

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

INDONESIAN JOURNAL FOR ISLAMIC STUDIES

Volume 9, Number 1, 2002



LITERAL TRANSLATION, SACRED SCRIPTURE
AND KITAB MALAY
Peter G. Riddell

THE THOUGHTS AND RELIGIOUS UNDERSTANDING OF
SHAIKH AHMAD AL-MUTAMAKKIN: THE STRUGGLE OF JAVANESE ISLAM 1645-1740
Zainul Milal Bizawie

ANOTHER RACE BETWEEN ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY:
THE CASE OF FLORES, SOUTHEAST INDONESIA, 1900-1920
Karel Steenbrink

ON BEING A MARXIST MUSLIM:
READING HASAN RAID'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY
Ihsan Ali-Fauzi

STUDIA ISLAMIKA

Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies

Vol. 9, no. 1, 2002

EDITORIAL BOARD:

M. Quraish Shihab (IAIN Jakarta)
Taufik Abdullah (LIPI Jakarta)
Nur A. Fadhil Lubis (IAIN Sumatra Utara)
M.C. Ricklefs (Melbourne University)
Martin van Bruinessen (Utrecht University)
John R. Bowen (Washington University, St. Louis)
M. Atho Mudzhar (IAIN Yogyakarta)
M. Kamal Hasan (International Islamic University, Kuala Lumpur)

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Azyumardi Azra

EDITORS

Saiful Mujani
Jamhari
Jajat Burhanuddin
Fu'ad Jabali
Oman Fathurahman

ASSISTANT TO THE EDITORS

Heni Nuron

ENGLISH LANGUAGE ADVISOR

Chloe J. Olliver

ARABIC LANGUAGE ADVISOR

Nursamad

COVER DESIGNER

S. Prinka

STUDIA ISLAMIKA (ISSN 0215-0492) is a journal published by the Center for the Study of Islam and Society (PPIM), IAIN Syarif Hidayatullah, Jakarta (STT DEPPEN No. 129/SK/DITJEN/PPG/STT/1976) and sponsored by the Australia-Indonesia Institute (AII). It specializes in Indonesian Islamic studies, and is intended to communicate original researches and current issues on the subject. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

All articles published do not necessarily represent the views of the journal, or other institutions to which it is affiliated. They are solely the views of the authors. The articles contained in this journal have been refereed by the Board of Editors.

STUDIA ISLAMIKA has been accredited by The Ministry of National Education, Republic of Indonesia as an academic journal.

Another Race Between Islam and Christianity: The Case of Flores, Southeast Indonesia, 1900-1920

Abstraksi: Artikel ini menyuguhkan satu pembahasan yang selama ini terabaikan dalam kajian tentang kehidupan keagamaan di Indonesia. Wilayah Flores di Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), beserta sejumlah wilayah lain di sekitarnya, menghadirkan satu potret penting tentang hubungan—tepatnya persaingan—antara Islam dan Kristen. Fokus pembahasan artikel ini adalah satu periode penting di awal abad ke-20, ketika Islam dan Kristen tengah terlibat dalam upaya memperoleh pengaruh, dan akhirnya pengikut, di kalangan masyarakat NTT. Hanya saja, menyangkut wilayah kajian yang terabaikan, tulisan dalam artikel ini lebih berupa kajian pendahuluan; pembahasannya sebagian besar didasarkan pada sumber-sumber informasi yang ditulis para misionaris yang pernah bekerja di wilayah tersebut.

Keberadaan Islam dan Kristen di NTT bisa dilacak jauh ke belakang pada abad ke-15, ketika wilayah tersebut berperan sebagai pelabuhan antara dalam jalur perdagangan yang ramai dari Sumatra dan Jawa ke Maluku. Demikianlah, Solor dan Ende menjadi tempat perhentian para pedagang Muslim, khususnya Arab dan Gujarat, dalam perjalanan niaga ke Ternate dan Tidore. Sementara itu, kehadiran Kristen di wilayah tersebut berhubungan dengan letak geografisnya yang dekat dengan Timor Timur, yang telah menjadi pusat dagang dan kegiatan Katolik bangsa Portugis. Sejak kehadiran kedua agama tersebut, khususnya pada periode 1562-1602, NTT menjadi lahan bagi kompetisi dan persaingan antara Islam dan Katolik.

Pada awal abad ke-20, persaingan Islam dan Kristen selanjutnya memasuki babak baru dan berlangsung dalam skala yang lebih besar dan lebih intensif. Hal ini tentu saja berhubungan dengan semakin besarnya jumlah masyarakat Muslim di wilayah tersebut. Kesultanan Bima, yang berpusat di kepulauan sebelah barat laut Flores, mengklaim memiliki kedaulatan di beberapa wilayah pantai di Flores, seperti Labuan Bajo, Reo, dan

Riung. Pada saat yang sama, di pantai selatan Flores, Muslim Makasar melakukan migrasi dan membentuk komunitas yang relatif besar. Hal serupa juga terjadi di Solor, di mana Muslim Maluku (Ceram dan Ternate) banyak tinggal di Solor.

Sementara itu, pada saat bersamaan, kebijakan pemerintah kolonial Belanda semakin memungkinkan bagi perkembangan kegiatan misionaris di wilayah tersebut. Kebijakan ini berpangkal pada upaya pemerintah kolonial Belanda menjadikan wilayah NTT bermanfaat bagi keuangan negara. Oleh karena itu, bukan hanya kekuasaan pemerintah lokal mulai diminimalisir, tapi pada saat yang sama Belanda melakukan pengangkatan pejabat pemerintah, seorang Controleur, yang berkuasa secara langsung di wilayah tersebut, serta pengiriman sejumlah pegawai pemerintah.

Seiring dengan intervensi politik pemerintah kolonial, kegiatan misionaris Katolik juga semakin giat dilakukan. Dalam hal ini, pihak pemerintah mendorong usaha-usaha para misionaris untuk menarik masyarakat NTT masuk ke dalam agama Katolik. Bahkan, mereka secara sadar melakukannya dalam rangka membendung pengaruh Islam. Salah satu contoh paling nyata dari upaya Kristenisasi di atas adalah pemisahan wilayah barat Flores, Maggarai, dari Kesultanan Bima pada 1929. Proses hampir serupa juga dilakukan di wilayah pantai selatan dan Ende, dan terus berlangsung di wilayah-wilayah lain di NTT, sehingga pada 1920-an semakin banyak wilayah yang jatuh ke dalam kekuasaan Kristen, baik Katolik dan juga Protestan.

Bersamaan dengan itu, pihak misionaris juga membangun berbagai sarana ibadah dan lembaga pendidikan Kristen. Di bagian timur Flores, Larantuka dan Sika, kompleks misionaris yang sudah dibangun sejak 1860 semakin menarik banyak kalangan masyarakat masuk ke agama Kristen. Begitu juga di Maumere dan Koting, gereja dan lembaga pendidikan Kristen dibangun. Proses tersebut terus berlangsung semakin intensif dan menjangkau semakin banyak wilayah.

Dengan demikian, di NTT, proses kristenisasi secara intensif menjadi sesuatu yang tidak bisa dihindari. Dan sebagian besar masyarakat juga semakin menerima kehadiran lembaga Kristen, yang kemudian sekaligus berfungsi sebagai sarana bagi proses modernisasi masyarakat. Pada saat yang sama, kekuatan Muslim semakin kecil, terutama terkonsentrasi di wilayah Bima dan sebagian Sumba. Mereka memang beberapa kali melakukan penolakan protes. Namun, dominasi Kristen dan Katolik yang didukung pemerintah kolonial sangat efektif menjadikannya tidak berarti. Persaingan Islam-Kristen terus berlangsung, dan bahkan menjadi satu ciri dominan dalam perkembangan sosial-politik Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Another Race Between Islam and Christianity: The Case of Flores, Southeast Indonesia, 1900-1920

خلاصة: يعرض هذا المقال لبحث موضوع كان مهملا في دراسة الحياة الدينية بإندونيسيا، فمناطق فلوريس (Flores). محافظة نوسا تينجارا الشرقية (Nusa Tenggara Timur/NTT) ومناطق أخرى حولها تقدم صورة هامة حول العلاقة —أو بعبارة أدق المنافسة— بين الإسلام والمسيحية، وموضوع البحث يتجه إلى فترة معينة في أوائل القرن العشرين الميلادي عندما تورط الإسلام مع المسيحية في منافسة لبسط النفوذ ثم تحقيق أكبر قدر من الأتباع لدى المجتمع في المنطقة، على أنه بالنسبة لهذه المنطقة التي أهدمت من الدراسة يعد المقال مجرد بحث تمهيدي بحيث تعتمد مباحثه على التقارير التي رفعها رجال التبشير أثناء عملهم بالمنطقة.

يرجع تاريخ وصول الإسلام والمسيحية في المنطقة إلى القرن الخامس عشر الميلادي، وذلك عندما كانت نوسا تينجارا الشرقية تلعب كميناء دور الطريق التجاري المزدهر من سومطرة وجاوه إلى مالوكو (Maluku)، وهكذا فقد صارت مدينتا سولور (Solor) وإيندي (Ende) ممر التجار المسلمين وخاصة الذين أتوا من العرب وغوجرات (Gujarat) في طريقهم التجارية إلى تيرناتي (Ternate) وتيدوري (Tidore)، وأما التواجد المسيحي في المنطقة فمن حيث الموقع الجغرافي إذ تتخام المنطقة بتيمور الشرقية التي صارت مركزا تجاريا للكاثوليك البرتغاليين، ومنذ حضور الديانتين صارت المنطقة خصوصا في الفترة الممتدة من ١٥٦٢م - ١٦٠٢م حلبة صراع ومنافسة بينهما.

وأما في القرن العشرين الميلادي فقد دخلت المنافسة بين الإسلام والمسيحية دورة جديدة وتسير في نطاق أوسع ونشاط أكثر كثافة، ويرجع ذلك إلى ما لوحظ من تزايد عدد المسلمين بالمنطقة، وتدعى سلطنة بيما (Bima) المتمركزة حول الجزر الواقعة غرب

جنوبي فلوريس سيادتها على بعض المناطق الساحلية مثل لابوان بلجو (Labuan Bajo) وريو (Reo) وريونج (Riung)، وفي نفس الوقت وصل المسلمون من مدينة المقاسر (Makasar) إلى الساحل الجنوبي من فلوريس والحال كذلك بالنسبة لسولور حيث وصل فيها مسلمون من مالوكو.

وقد كانت سياسة الحكومة الاستعمارية الهولندية حينذاك تهيء مزيدا من الفرص لأنشطة التبشير في تلك المناطق وذلك بناء على جهودها المضنية لجعل نوسا تينجارا الشرقية مورد الأموال للدولة، ولذلك لم تكن الحكومة الاستعمارية تتجه فقط إلى إضعاف سلطة الحكام المحليين إنما تعين في نفس الوقت مسئولا مراقبا (Controleur) يتحكم في المنقطة وله السلطة في إرسال عدد من موظفي الحكومة.

وتمشيا مع سياسة الحكومة الاستعمارية ازداد نشاط التبشير الكاثوليكي كثافة، وفي هذا الصدد تحث الحكومة الاستعمارية على المجتمع في نوساتينجارا الشرقية للدخول اعتناق الديانة الكاثوليكية، بل يقومون بهذا التبشير صراحة للحد من انتشار الإسلام، ومن الأمثلة الواضحة على ذلك فصل مناطق غربي فلوريس، مانجراي (Manggarai) من سلطنة بيما عام ١٩٢٩م، وجرت نفس العملية في الساحل الجنوبي ومناطق إيندي واستمر الاجراء في مناطق أخرى حتى عقد العشرينيات الأمر الذي أدى إلى وقوع كثير من المناطق وفي سيادة المسيحية سواء الكاثوليك أم البروتستانت.

وفيما سارت الأمور كذلك كثف المبشرون نشاطهم في بناء الكنائس والمؤسسات التعليمية، وكان مركز التبشير الذي تم بناؤه عام ١٨٦٠م في لارانتوكا (Larantuka) وسيكا (Sika) على الجانب الشرقي من فلوريس يزيد من إقبال الناس على اعتناق المسيحية، وكذلك تم بناء كنيسة ومؤسسة تعليمية في كل من ماوميري (Maumere) وكوتينج (Kotting) وكانت هذه العملية مستمرة بشكل مكثف وتغطي مناطق أكثر.

وهكذا فإن عملية التبشير في نوساتينجارا الشرقية مستمرة بشكل مكثف وتغطي مناطق أكثر، وأصبح الجمهور الأعظم من أفراد المجتمع أكثر تقبلا لوجود المؤسسات المسيحية التي تمثل فيما بعد وسيلة أخرى لعملية التحديث؛ ومن ناحية أخرى ضعفت قوى المسلمين لتمرزهم على مناطق بيما وبعض مناطق سومبا (Sumba) وقد قام المسلمون بمعارضة ما حدث لكن السيطرة المسيحية والكاثوليكية والتي كانت مؤيدة من الحكومة الاستعمارية حالت دون تحقيق ما كانوا يصبون إليه، والمنافسة بين الإسلام والمسيحية قائمة حتى الآن بل صارت إحدى السمات في التطور الاجتماعي والسياسي في نوسا تينجارا الشرقية.

Islam and Christianity arrived in the south-eastern islands of the Indonesian archipelago in two waves. The first wave started in about 1480 with the arrival of Arab and Indian (Gujerati) traders in the spice islands of the Northern Moluccas: particularly in Ternate and Tidore. They arrived through the island of Flores, and probably very quickly moved across to the island of Timor as well, to engage in trade in sandalwood, horses and slaves. In south-east Indonesia, as in most regions of the archipelago, the arrival of Islam occurred somewhat earlier than the coming of the first Christians.¹ At that time, the two main centres of trade in south-east Indonesia, which also became centres for the new religions, were the islands of Solor and Ende.

In the fifteenth century, when the first Muslims arrived in the Moluccas, the main trade was not concentrated on spices, but rather on the fragrant sandalwood, which was sought by Indians and Chinese. This was the reason why so many Chinese traders settled on the island of Timor, including in the inland regions. After the decline of the trade in sandalwood (due to deforestation), large areas were used for breeding horses, and the trade in horses became important, especially for Timor and Sumba but also for the western regions of Flores, in particular in Reo. Further, the trade in slaves was important for all these islands. At the height of the trade in spices, Ende and Solor were also used as service stations on the long route to the Moluccas from Malacca and Java.

The Portuguese government never founded a trade station in this region. Father Antonio da Cruz, a friar from the Dominican order who arrived in Solor in 1562 to assist with the spiritual needs of several private traders, oversaw the building of the first fortification in 1566. However, Solor was not only a centre for trade, but was also the heart of Islamic propagation in the area. According to oral tradition, Islam first spread to Ende after a local resident, having spent several years in Solor and converted to Islam, brought his new religion back to his own town. As a result of attacks by Muslims, Portuguese traders built a fortification in Solor under the direction of the clergy. A church, monastery and a school were constructed inside the fortification. Another fort was founded on the island of Ende some-time later. In 1598 the native population, which had started a war against the Portuguese that also continued in Larantuka, conquered the Portuguese fortification of Solor. In 1605 or 1606 the Portuguese were expelled from Ende for some time. The Portuguese finally were expelled from the Solor/Ende region for good by the Dutch who arrived in 1613 and forbade the work of Catholic priests.

However, a lack of interest made the Dutch presence very weak in this region, and in East-Timor the Portuguese continued their regime. Some remnants of Catholicism were cherished on Flores, especially in the Larantuka area where the *Rajas* (Kings) remained fierce defenders of the Catholic identity from the beginning of the 17th century. The same can be said about the Muslim identity in Ende, Solor and parts of Adonare.² The most dynamic period of competition between Muslims and Catholics seems to have occurred in the period between 1562-1602. After losing control of Solor, the Portuguese Catholics continued their presence on Ende (the island off the south coast of Flores, opposite the present town of Ende) until the 1620s, but were then also chased from this fortification.³ The dynamic progress of the two world religions was halted after the energetic period of 1560-1660, only to be continued in the twentieth century. The Dutch did not take over the religious fervor of the Portuguese Catholics. They slowed down the process of religious expansion. Their control of trade, however, was an important factor in the stabilization of religious relations in the region. Between 1630 and 1880, not much change occurred in this region in terms of religion.

In around 1900, quite different Muslim groups existed in this region. The nearly extinct Sultanate of Sumbawa traced its origins to the region of Banjarmasin, and sought legitimation as well as religious and cultural influence from this region. The Sultanate of Bima cherished a remembrance of its descent from the Javanese rulers of Hindu-Majapahit, but kept more vivid relations with the Muslim cultures of the Buginese and Makassarese from South Sulawesi after their conversion in the 1630s.⁴ The Sultan of Bima also claimed sovereignty over the western part of Flores, including Labuan Bajo, Reo and Riung, which were its most important coastal areas. On the south coast of Flores, Muslims from Makassarese origin had dominated the island of Ende and the nearby coast since their victory over the Portuguese traders and priests between 1620 and 1630. This bloody conflict ended with the destruction of the Portuguese fortification on the island, which had been built by the Dominican friars. In about 1900, remnants of this fortification and of four churches on the island of Ende still remained. In Numba, opposite the island of Ende on the south coast of Flores, *Controleur* Samuel Roos, during his visit in 1872, met a Christian named Domingus who was the keeper of the last remnants of Christianity including an ivory image of Christ on the cross, a wooden statue of Mary and several other ivory images.⁵

Another Muslim stronghold was on the island of Solor where people treasured the memory of their origins from Ceram or Ternate,⁶ and their victory in the fight against the Portuguese, who abandoned their fortification of Henricus in 1636.⁷ Other Muslim strongholds in the Solor archipelago were at Adonare and Trong, small places on the southern coast of the island of Adonare. A more recent settlement of Makassarese and Buginese Muslims was founded in the region east of Maumere where the head of the Geliting settlement received some recognition as an independent *Raja* of Kanga in 1902 and 1904.⁸ This more or less independent realm may have formed a fourth Islamic centre after those of the Bimanesse vassal Manggarai in the West, Ende in the South, and Adonare East of Flores. The ruler of Kanga was not a fervent or intolerant Muslim. He donated 900 guilders for the building of a church in his realm and ordered his subjects to cooperate in its construction in the early 1920s.⁹ Kanga was once again integrated into the territory of Sikka in 1929 as a consequence of the centralization of power and the success of Don Thomas of Sikka who was then ruling from Maumere.

There were a small number of Arab traders who settled in Ende, Sumba (Memboro, Melolo, Waingapu) and Timor (Kupang), probably during the 19th century. Although a small community (in 1905 there were 303 people of Arab descent in the Kupang residency; and by 1930 there were 2688), they held quite a prominent social position. Under colonial rule, a *hoofd der Arabieren* or Representative of the Arabs was nominated in Ende (Said Abdoelqadir bin Djadid al-Habsji) and in Sumba (Said Oemar bin Abdoelqadir al-Djoefri) in 1927.¹⁰ In around 1900, there was a saying on Sumba that "the Endenese have more authority than the Dutch".¹¹

The Shift in Colonial Policy from Abstinence to Active Imperialism, 1904-1910

The first decade of the twentieth century brought drastic changes to the whole area of south-east Indonesia, then under the colonial rule of the Residency of Kupang or the Lesser Sunda Islands (*Kleine Soenda Eilanden*). Until 1900, the official government policy was that the area would never produce a financial benefit for the colonial treasury and therefore should be ruled with minimal costs. Non-intervention was the ruling ideology, and symbolic representation of the colonial power was deemed sufficient. In this symbolic representation, the

activities of the Catholic Church were welcomed and even encouraged.

The Dutch Catholic clergy penetrated Flores through the town of Larantuka after the 1859 treaty with Portugal. Only in 1892 did government steamers use the good harbour of Ende as a regular station, and as a result an office for the *Koninklijke Pakketvaart Maatschappij* (KPM) was established. In 1896, the Muslim Raja of Ende and his main assistant, the Raja Bicara, were granted formal colonial recognition. Until that point, the only colonial representatives for that region were the Residents in the Catholic regions of Larantuka and Maumere. Resident F. Heckler (April 1902-March 1905) was the first to implement the new and more active policy. He ordered the first vigorous intervention in native rule of the Catholic *Raja* of Larantuka, and to this ends, deposed Don Lorenzo II in July 1904, whereupon he was sent into exile to Yogyakarta. For the first time, military intervention was carried out in a small-scale civil war in the Sikka area in mid-1904.

In March 1905, the next resident, J.F.A. de Rooy, was given clear instructions regarding this much more active policy. His main task was "to establish a powerful authority in the whole residency, with the implication of a new strategy towards the self-ruling districts, which are the majority of the whole area. The former policy of non-intervention, suggesting that the supreme authority was with the native rulers and not with the colonial authority, should be abandoned."¹² The first *Controleur*, A. Couvreur, was nominated to explore the unknown territories of Flores and to design maps of the area in 1906. Between July 1907 and February 1908, Captain Christoffel carried out a form of *Blitz-Krieg* throughout the entire Western and Central areas of Flores, establishing at least the strong impression of the power of the colonial army. This action was symbolic of a new era in which, for the first time in history, taxes were imposed payable to the colonial government in the form of money rather than in the form of coffee, rice, corn or elephant tusks (as were the taxes or fines of the native *raja*). This new policy affected such things as the planting of new crops such as copra, especially for export. It brought roads for the army (built through forced labour) and (mostly Chinese) traders, as well as education. After 1908, local resistance, mostly against the new taxes and forced labour, increased in many places, and did not really subside after 1915.¹³

The sharp expansion of the colonial presence is also evident in the

increased number of colonial personnel in the Residency of Kupang or the Lesser Sunda Islands between 1905 and 1935. In 1905 there were 19 officials in the Residency, but by 1915 there were 43. This number remained more or less stable after 1915. However, the number of European missionary personnel continued to increase from 52 in 1911 to 222 in 1939.¹⁴

There was not only an increase in the number of personnel, but greater emphasis was also placed on the quality of these resources. In 1908, Resident De Rooy complained that the lowest echelons of the administration, the *posthouder* were "people without education, partly without any feeling of responsibility for their duty and without any zeal".¹⁵ Until 1904, the *posthouder* had no other formal duty than to raise the flag and to prevent troubles, and was without the aid of soldiers or formal authority. After 1904, vast improvements were made in transport and communication between the islands through the use of motorboats and telephone connections between the major towns of the residency (established in 1909). This enabled government officials such as the *civiele gezaghebber*, who were also of a low rank similar to that of the *posthouder* and his military equivalent, to send reports quickly to the Resident in Kupang, who was eager to demonstrate a show of power.

In the context of this rapidly changing environment, the Catholic mission also made rapid progress. In stark contrast to earlier periods when the missionaries complained that the Residents were either dogmatic Protestants or anti-religious Freemasons, they now met more outspoken Catholics within the administration. The first *controleur* of Flores, A. Couvreur, (nominated in 1906 for Ende) was a low-key Catholic who nevertheless gave much open support to the mission. His successor, Anton Hens (1910-1913, and Assistant Resident 1913-1916), was also a devout Catholic in his private life, and was even more outspoken in his support of the Catholic mission.¹⁶

On 1 October 1907, in the heydays of the conquest of West Flores, *Controleur* Couvreur wrote to the head of the mission station in Larantuka:¹⁷

Dear Pastor,

Between Nanga Pandan and Aimere we found a magnificent, fertile and densely populated highland, at an average height of 750 to 1200 meter. The area is about 70 by 30 km squared and is inhabited by at least 250,000 people. We should definitely not use the word 'uncivilized' for them, but can maintain the qualification 'rapacious'. I made a personal inspection to the south-western section of this area, com-

monly called the Tokka-area, but better called the district of the *Ngada*, inhabited by the *Komitero* tribe (named after their red moustache). They have a higher level of civilization than the population of East Flores. As proof, I mention to you that their chiefs asked Captain Christoffel to start a school in this region.

You will accept from me without further proof, that this is an extremely good region for the Catholic mission, as well as from the viewpoint of economic profit (a very fertile area, an excellent health station or *Luftkurort*). We will very soon start with the construction of a road inland from the Bay of Aimere. We will give priority to this.

I can assure you that it will not only be a main concern for the mission, but also for the government and people, to as soon as possible send a priest, together with a teacher and carpenter from the religious order to settle there. For reasons which are known to you, I must urge you to consider this letter as *strictly private*, also for the sake of the development in this place. Yours.

Government officials at that time had to remain strictly neutral in religious affairs and therefore Couvreur could not write this letter in the function of his formal role. Because of the strong presence of Muslims in the harbour and coastal towns of West Flores such as in Ende, Nangan Pandan, Labuan Bajo, Reo and Borong, the Catholic mission had more or less neglected the western half of Flores as they regarded it as mostly Muslim. This was also the result of the formal authority of the sultanate of Bima over Manggarai or West Flores. However, Christoffel's military action and Couvreur's inquiries proved this assumption wrong, at least for the time being. The Muslim influence was restricted to the coast while inhabitants of inland areas still adhered to traditional religions. But Couvreur feared that the Muslim influence would increase very soon and thus he considered it to be in the interests of the colony to promote the Catholic mission.

Couvreur wrote a more strongly worded letter (dated 12 February 1908) to Bishop Luypen in Batavia regarding the necessity of winning the race against Islam. He viewed central and west Flores as very promising, particularly when compared to the low expectations held for the first mission area of East Flores:¹⁸

.. If we do not act fast, Islam will occupy the interior and we will have lost this case forever. This is the more regrettable because until now the mission settled in the economically and also spiritually most backward [eastern] part of Flores. This is a region with some promise, but 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 of Ende.

There was even an element of blackmail in the correspondence. Couvreur wrote in a letter written on 1 October 1907 on behalf of the great military man Captain Christoffel that he felt obliged to offer West Flores to the Protestant church of Batavia if the Catholics could not take the initiative in establishing a settlement in this region.¹⁹ The same argument was still heard more than ten years later when Prefect Piet Noyen complained that many villages in the region of Ende and Ndona had accepted Islam and that even some chiefs of districts embraced this religion, while he could do nothing due to the lack of new priests from Europe:

Also, the Dutch government is criticizing me because it is in their interest that the inhabitants are converted to Christianity, because the attitude of Muslims toward the government is often suspicious. They suggested more than once that it would be better to ask for Protestants to come to this place, because we are short of personnel. ... A government official asked me what would be my preference: that they become Muslim or Protestant? You can imagine how difficult it is for me to say that they should rather become Protestants.²⁰

The Weak Position of the Muslims of Flores in the First Decades in the 20th century

The question was put several times in reports of the colonial government as to why the rather strict and dedicated Muslims of the major coastal areas had not spread their religion to the tribes of the mountainous interior of the Islands. One observer pointed to the lack of missionary zeal in the centuries preceding the active colonization of the area.²¹ Others remarked that the main obstacle might have been the inlanders' tradition of eating pork.²² In terms of possible means for the spread of Islam, the economic superiority of the Muslims has been mentioned. The economic supremacy of coastal Muslims, their trade and money-lending practices, and their practice of buying brides established links between them and the hinterland. Insecurity and poverty in the interior may have been one of the main reasons why Islam did not spread in these areas from the major coastal towns. This situation changed drastically after the military actions of Captain Christoffel in 1907-1908, which were referred to as 'wars of pacification', a label that they retain today.²³ After these military actions, work was started on the Flores road between Reo and Larantuka (completed in 1927), and on a web of local roads, and was combined with the policy that people should build their villages along these roads.

In 1914, the Prefect of the Flores mission, Piet Noyen, wrote bluntly to retired missionary Mary Joseph Claessens in the Netherlands: "The construction of the roads has finished now, and the conditions in the interior are quite safe. The *hajis* (returned pilgrims from Mecca) will spare no costs or energy to plant the poison of their doctrine on the mountains. Therefore Ende has to become the main station of the mission."²⁴ In other correspondence, military terminology was used, and it was stated that Ende would be "occupied" (*besetzen*) in 1915!²⁵

By 1910, a sharp increase in the number of *hajis* (returned pilgrims to Mecca) was already evident. From the 1890s through to the early 1900s, there were only some 200 pilgrims to Mecca per year from the Lesser Sunda Islands.²⁶ This rose sharply to 383 (1910), 494 (1911), 715 (1912) and 870 (1913), but appears to have stopped completely during the war of 1914-1918, to resume in high numbers only after 1920, reaching the highest pre-independence figure of 879 in 1930. This rise may be attributed to the rise of the money economy, and perhaps partly also to the better collection of statistics and increased government control.²⁷

Some colonial officers observed strict religious neutrality, and some even showed reserves regarding the privileged position of Christianity. The most outspoken of these was J. van Suchtelen who was once the *Gezaghebber* of Ende. A school was opened in Labuan Bajo in 1911 with Manuel Fernandez as teacher. One of the main activities of the school was the singing of church hymns in Malay, *menjanji Melajoe seperti di gereja*, but Van Suchtelen later forbade this because the list of school children only showed Muslim names.²⁸ At the same time, two sons of the village-head of Wakuleo in Mbuli asked Van Suchtelen if they were allowed to convert to Islam. The colonial official answered that it was very good to do so. Consequently, he forbade the teacher from introducing the Catholic catechism in the school.²⁹

Van Suchtelen's attitude provoked a strong reaction by the missionaries. They bluntly stated that it was government policy to promote Christianity. "If not for that reason, why should the government provide a salary for the clergy?"³⁰ They also resented the fact that this attitude of Van Suchtelen's had given the Muslims of Ende more self-confidence. "They now move around as if they say: 'we are an important party here!'" That is only caused by Van Suchtelen, who visits all areas every month".³¹

In a few cases, Van Suchtelen and others probably witnessed the

clear use of compulsion by the missionaries in the bid to win converts. There were some cases of boys who were manipulated into being sent to the school of Lela against their choice. In 1914, the first eight pupils arrived from Reo and Ruteng, but soon afterwards, three wanted to return. Missionary Muller reported: "Nearly every day they asked me for permission to leave. They wanted to become Muslim and refused pork. On the day of arrival of the steamer in Maumere [30 kilometre walking] they were in the harbour. I let them off."³² This was, however, an exception.

One reason for the neutral position of the colonial officials may have been their sincere conviction that religious neutrality was the policy for the whole colony. Some may have been anti-clerical for various reasons. The missionaries often expressed the reproach of Freemasons, although there were no formal branches of this spiritual and social organization in these outer islands, and neither were there any documented accusations. In early 1912 a vague conflict between the missionaries of Larantuka and *posthouder* Schmiedeman resulted in the complaint by father Joseph Hoeberechts that "the Crescent is protected and Christianity obstructed here."³³ Some government officials also perceived the great influence of the fast increasing numbers of foreign missionaries as a threat to their own position. This may have created a counter-balance in the form of the defence of the progress of Islam.

The general policy of the colonial government, probably much more outspoken here than in any other area of the colony during the first decades of the 20th century, was in favour of increasing the numbers of conversions to Christianity by restricting the Islamic influence. This is most evident in the way native rulers were selected and promoted on the island of Flores. From the large number of political realms that originally existed, only nine survived through to the end of the colonial period. In this quick process of reorganization of native rule, the influence of Islam was seriously curtailed.

The most significant and drastic example of the containment of Islam was the separation of West Flores, Manggarai, from the Sultanate of Bima in 1929.³⁴ The most important representatives of the Sultan of Bima on Flores were the Sangaji of Labuan Bajo and the *Raja Bicara* of Reo. Both were deposed as *zelfbestuurder* or native rulers in 1929 in favour of the newly created Raja of Manggarai, Alexander Baroek, a young Catholic man who was educated at the mission school. Baroek was born the son of one of the 38 *dalus* of

Manggarai. In order to give him more authority, an older *dalu*, Raja Bagoeng, a pagan, was put besides him as his *raja bicara* (advisor / spokesman). E.H. De Nijs Bik, who as Resident of Kupang supervised the process of the separation from Bima, had high hopes for Alexander Barock, although he noted that due to his young age "he could not yet show off strong authority in front of the other local rulers and even less against the Catholic clergy, who took charge of him during his education."³⁵ Barock received backing from the priest W. van Bekkum (who later became the Bishop of Ruteng), who wrote a series of articles on the history of Manggarai that concentrated not on the foreign influences of Bima and Goa, but on the inland policies. Although acknowledging the permanent relations with other areas of Indonesia in his historical studies, Van Bekkum emphasized the district of Todo (from where Alexander Barock originated) as the major area of the 38 districts of Manggarai.³⁶

On the north coast, only Riung remained a self-governing territory under a Muslim ruler. However, Riung was very small, covering the area of three *dalu* only. The same process was mirrored in the development of Ende on the south coast. It was under a Muslim ruler in the 1930s, but its territory shrunk in 1915, and even more so in 1924, to the advantage of the newly created native territory of Lio, ruled by the Catholic Raja Pius, "a strong personality, who notwithstanding the fact that his position is entirely a Dutch creation, can exercise authority in his region".³⁷

In his chronological overview of the region Lio-plus-Ende, which was until 1924 simply called Ende, Van Suchtelen mentioned in his last year (1918) that Mbaki Mbani, Raja of Ndona, had embraced Islam. This was a serious setback for the Catholic mission because its headquarters for the whole island of Flores were built just outside the town of Ende in Ndona. Van Suchtelen also noted that Ngadji (alias Petrus), educated at the mission school in Lela, would be the best choice for successor to Mbaki Mbani. On the conversion to Islam by Mbaki Mbani, Bishop Noyen commented that "this would never have happened under *controleur* Hens" as he blamed it on the perceived pro-Islamic attitude of Van Suchtelen.³⁸ In 1924, the territory of Ndona became incorporated in the greater region of Lio under the outspoken Catholic Raja Pius, a measure taken by more outspoken pro-Christian officials.

Another official who was accused of being 'pro-Muslim' was Mr. Lagerweg, who was commander of the police in Lomblem, serving

under *Gezaghebber* De Groot of Alor “from where he brought such positive impressions of Muslims”. In 1916 *Gezaghebber* Lagerweg reprimanded the chief of Moni because of frequent drunkenness and a distinct lack of initiatives for further development. But Prefect Noyen expressed his support of this man “because he is sympathetic towards the mission and will not allow any Muslims to enter his territory”.³⁹ Whatever may have been the individual choice of some officials, with only a few exceptions, the colonial policy in the region was directed at a containment of Islam during the period 1904-1942.

Is it a coincidence that after the deposition of the Catholic Raja Don Lorenzo of Larantuka in 1904, more and more Muslim rulers had problems with the colonial authority? In the early 1930s, the son of the Raja of Riung, Abdullah, who was active in the collection of taxes, was accused of abusing his power and was sent into exile in Kupang for three years. At the same time, the son of the ruler of Ende, who attended high school in Surabaya, was sent back to Ende because he was deemed too close to ‘extremist’ (i.e. nationalist) circles.⁴⁰ But the most severe measures were taken against the Muslim Raja of Adonare. Several of his traditional territories were transferred to Larantuka, and there was much suspect and close supervision by colonial administrators. A. Couvreur wrote of the island of Adonare (divided between the authority of the Raja of Larantuka and Adonare): “The people of Adonare are really criminals. Human life has no specific value and murder and massacre are very common. Although they are punished in a harsh way, they continue with their life-style and very often fighting of whole villages take place.”⁴¹ In 1934, judgments regarding Muslim rulers were again very negative. De Nijs Bik considered Raja Arkian Amba, who ruled until 1930, to be “a person of no insight at all, a real impediment for development” and his successor Bapa Ana “a weak personality without any development.”⁴²

The negative views expressed regarding the few remaining Muslim rulers were in complete contrast to the generally positive views regarding the Catholic rulers in Flores. Of these, the most applauded was the Raja of Sikka, Don Thomas da Silva, into whose territory the small Muslim coastal region of Kangae had been incorporated in 1929. Da Silva was considered to be “without doubt the most energetic native ruler in the Flores region.”⁴³ In 1932, a combination of admiration for this ruler and economic policies of the Dutch led to the *ontvoogding* or emancipation of this native ruler from European supervision in his own area.

In his final overview of the area he administered as Resident between 1923-1927, G. Schultz divided the south-eastern islands in four categories. These were: a) Bima and (the rest of) Sumbawa as Muslim, b) Flores, the eastern districts of Dutch (west) Timor, and the western districts of Sumba as Catholic, c) the rest of Timor as under the influence of the old Dutch Reformed Church (*Indische Kerk*), and finally d) most of Sumba as the territory for the Reformed Mission (*Gereformeerde* as distinct from the *Indische Kerk*). This division was maintained since then.⁴⁴

For the Catholic mission, this division was not just a matter of fact, but it remained a policy still to be executed in close co-operation with the government. The still hesitant and somewhat subversive support for the mission, as evident in *controleur* Couvreur's private letter of 1907, soon became official policy. Colonel (later General) Van Rietschoten, who was Resident of Kupang between 1911-1913, wrote in his last report:

We cannot yet show a considerable increase of Christianity. The main reason is that the various missions are short of personnel. Therefore they are not in a position to found new mission posts and must give their attention to the consolidation of existing congregations. Expansion, including the necessary preparation, is too heavy burden for them. Especially for Flores, where Islam is expanding, this has to be lamented because, besides other reasons that are in favour of the expansion of Christianity, a Christian population will be a more solid base for our power than a majority of Muslims.⁴⁵

Eight years later, a similar but more optimistic judgement was given by departing Resident Maier, who concluded that an increase in the number of Christians was noteworthy, signalling that "Christians feel loyal subjects of the Netherlands Indies Government. Christianity is a barrier against Islam." More specifically, regarding subsidies for schools in the "protestant regions" of West Timor, Maier stated that the purpose of the subsidies for education mainly was "to provide the Protestant Church of Kupang the means to make easy contacts with the pagan population, in order to effectuate a quick and total Christianization of this region."⁴⁶

Not much mention is made of Muslim protest against the favoured position of Christianity in major parts of the region. This may have been the result of the fact that no major Islamic centres were to be found east of Bima. Besides basic courses for Quranic reading, there was only one primary school in Kupang that used Arabic as the main

language, and it also used Dutch.⁴⁷ There were either no Muslim brotherhoods (*tarekat* - or religious orders), or those that may have existed were not officially reported in the colonial records and other reports. Muslim children in the Catholic schools (the only schools available in most places of Flores) followed catechism lessons. The small number of Muslim boys in Larantuka also attended school during the month of Ramadan without any problem (“as meek lambs”) asking only for leave on Idul Fitri, the final day of the fasting month.⁴⁸ In places with a Muslim majority such as Ende, special teachers known for their good communication with Muslims were employed. Before the start of Ramadan, they sought contact with various *hajis* and “they found it enough, if the children would have leave from school during a few days at the beginning and at the end of the fasting.”⁴⁹ In practice, however, schools in strong Islamic areas were quite cautious in this respect and refrained from religious classes in some cases.⁵⁰ There were local rumours about the dangers of conversion to Christianity. Father Jan Engbers noted in 1911: “the Muslims threaten the people in the interior that their children will die within three months if they offer them for baptism. Hail to the Colonial Government, under whose sweet authority people are brave enough to take the risk.”⁵¹

The first decades after the pacification wars of 1907 under Captain Christoffel brought many rebellions. Very few of these were situated in Muslim-majority regions. Most were in the inland areas where the money economy was previously unknown and people had great difficulties with forced labour and the new taxes. The only suggestion of an Islamic insurgence came from Ende where in 1917 *Gezaghebber* Van Suchtelen suspected a number of Muslims of planning a rebellion.⁵² The house where they gathered was burnt down and not much was heard of any similar plans after that.⁵³

Education as the Corner Stone for the Containment of Islam and the Expansion of Christianity on Flores

The development of the Catholic mission in East Flores from 1860 forward led to the establishment of two great mission compounds, one in Larantuka and the other in Lela (Sikka), both with boarding schools for boys and girls. In both places, Franciscan nuns from Heythuizen educated some 200 girls from the time they arrived at the school (between 8 and 14 years old) until they married. Much time was devoted to learning handicraft, weaving, embroidering, cooking and house cleaning. Much time also was devoted to religious edu-

cation, including the recounting of biblical stories, learning the catechism and singing religious hymns. The Jesuits had a smaller number of boys under their supervision for a similar program in both compounds. In Larantuka, there was a special section of the dormitory and the school for boys (or young men) who assisted the Jesuit brothers in the building activities of the mission. The carpenter's yard of Brother Henricus Adan also made special woodcarvings such as for statues of saints and altars in various parts of Indonesia.⁵⁴

Besides the two major settlements of Larantuka and Lela, there were less significant schools in Maumere and Kotting. In a small number of places, catechists were nominated and paid by the missions, and in some cases were also paid by the *raja*. In Waibalon and Lewoleri, the catechists received 6 guilders per month from the mission and one guilder from Raja Louis. They taught the children the catechism in the Malay language. For most children, this was the first time they learnt proper Malay. They became acquainted with the basic stories of the bible, with the common prayers, especially the rosary, and most of all with the joyful and cheerful singing that was and still is at the heart of the Catholic Church of Flores and nearby islands. There are not many reports of language problems for the teachers, who initially came mostly from East Flores and could speak no Lionese, Ngada or Manggarai. There are even reports that the teachers who arrived from Sikka very soon adapted to the Lio area and learnt the language.⁵⁵

On 23 August 1906, Hendrik Colijn, as special advisor for the outer islands, arrived in Larantuka as part of his great trip through East Indonesia. Much to the surprise of the missionaries, he communicated the plans of the Dutch colonial minister Idenburg regarding the development of education in the Indies: a broad network of village schools, supported and largely financed by local social networks. In East Indonesia, this system was to be organized by Catholic and Protestant missions. Colijn was enthusiastic about the school and more specifically about the vocational training in Larantuka and praised its carpenters. Father Hoeberechts defended the first goal of the mission schools, that being the religious education. On this point, Colijn was positive, saying: "Of course, that is your honest aspiration, to make them confident and obedient Christians. You may continue to build Catholic schools, but it should not be an ecclesiastical school."⁵⁶

In the end, Hoeberechts considered this a golden opportunity for the mission notwithstanding the many problems between the gov-

ernment and missionaries of Larantuka in relation to the exile of Raja Lorenzo. Colijn also visited Maumere and Lela, where Father Henricus Looijmans showed much less enthusiasm for the ambitious plans. He left it to the Bishop to decide, but personally he thought the undertaking was too ambitious. He argued that it would probably cost too much money and the result would probably be less than expected. "Still, it would be quite good for Central-Flores [i.e. Sikka] because we would have much more opportunities to work directly amongst the population."⁵⁷

Colijn remained in East Flores from 23-26 August 1906 only. He visited all the eastern possessions of the colony, departing from Surabaya in early May 1906.⁵⁸ In his later report, published in 1907 and summarizing the findings of his trip to the outer islands of the archipelago, he emphasized that general education was much needed but only possible if a sharp distinction was drawn between education provided by the central government and local initiatives. He argued that the central government should restrict itself to the education of the sons of native chiefs and rulers. For general education, local initiatives should be fostered.⁵⁹ He reminded the reader that in the history of Europe, education also began in the Carolingian period through the parish schools.⁶⁰ A long chain of deliberations, reports, and further deliberations followed. In May 1909, Colijn wrote again advising on the so-called *uitbestedingsstelsel* or the system of farming out. Governor-General Idenburg defended this system in a letter to the Dutch Minister of Colonial Affairs dated 5 April 1910. The Minister agreed to the general structure of this plan.⁶¹

Discussions with the government over this issue were for some time directed not from Flores but by the leading figures of the more developed Catholic schools in Woloan (North Sulawesi) and Muntilan (Central Java). Probably in support of this proposal, the priests of East Flores wrote the "Concept for a Request about the Schools in Flores".⁶² The preparations went a step further during a high level meeting in Lela on 22 February 1911 at which the Advisor for the Outer Islands Lulofs, Resident Van Rietschoten, Controleur Hens, and priests of the mission led by Arnold van der Velden were present. The group worked on an outline for an agreement, which was signed by Lulofs and Van der Velden on 7 March 1911. The document started "with the recognition that with the exception of the territory of the raja of Adonare, the whole region could be considered a mission territory. .. Moreover the confession of Islam by the people of Ende

and other inhabitants of the coast, as far as native people are concerned, is not more than mere tincture.” The document expressed regret that until recently it was impossible that missionaries could settle amongst the “wild population of the interior”, but it also acknowledged with joy that Muslim migrants were eager to gain financial profit and therefore abstained from missionary activities away from the coast.

The successful military campaigns of the previous years had changed the situation drastically. With a safe interior, the opportunities for contact with the native population had increased and were used by the Muslims. The best way to counter Islamic expansion was considered to be through firm action by Christian missions, education being one of the best means for carrying it out. Therefore it was unanimously decided that the procedure already being developed by the Protestant mission in Sumba should also be applied in Flores. It was planned that the five leading schools in Larantuka, Lela, Ende, Aimare (for Ngada) and Reo (for Manggarai) would produce teachers for the simpler village schools. In the colonial terminology, these were referred to as *standaardschool* or *vervolgschool*, adding two years of education to the three grades of the *desaschool* or village school.⁶³

The agreement of 7 March 1911 was only one step in a long process. On 1 May 1911 the *R.C. Schoolvereniging Flores* or the Flores Catholic School Organization applied for recognition as a public foundation to the government in Batavia.⁶⁴ By mid 1911 Gezaghebber Van Suchtelen in Ende proposed a list of eleven villages selected for schools in the Ende region.⁶⁵ While the local practice had already adjusted to a general subsidy for education by the mission, the debate between Batavia and the Netherlands regarding the final regulation lasted until 1915. In 1909, the Batavia Director for Education and Religion still rejected the idea. He wanted to maintain strict neutrality on the part of the government and pointed out that the “Church and Mission do not consider education in the first place, as is the case with the State, to be a facility for general development, but a way to conversion to Christianity”.⁶⁶ But the times were changing and in Dutch politics religious parties became more and more powerful. The Minister of Colonies, De Waal Malefijt, joined in with the strategy of the Governor General Van Idenburg in 1910 to hand over the implementation of general education in regions of missions to the various corporations.⁶⁷ This finally was adopted as the policy of the Decision of 1913 (commonly referred to as the Sumba-Flores Regula-

tion), which was somewhat modified in 1915 after being critiqued by parliament.⁶⁸

It was not only for the objective of supporting missionary work that the regulation gave priority to the mission schools. Another goal was economic in that the government wanted schools to be financed as much as possible by the people themselves through collective labour and free building materials, and through special local taxes for schools or by using public funds of the districts. Defending this strategy in 1911, Lulofs mentioned that the priests of Larantuka, who in 1904 were known as an obstacle to the power of the Resident of Kupang, now had sent a message to the government officials asking them to come quickly to collect the taxes because people had prepared cash money and would use it for other purposes if the officials postponed the collection.⁶⁹ Despite this, the school-tax was not a great success as it created negative feelings towards the school, and was abolished in 1917 after much protest.⁷⁰

From Islamic Threat to Catholic Domination in Ende-Lio

The first major problem for the Catholic mission occurred in Ende in around 1910. After the initiation of aggressive colonial politics in 1906, the town of Ende was chosen as the basis for the permanent colonial presence in Central and West Flores. Due to a lack of missionary personnel, priests rarely visited Western and Central Flores before 1910. There was a vague hope of some Christian continuity in the southern coastal villages. The most outspoken aspirations were in Numba, 19 kilometres west of Ende on the south coast. As mentioned above, Controleur Samuel Roos discovered a few remnants of previous Christianity in 1872. In Ende, people told him that there had been two Christian churches in Numba. "But now they had put their *Tuhan Déo* in a chest and therefore they had no longer a *Tuhan Allah*".⁷¹ One old man in Numba named Domingus had wooden statues of Mary and Christ, and four small ivory images. Once a year at "Pasko" he burnt a candle. He was the only one in the village to eat pork and to keep alive the Christian tradition. The village head told Roos that he was the last in his family to be born a Christian. As a boy he bore the name Nyo Jozé, but at the suggestion of the Arab Shaykh Bara, he became a Muslim at the age of 14.

Ten years later, in 1882, the missionary Father Le Cocq paid a short visit to Numba. He met several Muslims who confessed that

they had been baptized in their early youth but later accepted Islam. In a village nearby he found "many who call themselves Christian, although they are not baptized. They wanted me to give them instruction, but the village head did not agree".⁷² In the previous thirty years there had been another priest who visited this area. This was father H. Looijmans, who received an invitation to visit Controleur Hens (including the use of the government steamer) in March 1910. He met only 14 Catholics in Ende during his short visit.

In 1910, the first teacher, Ignatius Dias (alias Oessin) from Larantuka, started a modest school in Ende. A second teacher, Albert Nangon, a Catholic from Menado soon became available to Ende. In that same year, Leo Lana, a graduate from Lela, became the first teacher for the school of Waku Leo, the first school in the interior of Lio territory. He transferred to Jopu after 1914.⁷³ A second school was opened in the Lio territory at Mbuli.⁷⁴ From 1909 onwards, Father Jan Engbers made several short trips from Lela to Mbuli, the closest area to Lio, but the school resulted in many more baptisms than these short visits.⁷⁵ During a trip to that region in 1911, Father Looijmans baptized some 200 children, but most of these were under the age of six. These baptisms indicated the wishes of their parents to become part of the modern world of schools and mission. It was first of all seen as a barrier to the progress of Islam, less as the salvation of individual souls. The quick baptism of uninstructed young people contradicted the common argument of missionaries that Islam was easy to convert to (both in terms of preparation for membership and in moral obligations) and Christianity was difficult.⁷⁶ There seems, however, to have been quite a difference in personal styles between the priests in this matter. Father Jan Engbers made several similar trips as Looijmans both before and after, but carried out considerably fewer baptisms.⁷⁷

At the February-March 1911 meeting in Lela, Looijmans acknowledged that Ende was contracted to be one of five places designated to have an intermediate school, but stated that:

My objection is that Ende is only inhabited by Muslims, Arabs and Chinese, and is not fitted to educate sons of pagan chiefs, who could eventually become Catholic teachers. But the government really has decided that a school must be built in Ende. This can only be realized by placing a priest in Ende, who erects his house and a dormitory for sons of chiefs somewhat outside Ende, or at least separated from the school.⁷⁸

Due to a lack of clergy, pastoral services in Ende were restricted to one visit by Father Looijmans from Lela in the year 1911. Migration had increased quickly thanks to the new road connecting Maumere and Ende and the safer conditions.⁷⁹ At Easter 1911, Looijmans had 35 men and 17 women at the altar in Ende for communion, most of them from the Maumere-Lela area. The number of schools grew quickly and in 1911 Albert Nangon, a teacher from Ende, moved to Labuan Bajo to take over a school which was started there by some Manuel from Larantuka.⁸⁰ In that same year, a school was opened in Reo on the northwest coast with Naidju Kainde, a Menadonese, as the first teacher.⁸¹ Schools were opened in 1912 in Ruteng, Bajawa and Boawae in the middle of what had only recently been the Ngada controlled territory.⁸² The first expansion was not the result of the work of priests but of the teachers provided from Lela and Larantuka, together with some Catholic Menadonese who were trained at the school of Woloan.

In 1912 and 1913, only a short pastoral visit from a priest from Lela or Larantuka was made to Ende,⁸³ but the schools developed rather fast. On 15 January 1912, Van Suchtelen asked Father Hoeberechts in Larantuka to send four teachers (for Nanga Pandan, Ngaru Pero, Wayu Nesu and Nggele). Martinus (alias Gustinjo Fernandez) led the school in Nanga Pandan, a Muslim stronghold. Whenever possible, teachers were sent with their wives. If suitable teachers were not yet married at the time of the request for new teachers, marriages were sometimes quickly arranged by the clergy, selecting one of the girls of the schools of the sisters. Fernandez was married Agneta de Rozari on 20 February 1912 on the same day as one of his colleagues who was to be sent to another school.⁸⁴

In 1909, the Divine Word Fathers (usually referred to as SVD after the Latin name of their order *Societas Verbi Divini*, or as the Steijl Fathers after one of their main settlements in Europe in the village of Steijl on the Dutch-German border) made an offer to Bishop Luypen in Batavia to take over part of the mission territory which had previously been served by the Jesuits. Initially only the island of Timor was handed over to them, but from the beginning it was understood that they would take over all the Lesser Sunda Islands. The first SVD priest (Piet Noyen) arrived in Kupang in 1913, and he visited Ende the next year, as it had become the central station for the government of Flores. By 1914, the Jesuits had permanent mission posts in Larantuka, Maumere, Kotting, Lela, Sikka, and Lahurus

(Timor) only, with a total staff of 12 priests, 9 brothers, as well as 31 sisters of other orders who had joined the work.

The SVD, a majority German order, could not develop their contribution to the mission as planned due to World War I (1914-1918). In December 1917 the SVD had already mourned 134 of their young priests as victims of the war.⁸⁵ In 1914 they already had 14 members in the region, but by 1919 only 6 priests and 8 sisters and lay brothers worked on Flores, and only two priests on Timor. The Jesuits, who had hoped to bring more priests to the flourishing mission on Java, were very cooperative and left some of their priests in Larantuka until December 1918, when the last priest, Arnold van der Velden, died from the Spanish fever. They remained in the Sikka region until early 1920 when J. Sevink left Maumere on 6 January and A. Ijseldijk left Kottong on 8 February. The Jesuits were also very lenient in regards to finances, and transferred ownership of all their buildings, including furniture and utensils, to the SVD without compensation.

After World War I, the Germans lost their colonies in Africa. For this reason, several experienced missionaries from Togo moved to the Dutch Indies. In the 1920s, SVD numbers grew rapidly from 29 priests and 11 lay brothers in 1921 to 57 and 26 respectively in 1929. In 1939, European staff for the SVD mission in the Lesser Sunda Islands numbered 116 priests, 34 brothers and 72 sisters.⁸⁶ This is a very large number when compared to other Catholic missions. It is also large when compared to the approximately 75 foreign personnel of the Rhenish Mission in Batakland (1914 figures), which remained more or less stable and even shrank slightly to 67 in 1934 and 70 in 1938.⁸⁷ However, during the 1910s the SVD could not yet fulfil their great ambitions. After 1920 there were further problems including the unstable economic situation in Germany and the general collapse of the world economy after the Great Depression hit in 1929. Nevertheless, in 1938 retiring Resident J. Bosch referred to the "continuing increase in personnel which the Mission is able to send from Europe, because her resources seem to be nearly unlimited."⁸⁸

A time of copious resources was still far off when Bishop Noyen visited Ende for the first time in 1914. While it was only possible for him to gain a first impression, he decided soon afterwards that the centre of the mission should not be located in Ende proper but in nearby Ndona, separated from Ende by some 8 kilometres in distance and 100 meters in height, but still definitely part of the interior. In 1914, Mbaki Bani, the village head of Ndona, was still a pagan.

Gezaghebber Van Suchtelen sent Mbaki Bani's son, later known as Petrus Ngadji (also Ngatji), to the neutral government school of Kupang. Later, Controleur Hens sent him to the Catholic school of Lela where he was baptized on 27 August 1914. Mbaki Bani, hesitating between the Christian and Muslim influences, did not agree to send him to Woloan for further education because he did not like to push him closer to Catholicism. Thereupon Petrus Ngadji returned to Ndonga before completing his course in Lela, in 1915.⁸⁹ In December 1916, his fiancé Tipoe was sent to the sisters in Larantuka (where she only met one other girl who could speak Lionese, Malay and Lamaholot being the common languages in Larantuka). Despite the fact that there was never a Christian marriage to this girl, the sisters praised her for her piety.⁹⁰ Van Suchtelen took Petrus Ngadji with him on a trip to Java in 1916.⁹¹ In January 1918 Mbaki Bani, after toying for some time with the idea of becoming a Protestant (because the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina was a Protestant),⁹² opted for Islam and in 1919 his son was circumcised, although there is no clear evidence that Petrus Ngadji fully converted to Islam.

Petrus Ngadji did not succeed Mbaki Bani as village head of Ndonga, but a more outspoken Catholic did. However, the political role of Ndonga already had been restricted by that time through the creation of the self-ruling area of Lio under Raja Pius. Ndonga simply became part of greater Lio. Prefect Noyen reacted to the conversion to Islam of Mbaki Bani by receiving as many pupils as possible in his school, especially the sons of chiefs and village heads. Before asking permission from the government, he enrolled two groups at the lowest grade in order to educate as many future leaders in the Catholic tradition as possible.⁹³

Noyen was able to start work in Ndonga only after the formal transfer of the mission from the Jesuits to the SVD Fathers in the second half of 1914.⁹⁴ In May 1915, Noyen, together with the brothers who worked on the building of the mission compound, moved from Timor to Ende. The village of Ndonga was not only selected for its location close to Ende, but also because of a good river which providing it with water all year round. Although there was no firm Muslim presence in Ndonga, land and wood could only be bought after long negotiations and with the help of Controleur Hens. Noyen suspected that Muslims from Ende had persuaded the people of Ndonga not to cooperate with the mission. He mentioned in his diary that at some time "many native people started cursing when they

passed by the mission compound. If I met Muslims on the road, they hissed: dog, swine! And it was no exception, that they were screaming loud under the church service.”

Noyen suspected that the Muslims of Ende might have been able to gain influence in the interior through lending money and thus making people dependent on them.⁹⁵ Noyen himself had tried to pay a visit to the Muslim Raja of Ende but was sent away with the message that the Raja did not like to socialize with white people.⁹⁶ Besides Noyen and two Dutch lay brothers, most workers at the building in Ndona were schoolboys from the institutions in Larantuka and Lela. The first classroom was finished after a few months, and the school opened with a dormitory for 60 pupils. These buildings initiated the establishment of what was to become a grand compound of the Catholic mission of Flores.

The first head of the school in Ndona was Gregorius Pareira who was from Konga. The second teacher to arrive, Franciscus Fernandez alias Didoe, originated from East Flores and therefore could not speak Endenese or Lionese.⁹⁷ During the previous few years, a number of Lionese boys (especially from the areas of Lise, Ndori and Mbuli) already had been sent to Lela in Sikka (East-Flores). No less than 70 were baptised in Lela between 1908 and 1915. The majority of these boys were not selected by the mission but were sent to Lela by government officials, with Controlleur Hens as the major advocate of the Catholic school as the best place for the education of future chiefs and villages heads. One of these students, who later became an important leader in Lio, was Pius Rassi Wangé, born in 1892 and baptised in Lela in 1909. He was the son of the chief of Wololele who later became an important Raja of greater Lio.⁹⁸ He stayed in Lela for six years where in 1914 he married Johanna Boko. He was installed as Raja of the self-governing territory Tanah Kunu V in that same year.⁹⁹

In December 1915, ten boys were sent from Lela to Ndona as the core group for the higher levels of the new school. Another small number came from Nanga Pandan for a special reason. One of the chiefs of Rea, Nipa Do, the *Tuan Tanah* or traditional chief of Tanah Rea, was a not too active Muslim. When he died in 1915 his oldest son was 13 years old, not yet circumcised, a pupil at the school of the Catholic teacher in Nanga Pandan, and willing to become a Catholic. Following a suggestion by Assistant Resident Hens, he was invited to stay in the dormitory of Ndona together with ten boys from his neighborhood.

The succession of Kakadoepa as chief in the nearby Nanga-Panda is another interesting example of the "race between Islam and Christianity". Initially, Idjoe Oewa was selected as chief, but due to his lack of capability, a prominent Muslim was elected as Raja. However, it was decided that Oete, the brother of Kakadoepa, still a pagan but committed to becoming a Christian, would be the next Raja. After some time at school in Ndonga, Van Suchtelen sent Oete to the school of Muntilan. He stayed there from 1918 to 1920 and learned Dutch, returning as a brilliant and promising young man. However, he experienced great problems due to certain financial and love affairs. After his return in 1920, Oete married Catherina, the daughter of the Raja of Boawae, but left her after a few months and therefore was considered as lost to the Catholic cause. Both Nanga-Pandan and Boawae were critical places in the race between Christianity and Islam. A missionary wrote in 1926 that this affair caused great damage to the Catholic cause in the two small kingdoms.¹⁰⁰

In January 1916, some 50 sons of village heads in Lio were invited to the school, which started with three classes. On 2 February 1916, the compound of Ndonga was opened with a great celebration in the form of a Mass with joyful singing, the slaughtering of a buffalo, and the playing of many games.¹⁰¹ On 15 April 1917, the first 21 boys from the school in Ndonga were baptised. Twelve of the boys were from the Lise region where Pius Rassi Wangge was Raja. Only four were from the Ndonga district. Petrus Ngadji, son of Radja Mbaki Mbani of Ndonga, who probably became a Muslim a year later, was Godfather to all the boys from Ndonga.¹⁰² In early 1918 the baptismal book of Ndonga already totalled some 1000 names.¹⁰³

After the mission started building its own educational compound in Ndonga, the status of the primary school of Ende was subject to debate. Resident Maier of Kupang urged that the simple school be upgraded at least to the same level of the new school of Ndonga. If the mission was not prepared to bear the expense of the more elaborated school, the government intended to open a religiously neutral school in the capital of Flores. There were also suggestions of a Protestant teacher being hired from Kupang. This threat was considered to be a conspiracy by Resident E. Maier to open a neutral school under the direct responsibility of the government in Ende. Although some missionaries considered it a "waste that good teachers had to serve Muslims", in mid-1916 the mission decided to place some of its best teachers in the school at Ende. This school became the equivalent of a

standard school with five grades (as an extension of the 3-year simple folk-school).¹⁰⁴ But the higher costs for this facility, which was only used by Muslim pupils, was not even partially funded by mission money, and the local authority had to pay for it entirely.¹⁰⁵

Quite spectacular change took place between 1911 and 1916. Father Arnold van der Velden of Larantuka, secretary of the School Society (*Schoolvereniging*) wrote in 1916: "We have now 40 schools with 95 teachers and next year we will certainly open about six new schools".¹⁰⁶ This was a significant increase from the four schools of 1910. The schools served 2228 Catholics, 5 Protestants, 714 Pagans, 3 Chinese, and 590 Muslims. But it was not always so splendid. Many of the new schools were still small and several teachers were dismissed from their positions due to issues of usury, gambling, womanizing, conflicts with local chiefs, and their being unfamiliar with local customs and conditions and so on. Outlined below are some examples of the less successful aspects of this spectacular progress.

For the time being, Ndona was developed as a "bastion containing Ende".¹⁰⁷ Controleur Van Suchtelen, initially not supportive of the Catholic enterprise, finally saw good results from this enterprise. In his report on Central Flores published by the Government Press in 1921, he wrote:

It is very lovely to see the attention of young and old for the performance by the priest and his young helpers in the villages in the evening, showing biblical pictures with the help of a hurricane lamp. The hope for some tobacco, cigarettes and sweets certainly help their attention, but several questions provide evidence of the interest they have for the subject.¹⁰⁸

Outside Ende-Ndona, the most successful expansion of education-cum-Christian mission took place in the south eastern area of Lio, close to the new Flores road, in the regions of Mbuli and Lise. One of the main instigators in the valley of Mbuli was Stephanus Soi who was the son of a rich and influential family. He arrived in Lela in around 1910, where he was educated and baptised. In about 1914, he started work as a beginner teacher in Geliting, working with an experienced teacher. Between the two of them they served 92 pupils in 1915. In May 1916 he returned to his native region to work as a teacher.¹⁰⁹ During the holiday of mid-1917, Prefect Noyen took him to Bali, Lombok and Batavia as a *djongos* or government-paid travel-companion. He started a new school in Wonda (Nduri) after this trip.¹¹⁰

Even more successful was the work by Pius Rassi Wangge from Wololele, the main village in Lise. We have heard about him several times already as a pupil in Lela and the Raja Mudah (Young King) of Tanah Kunu V from 1914. He was the guide of the missionary at Sikka who made his first visit to the region in 1909. By chance, the arrival of the missionary was on the same day as the first rain after the dry season. It was therefore considered to have taken place under good augury from the outset.¹¹¹

Tanah Kunu V was a loose federation of five extended areas (rather than villages, because people lived in scattered houses rather than villages) in the Mbuli valley. Until 1914 Raja Reu from Waku Leu was the main local ruler. Pius Rassi Wangge could not easily take over the leadership of the region even though he had the support of the Dutch government. Initially he was the ruler of Lise only, but then gained control of the four other areas (Nggela, Wolojita, Mbuli and Nduri), which together constituted the new *landschap* or native territory of Tanah Kunu V. In 1915, Van Suchtelen acknowledged that he: "should not be silent about the fact that this unification into one district and also the choice of the ruler, was not applauded by a majority of the population, on the contrary."¹¹² At the election of Pius Rassi Wangge, the more experienced and respected chief of Mbuli, Lenggo Gedo, was not nominated for the position because he was a Muslim whose son had already performed the *haji*. The chiefs of the old districts only accepted Pius under the condition that they be allowed to continue their traditional rights. They received the new title of *kapitan*.

Raja Pius proved to be a staunch defender of Catholic interests on several occasions. In March 1922 there was a rapid movement towards Islam in Nggela. In one week, 24 girls of the school of Nggela converted to Islam and at the same time stayed out of school. Raja Pius visited the area to inquire into the event and found that Wawi, a committed Muslim, had suggested to these girls that they would be freed from the obligation of going to school if they only embraced Islam. The 24 girls followed the advice of Wawi and even went to Ende where they remained in the house of Haji Ali for some time. Raja Pius returned the girls to their parents and to the Catholic school.¹¹³

The unification of the five regions in south east Lio was only the beginning of the program of centralizing native government. After the retirement of the Muslim Raja Mbaki Mbani of Ndona in 1920, this large region was united with Tanah Kunu V, still under Pius

Rassi Wangge's control, and was renamed Lio. In 1925, under the official regulation of this unification, some areas of Ende (Boafeo, Mau Tenda) were placed under the sovereignty of Lio. The region of Nangapanda, whose raja (the Muslim Kakadupa) died in 1917, was also included in the northern part of the present Lio region under the name of *Tanah Rea*. After many difficulties, this region was temporarily ruled by Haji Abdul Majid until 1924. However, in 1924 another move of the religiously inspired unification policy divided Tanah Rea between Ngada / Nage and Ende/Lio.¹¹⁴

The enlargement of his territory also increased problems for Pius Rassi Wangge. Many of his local chiefs or *kapitan* were unwilling to follow his orders and refused to hand over taxes to him. In 1934, the retiring Resident of Kupang emphasized that Pius Rassi was not a true traditional ruler but a colonial creation, while the 23 *Kapitan* generally retained their traditional power. Notwithstanding this fact, De Nijs found him "a strong personality, who did not meet serious difficulties in the execution of his job."¹¹⁵ In the 1930s, however, quite a few troubles started around Pius Rassi. Father A. Suntrup of the central mission post of Jopu complained about his unruly behaviour several times. On 10 March 1929, Suntrup wrote a letter regarding a conflict between Kapita Sea and Raja Pius that ended with the payment by the *Kapitan* of an amount of gold (the equivalent value of a horse and a buffalo) as a sign of reconciliation. Suntrup remarked that: "from the example of the Raja we can see how the big people become rich."

Raja Pius made no efforts to improve the schools or to inspire children to go to school. On 6 February 1932 Suntrup wrote in his diary: "The Raja is in any case an unreliable chief. He always seeks personal profit. Now has given Father Tol a horse, which may be a compensation for the 18 bags of cement, he has taken from us."¹¹⁶ Raja Pius remained a spectacular supporter of the Catholic mission on big occasions. At the glorious ordaining of Heinrich Leven as the new Bishop of Flores on 20 April 1934, Raja Pius organized a big festival. However, it was the Assistant-Resident only who was seated beside the bishop in the car that brought the bishop from the harbour to the great Cathedral of Ende. Raja Pius was the organizer of a great festival for the population, which included great processions, decorations, meals and dances. In that same year, Raja Pius and 51 chiefs and craftsmen of his region went to Todabelu on a retreat at the seminary.¹¹⁷ But this outward show of his adherence to the Catholic reli-

gion could not prevent growing criticism from the mission as well as government officials regarding his dictatorial style of rule.

More serious complaints against Raja Pius, including accusation of several murders, started in the late 1930s. In 1940 he was called to Kupang where he was put on trial. He was deposed as Raja of Lio in early 1941 and was condemned to exile in Kupang for a period of ten years. A large number of *Kapitan* from the Lio region were punished in a similar way. At the start of the Japanese occupation, Raja Pius managed to come back to Flores and gained a position close to the Japanese administration. This made it possible for him (in the words of the European priest) "to resume his old method to extort the population". On 14 April 1947 he was condemned to death and executed in Kupang.¹¹⁸

As was the case with many rulers since the time of Don Lorenzo of Larantuka in the 1880s, the mission had great hope in the young sons of the ruling elite during their education at the mission school and shortly after. While there was no Christian kingdom or true Catholic ruler on Flores, there was clear tension between a strong and rather dominating clergy and the native rulers who had to move in the narrow boundaries allowed by the colonial administration.

As a ruler of Lio, Raja Pius took no firm measures to promote Christianity in face of the slow progress of Islam. Under his rule there were a number of cases of Muslim *Kapitan* taking Catholic girls as second or third wives. As Raja, he could possibly have prevented these marriages as well as the conversion to Islam of some hesitant rulers, especially those of Nggela and Mbuli, but he was not known to take any firm action in this matter.¹¹⁹

The *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië* records the population of Ende-Lio as 116,015 with 23,841 Christians, 19,618 Muslims and 72,004 pagans in 1935. There was a strong decline in the number of pagans and an increase in the number of Christians, with the number of Muslims remaining more or less stable.

Expansion of Christianity into Ngada and Manggarai as Containment of Islam

Although Flores is only 375 km long, its main east-west road winds and twists, ascends and descends for nearly 700 kilometres. This is an indication of the fragmented geography of the area. Like the region of Ende and Lio, the Ngada region (as well as Manggarai) consists of small mountain chains with incidental volcanoes. This condition has

given birth to fragmented social and political structures. We have already seen that the “unification” of Ende under the ruler of Lio was a colonial construction, like the division of Flores into five major regions: Larantuka and Sikka as the eastern and older ones, and Lio, Ngada and Maumere as the western and more recent ones. The condition of the region of Ngada was even more fragmented as it was roughly divided in four cultural sectors: Riung, Ngada, Nage and Keo, but even this division does not do justice to the great variation of the population and its customs.¹²⁰

The first missionary presence arrived in Ngada and Manggarai not through expatriate priests but through schoolteachers who came from Lela and Larantuka in East Flores. Probably due to the strong encouragement of the colonial officers, schools were established very quickly at Bajawa and Boawae in 1911 and 1912 respectively, followed by Kotta in 1914, Sawu and Mbai in 1916 and Raja in 1917.¹²¹ This number had grown to 13 in 1920 and some 50 in 1942.¹²² Different from the three other regencies of Flores, Ngada and also Manggarai had no capitals on the coast (like Larantuka, Maumere and Ende), but Bajawa and Ruteng were real inland settlements, in fact wholly created by the colonial government. They superseded the Islamic coastal towns of Nangapanda and Reo (Ngada) and the major harbour of Labuhan Bajo. From these inland administrative towns, a Catholic ruler also could take control of the Muslim settlements on the coast.

The island of Flores was not a social-political unity in around 1900. There were no roads connecting the various regions and no common language spoken across all of them. Of the various regions, the western part (Manggarai) was the least accessible. Here the difference between the coastal settlements of Bimanese, Buginese and Macassarese settlers and the interior was the greatest. There are no big plains, but only chains of mountains in this region. Slave traders dominated the coastal area of Manggarai for several centuries. In 1700, Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies, already had a district called Manggarai that was named after the many slaves who had arrived from West Flores and were set free after several years. People of the interior had a great fear of outsiders because there had been raids for slaves by Bimanese merchants and their troops up until 1900.

Because of the strong influence of Islam on the coast, several schools were opened in the early 1910s, despite the little knowledge that those establishing the schools had of the region. The mission opened schools in 1911 in Labuan Bajo and Reo, and in 1912 in Ruteng and Pota. The

number of schools rapidly increased and reached 25 in 1925 and 52 in 1942, with a total of 7638 pupils (5447 boys and 2191 girls). The first baptisms, starting in 1912, were also the results of these schools.¹²³ Mission stations and churches were established a decade later.

The spread of Christianity was not the sole work undertaken in (East) Flores by Menadonese teachers and the foreign missionaries. There was also a strong movement towards developing a much-needed new world-view because of the drastic change in the way agriculture and health care was organized. We have on Manggarai quite exceptional records by Willem Coolhaas who was the *Controleur* in Ruteng between June 1926 and May 1927. He relates how the government doctor for Manggarai, Max Avé Lallemand, researched the very bad physical condition of Manggarai people. He attributed this to ankylostomiasis or hookworm disease, the result of the worms that flourished in the faeces that accumulated in great heaps under the vast family houses where hundreds of people lived together. The medical doctor urgently requested that lifestyle habits be changed. He suggested that the Manggarai people should leave their large communal houses and build small houses for one family where the faeces under their houses could be reached by the sun. This would be enough to kill the worms. In the early 1920s, the order was given to start building these smaller houses despite the protests of the population, who not only wanted to continue the communal way of living, but also stressed that the success of planting depended on the ritual playing of the drum which was kept in a special place in the largest house of the main family of a village. Leaving the large houses would mean that there would be no proper place to keep the drum. In that case the drum would become powerless and the spirits could no longer be invoked. Despite these arguments, one village was ordered to start the construction of small houses. Under strict military surveillance they also had to plant their gardens. Although no offerings were made to the spirits that year, the harvest was better than usual. Coolhaas concluded:

This was, according to Manggarai people, something extraordinary. Apparently the spirits 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 weakness of the spirits. This happened just one year before my arrival. Since then the victory of Christianity has become absolute. ...Avé Lallemand left in March or April 1927. His successor, Smalt, a man with much more interest

for popular culture, held the opinion that he had taken to drastic measures. He demanded an end to the building of these small houses. In October 1929 a very serious epidemic of dysentery took many deaths. In the district of Congkar 17% of the population died. Now Smalt recognized that Avé Lallemand was right.¹²⁴

Perhaps the description of Coolhaas has an element of the justification of the position of the civil servants versus the great influence of the missionaries and their crew, but it can also be understood as a correction of the emphasis on education and direct preaching for the result of this mission.

A very important move was the government policy that diminished step by step the influence of the Muslim Bima on Manggarai, resulting in the formal separation of the two realms. Mission educated Raja Alexander Barock, who was nominated for the newly created position of Raja of Manggarai by the colonial government in 1931, remained the highest native authority until his death in 1949. The mission built a grandiose and large church in the small town as a visible sign of the dynamics of Catholic expansion in this most fertile area, which was inaugurated on 7 May 1930, only ten years after their work first started there. However, real authority rested with the Controleur of Ruteng. While there were some minor conflicts between secular and religious authority, on the whole there was warm cooperation between the two. There were some complaints made by government officials regarding the use of quick and easy baptisms as a means of reducing the forced labour. For every twenty baptised Christians, one person was freed from *corvée* labour, "because he had the responsibility to assist the ecclesiastical work". Some missionaries were in the habit of quickly baptizing children in order to create the baptism-cum-freedom of *corvée* labour for stubborn old people.¹²⁵ Controleur Mennes ruled in 1929 that the church as such was not entitled to possess land for the maintenance of teachers and catechists. This led to the institution of local church councils in the early 1940s, which became formal owners of the ecclesiastical property.

Out of the three "new regions", Manggarai soon proved to be the most populous and also the region with the quickest growth in terms of Christians. In mid-1935, Manggarai had 46,290 baptised Christians (34,016 for Ngada and 32,275 for Ende-Lio) while the "old regions", including the islands of Adonare, Lembata and Solor, maintained their leading position with 63,047 for Maumere and 52,741 for Larantuka.¹²⁶

Concluding Remarks and Suggestions for Further Research

The expansion of Islam in the south eastern regions of Indonesia has received much less attention than the other areas of the country. It was a small-scale spread of Islam. Even the two most important centres, Solor and Ende, did not produce literature or great scholars. The geographical conditions of the mountainous islands, with harbours that served only a small inland region, were not really conducive to the growth of a great religious tradition. In this study of the island of Flores and some adjacent, smaller islands, we could only use the written sources of the Catholic mission and of the colonial government. With a minor exception, there were no Muslim sources dating from the period available (Chambert-Loir 1999). Therefore the picture painted in the analysis above must be used carefully. It is not only one-sided because it stresses the Christian sources, but even these sources are not really representative because too much official Christianity has been introduced. It is mostly the voice of the foreign missionaries that is given here. Only more recently have anthropologists started to analyze the extent to which the common people really did accept Christianity and Islam. These new studies (Barnes 1996, Forth 1998, Molnar 1997) go deeper into the content of the new faiths, while the above study focuses on relations of power and influence.

The anthropologist Robin Horton has coined one of the most challenging theories of conversion from tribal religion to the mono-theism of Christianity and Islam.¹²⁷ For Horton, who focuses on Africa, conversion to the belief in the One God constitutes an internal revolution within African religion. He argues that even without new religion coming from outside, larger numbers of people would have directed their attention and ritual to the high god as the expansion of trade, communication and writing rendered local spirits unhelpful. The religion of spirits was not readily portable, and those who moved into the cosmopolitan trading cities had need of a personal faith that was universally valid.¹²⁸

A stimulating answer to the question "Why should people in the Moluccas in around the year 1550 opt for Islam or Christianity?" has been given by the historian Anthony Reid. In response to the question "What could these major religions give that the local or primal could not provide?", Reid answers that in a violent and insecure society as found in many parts of East Indonesia, with many human beings as well as supra-human spirits as enemies, an alliance with the Islamic network or the Catholic church could give protection, although the political sys-

tem backing this latter religious institution was by itself a far from soothing factor. Reid considers this deeper sense of security as the major motive for conversion to Islam and Christian-ity in that fermenting period between 1550 and 1650:

Like Christianity, Islam offered a refuge from the domination of these demanding spirits in a different vision of the cosmos. This was a predictable, moral world in which the devout would be protected by God from all that the spirits could do and would eventually be rewarded by an afterlife in paradise. The powerless too would be rewarded if they lived a life of personal virtue. "The high and the low; the rich and the poor; they will all appear the same," as a Tagalog devotional poem put it. This moral universe depended on a simple but consistent concept of eternal reward and punishment.¹²⁹

One may question whether this concept of a predictable moral universe is enough to explain the success of the new religions. It certainly is an attractive theory because it is more substantial than only the formal concept of monotheism or the idea of a world religion. Still, it may sound too meagre to explain the whole complex process.

We should be cautious in accepting only one reason for a process that took place in many different locations and over a great period of time. The wish to participate in a larger Islamic or Christian network of trade has also been mentioned as a contributing factor in the success of the spread of these religions. Besides, one of the characters of 'global religions' seems to be their exclusive character: they place people of different convictions and rituals on a lower level, label them as 'the other' and finally condemn them as destined for hell. We also should take into consideration the partial attraction of the healing powers of the propagators of Islam and Christianity. In the *Hikayat Patani*, it is the Arab healer who finally brings the king to (a very low key initial) acceptance of Islam.¹³⁰ A similar story is told about father Jan Kusters healing a baby struck by malaria in Langgur, Kai, in 1889. In all places we find that parents some-times are initially reluctant but then usually very eager to send their children to the mission posts not only for a simple school, but also for a total education. This education, the services of healing, the support provided in periods of drought and dearth accompanied by instruction in the new religious doctrine and participation in the rituals was a solid and coherent offer that was accepted by more and more people.

Reid has shown that it is not only important to understand the motives why some people embraced a 'new' religion, but also it is impor-

tant to analyze the (partial) rejection of the new religions. In this case, Reid distinguishes the initial acceptance from which 'however qualified, there was no going back' from selective affiliation.¹³¹ This means that there was a declaration of basic loyalty towards a new cultural and religious standard. But besides discontinuity, there remained also much continuity with the Austronesian cultures. The new faith only partially and slowly replaced old rituals and convictions.

For a real understanding of the process of conversion and the character of the world religions of Islam and Christianity, it is important to put forward the questions raised by Anthony Reid. How did the Muslim community and the Christian Church function as providers of this 'predictable moral universe'? How did they relate to the new social order and state system? How could earlier concepts of the world of the divine, of spirits and ghosts, threat and power, still survive in the new religions? What is the meaning of the very exclusive attitude of the two major religions of Islam and Christianity towards each other? Why were people compelled to choose one religion only? With the detailed account of the sad and sometimes even tragic competition between Islam and Christianity in Flores during the first decades of the 20th century, only a few of these questions have been answered.

Endnotes

1. On the Moluccas see Azra 2000.
2. The name Adonare is used for the small village on the southern coast of the island of Adonare, but also for the territory ruled by the Raja of Adonare: this territory was divided amongst parts of the Larantuka territory on the islands of Adonare, Lomblem and on the eastern part of the island of Flores. For a picture of this complicated mosaic of Christian and Muslim territories: Dietrich, 1980. Rouffaer (1923:207) mentions a post of the Catholic mission in Lamahala on Adonare, conquered by the Muslims of Terong in 1592.
3. Also Rouffaer, 1923:216 has no exact year but guesses "somewhere between 1620 and 1630".
4. Noorduyt 1987; Chambert-Loir 1999.
5. Rouffaer 1923, p. 33.
6. On these sometimes rather legendary origins A. Couvreur, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1924: p. 74.
7. Rouffaer 1923, p. 218.
8. Steenbrink 2002 (forthcoming), chapter 6.
9. *De Katholieke Missiën*, 50 (1924-5), 164, from the notes by Simon Buis on Islam on Flores.
10. *Regeeringsalmanak*, 1935.
11. Couvreur *Memorie van Overgave*, 1924: ARA KIT 1236, p. 14: "dat de Endenees meer macht had dan de compenic". For the position of Endenese Arabs of Memboro, Sumba, in the trade of slaves and horses also Rodney Needham, *Sumba and the Slave Trade*, 1983 pp. 22-30: on the saying that "the Company was strong at sea, where it was master, but not on land." Memboru was the centre for Endenese traders on Sumba.
12. *Memorie van Overgave* J. de Rooy, 3 March 1908, ARA 2.10.38 MMK 339:1.
13. For a series of rebellions on Flores until 1920 see Dietrich 1989: 96.
14. Dietrich 1989: 254 for a compilation of more complete lists.
15. De Rooy 1908:2.
16. A brother of A. Hens was a Capuchin Friar in the Netherlands. At the occasion of the leave of Hens to the Netherlands, 3 July 1916, Bishop Noyen urged the leaders of the SVD Order in Steijl to consult him and, if possible, to confer the ecclesiastical decoration *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* to him. (Laan, *Larantuka*, 1720). Hens received the decoration while on leave in the Netherlands in 1917, Laan, *Ende*, 173.
17. AJAK H 4-1-3.
18. AJAK H 4-1-3.
19. Laan, *Ende*, p. 11.
20. Noyen to his Superior General Nikolaus Blum, 25 January 1918, in Laan, *Ende*, pp. 210-213.
21. Couvreur (1924) p. 14.
22. De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, (1934) p. 23; ARA MMK p. 344. It is quite striking that government officials and missionaries complain about heavy drinking of the Florenese, but do not relate this to a reason not to accept Islam.
23. The term *perang pasifikasi* is repeatedly used in L. Lame Urang, *Sejarah Perkembangan Misi Flores Diones Agung Ende*, no. references, a.o. on pp. 95, 118, 124, 129.
24. "Daar de wegen nu goed aangelegd en de rust op Flores onder het bergvolk verzekerd is, zullen de hadji's geen moeite sparen om het gif hunner leer in de bergen te verplanten. Dus Ende wordt hoofdstatie van de Missie." Quoted in Laan, *Ende* 44.

25. Laan, *Ende*, 46.
26. See for one case also Laan, *Sikka*, 251 and 269 about Daeng Pawinro, the head of the Buginese of Waepare, who wanted to perform the hajj in 1905, asked permission from Posthouder Kailola in Maumere and made his adopted son Haji Tani his representative. In 1906 there was a report about his death during the pilgrimage.
27. Figures from J. Vredendregt, "The Haddj. Some of its features and functions in Indonesia", *Bijdragen van het Koninklijke Instituut* 118 (1962), 91-154, esp.140-144.
28. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1445.
29. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1447. Van Suchtelen defended his action with the argument that "until now there is not yet an official agreement with the mission: the school is owned by the government and should therefore remain neutral." On the same episode from the diary of Engbers : Laan, *Sikka*, 334-339.
30. Under colonial rule a number of Protestant ministers and Catholic priests received government salaries. This was, however, not the case with all priests: already in 1890 their number was limited to about 30 for the whole colony.
31. "De Slammen van Ende lopen nu overal rond en zijn niet meer schuchter zoals vroeger. Zij bewegen zich alsof zij willen zeggen: wij zijn er ook! En dat is vooral te wijten aan van Suchtelen die elken maand komt." Laan, *Ende*, 26.
32. Report by Father Muller of Lela, January 1915, in Laan, *Ende*, 50.
33. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1488 (Letter of 7-1-1912).
34. Bt. 21 April 1929 no 12. Through Bt 3 February 1931 no 56 Alexander Baroek was recognised as native ruler (*zelfbestuurder*).
35. The formal decision about the separation of Manggarai from Bima in Bt 21 April 1929 no 12 and of the nomination of Raja Alexander Baroek through Bt 3 February 1931 no 56, E.H. de Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 189 (ARA, 2.10.39, MMK 344).
36. W. Van Bekkum, "Warloka, Todo, Pongkor. Een brok geschiedenis van Manggarai (west-Flores)", *Cultureel Indië*, 6 (1944), 144-152 & 8 (1946), 65-75; 122-130. Also Maribeth Erb, *When Rocks were Young and Earth was Soft: Ritual and Mythology in Northeastern Manggarai*, PH.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1987.
37. E.H. de Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 198.
38. B. van Suchtelen, *Ende, Weltevreden*: Encyclopedisch Bureau, 1921: 14, 85. On Ngadji and the comment by Noyen see Laan, *Larantuka*, 1752 and 1804-1809. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1912 mentions that Ngadji, also written as Ngatji, was circumcised in 1919. We may suppose that this was a step towards Islam, but Van Suchtelen 1921:85 gives him also the name Petrus.
39. Laan, *Sikka*, 414-415: "daar hij ons goed gezind is en geen Slam in zijn gebied zal laten komen".
40. E.H. de Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 192 and 196.
41. A. Couvreur, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1924, 134 (ARA KIT 1236)
42. E.H. De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 203.
43. E.H. De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 199.
44. Schultz 1927:appendix.
45. Van Rietschoten, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1913, 35-36 (ARA MMK 340).
46. E.G.Th Maier, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1919, 8, 11 and 15. (ARA MMK 341).
47. E.H. De Nijs Bik, *Memorie van Overgave*, 1934, 33.
48. "Laan, *Larantuka*, 1708: de slammerjes komen ook tijdens de pocasa naar school, als trouwe lammetjes; slechts één dag, ik geloof de sluitingsdag, vragen en krijgen zij vrij".

49. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1726, about 1916.
50. In a debate with Van Suchtelen, Prefect Noyen stressed that in fact in several schools neutral education was given: "Dat op meerdere scholen op Flores door ons, tengevolge van overleg met het bestuur, neutraal onderwijs wordt gegeven." Letter of 8 February 1916 in Laan, *Ende*, 121.
51. Laan, *Ende*, 28 in a summary of the first trip over land from Ende to Lela, 1911.
52. For a map of rebellions between 1910-1920 Dietrich 1989:96.
53. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1785.
54. Laan, *Larantuka* 1213 on a communion -table for the church of Macassar with polychromy; idem, 1328 on six old wooden statues, who were already out of use for years and now restored in their first splendour. Besides working as the head of the carpentry, Brother Adan was also a gifted musician, who lead the brass-band of the boys school in Larantuka.
55. "De mensen kunnen de taal gauw leren", in a letter of P. de Lange, asking for a catechist in Lio to his colleagues in Lela. Laan, *Ende*, 199.
56. "Natuurlijk, zci mr. Colijn, dat is het doel waarna U streeft: eerst er flinke christenen van maken ..Pastoor, het mag gerust een R.K. school zijn, maar geen kerkelijke school." Laan, *Larantuka*, 1300-1, from a letter by Hochbrechts, AJAK H 6.5.3.
57. Looijmans to Bishop Luypen, also in Laan, *Larantuka*, 1304.
58. For an outline of this trip, Herman Langeveld, *Hendrikus Colijn*, 1998, Vol I:120-124.
59. H. Colijn, *Politiek Beleid en Bestuurszorg in de Buitenbezittingen*, Vol 3, Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1907, vol 3:118
60. Colijn, *Politiek Beleid*, Vol III: 76.
61. S.L. van de Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1940. Een bronnenpublikatie*, Groningen: Wolters, 1963, 161-175.
62. For short summaries of these documents Laan, *Larantuka*, 1424.
63. For the discussion, leading to the subsidies for the education on Sumba see Th. Van den End, *Gereformeerde Zending op Sumba*, 1987:153-156; the regulation of 1913 on pp. 160-165. Colijn had on 25 August 1909 a meeting with the Protestant missionaries of Sumba. The document of 7 March 1911 in Laan, *Larantuka* 1425-1427, in a copy from the Archives of the Ende Diocese.
64. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1425.
65. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1441.
66. Director of OE&N to Minister of Colonies, 3 August 1909, in Van der Wal, *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands-Indië, 1900-1940*, 167n.
67. De Waal Malefijt, 17 October 1910, in Van der Wal, *Onderwijsbeleid*, 175-179.
68. For the debate and the adjustments between 1913 and 1915 see H. E. K. Ezerman, "De Facultatiefstelling en de nieuwe Soemba-Floresonderwijsregeling", *Koloniaal Tijdschrift* 5 (1916), I: 174-180.
69. "En deden o.a. de missionaire pastoors te Larantoeke het Bestuur weten den aanslag spoedig te komen innen, omdat de menschen er allen hunne belastingpenningen gereed hadden en die wellicht voor andere doeleinden zouden gaan gebruiken, wanneer met de inning te lang werd gewacht." (C. Lulofs, 1911:292) The priests themselves provided cash to their flock while buying corn for the boarding schools. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1682-1686.
70. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1789.
71. Samuel Roos, 'Iets over Ende', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 24 (1877):481-582.

72. Laan, *Ende*, 7.
73. Laan, *Ende*, 32.
74. Laan, *Ende*, 18 and 26.
75. Laan, *Ende*, 23-24.
76. Bishop Verstraelen in his New-years message, January 1924, *De Katholieke Missiën*, 49(1923-4), 34: "Wie zal echter de overwinning behalen, wij Katholieken, die den heidencn een strengere zedenwet leeren, of de Mahomedanen met hun gemakkelijke zedenleer? Nu zijn wij nog vóór, maar ook de Mahomedanen maken ijverig propaganda en zij eischen zoo weinig."
77. Laan, *Ende*, 28-31.
78. Quoted in Laan, *Ende*, 13.
79. Laan, *Ende*, 27-28 has the story of the first trip by road on horseback from Ende to Lela by father J. Engbers and company. Until that year all these travels had to be done with small rowing boats, *perabu*.
80. Laan, *Ende*, 14.
81. Laan, *Ende*, 103.
82. Laan, *Ende*, 98-101.
83. A detailed description of the pioneering situation in Ende, where government and Catholic schools developed quicker than pastoral care by Jan De Nateris in *Claverbond* 1914:24-34.
84. Laan, *Ende*, 29-30. *Ibid.* 149 is another report about Nanga Pandan from 1916: "A difficult school, with few pupils in a strong Muslim environment and an interior with strong resistance against the Company".
85. Laan, *Ende*, 209.
86. Full statistics compiled by Dietrich 1989: 254.
87. Jan Aritonang, *Mission Schools in Batakland (Indonesia), 1861-1940*, Leiden: Brill, 1994, 227 and 302.
88. "En voortdurend laat de Missie nog versterkingen uit Europa komen, waartoe zij in staat is wíjl zij over schier onuitputtelijke middelen beschikt", J.J. Bosch, *Memorie van Overgave, Resident Timor*, ARA MMK 345, 29 March 1938. In our sources we only have incidental information about the finances for the mission. There is a continuing complaint about lack of funds, but sometimes, a mission superior reveals great credits (NLG 60,000 in 1916, Laan, *Ende*, 136) in Europe.
89. Laan, *Larantuka*, 1752, 1804-1809. More details in Laan, *Ende*, 87-89.
90. Laan, *Ende*, 164-165.
91. Van Suchtelen, *Ende*, 85.
92. Piet Noyen, letter to Luypen, 22 July 1915, in Laan, *Verzamelde Brieven Sj en SVD*, I, 14. Noyen characterizes here Mbaki Bani as "shrewd, clever but stubborn".
93. Laan, *Ende*, 214.
94. The Decree of the Vatican was signed 20 July 1914; Bishop Luypen announced the transfer to the Catholics of Flores in a letter of 9 September 1914.
95. B.A.G. Vroklage, *Een Held uit de Oost*, Steijl: Soverdi, 1946:156. Vroklage could make use of the diaries of Noyen.
96. Laan, *Ende*, 59. Vroklage, *Een Held uit de Oost*, 148. The Haji had no problems in contacts with Catholic teachers of Flores. Laan, *Ende*, 127 reports, hat the Guru Oessin asked "the Hadji ot Ende" about the fast of Ramadan and was told that a few days off in the beginning and at the end was sufficient.
97. Laan, *Ende*, 109.
98. About the first baptisms, Laan, *Ende*, 21-22. See also the praise by prefect Noyen

- for Controleur Hens and his involvement in the Catholic education of these boys in a letter to his European superiors, Ndona, 20 December 1915, in Laan, *Ende*, 141.
99. Laan, *Ende*, 35-36; Van Suchtelen, *Ende*, 14.
 100. G. Schoorlemmer, *De Katholieke Missiën*, 52 (1926-1927), 9; Van Suchtelen, *Ende*, 14 and 84. A long story on the base of information acquired in 1969 from a retired teacher in Laan, *Ende*, 167.
 101. The celebration is described in Laan, *Ende*, 120. The role of Hens in this case *ibid.* 142.
 102. Laan, *Ende*, 178.
 103. Laan, *Ende*, 217.
 104. On a candidate for Ende, Bernardo: "dien zou ik U.H. Perw. Graag gunnen, al betekent het een groot verlies voor hier en hij daár toch maar voor Slammen staat", Father Baack to Noyen, early 1916, in Laan, *Ende*, 128 and 148.
 105. Laan, *Ende*, 62-66; 72 and 130. Laan, *Ende* 130. See also *Ibid.*, 96-97 about the Protestant preacher R. Meno Radja who was sent to Ende by Resident Maier from Kupang to serve the small Protestant native congregation of Ende. We must remember that different from the Protestant missionary areas like Sumba, the Protestant Church of Timor (as in other places, the *Indische Kerke*) was administered by the government until 1935.
 106. *Claverbond*, 1917:63.
 107. *Claverbond*, 1917:63.
 108. "Ik heb extra veel jongens van Ndona-Ende in de school opgenomen om zodoende de actie van de Mohammedanen te stuiten ... om zo een wal rondom Ende te leggen", Noyen in October 1917, quoted in Laan, *Ende*, 197. The containment of Muslim Ende already had started in 1904, when the sphere of duty of the Raja of Ende, after a revolt, was restricted to the island, and the coastal region until Numba only, Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission*, 157. In 1923 the Raja of Ende, Poea Meno died. His son Hasan was then only ten years old and was sent to Kupang and later Surabaya for his education. A nephew, Boesman Abdoel Rahman, became caretaker in 1925. But Boesman had little authority "because the Endenese are know us troublemakers and also because people know that he is only temporary in his position." *Memorie van Overgave*, E.H. de Nijs, 16 June 1934, ARA 10.39, MMK 344 p. 196.
 109. Van Suchtelen, *Ende*, 172.
 110. Laan, *Ende*, 109 and 133.
 111. Laan, *Ende*, 189.
 112. A. Suntrup, *Chronik van Djopoe*, p. 3
 113. Van Suchtelen to Resident of Kupang, 8 January 1915, cf Dietrich, *Kolonialismus*, 158.
 114. *De Katholieke Missiën*, 51 (1925-6), 22, from the notes by Simon Buis about Islam on Flores.
 115. For this process see Dietrich, *Kolonialismus*, 157-161.
 116. E.H. De Nijs, *Memorie van Overgave*, 16 June 1934, p. 198.
 117. A. Suntrup, *Chronik van Djopoe*, (sic: like the title also the text is a mixture of German and Dutch as is often the case with German priests working in the Dutch colony), copy made by Petrus Laan, p. 24 and 33 (from the SVD archives in Teteringen).
 118. *De Katholieke Missiën*, 59 (1933-4), 113.
 119. Suntrup, *Chronik van Djopoe*, 54 and 58. F. Cornelissen, *Missie-arbeid onder*

- Japanse bezetting*, 19.
120. Examples form Catholic girls marrying Muslim Kapitan in Suntrup, *Chronik van Djopoe*, 13,34, 36, 42. In this chronicle the word "red" is used for Muslims, quite different from later use, when mostly green or white are used as colour for Muslims, while red became associated with Christians or nationalists. A dramatic story of a Catholic girl, who was obliged to marry a rich Muslim (who had lent money to her father) was registered on film by Father Simon Buys in the early 1930s. Later P. Heerkens wrote the novel *Ria Rago* (Eindhoven: Poitersfonds, 1938) based on the story of the movie, which was enormous successful in the Netherlands to attract interest and money for the Flores mission.
 121. The SVD priest Peter Arndt wrote extensively on the Ngada between 1930 and 1963; modern studies are Gregory Forth, *Beneath the Volcano*, Leiden KITLV, 1998; Andrea Katalin Molnar, *Grandchildren of the Gaé Ancestors*, Leiden: KITLV, 2000.
 122. L.Lame Uran, *Dioses Agung Ende*, 126.
 123. Laan, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik*, 1173 and 1180.
 124. About the 26 baptisms of the school in Ruteng see Noyen to Luijpen, 9 December 1915, in Laan, *Verzamelde Brieven*, 15.
 125. W.P. Coolhaas, *Controleur B.B. Herinneringen van een jong bestuursambtenaar in Nederlands-Indië*, Utrecht: HES, 1985, 98. See also Andrea Katalin Molnar, *Grandchildren of the Gaé Ancestors*. Leiden: Kitlv, 2000, pp. 20-23 for the meaning of the house in the traditional structure of the clan. She even questions "whether there is something common to all Austronesian societies which manifests itself in some societies as 'structures' which we label as 'descent', but in other societies manifests itself in structures that appear quite different. ... My material certainly supports a view of the house as the basic unit of Sara Sedu organisation.." (p. 21). For Ngade this structure could be the house, while for other areas of Flores, like Tanah Ai this could be the source (with a reference to E.Douglas Lewis, *People of the Source. The social and ceremonial order of Tanah Wai Brama on Flores*. Dordrecht: Foris, 1988).
 126. Coolhaas, *Controleur B.B.*, 130.
 127. Figures for mid-1935 in *De Katholieke Missiën*
 128. For this section I follow some considerations that also were published in Steenbrink 2000:72-74
 129. Reid, 'Continuity and change in transition to Islam and Christianity', 324. See Robin Horton, 'African Conversion', *Africa* 41 (2) 85-108. Janet Hoskins makes the same observation for Sumba in her 'Entering the bitter house: spirit worship and conversion in West Sumba', in Rita Kipp Smith & Susan Rodgers (eds.), *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987, 136-160.
 130. Reid (ed.) "Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: the Critical Phase, 1550-1650, in A. Reid (ed.) *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era. Trade, Power and Belief*, Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1993, 151-179; quotation from 169-170.
 131. A. Teeuw & D.K. Wyatt, *Hikayat Patani*, The Hague: Martinus Nihoff, 1970, 2 vols. presents on pp. 71-75 the Malay text of the conversion of the ruler of Patani to Islam, because only a Muslim healer, originating from Muslim Pasai could heal him from a skin disease. The king became Muslim "inasmuch as he gave up worshipping idols and eating pork; but apart from that he did not alter a single one of his heathen habits" (English transl. p. 152).
 132. Anthony Reid, 'Continuity and Change in the Austronesian Transition to Islam and Christianity', 314.

Bibliography

References that are given in full in the footnotes are not repeated here.

- ARA *Algemeen Rijksarchief*, State Archives of the Netherlands in The Hague. Most references are to the final reports of colonial officials, *Memorie van Overgave*.
- AJAK *Arsip Keuskupan Agung Jakarta*, Archives of the Archdiocese of Jakarta
- Laan, The compilation of Archival sources, compiled by SVD Brother Petrus Laan, either in the collection *Ende* or *Larantuka*. Both are available from the Archives of the SVD priests in teteringen, The Netherlands.
- Azra, Azyumardi, 2000. "The Race between Islam and Christianity theory revisited. Islamization and Christianization in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, 1530-1670." In *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 7:26-37
- Barnes, Robert Harrison, 1996, *Sea Hunters of Indonesia. Fishers and Weavers of Lamalera*. Oxfork: Clarendon
- Chambert-Loir, Henri, 1999 *Bo 'Sangaji Kai: Catatan Kerajaan Bima*. Jakarta: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient
- Dietrich, Stefan, 'Flores in the nineteenth century; Aspects of Dutch colonialism on a non-profitable island', *Indonesia Circle* 31:39-58.
- 1985 "Religiöse" und "säkularer" Reaktionen gegen die koloniale Verwaltung auf Flores', in: W. Marschall, ed., *Der grosse Archipel; Schweizer ethnologische Forschungen in Indonesien*. Bern. [Ethnologica Helvetica 10.]
- 1989 *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores (1900-1940)*. Hohenschäftlarn: Klaus Renner Verlag.
- Forth, Gregory, 1998 *Beneath the Volcano. Spirit Classification and Cosmology among the Naga of Eastern Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV
- Molnar, 1997 'Christianity and Traditional Religion among the Hoga Sara of West-Central Flores', *Anthropos*, 92:393-408
- Needham, R., 1983. *Sumba and the slave trade*. Canberra [ANU: Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies, Working Paper Series no. 31.]
- Noorduyn, J., 1987. *Bima en Sumbawa*, Dordrecht: Foris/KITLV
- Rouffaer, G.P., 1923. 'Chronologie der Dominikaner-missie op Solor en Flores, vooral poeloe En-de', in B.C.C.M.M. van Suchelen (ed.), *De ruïne van het oud-Portugeesche fort op poeloe Ende (Zuid-Flores)*, pp. 256-60. 's-Gravenhage: Ten Hagen.
- Steenbrink, Karel A., 2000. 'A History of Christianity in Indonesia as an Exercise in Comparative Religion'. In *Documentatieblad voor de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Zending en Overzeese Kerken*, 7:67-78
- 2002 (forthcoming), *Catholic in Indonesia 1808-1942. Vol I: A Modest Recovery*. Leiden: KITLV
- Suchtelen, Bertho Charles, 1921. *Ende (Flores)*. Weltevreden: Papyrus

Karel Steenbrink is a researcher at IIMO, Department of Religion of Utrecht University.