build healthier models of houses. There were also special carpentry schools established for the local people.

Health Services. Since its arrival in the early 20th century, the Church has been very concerned about public health matters. The priests' often functioned as "doctors" or "medical personnel". They provided several types of medicines to give to the community. It was very commonly told among the people that if their people were sick, the priests gave the medicines. Some missionaries even opened a kind of clinic in the presbytery. Some of them could also help the mother giving birth.

In addition to individual help, the church opened public clinics and simple hospital in some areas. The first hospital was established in 1918 in Ruteng by the Dutch, but the role of missionaries in providing the medical personnel and in encouraging people to take care of their health was very strong. In order to support the hospital, Church opened nursery schools in some places in Flores, such as in Lela, Maumere and in Ende.

When some nun congregations started working in Manggarai, many of them dedicated their mission in health program: providing health services, educating women to the sanitary program, introducing the family plan, taking care of disabilities and orphanage people, etc.

Road Infrastructure, Improvement of Agriculture and Economic. 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 this effort. However, it was not the same for the people in the past. During the Dutch colonial era, road construction mainly became the program of the government but in support by the church. Local men were forced to work for the program, but those who wanted to work for the Catholic mission, they were free from this forced labor.

In addition to the impact of "forced labor" that caused many people died, the

road construction program, in particular, had caused culture shock to the Manggaraians. Once 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 the social structure.

Until the early 20th century, many Manggaraian lived as food hunters. They had very little knowledge of agriculture. They depended on their life from hunting and collecting forest products as food. The church began to help promote agriculture by providing seeds and socializing gardening methods. The seeds of coffee, chocolate, candlenut, etc. were brought in by missionaries from Buitenzorg / Bogor. Rice fields were introduced since the 1930s. The Church also opened one farming school in the mid of 20th century. All of these gave the opportunity to the local people to increase their economic income.

Anthropological Works. Some missionaries who worked in Manggarai in the 1930s had social, language and anthropology based knowledge. They respected people's local beliefs as well as their culture and language. Adolf Burger, a Dutch missionary, started collecting the words of the Manggarai language into a simple dictionary for the sake of his dissertation. In addition, he also collected myths, oral narratives and recorded traditional rites. His work was published in 1946 by his promoter, Prof. G. J Gonda because Burger had died during World War II at that time. His dictionary helps missionaries who study the Manggarai language (Toda, 1999, pp. 30-32). Another missionary, Franz Dorn, who arrived in Ruteng April 14, 1922, paid attention to the use of the Manggarai language to preach and to translate several prayers in the Manggarai language. Thomas Koning also tried to preach in Manggarai language first by reading then freely. Some prayers and songs from Latin and other European languages were also translated in the local language (Betray, 1974).

Another anthropological work was

made by J. Verheijen. During his work in Manggarai, he traveled from one village to another to record as many languages, myths and traditional rites as possible. He succeeded in making a Manggarai language dictionary in 1942-1945. They were published by a well-known publisher in Netherland. He also wrote the concept of the Manggarai people about God.

Willem van Bekkum, the first Bishop of Manggarai was quite eager to try to "Christianize" traditional religious ceremonies. Before the Second Vatican Council echoed the importance of the approach in the culture in which the gospel was proclaimed, he actively spoke of the importance of including "pagan" elements in the church liturgy. In a conference held in Asisi, he also made this point. From the very beginning, he investigated people's ceremonies and parties. From there he combines eucharistic celebrations with traditional parties. *Penti*, a thanksgiving party for the Manggarai people, for example, was tried to be "Christianized". He also sought to bring traditional songs and dances to the Church liturgy. This effort became even more intense when he became a bishop. He was known for his "buffalo mass", an example of including traditional ceremonies in the celebration of the Eucharist held in the middle of the village. During mass, buffaloes were slaughtered as is the ceremony carried out by traditional communities (Erb, 2006).

In addition to those sectors, the presence of the Catholic Church in Manggarai certainly have brought other changes in terms of beliefs, social and morality including, for example, the way people have perceived local culture, marriage, the position of women and men (Lon & Widyawati, 2018, p. 272), children (Lon & Widyawati, 2017) and some other practical morals.

CONCLUSION

The history obviously depicts how Catholic Church has played important role in development over the early and mid of twentieth centuries in Manggarai, Eastern Indonesia. The presence of European mis-

sionaries in Manggarai since the early 20th century has succeeded in making the people of Manggarai out of backwardness and introducing them to “a more modern” way of life. For much of the 20th century, the Catholic Church in Flores held a position similar to other agencies interested in program and development culture as an impediment to development that would continue to mire local communities in poverty and backwardness if it were radically changed or eradicated (Erb & Widyawati, 2018, p. 85).

Furthermore, it is not surprising if people got in love with Catholicism, adopted this new religion and way of life. It also answered the questioned why Flores has become the only “Catholic Island” in this biggest Muslim country. People have received Catholicism as a new religion and committed to be a new Catholic society as well. Webb (1990) describes that “the Florenese live on an island where ‘even the trees, rocks and birds are Catholic.’” For the Flores people, including the Manggaraians, the meaning of Church has been primarily experienced through the presence of numerous Catholic schools, good health centers, water installation, road constructions, etc.

As the compliment, the Catholic Church has become the most influential and prominent institution in Manggarai. The Church’s ritual and celebrations have been very essential for people’s daily life. The Church also often has determined many ‘secular’ activities in society. It has been 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 been had prestigious and high status in society. Many people have respected them more they have done to the local and government leaders.

It is obvious, a mission that goes hand in hand with development, would be appreciated and greatly received than if the mission would be exclusively merely in religious matters. Here the idea of Talal

Asad (Asad, 1933) who argues that modern conceptual categories of religion and the secular are inextricably interdependent and mutually constitute become clear in the context of mission and development in Manggarai.

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