



David E. F. Henley. *Nationalism and Regionalism in a Colonial Context: Minahasa in the Dutch East Indies*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde No. 168. Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996, xii + 186 p., maps.

It has often been said that one usually gets to know and understand one's own culture better after reading a good book about it by an outsider. Looking from a proper distance but viewed with a sharp eye and an empathetic mind such studies could bring to the surface what might be already in one's subconscious but which until then was not fully realized. For Minahasans the work under review belongs to this category. At the same time it would serve as an excellent introduction for non-Minahasans to learn about historical processes that had shaped the present situation in this part of North Sulawesi. To the present reviewer and indeed, to many other Minahasans I believe, this well-researched study also provides useful documentation about events and matters which they knew from their own experience or from oral tradition. This book is, in short, of fundamental importance for further studies in Minahasan history and culture.

After the usual introductory chapter, the author systematically presents his views about Minahasa by devoting individual chapters on the region, respectively, as a "territorial unit," a "perceived community," a "social category," and as a "political cause." A special chapter deals with problems of Minahasa in a wider context of a unified and independent Indonesia (ch. vi), making due comparisons with the Batak, Sundanese, Ambonese, and the Philippine model.

When analyzing the Minahasans as a perceived community, Henley arrives at a most

remarkable "discovery" (pp. 46–48), *viz.* that two of the three core language groups – the Tontemboan, Tombulu, and Tonsea – could be seen as a totality where each represented different rules for the practice of their rituals which should be understood as "complementary and necessary in a cosmic sense." The Tontemboan and Tombulu should be seen as a sexual duality representing respectively the female and the male part. In the same breath, however, the third part of this core group, the Tonsea, should be considered as an intermediate form between the two.

As a good observer the author also captured the Minahasan's fondness of singing by citing patriotic songs composed by missionaries which fostered feelings of Minahasa as a nation. There is, however, one song which was sung during the 1930's but which was not mentioned in the book: *Indonesia Raya* which later became the Indonesian national anthem.

Of course, it was sung in the old version of "Indonesia Mulia" instead of "Indonesia Merdeka," and it was never done in public. This reviewer still remembers many trips he made as a child in a chartered bus with members of the KGPM (Kerapatan Gereja Protestan Minahasa) attending a Sunday service in another congregation. The crowd started singing as soon as the bus moved, and sooner or later when driving through open country someone would raise the first strophe of "Indonesia Tanah Airku" and the whole group joined in. I also remember people hush-hushing to quickly change to another tune as the car had to pass through another village. I do not know how many Minahasans knew the song then, but when the Japanese wartime government allowed us to fly the Indonesian flag and sing the anthem after April 29, 1944, everybody seemed to know the words already.

This illustration serves to show that in Minahasa the idea of an expanded *tanah air* (fatherland) had started in the '30s and was spreading

during the period of Japanese occupation. The occupying troops regarded the people in the north of Sulawesi as Indonesians rather than as separate Minahasans, Bolaang Mongondow, Sangirese, Gorontaloese, etc. And as Henley rightly said in chapter vi, horizons began to be widened.

Activist Minahasans joined the nationalist movement during the two decades prior to the proclamation of Independence, and during the Revolution they also fought together with fellow Indonesians against the Dutch, militarily as well as through diplomatic channels. Hence the Republic of Indonesia was a joint undertaking by diverse ethnic groups, including Minahasans, and seen from this perspective they, therefore, could not have been “swallowed” by the Republic (p. 154) which was of their own making. In war cemeteries all over the country there are graves bearing Minahasan names.

Although the book focuses on the colonial period, post-1942 events were dealt with in the epilogue (final chapter). Many works on postwar Minahasa mention about “Twapro,” an ultra-loyalist pro-Dutch group with a core of (former) members of the colonial army. Dutch sources in particular used to highlight this aspect of political life in Minahasa, so much so that even nowadays many people are inclined to regard every Minahasan as a supporter of Twapro! For young Minahasans of today this connotation provokes some slight irritation if they know what the name Twapro implies: a wish to be joined with The Netherlands as a 12th province. But the older generation of political activists in the struggle for Independence would certainly take offense at such insinuations.

Writers, however, especially historians, would stick to written sources, and these are predominantly Dutch. Moreover, during the colonial period anti-Dutch sentiment was not widely publicized so that the public at large is usually ignorant of what was really happening

in Minahasa. More careful investigative probing below the surface could reveal a different picture than what is generally assumed. There is, for example, a childhood experience which was of significant importance to this reviewer. I was then about eight-and-a-half years old, on the 31st of January, 1938, when I ran excitedly to my grandfather to tell the news I heard from my Dutch playmates – children of our neighbors – that a princess was born to the House of Orange, the Dutch royal family (who is now reigning as Queen Beatrix). Grandfather told me to calm down and asked what made me so excited. When I said that after all she would become queen one day, I was startled when he remarked “*Ngana pe raja?*” (Is she your queen?). It was the beginning of a growing awareness that the queen of my Dutch friends was not my queen at all. Most probably other Minahasans could still recall experiences of this kind.

Returning to the subject of Twapro, one would wonder how “considerable” (p. 151) the support was for this party. The outcome of elections for the Minahasa Council in 1948 (when Minahasa was part of the State of East Indonesia) gave 9 seats to pro-Republican parties, another 9 seats to federalist and separatist groups, while 7 went to the Hoofdenbond, the association of district chiefs (p. 152, footnote 16). Federalists, however, were surely different from Twapro-supporters, and even among district chiefs there were those who opposed the ideals of Twapro. As a matter of fact, several members of the Hoofdenbond also supported the bloodless coup of 14 February 1946 (the Peristiwa Merah-Putih which is now commemorated annually by Minahasans) where the military and civilian leadership officially declared to be part of Republik Indonesia.

In 1939 N. F. G. Mogot, member of the Volksraad and representative of the same Hoofdenbond, declared that he, too, was in favour of Indonesian independence (p. 129). The name of

his son, Daan Mogot, is now immortalized in an important street-name in Jakarta as one of the early fallen heroes in the Indonesian War of Independence.

The Minahasa elections of 1948 was the first when adult women were allowed to vote, but only two female members had a seat among an overwhelmingly male council: one was a government appointee while the elected member joined the pro-Republican Barisan Nasional Indonesia.

In April 1950 the Council voted for integration with the Republic of Indonesia. At the time there was only one member representing Twapro who understandably was the only one who opposed integration while three abstained. His following soon dwindled in numbers, and when he died a few years later none of his supporters dared to comply with his wish that his coffin be covered with the Dutch flag. Only his political opponents, members of Barisan Nasional Indonesia, paid homage to this staunch supporter of The Netherlands by burying him under the shelter of the Dutch tricolor. It was thus a symbolic funeral of a naive dream: naive, because no sensible Dutch government at the time would ever think of according to Minahasa a special status within their kingdom, and certainly not as a 12th province.

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Christian Pelras. *The Bugis. The Peoples of South-East Asia and the Pacific*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996, xviii + 386 p.

考古学者の P. Bellwood と I. Glover が編集をしている「東南アジア・太平洋の人々」というシリーズの1巻として、待望のブギス人の総括的な書物が刊行された。

このシリーズは、1993 年以来『ボルネオの人々』『クメール人』『バリ人』『ラピタの人々』が出版され、『メラネシア人』『マオリ人』『マレー人』『フィ

ジー人』『小スンダ列島の人々』も刊行が予定されている。いずれも必ずしも明らかではない民族史の総観の形をとっていながら、基本的な民族誌的情報を盛り込んでいるところに特色がある。執筆者も民族学者、歴史学者、考古学者と多岐にわたっている。

本書の著者クリスチャン・ペルラスはソルボンヌ出のフランス人であるが、1968 年にマレーシア・ジョホール州のブギス移民コミュニティの調査からスタートして、一貫してブギス人の社会構造、世界観、宗教、歴史、生業などを研究してきている。まとまった著書がなかったので、その成果を集大成する期待は高かった。ペルラスは 1978 年から 2 年間ウジュンパンダンにあるハサヌッディン大学に付置されたフォード財団支援の社会科学訓練所の指導の任にマトゥラダ教授とともに当たり、水準の高い研究成果を訓練生の中から生み出している。アメリカ、イギリスの人類学者（例えば Jacqueline Lineton, Susan B. Millar, Shelly Errington, Greg Acciaoli, Kathryn Robinson）が一地点での通年定着調査を志向しているのに対し、ペルラスは広域にわたって息の長い調査活動が続けてきた。それだけに従来にない包括的なブギスの民族史を集大成することができたといえる。刊行されているシリーズの中では、バランスのとれた秀逸な 1 巻といえる。

本書は 2 部に別れる。第 1 部はブギス人の起源から 17 ～ 18 世紀の古典時代までを扱う。第 2 部は社会と文化と題されて、古典時代のモデルが伝統として残っている面と、その変容とを取り扱い、より民族誌的な関心から書かれている。

第 1 部の第 2 章は利用できる資料を概観している。考古学遺跡も遺物も限られており、また文献資料も 14 世紀以降に限られているという制約の中で、四万年前とも言われる剝片石器文化以来の歴史をどのように捉えるかというのはまだまだ議論が煮詰まっていない。ペルラスは第 3 章でプロト・ブギス先史期を、比較言語学および民族誌からの類推に基づいて再構成する。ボルネオのタマニク人（エンバロ、タマン、カリス、パリノ）と南スラウェシ諸語との類縁性（K. A. Adelaar の説）に基づいて、両者の原住地を東ボルネオに求める。そこからタマニク・グループは西の内陸へ移住し、プロト・南スラウェシ・グループは海を渡って、サッダン川河口を