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WORLD VIEWS IN TRANSITION:

A study of the contours of world views of Christian Communities in Eastern Indonesia with particular reference to the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai and the implications of changing and transitional world views for the life and witness of the Christian community.

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ABSTRACT.

The focus of this thesis is the *Gereja Kristen di Luwuk-Banggai* [GKLB or Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai], a Christian Synod in Eastern Indonesia.

This study is the result of ten years of participant observation, living and working in Luwuk-Banggai. Observed data has been compared and contrasted with monographs on culturally similar ethnic groups both in Indonesia and in Malaysia.

Life in the Sultanate of Banggai has been reviewed from the twelfth century onwards. The world views of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai are seen to be the result of the interaction of four great traditions: local religion, the national Indonesian world view as portrayed in the *Pancasila*, the formalised doctrines of Christianity, and the forces and philosophy of modernity.

Members of the GKLB recognise that they are facing a complex of problems, and have identified the following:

a. Ethnocentricism;
b. Economic problems;
c. Problems concerned with the interaction of local religions with modern society.

These problems are all related to the concepts of *World View* and *World Views in Transition* and are discussed in *Missiological Concerns* where present patterns of overt behaviour in the Christian community are described and analysed as indicators of world view themes. Life in community is seen to be a major cultural theme and the concept of worship is analysed within the context of *Tuhan Mahaesa* [the one True
Lord] of the National Philosophy. The challenge of replacing "imported" forms of worship with relevant Indonesian forms of worship is addressed while an investigation of the role of the shaman raises the question of the validity of "shamanized" Christianity. Problems that have resulted from the interaction of a variety of historical factors and have resulted in the GKLB functioning as a bureaucracy and not as a serving faith community are analysed. By way of contrast, successful holistic ministry that accords with national development is appraised. Responses of the GKLB in each of these situations are examined. They are then compared and contrasted with the responses of other Christian communities in the Two Thirds World.

Finally, the variety of world views in transition in Luwuk-Banggai is recognised. Challenges facing the GKLB in terms of world views in transition are recognised. These include: the challenge of Christian identity in traditional cultures; the challenge of Christian value transformation within the framework of the Pancasila; and finally the challenge of a call to creative maturity.
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PART ONE.
INTRODUCTION.

In Chapter 1, the Gereja Kristen di Luwuk-Banggai (GKLB or Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai), a Christian Synod in Eastern Indonesia is introduced. The national, geographical, historical, social, and religious contexts which interact and shape the world views of the Christian communities are also introduced. These contexts will be described and evaluated in PART TWO.

Members of the GKLB recognise that they are facing a complex of problems, and the following have been identified:

A. *Sukuisme* or ethnocentricism;
B. Economic problems;
C. Problems concerned with the interaction of local religions with modern society.

These problems are all related to the concepts of *World View* and *World Views in Transition* and will be discussed and analysed in PART THREE.

Chapter 2 looks at the background of the thesis in terms of a period of over ten years residence in Luwuk, living with an Indonesian family. The methodology used in the participation observation that is basic to this thesis is described and the reason for claiming the originality of this thesis is given.

Chapters 3 and 4 are concerned with establishing the theoretical foundations on which this thesis will be built. Various theories of *World View* are discussed in Chapter 2 and theories concerning *Local Religions* are discussed in Chapter 3.
I THE CHURCH.

The Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai is situated in one of the most remote areas in the world, on the island of Sulawesi in the archipelago nation of Indonesia. Established at the beginning of the twentieth century as a product of Dutch colonialism, the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai [GKL for Gereja Kristen di Luwuk Banggai] has grown into an autonomous Synod with membership in the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches. Today there are 216 congregations and in excess of 70,000 members in the GKL. Most congregations are in rural areas, some on the mainland and others in very remote areas on Peling, Banggai and other islands. (See Appendix 1: Map 3.)

The church was planted in the soil where local religions had flourished for millennia past. Unlike most other areas in Indonesia, there was no evangelism nor teaching prior to the first baptisms (Kruyt 1977:196). Many of today's leaders are embarrassed over the unusual beginning of the GKL but one Luwuk Christian scholar, Zakeus Tolombot describes these early baptisms as "fencing people in so that they could be evangelised". Legally those baptised were recognised as being Christian and could not be proselytised by Muslims (1986:47).

Indonesia is a religious country. Its national philosophy is the Pancasila and the basis of the Pancasila is Divine Omnipotence (Sidjabat 1982:26-27). In practice this means that all Indonesians are required by law to belong to a legally approved religion. The Department of Religion defines a religion in terms of possessing Holy Scriptures, a Prophet, the principle of One Lordship [Ketuhanan Yang Mahaesa], and a system of law for its followers. In these terms Islam,
Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, and Buddhism are constitutionally approved religions (Darmaputera 1988a:84).

The city of Luwuk reflects the national religious character with the domes of mosques and the spires of churches dominating the skyline. Three of these are the spires of GKLB Churches. In these town churches a significant proportion of members are public servants from other areas of Indonesia, particularly Manado, Poso and Ambon. (See Appendix 1: Map 5.) There is also a growing number of Indonesian Chinese in GKLB Churches.

The Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai is in the Reformed tradition. After initial baptisms by Dutch clergy, the young church was nurtured and pastored by teacher-evangelists from other Dutch Reformed Churches, particularly from Ambon in Maluku and from Manado in Northern Sulawesi (Tolombot 1986:40-42). Officially the teacher-evangelists brought Dutch Reformed forms of worship, church organisation and doctrine. However, they also brought a form of Christianity that had been interpreted through a Manadonese or an Ambonese world view, and, while rigidly following Dutch religious forms, the Christianity that they brought was imbued with Ambonese and Manadonese cultural meanings and world views (van den End 1988:65-79). Thus today the GKLB adheres to Dutch-Reformed Covenant Theology with a conservative style of liturgical worship but interpreted within the cultural context and world view of Eastern Indonesia.

According to the 1988 statistics just under a quarter of the population of 334,851 people living in the Luwuk-Banggai area are Christians (Kantor Statistik 1988:29 & 76). This is a considerably higher proportion of Christians than the national average where less than 7% of the population are Christians. Over the years there has been continuing dialogue between the various religious groups. At one
end of the continuum are the Islamic fundamentalists who want Indonesia to become an Islamic State under Islamic law. At the other end of the continuum are those who strive for unity and harmony between the various groups: Muslims, both moderates and mystics; Christians; Hindus; and Buddhists. With the development of the Pancasila\(^1\) a level of harmony and religious tolerance has been achieved between such diverse groups (Sidjabat 1982:25). Most Christians support the Pancasila and from the time of its inception have played an active role in its formulation, interpretation and application (Simatupang 1986:11).

At the national level, Christian leaders have taken a responsible role in striving for ideological harmony and they have endeavoured to define Christian theology in terms that are meaningful within the context of the Pancasila. At the 1971 General Synod of the Indonesian Council of Churches the task of the Indonesian Church was defined as follows:

The Mission of the Church is to proclaim the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. The problem is understanding what is meant by the "Gospel". This Synod defines the Gospel as the Good News of renewal and repentance that is offered to all people, together with justice, peace, and social well-being, or simply "shalom", in accordance with God's will for the earth. With this definition, the Indonesian Churches reject an imported dichotomy between evangelism and social involvement (Simatupang 1986:14).

Since then there has been an on-going process of seeking to understand Christian theology in terms of the Pancasila and stated belief in divine omnipotence. According to Sidjabat, Indonesian

\(^{1}\) The Pancasila (See Appendix 2) is basic to life in modern Indonesia and consequently it will be a recurring theme throughout this thesis.
theologians have struggled with the understanding of *Tuhan Mahaesa* [the One Lordship of the *Pancasila*) by affirming Christian belief in terms of the "Apostolic Creed" (1982:94). In the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai, the regular confession of faith in the words of the "Apostolic Creed" is usually prefaced with the expression: "together with Christians in every place and in every age, let us confess our faith in the words of the Apostles' Creed" (GKL 1988:4). We will therefore look briefly at the Christian Church of Luwuk Banggai in its geographical context, i.e. "in place" and in its historical context, i.e. "in every age".

II THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT.

The *Kabupaten [Sub-province]* of Banggai is on the island of Sulawesi in Eastern Indonesia and covers the area that was formerly the Sultanate of Banggai. Its capital was formerly the town of Banggai on Banggai Island but is now the town of Luwuk on the mainland. (See Appendix 1: Maps 2 & 3.) The contorted coastline of Sulawesi means that it is one of the most fantastically shaped islands in the world, sometimes being described as an "orchid hanging on the equator" or a "squashed octopus" (Muller & Acciaoili 1990:15). Not only is the coastline twisted, but cliffs rise almost vertically out of the sea, while inland the ranges and mountains have limited contact between groups.

*Kabupaten* Banggai is in Central Sulawesi and has been endowed with neither flat arable land nor rich volcanic soil and to date no mineral resources have developed into economically viable enterprises. Writing on economic development in the whole Province of Central Sulawesi, Makaliwe-Watupongoh describes a province with one of the lowest per capita incomes in Indonesia, but one where significant economic growth is taking place. The remoteness of *Kabupaten*
Banggai can be inferred by the fact that this analysis of economic growth makes no reference to Banggai (1989:511-527).

Nevertheless, there has been significant economic growth in Kabupaten Banggai. During the days of Dutch colonialism the coconut plantation industry was established and has continued, partly in the hands of Chinese entrepreneurs and partly in the hands of Luwuk-Banggai people. In the mid 1980s a large copra processing plant was established in Luwuk. In December 1993, the Governor of the Province opened three large economic ventures in Kabupaten Banggai. One was a huge modern tapioca factory established in virgin forest - the biggest such venture in Eastern Indonesia. The others were a cultured pearl project and an enterprise for catching and exporting live fish to Japan.

There are three ethnic groups living in Kabupaten Banggai. The Saluan and Balantak speakers live on the mainland and the Banggai speakers live on Peling and Banggai Islands as well as a score of other inhabited islands. These three language groups regard themselves as a unified group, regarding all non-Luwuk-Banggai people as outsiders.

Luwuk is 608 kilometres from Palu, the Capital of the Province. Despite the isolation and poverty of Central Sulawesi, Palu is now one of the fastest growing cities in the Republic. This is largely the result of the present government policy for accelerated development in Eastern Indonesia. In this the church is encouraged to work with the government to achieve national aims (Soleman 1991:5).

Until recently the rugged terrain meant that communications within the Province were limited to overland trekking or long sea trips around the coast. This has now changed. The Trans-Sulawesi Highway runs for several thousand kilometres from Ujung Pandang in the south-west to Manado in the north-east. This is a first class,
world standard road crossing the mountainous spine of the island. The final 400 kilometres that will upgrade the link road into Luwuk is at present under construction. For the last five years mini-buses have been regularly making the trip from Luwuk to Palu, and for the last three years from Luwuk to Ujung Pandang. This means there is a constant stream of students travelling between the universities and other educational institutions in Palu, Manado and Ujung Pandang, while public servants and their families travel the road in both directions for their annual leave when almost everyone goes "home".

However of equal importance in linking Luwuk-Banggai with the rest of the nation is the sea. Over 13,500 islands are spread along the equator for 3,400 miles (Darmaputera 1988a:20; Peacock 1973:1). They range from tiny coral atolls, to the crowded islands of Java and Bali, to the large and comparatively underpopulated islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Irian Jaya. For coastal Indonesians the sea joins people together, having always been the "great highway" that has brought trade, new ideas, and change (Geertz 1963:96). The Banggai Islands face the Maluku Sea and for several hundred years the Sultans of Banggai were vassals under the suzerainty of the powerful Sultans of Ternate. This led to new concepts of patriotism, and pride in a common heritage and eventually to the acceptance of the "new" and powerful religion of Islam (Soelarto n.d.:44; Chapter 6:65).

In the early days of Independence, coastal shipping in Indonesia was slow, inefficient and dangerous. The massive tragedy of the sinking of the passenger vessel Tampomas II in 1981 led to the death of over 1000 passengers. This tragedy motivated the Indonesian Government to establish an ever-growing fleet of large, safe, modern passenger ships to ply the waters of the archipelago. Ships carrying between one and two thousand passengers now regularly visit the
ports of both Luwuk and Banggai: so once more the seas are bringing the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai into a vast, vital network of people, commerce and ideas. Modern shipping, together with the Trans-Sulawesi Highway, is exposing more and more people from Luwuk-Banggai to the modern world of the modern nation of Indonesia and consequently modernity is challenging the traditional world views of almost every person living in the area.

III THE HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT.

Because of the importance of the past in shaping the world view of the present, the history of the Sultanate, later to become Kabupaten Banggai will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 7.

Throughout Indonesia the twentieth century has been a time of political turmoil. The beginning of the century saw the Sultanate of Banggai brought under Dutch colonial power whilst throughout the country the independence movement was coming into being and growing in momentum. 1941-1945 saw the Japanese occupation, with Luwuk as a Japanese base. This was a bitter period for the people of Luwuk-Banggai, their own historians stating that the Japanese occupation "meant subjugation and persecution" (Proyek 1977/1978b:156).

Following the end of the Pacific War, on the seventeenth of August 1945, Sukarno, the charismatic leader of the independence movement, and Mohammed Hatta, the intellectual planner of the movement, proclaimed Indonesian Independence. Almost twenty years of freedom fighting and civil war marred the new independence until an attempted coup led to the end of the President Sukarno regime and ushered in the "New Order" under President Suharto (Chapter 7:87). The post independence period has increasingly welded a vast, socially and religiously diverse archipelago into a unified state whose unity
and diversity are recognised in the nation's motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, [Unity in Diversity].

The coming of the Christian Church to Luwuk-Banggai is discussed in Chapter 10. Christians in Luwuk-Banggai often speak of *beban sejarah*, [burdens that have resulted from historical factors]. Some of these come from the fact that the Christian Church entered Luwuk-Banggai during the days of Dutch domination. This means that Christianity has often been perceived as a Western religion (Tolombot 1986:45). Furthermore, because of their association with the Dutch, clergy were perceived as Dutch civil servants dependent on foreign finance. These problems are not unique to the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai, and indeed the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches is encouraging all Churches to separate themselves from financial and emotional dependence on Western agencies (Hartono 1990:17).

IV PROBLEMS IDENTIFIED.

Over the last twelve years at conferences of the GKLB [Christian Church of Luwuk Banggai] certain complexes of problems have been frequently voiced. The first group is concerned with *sukuisme* [ethnocentricism] and consequent divisions within the church; the second with economics and church finances; and the third with the effects of change in traditional societies.

A. *Sukuisme* [Ethnocentricism].

At the time of writing the GKLB appears to be splitting² with a significant number of leaders and members on Peling and Banggai Islands wanting to secede and form a new Synod. Their stated

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² This was not the case at the time of submitting the proposal for this thesis. Certainly the seeds for the division were there, but it had not reached the present point of recognised crisis.
reasons for this are, firstly, that the Banggai people are different from the Saluan people who are at present dominating the Synod, and, secondly, there are accusations of corruption. The Banggai speakers have approached the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches and formally requested that they be recognised as a new Synod catering for the Island peoples. However, those in power, including the Banggai-speaking Moderator of the Synod, responded by appealing to the civil court in Luwuk which ruled that the action of the Banggai speakers was disruptive to national unity. Subsequently all those involved were excommunicated from the GKLB, including a group of ordained clergy. They have ignored the ban on their ministry and are continuing to minister. They have also sought legal advice and are now appealing to the higher provincial court.

The problem of *sukuisme* is a national problem, not just a Luwuk-Banggai one. As a nation, Indonesia stresses "Unity in Diversity." However, despite the oft-repeated slogan "One People, One Nation, One Language", throughout the Archipelago ethnic differences are acute. Some western authorities suggest that unity is only maintained because of the domination by the Javanese controlled army (e.g. Dalton 1992:19; Watson 1987:39 & 55).

Certainly in Luwuk-Banggai there is a difference between the aspiration expressed in the national credo and the attitudes displayed in daily living. Although the Balantak, Saluan and Banggai speakers see themselves as brothers, there is intense rivalry between them for the status of "Elder Brother". This rivalry affects every area of life in the Kabupaten. The present Bupati [Regent] is a Bugis man from Southern Sulawesi. He was appointed because the community leaders were unable to agree about the suitability of the many well-qualified local men. Such ethnic rivalry is apparent in the possible split in the GKLB. This is not a unique problem as there are at present several
Indonesian Church Synods that may yet divide in accordance with ethnic divisions. This represents a challenge that the Indonesian Church needs to face (Hartono 1990:15).

Mochtar Lubis, well-known critic of his own culture, suggests that problems such as overt disunity stem from centuries of feudalism that have oppressed and suppressed most Indonesians. As an oppressed people many Indonesians have learned to become hypocritical, pretending to accept what they do not believe to please their overlords (1991:17). Hence there is a vast difference between the planned unity of Pancasila and the lack of unity seen in everyday life. The present discord and sukuisme seen in Luwuk-Banggai not only denies the national ethic, but it also contradicts the teaching of both Islam and Christianity. Both religions believe in "Brotherhood" or "Fellowship" that transcends race and ethnic group. The consequent ethnocentricism is a manifestation of the traditional world view which sharply divides any people group into self and other.

Meanwhile centuries of feudalism seen first in the Sultans, and then in the Dutch Colonial structures have developed a people that allows itself to be suppressed and oppressed. These are aspects of world view that need to be challenged by the Indonesian Church and will be returned to in Chapter 15 on The GKLB as a Bureaucracy.

B. Economic Problems.

Unquestionably Luwuk-Banggai is a poor area. Yet it does not suffer from the abject poverty that is associated with some areas in Java. Food costs are comparatively low, as most food can be produced locally. However, in terms of capital and social development, the whole province is dependent on external finance (Makaliwe-Watupongoh 1989:515).

This has had two important influences on church life: one
positive, the other negative. Firstly the GKLB has developed holistic ministries and has played a crucial role in social and economic development. In Kabupaten Banggai the church has played a significant role in education, and to a lesser extent in medical services (See Chapter 16). However, in recent years most of these services have been handed over to the government because of the government's access to financial resources and consequent ability to provide better schools and health services. In terms of developmental ministry the GKLB is at present helping many people to upgrade their standard of living and to widen their aspirations. This is partly done through the presence of village motivators who live in villages and demonstrate a healthy Christian lifestyle. Such projects are funded from outside Indonesia by overseas development agencies. Ways in which the GKLB is facing the challenges of an economically depressed area will be returned to in Chapter 16 on The Work and Witness of the Church in the Community.

However there is a negative side to the way the GKLB is dealing with the problems that stem from economic backwardness and impecuniosity. Discussions about church finances dominate all church meetings. In 1982 a new synod executive was appointed and given the mandate to find sufficient funds for the running of the synod office. There was no reference to activities such as nurturing church members, witnessing or service.

This is another example of a beban sejarah. In the 1930s the Indonesian Protestant Church was in the anomalous position of being a State Church in a Muslim Nation. Even after the official separation of church and state, Dutch clergy and Indonesian church workers were paid by the Dutch government. As a result a level of education and a style of life developed for Indonesian clergy and other church workers that was dependent on overseas finances. In Luwuk-Banggai, it is
impossible for village people to support clergy to the extent that they can enjoy the standard of living to which they aspire. Consequently the church is caught in a vicious circle. Many church workers do not feel that they receive remuneration in keeping with their education, so there are those who make little effort to minister in village situations. Many village people in turn respond by refusing to give to the church. Thus an impasse has developed that for the last decade has been insurmountable. There are significant grants from various overseas sources but these are designated for different projects. The frequent discussions on church finances often lead to allegations of corruption and misappropriation of this aid money and such discussions give rise to mutual distrust and bitterness between different groups in the GKLB. This problem has been linked to the problem of ethnocentricism as while the Banggai speakers were in power, the Saluan speakers accused them of misappropriation of church funds. Now the reverse is happening. In the frequent court cases on alleged corruption there has never been any conclusive evidence that has led to a police conviction. This negative response to the challenges that stem from people being economically disadvantaged will be included in the discussion on The GKLB as a Bureaucracy in Chapter 15.

C. Problems stemming from Local Religions.

i Perceived Syncretism.

It has been suggested that the so-called high religions of Christianity and Islam have little relevance in people's daily life (e.g. Hiebert 1982:35-47) and certainly throughout Indonesia we see a mixture of elements from local religion overlaid with elements from either Islam or Christianity. This is a process that has been happening throughout Indonesia for centuries where:
Historically speaking we have the remarkable resilience of Indonesian cultures towards foreign cultural elements, which they neither rejected nor simply adopted, but Indonesianized, and therefore integrated into the indigenous cultures (Josselin de Jong 1984:2).

These new cultural elements are then fitted into existing categories of world view (Sutherland 1980:231) creating not classic Islamic, Christian or modern world views but world views in transition. With such world views people can believe in either the Allah of Islam or the God of Christianity as Tuhan Mahaesa while still depending on a whole pantheon of supra-cultural beings.

Such world views, for a variety of reasons are perceived as being syncretistic and the perceived syncretism is considered a major problem in the GKLB. In a survey conducted in 1991 a significant proportion of respondents in Luwuk-Banggai listed the influence of traditional religion as a major hindrance to the work and witness of the church. Because of the importance of understanding the inter-relationship between Christianity and local religions, Chapter 4 will deal with the characteristics of local religions and Chapter 8 will describe the manifestations of local religion in Luwuk-Banggai.

ii Changing Moral Standards.

Like most Malays, the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai have always been bound by a strict moral code. Older church leaders claim that with the impact of modernity and with new levels of mobility they have lost control of the young. More than half of the Luwuk brides married in Christian Churches are already pregnant, many couples deliberately choosing this method to force their parents to acquiesce to the union. The church blesses such unions in the formal marriage

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3 See Chapter 2:21 for an explanation of this questionnaire.
ceremonies and therefore is perceived as undermining the moral code of local religions. This claimed problem is, however, neither new nor unique. Kruyt described marriage by elopement among the Balantak speakers seventy years ago (1933:59-60) while similar problems have been documented among the Bugis of Southern Sulawesi and in both the Ambonese and Batak Christian communities (Koentjaraningrat 1975b:94; Cooley 1962:21-26; Sherman 1990:77). The issue of marriage and changing moral standards will be examined in the context of the Christian Community (Chapter 12:168).

V THE CHALLENGE OF TRANSFORMING THE WORLD VIEW.

The above discussion has introduced the concept of world view. Many factors have interacted to form the world view of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai and today there is a new world view. It is not the world view of the old tribal society; nor the ideal world view of the Pancasila; nor the world view of either orthodox Islam or Christianity. It is a world view in transition or a local world view, and the challenge facing the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai is to bring the Gospel to people with this world view and maybe to transform their world view (Kraft 1979:360-381). American Jesuit scholar, Robert J. Schreiter, speaks of the importance of constructing "local theologies" that are free from paternalism and foreign ideas. To this end he advocates "listening to a culture". Through a sensitive appreciation of any culture, whether traditional, transitional or modern, new ideas, including the Christian Gospel, can be introduced. World views can be challenged so that the quality of life of members of that culture can be enhanced or transformed in terms of community hopes and expectations (Schreiter 1986:39-49).

Despite political and ideological unrest and ferment, the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai has developed and grown. Today there are
leaders who realise that if the GKLB is to survive as a minority group in a predominantly Muslim culture, the GKLB must face seriously the challenge of presenting the Gospel so that it speaks to people with the present world view in transition. Such leaders desire to recognise the place of local religion as the foundation of the present belief system; to understand the geographical environment that has resulted in a fairly simple subsistence economy; to comprehend the historical and political factors that have shaped the present; and to be ready for the challenge of modernity which has been described as "the single greatest opportunity and the single greatest threat that the church of Christ has faced since apostolic times" (Guinness 1989:283).

Thus the challenge facing the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai is recognising the task of communicating the Gospel of Jesus Christ so that it will be understood by people in Luwuk-Banggai with their present world views in transition. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to describe the present world views of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai and to posit a synthesis which recognises the basic components in these world views. The implications of world views in transition for the life and witness of the Christian community will then be reviewed in the context of the life and witness of the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai.
CHAPTER 2.

METHODOLOGY AND ORIGINALITY.

I COLLECTION OF INFORMATION.

Having lived and worked in the town of Luwuk in Kabupaten Banggai for ten years, I have had unique opportunities to observe the present culture and world views of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai. During that time I was the only Westerner in the town and lived with the family of Rev. Albert Haurissa, the son of Ambonese teacher-evangelists, his Minahasan wife, Rev. Detty Haurissa-Kani; and their three children. As with Minahasan culture (cf. Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:72), in Luwuk-Banggai it is possible for an independent adult to "share the same hearth" in the rumah tangga or slightly extended nuclear family.\(^2\)

During this time, I worked with the GKLB [Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai] as a member of the Pembinaan Team.\(^3\) This team consisted of a leader who was always an ordained clergyman from the GKLB and other members from within the GKLB or associated churches.\(^4\) The Pembinaan team travelled extensively around the twelve Church districts to encourage and "build up" individuals and congregations in the Christian faith and in a Christian life-style. During this time I stayed in approximately one hundred different villages and experienced local travel conditions as we walked or travelled on motor bikes, public mini-buses, small inter-island ships, or canoes.

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1 See Chapter 10:127 for the role of Ambonese teacher-evangelists in Luwuk-Banggai.


3 See Chapter 16:288-289 for an explanation of Pembinaan.

4 As well as myself, for some years there was a team member from the adjacent GKST [Poso Church].
I arrived in Luwuk with a background of Missiology. In many ways I was accorded "insider" status and, therefore, initially I felt that as it was inappropriate to overtly study the culture. However, an event in 1987 changed that misconception. The Pembinaan Team was leading seminars in a village where we experienced a clash between formal Indonesian culture and the culture of that particular village. In terms of Indonesian culture I was publicly insulted. As a visitor and a seminar leader, I should have been served tea first. However, the village ladies who were serving deliberately passed me and did not serve me until all the male participants had been served. I would have forgotten the incident but the team leader, Rev. Freddy Aturut, was deeply shamed and very angry. Apologising to me, he claimed that these attitudes to women did not accord with the traditional culture of that area. Aturut referred to Kruyt who had observed the high status of women and their traditional role as priestesses in the adjacent Poso area (1977:43) and then suggested that such attitudes represented an interaction between a local interpretation of some of Paul's teaching and Islamic teaching (cf. Winstedt 1925:42). During our stay in that village, we were increasingly aware that we were with a congregation that was declining numerically and beset by problems. This led Aturut to express his desire to study the Sociology of Religion in order to come to a greater understanding of problems that were not only impeding church growth but leading to both quantitative and qualitative regression. He then urged me to use the training that I already had to study the GKLB, not confining such a study to either women's issues or one particular congregation, but focussing as widely as possible on the

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5 This was a most unusual incident. Hence Aturut's reactions. Normally I was received with a level of honour and respect that was embarrassing. In most Indonesian situations, all professional women are respected.
whole GKLB. Aturut then suggested that this was where I could make my greatest contribution to the GKLB.  

II THE VALIDITY OF SUCH A STUDY.

It is recognised that the methodology of almost any ethnographic study will be criticised by some other ethnographer. In an essay entitled *Anthropologists and Missionaries: Brothers under the Skin*, van der Geest (1990) discusses the well-known differences and similarities between anthropologists and missionaries, both in terms of the basic world views that inspire the ethnographies that they may write and in their methodologies. Nevertheless, he concludes that the prolonged stay of the missionary means that he or she is more likely to view a culture from within (1990:593), to be fluent in the language and to be integrated into the community (1990:595). Consequently, van der Geest suggests "that the fact that they (missionaries) hold out so long makes their perspective on the society more 'realistic'" (1990:396).

As the only Westerner in the town of Luwuk, of necessity I became part of the Christian community, with a recognised place in that community and numbered among the church leaders. As a member of the Pembinaan Team, I actively supported and taught in accord with GKLb policies. Increasingly, I viewed many issues from an Indonesian Protestant perspective rather than a Western perspective.

I am fluent in Indonesian - the language of the Haurissa household and of the Church but I do not speak any of the local languages. This means that this thesis may reflect the bias of the

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6 Aturut has already completed his doktorandus degree (equivalent to an MA) in the sociology of religion.

7 Chapter 8:92-93 identifies and annotates some of the problems experienced in describing and defining local religions.
world view of members of the educated elite who use Indonesian as a first language rather than the world view of village Christians who use Indonesian as a second language. However, as Atkinson points out, every description of a world view is a "creation of the interpretive encounter" (Atkinson 1987:171).

III METHODOLOGY.

A. Observation.

My situation cast me into the role of a participant observer. Using methods that are advocated and elucidated by Kirk and Miller (1986) and Spradley (1979; 1980), I began to observe and record observable data in social situations. I then questioned village people, community leaders and church leaders who were in a position to comment on those situations. The main focus of such observations was on the forms and meanings of present religious activities - both formal and informal, public and hidden. At that stage such observations were not analysed as indicators of world view.

My role as a participant observer was often obstructed both by my perceived role as a leader of the GKLB and also by the recognition of the fact that there was conflict in my obvious "insider-outsider" status. For example, in Chapter 8 a situation is described where it was necessary to make a feast to placate angry ancestors (8:99). However, according to traditional beliefs, this feast would have been invalidated had I, or any other church leader, been present. In such situations, perceived "insider" status as a leader of the GKLB precluded observations of traditional religious activities that the GKLB condemns.

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8 Probably my status could best be described with the term used by Dr. John Steward of World Vision: an "alongside" (1994:6).
At the end of 1992, after a year of writing and library research, I was able to return to Luwuk for six weeks, for further observation and to talk with recognised community leaders.

B. The Questionnaire.

In 1991 the Pembinaan Team designed and distributed a questionnaire that would assist in understanding the needs and aspirations of the Christian community so that the Pembinaan Commission could plan appropriately for the future. Questions and methodology were partly based on a similar study conducted from 1971 to 1979 by the Indonesian Council of Churches (Institut Oikoumene 1981). Similar multi-choice questions were framed as well as new ones which were directly related to the situation in Luwuk-Banggai. The questionnaire was then distributed to a stratified sample of 240 people from all areas of Luwuk-Banggai.

This questionnaire was not always distributed in accord with the wishes of those who compiled it and there were insufficient controls to classify this document as quantitatively valid. Nevertheless, in terms of Kirk and Miller's defence of the reliability of qualitative research, the questionnaire has made religious ideas of a large sector of the Christian population accessible to others (1986:13); and these ideas are reported in meaningful terms (1986:14). This questionnaire will be referred to from time to time and a translation is included as Appendix 3.

C. Comparison.

i Ethnographies and Monographs.

Where possible observable data was compared with ethnographies and monographs about other Malay cultures. According to leading
Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat, there is a level of homogeneity between Malay cultures that makes comparisons and contrasts valid (1975b:55). There has been a considerable amount of research on the neighbouring "Toraja" peoples. These include Kruyt's five volume work in Dutch, *De West Toraja's op Midden Celebes*, (1938) on the Poso area. Because of the importance of this work to the entire Christian community in Indonesia, an abridged translation, *Keluar dari Agama Suku: Masuk Agama Kristen* (1976) has been published.

The small amount of research on Luwuk-Banggai peoples includes a study by Goedhart in Dutch in 1908 (Koentjaraningrat 1967:401); an article by Kruyt on the Balantak people and published in Dutch in 1933; and some recent, as yet unpublished studies on the Balantak people by Busenitz (1989). Rev. Zakeus Tolombot (1986), one of the younger leaders of the GKLB wrote his SmTh [BA level] thesis on the contact between local religion in Luwuk-Banggai and the Gospel, while in the mid 1970s the Indonesian Government organised a special project to describe the traditional cultures of the whole Province of Sulawesi. This resulted in an official government document *Adat Istiadat Daerah Sulawesi Tengah [Culture in Central Sulawesi]* (Proyek 1977/78a). This was compiled by older men who were usually public servants and so viewed traditional cultures through the official world view of the *Pancasila*. These works will be referred to from time to time.

As the GKLB is a member of the PGI, Indonesian Fellowship [formerly Council] of Churches, there will be constant reference made to

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9 Early Dutch authorities used the term Toraja for all inland mountain peoples in Sulawesi. However present Indonesian usage, limits its usage to the Sa'adon Toraja of the Makale and Rantapao areas (Proyek 1982/83:20).
Indonesian Protestant theologians. Some references will also be made to theologians from the Evangelical or Fundamental Churches and Catholic Churches.

Western theologians, including Verkuyl (1978:267) and Oosthuizen (1958:191), recognise the worth and relevance of the writings of Indonesian theologians and leaders both as Biblical expositors and those who have realistically faced the challenge of Christianity in the nation of Indonesia. Three groups of these will be referred to in this thesis.

The first group is represented by the late Dr. T.B. Simatupang. As an army general who played a significant role in the War of Independence, Simatupang was one of the founding fathers of the independent Nation of Indonesia. Simatupang was a prolific writer and subsequently became "the most influential lay theologian in Indonesia" (Verkuyl 1978:268). For many years he was President of the DGI/PGI and, until his death in 1990, one of their main advisers.

The second group is represented by the present leaders who obtained their doctorates overseas with studies related to the relationship between the church, the state and the Pancasila. These include Dr. Eka Darmaputera and Dr. Walter Bonar Sidjabat. These men are recognised Protestant theologians and Darmaputra's many books influence theology throughout Indonesia. These men played a vital part

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10 In Indonesia there is an unofficial tendency to confine the use of the word Protestant to Churches that are members of the PGI and in the Reformed or Lutheran Traditions. However this is not official as Fundamental groups including Baptists and Pentecostals are also under the control of the Protestant section of the Department of Religion and some are members of the PGI.

11 Verkuyl believes that the Western Church is impoverished because of lack of access to many fine Indonesian theological works that are only written in Indonesian.

12 See Chapter 7 for the history of the Independence movement and the development of the Pancasila.
in the formulation of the Five Documents of Truth at the PGI Conference in Ambon in 1984.\textsuperscript{13}

The third group is represented by Dr. I. Wayan Mastra who is internationally recognised for his work in contextualisation. Mastra himself infers that Balinese culture is significantly different from other Indonesian cultures. However, in Chapter 13 it is argued that the Balinese culture is a living example of the hidden culture that is the root from which the present Islamic and Christian cultures throughout Indonesia have grown (Chapter 13:192–193). Therefore, Mastra’s thinking has relevance for the whole Indonesian Archipelago. This is particularly so in Luwuk-Banggai where the GKLB is benefiting through the holistic ministry of the Balinese Church (Chapter 16:290ff).

\textbf{iii Theologians from the Two Thirds World.}\textsuperscript{14}

Where possible, preference is given to the discussion of theologians, philosophers and missiologists from the Two Thirds World rather than to the discussion of the missiologists from the Western World. Asian theologians including Dr. Vinay Samuel and Dr. David Kwang-sun Suh have addressed similar problems in other areas of Asia: for example in seeking to communicate the Gospel in the context of poverty (Samuel 1981) or in the "soil" of animism\textsuperscript{15} (Suh 1992).

The work of African theologians, including Dr. John Mbiti and Dr. Kwame Bediako, will also be referred to. Mbiti could well be called

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\textsuperscript{13} See Chapter 10:134–135 for a brief description of this important conference and a summary of the \textit{Five Documents of Truth}.

\textsuperscript{14} In keeping with Samuel and Sugden (1983), the term the \textit{Two Thirds World} will be used for the two thirds of the world's population who live in contexts of poverty and powerlessness.

\textsuperscript{15} The term \textit{animism} is rarely used in this thesis because of possible pejorative inferences. See the full discussion of this in Chapter 4.
\end{flushleft}
the precursor of the movement that recognises God's presence in traditional religions and the crucial role that this has played in the growth of Christianity in areas of local religion. Meanwhile, Bediako has demonstrated the parallels between the spread of the Gospel in the patristic period and the spread of the Gospel in Africa today (1992:8). He demonstrates how Christian identity developed as Christianity confronted the Graeco-Roman world (1992:18-31). His challenge to the African Church to recognise their own Christian identity is equally a call to the Indonesian Church to struggle with problems of self understanding in the context of both Indonesian local religions and the Pancasila.

IV ORIGINALLITY.

As has been stated above, research on the cultures of three ethnic groups in Luwuk-Banggai either individually or collectively has been minimal. Furthermore, there have been few studies written on world views of living Christian communities anywhere in the world. Peel's study of some of the Independent, Charismatic Churches in Africa (1968) is a similar type of study as is Frank Cooley's PhD thesis, *Altar and Throne in Central Moluccan Society* (1961).

However, until now, no serious study of the interaction between traditional belief systems and any Church Synod on the Island of Sulawesi in Indonesia has ever been undertaken. Hence the claims to the originality of this thesis.
CHAPTER 3.
THE CONCEPT OF WORLD VIEW.

I WORLD VIEW AS
A "CULTURAL LENS" THROUGH WHICH PEOPLE PERCEIVE REALITY.

Chapter 1 ended with the challenge facing the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai; namely to communicate the Gospel in a way that can be readily and accurately understood by the people of the area. For this communication to be effective, present world views in transition need to be defined and described. However to date no serious study has ever been made on the world views of any Christian community on the Island of Sulawesi (Chapter 2:25).

The term world view is becoming increasingly popular. This is illustrated by publications that include *Malaysian World View*, (Osman 1985) in which Malaysian scholars analyse their own world views. In this publication, Ngah describes the present Malaysian world view and concludes that the "Islamic world-view of the Malays is identical with the world-view of other Muslims in principle" (1985:36). Through this statement, Ngah demonstrates the fact that one's own world view determines the way any situation is perceived. Many would describe the Malaysian world view with its heterodox elements as being syncretistic or dualistic. However, Ngah is both a Muslim and a Malay. Hence the two world views become for him a unified whole and he can accept the Malaysian world view as being the normal Islamic world view.

In the 1950s, Robert Redfield began to popularise the term *world view* to describe the most persistent characteristics of "traditional ways of life" (Redfield 1953:84). Some years later he described world view as "this polymorphous reality of ours .... (through which) culture is seen, so far as possible, from the inside out" (1973:13).

In 1984, Michael Kearney published a book entitled *World View*. 
Kearney acknowledges his debt to Redfield but takes the concept of world view further. He shows that all peoples, not just members of traditional societies, perceive reality through the cultural lens of their own particular world views. For Kearney world views consist "of basic assumptions and images which provide a more or less coherent, though not necessarily accurate way of thinking about the world" (1984:41).

Through the work of Redfield, Kearney and others, world view has been identified as something intrinsic in all cultures. It is the means that enable members of any society to perceive both their own culture and reality. It may give a distorted view of reality, but it gives a view of reality that is common to all members of that society. Therefore, world view can be described as the cultural lens through which all members of all societies perceive reality.

World views may be seen as discrete wholes providing huge population blocs with functional cultural lenses that perceive reality. Such an approach is useful in providing generalised overviews. It is the approach used by Burnett when he speaks of the secular, primal, Hindu, Chinese and Islamic world views (1990:39-118). However, in practice, few discrete world views exist. Normally a world view of a living people group will have attributes of more than one basic world view "type". In the pages ahead it will be seen that the world views of members of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai manifest attributes of each of the major world views described by Burnett.

Many Indonesians are aware of this cultural lens. President Sukarno, first President of Indonesia and the formulator of the Pancasila, consciously appealed to the people of Indonesia through their world view. He is quoted as saying:

The concepts which I put forward in the '20's and from which I have never deviated don't fall neatly into a box according to the
Western mind but, then, you must remember that I do not have a Western mind. Altering our people so that they fall into neat, orderly Western pigeon holes can't be done. Leaders who have tried have failed. I always think in terms of the Indonesian mentality (May 1978:66).

Although Sukarno recognised and consciously appealed to an Indonesian mentality or world view, there is little published on Indonesian world views. Professor Koentjaraningrat gives an explanation for certain limitations in Indonesian anthropological studies:

Social science research in Indonesia and in particular anthropological research, currently is very much development oriented. Not only Indonesian social scientists but also foreign scholars planning to do research in Indonesia are requested to adjust their research projects to the problem areas that stand high on the Indonesian list of research priorities (Koentjaraningrat 1975b:147).

Government Report on the Culture and Customs of the Province of Central Sulawesi underscores Koentjaraningrat's point. This document states that the policy of the present government is to document existing cultures so that they can be used as vehicles for national development. Culture is to be used by the government as an agent of change and itself must also be changed by the government in keeping with national aims (Proyek 1977/1978a:3-4).

Indonesia has an official world view which is expressed in the national philosophy, the *Pancasila*, which influences every aspect of life. It is an ideal Indonesian world view based upon modern

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1 See Chapter 7:89 for a description of the *Pancasila*; and Chapter 13:186 for an explanation of the *Pancasila* as the national philosophy that creates a social milieu in which diverse Indonesian religions exist.
religious teachings and ancient mythical ideologies (Lubis 1991:7). As the official world view, the Pancasila seeks to unite the one hundred and eighty million members of the culturally diverse archipelago into a unified nation.

Some people do not believe that an imposed world view is a success. As a reporter and critic, Lubis expresses concern over perceived syncretism and dualism among educated Indonesians (1991:8). However, Koentjaraningrat, as a social scientist, appears to accept dualism as normal, pointing out that dualism does not preclude unity and harmony (1980:127). Just as Ngah described Malay culture through the perspective of his own personal world view, so Lubis and Koentjaraningrat perceive Indonesia through their respective, professional Indonesian world views. These different perceptions of the one society from within emphasise the problems faced by the external observer of another culture.

Many authorities seek to describe a society from within. Mbiti stresses the importance of using African categories of thought to describe African world views or ontologies from within (1969:13-14). Distortions in descriptions of world views can be minimised when terms that are understood by insiders are used and not theoretical frameworks or models imposed by the observer (Schreiter 1986:39-41).

II DESCRIBING WORLD VIEWS.

From the 1950s onwards, the concept of world view began to attract the attention of an increasing number of social scientists who were seeking to define and describe world views. In this period two styles of approach developed. In North America there were attempts to propose models in terms of which world views could be defined and described. Several such models were proposed. These included models based on the recognition and definition of "world view
universals", the content of which could be described (e.g. Kearney 1984); a vectorial approach in which the basic world view is seen as a series of wide range vectors within an individual's belief spaces (e.g. Jones 1972:85–86); and a semiotic approach by which observable symbols were seen as evidence of the underlying world view (e.g. Geertz 1975:141; Keesing 1976:412).

In contrast, British social scientists describe the culture, including the phenomena of religion, and then interpret their material to describes and define world view. Evans-Pritchard's classic works on The Nuer (1940 & 1956) include descriptions of all aspects of Nuer life as well as their perceptions of God and other supra-cultural beings, and their use of symbols and sacrifice. He concludes that Nuer "religious thought is remarkably sensitive, refined and intelligent. It is also highly complex" (1977:311). It is significant that Mbiti comments on the validity of Evans-Pritchard's approach of using the tools of the anthropologist to look at the culture "through the eyes of the Nuer themselves" (Mbiti 1969:13).

Endicott uses a similar approach with the Batek \(^2\) people of the Malay Peninsula in terms of their own concepts (1979:28). After describing their view of the cosmos; superhuman beings; and deities, he concludes that Batek religious concepts are formed and used in the same way as the theoretical constructs of Western scientists 1979:216).

Certainly there is a recognition by anthropologists in both North America and Britain that there is a unifying component in all societies that gives meaning and coherence to all activities in that society. This can be recognised and described. This component has variously been named ethos, cosmology, or ontology. In recent years the term World View has become increasingly popular as its name.

\(^2\) The Batek Negrito people are not the same people as the Batak people of Sumatra in Indonesia (See Appendix 1: Map 5).
III THE EMPHASIS ON WORLD VIEW BY CHRISTIAN LEADERS.

Christian leaders are now recognising the importance of world view in the communication of the Christian Gospel. Two important aspects of this are the recognition of the world view of Western Christendom and attempts to transform world views.

A. The World View of Western Christendom.

Increasingly Western communicators of the Gospel are recognising that there is a difference between the world view of the Christian Gospel and the world view of Western society. Newbigin suggests that the contemporary Western world has developed from classical Greek philosophy which sees reality in terms of individual units and human reason (1989a:2 & 172). In contrast, world views of so called "primitive" societies see people living in relationships. This, according to Newbigin, is also the world view of the Bible (1989a:172).

Bediako makes a similar comparison and contrasts Christianity and Christendom. He demonstrates that Christendom is in fact a manifestation of European ethnocentricism: the "European self-consciousness" that developed after the Crusades and was not challenged by the Reformation (1992:229). At the beginning of the twentieth century few European missionaries realised the extent to which they participated in the general European world view (1992:233). Thus the process of Christianisation was confused with the process of Westernisation (1992:236). Consequently, today the task facing the African Church is an inquiry into "the significance of the Gospel for the reinterpretation of African realities and for the meaning of Christian identity" (1992:252). This task is a challenge to the Indonesian Church too.
B. **Transforming World View.**

In 1968 the Burg Wartenstein Conference on World Views suggested that there is a possibility of "transforming cultures" (Jones 1972:88). Since then, religious leaders of different faiths have seen the possibility of their respective religions "transforming cultures". Osman speaks of the Islamisation of the Malays leading to a transformation of Malaysian culture (1983:44-47), while in the Christian missionary community the concept of "transforming a world view" has brought a new focus to the Christian missionary task. This growing interest in world view by Christian missionaries is aptly illustrated by comparing two volumes on *The Church and Cultures* by Jesuit missionary anthropologist, Louis Luzbetak. In the first he refers to the "notion of configuration" and to the "soul" of the culture (1976:157) while in the second, written almost two decades later, he deals extensively with the "notion" of world view, speaking of the cognitive, emotional and motivational dimensions of world view (1991:252-254).

Describing the practical outcomes that have resulted from this change of emphasis, Barnes documents the process of change in the attitude of the Catholic Church towards "culture" in Eastern Indonesia (1992:170). Meanwhile, Kraft, a Protestant missionary anthropologist, speaks of the possibility of "transforming culture with God" (1979:345-359). Today many missiologists, both Catholic and Protestant, see anthropology as a tool that enables the church to obey Christ's mandate of taking the Gospel to people in every culture, and many missiologists see understanding of world view as an imperative for the cross-cultural communicator.

Different missiologists have different approaches to understanding culture. Both Luzbetak (1991:252) and Kraft (1979:54) follow Kearney's approach (1984:81ff) and divide world view into a
complex of cultural domains or categories.

Schreiter advocates an understanding of culture that is based on a semiotic approach which is similar to the approach advocated by Geertz. Schreiter speaks of the importance of listening to a culture and recognising the signs within the culture that reveal cultural identity. Because his concern is constructing local theologies that will effectively bring social change, he emphasises that any model of world view must be able to accommodate social change (1986:70). He also stresses that these local theologies can only be constructed by local theologians (1986:16).

IV WORLD VIEWS IN TRANSITION.

Indonesia has a clearly defined national philosophy and every Indonesian lives with the idea that there is an ideal world view that is Indonesian, religious and modern (Chapter 4:36). At the same time, the mass media are communicating the value system of the world wide philosophy of modernity. Even remote villages have parabola and can by-pass TVRI [Indonesian National Television] so people are seeing and desiring the accoutrements of modernity that are depicted on their television screens.³

Thus, official government policies and the world wide philosophy of modernity are together inculcating the concept that traditional world views are backward and reactionary and that there is an ideal world view that is Indonesian, progressive and religious. Therefore, there is a perceived need to leave the old world view and to move in the direction of the new, official, ideal world view. Some leaders recognise this as an unfulfilled dream (e.g. Lubis 1991). However, most leaders still recognise that rapid change is taking place and

³ See Chapter 11 for a discussion on modernity.
many believe that they are in transition between a reactionary past and a future that is full of hope. Thus many, if not most, Indonesians have a world view that is in transition. As will be discussed in the following pages, there is great variety in these world views in transition but there is a general acceptance that the world views of the past are now obsolete. Thus the term world views in transition speaks of a positive attitude towards a movement from the world views of the past to the world views of both the present and the future.

V WORLD VIEW AND THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES IN LUWUK-BANGGAI.

Throughout the Two Thirds World concern is expressed that the Gospel has been preached and churches have been established but lives have not always been transformed. Mbiti claims that the superficial nature of much Christianity in Africa results from its failure to recognise, respect and address the African world view. He also suggests that part of the problem lies with missionaries and anthropologists who have suggested that African religions are at the bottom of a supposed process of religious evolution (Mbiti 1969:15-16; Chapter 4:37-40).

Just as Mbiti is concerned over certain areas of failure in the Christian churches of Africa, so also many members of the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai are frustrated with the perceived problems that were stated in Chapter 1. Mastra has made significant inquiries into how the Gospel can be contextualised in terms of the Balinese world view and the relevance of his thinking in the context of Luwuk-Banggai is examined in Chapter 13, Worship and the Church Calendar and 16, The Work and the Witness of the Christian Community.

Thus the tools of the social scientist are needed so that the religious life of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai can be
investigated, defined and described. From a description of the forms of religious life in Luwuk-Banggai a synthesis of present world views can be set out, which can be used as a tool by leaders of the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai in assisting every member of the GKLb to work and witness within the context of their present world views in transition.
CHAPTER 4.
UNDERSTANDING LOCAL RELIGIONS IN INDONESIA.

I LOCAL RELIGIONS IN THE INDONESIAN CONTEXT.

Basic to any discussion of religion in Indonesia is the *Pancasila*, the official national philosophy with its stated belief in *Tuhan Mahaesa*, the One True Lord. Darmaputera demonstrates that this official belief in the One True Lord is rooted in the Indonesian world view "which is totalistic, dualistic, and hierarchical" (1988a:182). Because of its emphasis on harmony (1988a:120), the *Pancasila* becomes the means whereby Javanese mysticism and local religions can coexist with the so-called high religions of Islam and Christianity, and yet allow the Muslim majority to be faithful followers of the Prophet Mohammed (1988a:179).

Even though all Indonesians must belong to one of the five official religions - Islam, Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism - local religions still exist in Indonesia. For example, one group, the Wana, neighbours of the Luwuk-Banggai peoples, claim that theirs is a true religion that can be validated in terms of the official religions (Atkinson 1987:179). However, teaching throughout the Indonesian school system inculcates the concept that tribal people who are not adherents of an approved religion are disloyal, primitive and backward: "uncommitted to the values of the Pancasila" (Kipp and Rodgers 1987:23).

Consequently, many educated Indonesian people are unable to perceive "local religions" in a way that is not pejorative. Although the words *animisme, dinamisme* and *sinkretisme* have been received into the Indonesian language and are freely used by educated Indonesians (e.g. Mastra 1982:7a; Darmaputera 1988a:38), at times such words do have negative connotations. Well-known critic of his own society Lubis writes:
We are also known for our syncretic powers. We retain the old and accept the new and they exist together within us in incongruous harmony . . . One foot is still planted in our animistic culture while the other is in the modern age with all its rapidly changing values (Lubis 1991:7).

The Indonesian Government has an ambivalent attitude towards local religions, at times regarding them as part of the national heritage that must be documented and preserved; at other times regarding them as hindrances to national development (e.g. Proyek 1977/1978a:3); but usually ignoring the syncretistic beliefs of prominent leaders such as the late President Sukarno (Dahm 1968:343) and President Suharto (Roeder 1970:10-11).

Church leaders frequently discuss syncretism and animism as perceived problems in the Indonesian Christian community. Mastra is a notable exception. In his study on contextualising the Gospel in Hindu Dharma [Balinese Hinduism],¹ Mastra points out that Hindu Dharma itself is a reinterpretation of traditional Balinese animistic beliefs and uses the names of beings from the Hindu pantheon for traditional beings and concepts (1981:262; 1982:7a-7d). However, Mastra's approach is atypical, as most Indonesian religious leaders seek to adhere to official policies and claim that both Christianity and Islam need to be cleansed from the influences of local religions (e.g. Nakamura 1980:274).

II WESTERN ATTITUDES TOWARDS LOCAL RELIGIONS.

When discussing theories of "Primitive Religion", Evans-Pritchard observed that many of these theories came from those who have "taken

¹ See Chapters 13 and 16 for discussions on the relevance the ideas of Mastra and the Balinese Church in Luvuk-Bungai.
for granted, that we are at one end of the scale of human progress and the so-called savages are at the other end" (1965:105). In the late nineteenth century Tylor popularised the Theory of Animism. He renamed the older term *fetishism* as *animism* or the worship of inanimate things. Tylor saw this *animism* as the "religion of lower races" (Evans-Pritchard 1965:10ff).

Bediako points out:

"Fetishism" or the later, more enduring term of "animism" with its associated ideas was simply the religious counterpart to the general social and technical inferiority of uncivilised and savage peoples (1992:230).

Bediako then emphasises the impact of the false premise - that animism has no religious content - in shaping half a century of errant missiological thinking (1992:231). He also draws attention to the fact that missionaries did not realise the extent to which they shared the Western world view of their day (1992:233) and they certainly presumed that Western Christianity had the right and the responsibility to establish the value system for all Christian communities (1992:235).

Koentjaraningrat describes theories of animism and dynamism formulated by foreigners in Indonesia (1975a:62-68). He gives special attention to the theories of Kruyt who for many years worked as a missionary in the Poso area and whose work is respected by modern anthropologists. Present day Poso people value Kruyt's work and frequently claim that *Gereja Kristen di Sulawesi Tengah* [GKST, the Poso Church] is one of the strongest churches in Indonesia because Kruyt set out to understand the local religion before preaching the

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2 e.g. Rodney Needham (Ed.) includes an article of Kruyt's which he had translated from the Dutch in *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification* (1973).
Gospel.

Both Bediako (1992:231) and Koentjaraningrat (1975a:48 & 64) refer to the work of Warneck, a German missionary who worked among the Batak people of Sumatra in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Overall, Warneck's description of "animistic heathenism" was derogative (1909:27), but he recognised in Batak beliefs "a compact philosophy of thought" and "a response to the need for a rational approach to the enigmas and forces of the world for coming to an understanding of the supernatural" (1909:81). He saw in animism elements that prepared the animist for the "victorious forces of the Gospel" (1909:188).

In the early twentieth century missionary attitudes towards local religions have varied, ranging from understanding sympathy to ethnocentric arrogance. One Western missionary described the people of Luwuk-Banggai as being "fettered by tribal traditions which took their origin from a primitive religion" (Weber 1981:13). However, in the second part of the twentieth century a new era dawned. First class theologians and philosophers emerged from the Two Thirds World and challenged theories of social evolution and the resulting theories of primitive religions. By the 1960s, men like Mbiti were demonstrating that African traditional religions could be "studied properly and respectfully as academic disciplines in their own right" (1969:6). Meanwhile in the West, the Missiological movement was generating a new understanding of traditional cultures. In *The Church and Cultures* (1991), Catholic missiologist, Luzbetak, examines such issues as local theologies, commitment to the poor and basic communities while in *Christianity in Culture* (1979), Protestant missiologist Charles Kraft uses such terms as "dynamic equivalence" and "transforming culture with God". Although the idea is not specifically articulated, such works imply Western superiority and the notion that the Western
missiologist has the responsibility for planning how the Gospel is to be communicated cross-culturally.

Certainly throughout the era of the dominance of the world view of Western Christendom, there have been Western Christian communicators who have genuinely sought to understand local Christian religions. These included the above mentioned Albert Kruyt who almost a century ago effectively used the methods of "modern missiology" in Central Sulawesi. In Britain today, Bishop John Taylor and Dr. David Burnett recognise "primal religions" as having logical world views within which the Gospel can be communicated. Burnett (1990) illustrates that the primal world view is one among several major world views including the Western secular world view and the world view of Islam. Each of these world views can be challenged by the Gospel and transformed by the Gospel. As Taylor writes:

an honest meeting between Christianity and the African (primal) world-view may be creative on the frontiers of the Church, it may be even more creative within the body of the Church itself .... true African theology will be born, not out of syncretism but out of understanding (1963:42).

III  ATTRIBUTES OF LOCAL RELIGION.

A.  Soul Force? Animism? Semangat?

Basic to local religions is an idea of some sort of animating, immaterial force that can be controlled for the good of humanity (Burnett 1990:59). The understanding of this animating force is crucial to the understanding of the world view of the peoples of Indonesia.

Basic work on the theory of animism in Indonesia was done by Albert Kruyt (Darmaputera 1988a:38; Koentjaraningrat 1975a:62-68). Kruyt described lamoa, an "unseen power which determines the life
and the death of human beings as well as animals and plants" (Kruyt 1977:39). The ideas expressed in the concept of lamoa can be linked with the related concept of raoa, which means the air and the spirits that live in it, and together they express the Melanesian concept of mana, the all pervading power of the super-natural (Downs 1956:16-17). Endicott (1991) suggests that a correct understanding of semangat is basic to an understanding of the Malay world view. Starting from Skeat’s premise that basic to the Malay world view is an "all-pervading animism, involving a certain common vital principle [semangat] in Man and Nature" (Skeat 1965:30), Endicott redefines semangat as semangat, nyawa, and roh [soul, life and spirit], three aspects of the human soul (1991:47-48). This is similar to the view taken by Subagya (1981:76) who suggests that the term mana describes the central feature of local religion in Indonesia and that human beings are regarded as roh, which should be understood as jiwa [soul]; nyawa [life]; and semangat [an external animating power] (1981:76).

Thus a basic element in local religions is the presence of an external, animating power which in the Indonesian context can appropriately be referred to as semangat.

B. The concept of the High God.

Whether or not adherents of local religions believe in a High God is a matter of much discussion. A well known proponent of an almost

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3 Malinowski (1954:76-79) warns that care needs to be taken when using the term mana as it has been used in contradictory ways to explain "all sorts of powers" operative in the working of primitive magic and religion.

4 Endicott’s description of Malay Magic suggests that the Malays whom he describes are culturally and linguistically similar to the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai.

5 Pseudonym used by J.M.V. Bakker S.J. for writing in the Indonesian Press.
universal belief in the High God was Father Wilhelm Schmidt who studied materials from many parts of the world including Indonesia. Schmidt claimed that this Supreme Being is believed to be the omniscient, beneficent, moral and omnipotent Creator (1931:257; 262-273). Indonesian anthropologist, Tobing, criticises Schmidt's theory of the High God being found in the religion of "primitive" peoples on the grounds that Schmidt was attempting to identify the High God of tribal religions with the Creator-God of Christianity (Tobing 1963:30). However Tobing himself states unequivocally that the Batak people have always believed in the High God and they still do (1963:35).

The differing points of view concerned with belief in the existence of the High God by members of local religions can partly be reconciled by recognising that traditionally Indonesian societies did not have a comprehensive theology, complete with reflective thinking about the nature of God. Their attitudes towards the power of God grew out of their experience of life. In their hearts people believed that there was a Source of Power but this was an inner feeling that, in the absence of a formal theology, was difficult to express in words (Subagya 1981:64-65).

Another way of overcoming seemingly incompatible views about the belief in the High God in Indonesian local religions is to recognise that there may be an implicit concept of two roles or two persons within the One Being of the Godhead. Speaking of the situation among the Kêdang, Barnes observed an almost unstated belief in a God who rarely manifested himself to human beings and yet Kêdang mythology speaks specifically of the involvement of the Gods (or manifestations of the Godhead) in human affairs including procreation, gardening and acquisition of wealth (1974:103 & 309-316).

Subagya points out that many authorities recognise the co-existence of dualism and monotheism in Indonesian traditional beliefs
and ultimately these two irreconcilable dimensions are brought together in the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika,* [Unity in Diversity] which points to the fact that, in Indonesia, that which cannot be reconciled is nevertheless woven together into one (1981:118).

Taylor sums up a similar perceived paradox concerning the place of God in African religions by pointing out that the "signification of this paradox" is that both views are true. Africans have always believed in a High God even when there appears to be no place for such a God and no hint of him in their rituals (1963:83).

Thus the belief in the High God in Indonesian local religions will always be an enigma to the Western mind. However, the *Pancasila* has grown within the Indonesian world view and the One True Lord of the *Pancasila* must not be confused with either the monotheistic God of Islam or with the Triune Godhead of Christianity but must be recognised as "the concept of Divine Omnipotence which gives room to all men who believe in God" (Sidjabat 1982:40).

C. Orthopraxy not Orthodoxy.

Unlike the problems associated with finding consensus on beliefs about *semangat* and belief in the High God, the importance of right ritual as opposed to right beliefs is almost universally agreed on by exponents of local religions. The right ritual is essential for controlling various phenomena (Burnett 1988:19). Therefore, religions are "practiced rather than conceptualized in an abstract manner". The emphasis "is on the orthopraxy, not orthodoxy - what is crucial is that ritual detail must be correct and in place" (Crystal & Yamashita 1987:48-70). Control of various spirits is basic to local religions and this is not dependent on general principles about the structure of the cosmos but rather on the rules and procedures that need to be followed (Hoskins 1987:139-140).
Over the last fifty years there has been an increasing reaction against the missiological concepts that developed in a cultural milieu that stressed social evolution and failed to recognise the many forms of "syncretism in Western Christianity (which) led missionaries into being agents of cultural colonialism" (Newbigin 1992:8). Despite the fact that throughout history, Christianity has had its greatest impact when it has confronted people with local, tribal or "animistic" religions (Bediako 1984:96) the world view of Western Christendom viewed "animists" as primitive, degraded human beings living in unmitigated darkness.

The receptivity of the Gospel among tribal peoples has been demonstrated in Indonesia. Reference has already been made to Warneck and Kruyt. Both assumed the "sui generis character of the Christian Gospel", but could see the local religions as "the means of God's education of His children". They aimed for the "renewal of that society, a renewal that would bring about a continuous reformation of the primal religion" (Hallencreutz 1966:41). A century later both the Batak and Poso Churches are large, growing churches with a Christian witness that is influencing every aspect of society.

There is now an increasing appreciation of the fact that local religions are integrated system of beliefs. Concepts including dynamic equivalence in Biblical translation and in the communication of the Gospel (Kraft 1979:315-327); receptor-oriented revelation (Kraft 1979:193); cultural transformation (Kraft 1979:345-359); and "eternity in their hearts" (Richardson 1981) have been popularised in Protestant missionary circles.

The recognition that God speaks through traditional religions is now a worldwide process. Rev. Djiniyini Gondarra, Moderator of the Northern Synod of the Uniting Church in Australia, describes the
spirituality that was present in the totems of Aboriginal religion. He compares totemism in Aboriginal religions with the Old Testament cultus and the worship of Yahweh (1988:3) but warns that there must be an evaluation of all aspects of local religions and a differentiation between that which has come from God and that which emanates from the fall of mankind (1988:3). At the same time Mbiti recognises the encounter between Christianity and the "religious traditions of Africa, the worldview they imply and their encounter with the Christian faith" (Bediako 1992:303). Mbiti also points out that all other religious systems are preparatory: "The uniqueness of Christianity is Jesus Christ. . . . Christianity has the terrible responsibility of pointing the way to the Ultimate Identity, Foundation and Source of security" (Mbiti 1969:277).

V SUMMARY OF THE CONCEPT OF LOCAL RELIGIONS.

Thus we see that local religions have developed in discrete isolated societies and are often demeaned by outsiders. Such religions are a reflection of local world views and do not have a systematic theology, rather they are a response to a felt, external "Higher Power." There is belief in an animating external power or soul force which in the Indo-Malay setting can appropriately be called semangat. There could well be belief in a High God, but care needs to be taken when identifying this Being with the revealed God of Biblical Christianity. In local religions ritual is more important than belief as overt submission to religious forms gives meaning to life and results in prosperity.

Indonesian church leaders have realistically faced the challenge of using the Pancasila in a positive way to bring people to Christ.

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6 Last century in an important work that repudiated Tylor's theories of Animism, Durkheim studied totemism as seen among Australian Aborigines (Durkheim 1976). His analysis could also have applied to Jewish Old Testament cultus.
Similarly, the claim that Christianity can have its greatest impact when it confronts people with local, tribal or "animistic" religions (Bediako 1984:96) becomes a challenge to the Indonesian Church. Chapter 14 examines this challenge, namely that from the "soil" of local religions vibrant and relevant Indonesian Christianity can grow.
PART TWO.

SHAPING THE WORLD VIEW.

In Chapter 5 the traditional stratified Malay culture is described. This is followed by a description of the traditional economy.

Chapters 6 and 7 deal with historical and political factors that have shaped the present. Chapter 6 constructs a picture of the ancient Sultanate of Banggai, looks briefly at the place of the Sultan of Banggai in the Indonesian trading mandalas, and then examines the two periods of foreign domination, firstly under the Dutch and then under the Japanese. Chapter 7 deals with the struggle for Independence, the establishment of the new nation and the formulation of the national philosophy, the Pancasila.

Chapter 8 describes the foundation of present world view in transition in terms of the beliefs and practices of local religions with their emphasis on correct religious forms and community participation.

Chapters 9 and 10 deal with the coming of Islam and Christianity to Luwuk-Banggai and the consequent intrusion of new world views. Chapter 10 also deals with the establishment of the GKLB, the Protestant Christian world view, and the relationship of the GKLB with the PGI, the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches.

Chapter 11, The Impact of Modernity, looks at modernisation throughout the Nation of Indonesia. It analyses the relationship between christendom and a world-wide process of modernisation, and critiques modernity as a Western secular philosophy of growth and development.
CHAPTER 5.
THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE.

I THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION.

*Kabupaten* Banggai is situated on a peninsula and adjacent islands in the eastern part of the Province of Central Sulawesi. Three ethnic groups live in the *Kabupaten*: the Banggai speakers live on Peling and Banggai Islands with smaller populations on Bangkalan, Labobo and Bangkurung Islands; the Balantak speakers at the north-eastern extremity of the peninsula; and the Saluan speakers to the west of the Balantak speakers on the northern coast of the peninsula around Pagaimana and Bunta and on the southern coast of the peninsula around Luwuk, Kintom and Batui. (See Appendix 1: Map 3.)

The land is mountainous, often rising steeply out of the sea. There are no active volcanoes, so the soil is never enriched with volcanic ash. Much of the area is still covered by virgin forests and swidden farming is practised throughout the area.

Situated between latitudes 0.30° and 2.30° south of the equator, temperatures are constantly high. The rainfall is unreliable. In 1987, 1033mm fell at Luwuk Airport while in 1988 only 298mm were recorded (Kantor Statistik 1988:11). In many villages the lack of water is a major problem. Drinking and household water is from two main sources, rivers and wells. In the Bulagi area there are dry river beds but even when there are good rainfalls the rivers only run for a very short period. Also there is no known underground water for wells.¹

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¹ This is explained in the myth of a young mother who in the distant past lived by a great rushing river. The river roared past her house and the baby was unable to sleep. She commanded the river to be quiet. It did this by disappearing and since then there have been no rivers in Bulagi.
II LUWUK-BANGGAI: A STRATIFIED MALAY CULTURE.

A. Malay Cultures.

Although historical factors have separated the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago into the modern nations of Malaysia and Indonesia, they are culturally similar with mutually intelligible languages (Koentjaraningrat 1975b:55). Most Indonesian peoples display the "so-called Malay racial traits" (Peacock 1973:4) and the population of the Malay Archipelago is so significantly homogeneous and unique as to become a "field of ethnological study" (Josselin de Jong 1977:166-181).

Koentjaraningrat divides Indonesian and Malaysian cultures into four broad types (1975b:57-60). One of these is a coastal culture based on swidden agriculture with rice as the main crop and a significant level of social stratification. This group includes the Malays of the Peninsula; ethnic groups in Sumatra and Kalimantan; several islands in Eastern Indonesia, all of which were seats of power in the days of the great sultanates; and the Gorontalo people of Northern Sulawesi together with the Buginese and Makassarese of Southern Sulawesi. Between the ancient Gorontalo and Bugis Sultanates lay the Sultanate of Banggai which throughout history has been influenced by its more powerful neighbours.

Even though traditionally rice was rarely grown in Luwuk-Banggai, in most aspects of Koentjaraningrat's classification, the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai can be described as Malay swidden farmers with a significant level of social stratification. Therefore it is valid to compare and contrast Luwuk-Banggai culture with similar stratified Malay coastal societies.

B. Stratification in Kabupaten Banggai.

According to Tolombot the Banggai, Balantak and Saluan language
groups were all stratified into aristocracy and proletariat (1986:11) with the Sultan of Banggai being a Banggai speaking man.\(^2\) Ancestors of the aristocracy opened up land and subsequently acquired wealth and so, gradually, became recognised leaders, being perceived as possessors of esoteric knowledge and therefore having divine right to rule (1986:11). As was common in South-East Asian societies, slavery was basic to social organisation in the old Sultanate of Banggai (Reid 1983:6; Tolombot 1986:11). Today, descendants of slaves who have achieved success in modern Indonesian society try to ignore their humble origins and depend on modern education as the source of the "new esoteric knowledge" that validates their present status (Tolombot 1986:11).

Thus the source of status has changed from hereditary to achieved status, but the phenomenon of a stratified hierarchy continues. In the village situation school teachers are respected, and in keeping with a national society that uses "indices of rank titles" (Kartodirdjo 1988:110), even young teachers are referred to as "Father or Mother Teacher". In some villages, high school children returning home for holidays sit in honoured positions and are served by their less fortunate peers.

Thus social stratification is an important aspect of Luwuk-Banggai culture, but whereas in the past status was dependent on heredity, today it is the right of people with modern Indonesian education. The source has changed but the world view that is concomitant with a stratified society continues. This has important implications for the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai and will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 16 on *The Church as a Bureaucracy*.

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\(^2\) The Sultans of Banggai were descendants of royal families from Java and Ternate (Chapter 6:64-65) but for several hundred years have been considered Banggai speakers.
C. **The Village.**

Having visited and stayed many villages in *Kabupaten Banggai* (Chapter 2:17), I am in a position to draw a composite picture of the Christian village in Luwuk-Banggai. Although there are still some inland villages, most are close to the coast where communications and consequent contacts with the government are better.

On arrival at any village, there is a notice which is signed by the *Kepala Desa*, [Village Head] and which reads: "*Tamu wajib melapor,*" [Visitors must report]. This is a reminder that the village people of Luwuk-Banggai are part of an hierarchical system in which the *Kepala Desa*, as the representative of the government, has the highest status in that particular village.

As most villages are located on the road that leads to Luwuk or on the waterfront where ships arrive from Luwuk, they are orientated in the direction of progress. Often at the point of entry there is a comparatively high quality cement rendered brick house with an iron roof, frequently with a television *parabola* on the roof. This is not the home of the *Kepala Desa*, but of the Chinese trader and storekeeper. Many of these Chinese traders are Indonesian citizens and members of the Christian church. However for the Chinese, comparative wealth does not confer status in the Indonesian hierarchy, and usually the Chinese family is a family apart, with little say in the affairs of the village. Yet their presence opens the way for trading and development.

Buildings are usually clustered around a central village square which is a multi-functional area that is used for both official ceremonies such as Independence Day and for recreational activities. The buildings include the office of the *Kepala Desa*, the school, the
village community centre, and often the church.¹ Daily, in buildings adjacent to the village square, Sang Merah Putih [the honoured Red and White Indonesian Flag] is raised and lowered with the appropriate ceremony. There will often be a television set in the village community centre. Government transmitters bring television within the range of ninety per cent of the villages in Kabupaten Banggai and Televisi Republik Indonesia, TVRI, disseminates the official ideology (Sunindyo 1993:144). In villages where there is no electricity, television sets may be battery operated or have a special generator.

D. The House.²

Houses usually belong to a rumah tangga [slightly extended nuclear family]. In most villages some houses are built from traditional materials and others from modern materials. Those built from traditional materials are either built on firm ground or on the edge of water where daily tidal movements or river currents provide automatic cleansing of all forms of waste. Timber supports are embedded in the earth, a framework is built of logs, the walls are of plaited bamboo, and the gable roof of palm thatch, constructed by folding young palm fronds over a bamboo lath. If built on the land the floor is of pressed earth, if over water the floor is of split palm slats. However, many people now aspire to "modern" houses built of cement rendered bricks and with concrete floors and corrugated iron roofs. These houses are more easily maintained and cleaner than the traditional houses where vermin often live in the thatch or woven bamboo. It may take several years to acquire the finance for building

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¹ In some Christian villages the church with its spire is built on the top of a hill. See Chapter 13 for a discussion on the location of the church and world view.

² This is primarily a description of the physical features of the house. The rumah tangga as a social unit is discussed in some detail in Chapter 12 on The Christian Community.
such houses and they are lived in throughout the building process.

In most houses there is a central reception room or guest room, where guests are received, and two bedrooms. The front door is rarely in the centre of the house as an entrance below the king-post is not considered safe. Traditionally this was the position where amulets or fetishes were hung to protect the house from evil spirits. Today, in most houses there is either a Christian picture or a picture of the President of Indonesia. Although the perceived function of these pictures vary, for some people they are perceived as the amulets of the new sources of power, Christianity and Indonesian nationalism.

Guests are received in the guest-reception room where the best possible furniture is placed. In the centre is a low table where tea cups can be placed. Chairs are a reflection of the family's economic status, ranging from village-made wooden chairs to plastic covered, cushioned lounge chairs. Increasingly electricity is becoming available in Luwuk-Banggai villages and some homes now have several 40 watt lamps and a television set which is placed in the guest-reception room.

In each of the bedrooms there is a double bed, sometimes with a kapok mattress, but often with woven sleeping mats and a collection of kapok pillows. Although there are kapok trees in many villages and people could make their own mattresses, many consider it hotter sleeping on a mattress than on a mat. Three or four people normally sleep on one bed. As much as possible each person has his or her own flannelette blanket or kain, a multi-purpose length of cloth about two metres long that can be worn casually by both men or women, used as a light blanket, or used to cover oneself when bathing in public. There is a fair bit of flexibility in where people sleep, children learning from an early age to fit in with a large number of people in utilising a limited amount of space. Teenage boys often sleep in the kitchen or in bush huts with their peers. When
overnight visitors come, the whole family moves out of the bedrooms, giving the best rooms and pillows to their guests.

The kitchen is a lean-to at the back of the house and yet it is the focus and the heart of the home (cf. Waterson 1990:42). Cooking is done on an open fire. Sometimes the wok and cooking pots are placed on large stones on the floor and the women squat over the fires as they cook. Sometimes the fire is made on a low table and the women are able to stand up as they cook. Chimneys are unknown and the smoke wafts out through the thatch in the roof. Usually there is a bamboo platform in the kitchen where children play; the women prepare the food; or people may sleep.

With different varieties of sweet potato and sago being the basic food of the area, there are no buildings for storing rice or yams.

Carrying water in long bamboo pipes is often a major task and is shared by men, women and children. In the Bulagi area where the availability of fresh water is a major problem, brackish water is used for bathing and washing. In most villages men and women bathe in the same places, under the cover of the ubiquitous kain. Both government workers and Christian motivators [church workers involved in holistic ministry] are encouraging the building and use of toilets and are involved in programs to improve water supplies, including reticulation projects and building concrete tanks (Chapter 16:297).

E. The Village, The House and World View.

Indonesian houses and villages represent "miniature universes" or "microcosms" (National Museum 1984:18; Waterson 1993:223) and at present village houses reflect world views in transition:

1. The village orientation is in the direction of progress and Indonesian nationalism on the route that leads to Luwuk.

2. The location of buildings shows that the "axis" (National
Museum 1984:18) of the village in Luwuk-Banggai today is the village square where the Indonesian flag is raised and lowered with due ceremony every day and where the representatives of the government hold national ceremonies that speak of the new source of power centred in the Nation of Indonesia and the national philosophy, the Pancasila.

3. Space is multi-functional. The village square is used for both the ceremonies of the modern nation of Indonesia and also for relaxation.

4. Functions of different parts of the house are resistant to change. The houses are constructed of both old and modern materials but most still have a symbol of power: whether a fetish, a Crucifix, or a picture of the President. The materials and the symbols of the houses are varied and "transitional" but the house continues to reflect a world view in which the universe is "suffused with a vital power" (Waterson 1993:223).

III THE ECONOMY.

A. The Subsistence Economy.

The smallness of the population means that there is an abundance of land that can be claimed and used (Proyek 1977/1978a:52). However, some people still believe that this land is guarded by the spirits of the ancestors who are custodians of the land. Hence before new land can be opened up for food gardens there is often a ceremony called Balia Tampilangi. This is led by a cultural leader who is an authority on both the spirit world and on farming. While chanting the appropriate mantra, he breaks an egg over the land, to decide whether or not the ancestors approve of the use of the land for food gardens (Proyek 1977/1978a:53-54).

For most members of the Christian community swidden farming is
their main form of economic activity. Often food gardens are a long way from the village and people sleep in bush-huts in the gardens, usually only returning to the village on Sundays. Both men and women work in the garden, normally in family units. Major work such as clearing new garden sites is carried out by extended village groups. Using the old method of slash and burn, clearings are made in the jungle and sweet-potatoes, bananas, chillies and tomatoes are grown. Coconut palms are extremely important, providing oil and other basic ingredients for cooking as well as being a source of income. Green vegetables are only grown when there is encouragement from village motivators. Wherever there are swamplands, sago is harvested, prepared and eaten. There are many varieties of indigenous fruits in the area, including papaya, mangoes, durians, and pineapples. Certain varieties of palm trees are used for the production of sago, [palm wine]. Coffee is grown in higher areas and used in the villages.

Except in areas adjacent to the trans-migration areas, rice is rarely grown by Luwuk-Banggai people. Small amounts are grown in some parts of the Balantak and Saluan speaking areas but I have never seen rice growing on Peling or Banggai Islands.

The most obvious difference between Christian and Muslim villages in Kabupaten Banggai is the presence of pigs in Christian villages and of goats in Muslim ones. With permission to continue breeding and eating pigs having been a prior condition to the acceptance of Christianity by many village peoples in Luwuk-Banggai, the pig has a special status in Christian villages (Chapter 10:126-127). Traditionally, pig meat was essential for offerings to deceased ancestors, and today pig meat is an indispensable ingredient at all feasts. A host who cannot offer pig meat to Christian guests feels ashamed. Although in some villages pigs are penned up or kept on small off-shore islets, usually they roam free, scavenging on any
available material, including human excretion.

Cattle and poultry are also kept. Well-bred and attractively coloured roosters are very valuable whether for illegal cock-fighting or to be possessed as a status symbol. Men will often fondle a rooster as Westerners would fondle a dog or a cat. Poultry has some sacrificial value and can be eaten at feasts. Cattle are extremely valuable and have great sacrificial value. Pairs of either steers or cows are often used to pull carts, but not for ploughing.

There is still a variety of animals that can be hunted in the jungle. Cuscuses, wild pig, deer and bush rats are all caught, and flying foxes are a favoured delicacy. Dogs are used to flush out the hunted animal which may be killed with a spear or a gun. Hunted animals are used for food, but not for ceremonial purposes.

Throughout the coastal areas of Kabupaten Banggai, fish is the main source of protein. Most professional fishermen are Muslims, but many Christian men and youths enjoy line fishing for recreation. Professional fishermen use drag nets in the shallows and trawl in deeper waters using out-rigger canoes powered with out-board motors. Illegal fishing with bombs does take place, and, from time to time, young men are accidentally killed or maimed for life. Protected maritime species, including turtles, are caught and eaten. Many villages now have fish ponds with fresh water carp.

B. The Cash Economy.

Village people in Luwuk-Banggai have been thrust into the last decades of the twentieth century and find themselves confronted with a set of needs that can only be satisfied with money. Children must go to school, and school fees, uniforms and books all require money. Kerosene for lamps, tea, sugar and soap are all now considered basic needs, while many have aspirations for modern houses with modern
furniture and television sets. Thus the Banggai, Saluan and Balantak villagers are forced to find ways to earn money.

The Chinese store always has an array of goods that, as well as supplying the needs of villagers, also appeals to their wants. Usually goods are supplied on credit, anticipating, for example, a coconut harvest. If the villager is unable to pay, the trader takes over assets such as coconut or clove trees. This means that there is a constant "wealth-drain" towards the Chinese. Thus the Chinese trader plays an ambivalent role in the village economy, providing the motivation for people to enter the cash economy yet at the same time alienating the wealth of village people. This is a national phenomenon in Indonesia and the cause of much resentment (Chapter 11:141; Coppel 1980:731).

With the Chinese comes the question of alienation of land. Land is also alienated by public servants from other parts of Indonesia. Although there is still an abundance of land in Luwuk-Banggai, once land has been developed, the person who developed the land has de facto ownership in perpetuity. A person may, if he wishes, pay the appropriate fees and register ownership of the land but few village people do this. However, Chinese traders and public servants from other parts of Indonesia do register and consequently are alienating village people from the land. It would seem that the concept of land per se belonging to the extended family, both past generations and the present living members of the family, is not important in Luwuk-Banggai. At present there appears to be little resentment of undeveloped land being alienated by either private developers or by the government for trans-migration schemes.

Village people now try to have some form of cash crop that gives a small income (Chapter 16:297-298). The most successful village industries are coconuts and cloves, and there are projects to establish the commercial growing of coffee, cacao, peanuts and cashew nuts.
Coconuts are dried and sold as copra and the coconut oil plant in Luwuk ensures a ready outlet for this. The clove market is unreliable. Coffee and peanuts are sold in the market for local consumption but cacao and cashew nut projects are not producing yet.

A present short-term source of income is cutting rattan or cane in the Lamala area. This, however, is creating social problems as the cane cutting camps are in the ranges, and men go and live there for weeks at a time, leaving their families and food gardens unattended. The high wages from the cane cutting are often used for strong drink and prostitution. Such practices result in suffering for the women and children back in the villages. Furthermore, a non-renewable resource is being exploited.

There is a tremendous potential in wealth from the sea. This includes fishing and pearling. However, any development of these resources lies in the hands of Indonesian-Chinese or foreign Japanese developers. The situation in other areas of Indonesia, where the export of tuna fish to Japan has deprived village people of protein (Utrecht 1987:190) could well become a problem in Luwuk-Banggai with the establishment in 1993 of a Japanese based venture for shipping live fish to Japan. A village based project of growing seaweed for gelatine or stock foods that was popular in 1989-1990 has failed.

C. The Economy and World View.

The traditional economy supported a simple but adequate lifestyle. Food was protein deficient and low in vitamins but there was no starvation. Animal husbandry provided the sacrificial animals needed to control the spirit world, and also some meat for guests on ceremonial occasions. Daily protein came from fish and from hunted animals.

However, now, Luwuk-Banggai villagers have been forced by
historical, social and political factors to enter a world in which the subsistence economy of their old world is no longer adequate. They are confronted with new needs which can only be satisfied with money. Economic experts speak of Luwuk-Banggai as an area with some potential, but distance from markets and sources of expertise makes it difficult for this potential to be realised (Makaliwe-Watupongoh 1989:513; Soleman 1991:5). Furthermore, economic development is usually in the hand of Chinese entrepreneurs and skilled jobs go to Chinese or educated Indonesians from other areas. As a result the Luwuk-Banggai villager can only hope to get work as an unskilled labourer on very low wages. Also, as with the cane cutting industry in the Lamala area, men leave their villages to get work and this creates a whole complex of new social problems.

Thus for many village people in Kabupaten Banggai, unsatisfied needs mean that they are feeling inadequate, hopeless and isolated. In their attempts to get needed goods, they are selling their heritage to educated Indonesians and Chinese. Consequently they are becoming poorer. They therefore question their own intrinsic worth, the value of their land and their culture. For many, economic progress has not brought a world view in transition in which they can function effectively. Rather there have been pressures that have shattered the old world view and as yet have given nothing in return.

The GKLB is making a conscious effort to address these issues through village motivators who are bringing the Christian Gospel of Hope and challenging people whose world views are disintegrating. At the same time the motivators are seeking to improve the quality of village life and are encouraging small-scale economic projects that seek to empower the helpless and the hopeless. However this is only addressing part of the problem and as yet prophetic, authentic contextualisation that arises out of "a genuine encounter between God's
Word and His world needs to challenge and take root in the "historical moment" (Fabella 1980:4) of Luwuk-Banggai today.
CHAPTER 6.
HISTORICAL FACTORS
PRIOR TO INDEPENDENCE.

When we look at the present world view of the peoples of Kabupaten Banggai, we see the product of the interaction between a number of historical periods and events. These pertain to the era of the former sultanate of Banggai; the involvement of the sultanate in the ancient trading system; the period of colonialism; and the Japanese occupation.

I THE SULTANATE OF BANGGAI.

A. Early Oral Traditions: Prior to 1580 AD.

Attempts to look at the history of the sultanate of Banggai bring one face to face with the paucity of historical sources for South-East Asia prior to the sixteenth century (Hall 1985:xi; Proyek 1977/1978b:92).

Geographically the island of Banggai faces the Maluku Sea. (See Appendix 1: Map 4.) It is part of an area which ancient Arab traders named "Jazirat al-Muluk", ["the land of many kings"] from which came the name of Maluku or Molucca (Abdurachman 1978:162; Ricklefs 1981:22). For centuries Asian and European traders plied the waters of the Maluku Sea seeking to contact the sultans of the Spice Islands in order to return with ships laden with spices. Consequently there has been some historical documentation of the sultanates that surround the Maluku Sea. A Chinese text dating from 1304 refers to Banggai as being part of an established international trade network (Andaya 1993:85).

The official history of the Province of Central Sulawesi places the commencement of the sultanate of Banggai in "ancient times", between the first and fourteenth centuries when Banggai was ruled by four divine beings. These four divine beings are a recurring theme.
Andaya cites the Bikusagara myth which explains the origins of the sultans of the Maluku region. Bikusagara, a mythical ancestor received four *naga* [serpent or dragon] eggs and from these eggs came four sultans, including the sultan of Banggai (1993:53).

In about the thirteenth century, a Javanese ruler arrived in Banggai from the area of Ternate. The descendants from the first god-rulers recognised the ability of the Javanese prince to govern wisely and so they yielded the sultanate to Tomundo-doi-Jawa [the Sultan from Java]. Based on rather slender evidence from a Javanese epic poem, *Nagarakertagama* - probably written in 1365 (Legge 1980:30n) - the writers of the official history suggest that this Tomundo-doi-Jawa was a prince from the Singosari Dynasty of Java who made the sultanate of Banggai a vassal state somewhere between 1222 and 1293 (Proyek 1977/1978b:34–35).

**B. Suzerainty under the Sultan of Ternate: 1580–1900.**

The Maluku Sea is an area in which there has been well developed trade for nearly two thousand years (Wolters 1982:35; Geertz 1963:96; van Leur 1955:117). Originally traders were Arab, Persian, Indian and Chinese and oral tradition suggests that there may have been shipbuilding in Ternate from the twelfth century (Tjandrasasmita 1978:146). By the sixteenth century the sultan of Ternate was at the zenith of his power as the supreme sultan over a well established mandala or "circle of kings" (Wolters 1982:16–19). This mandala extended from the Southern Philippines to Northern and Eastern Sulawesi and throughout Maluku (Abdurachman 1978:181). Probably because of the mythical *naga* eggs, the sultan of Banggai chose to

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1 The Singosari dynasty was a trading dynasty that controlled the spice trade of the Java Sea. The son-in-law of the last sultan of Singosari founded Madjapahit the greatest of all Javanese Territorial Dynasties (van Niel 19:275).
develop links with Ternate rather than with the powerful Bugis and Makassar sultans and consequently became part of the Ternate mandala (Andaya 1993:86). Ships from Ternate visited Banggai. Trading items included sago (Tate 1971:51), iron axes, swords and knives (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962:98). In that period the peoples of Maluku were collecting gongs, ivory and fine porcelain as treasure (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962:96) and today evidence of visitors from Ternate to Banggai remains in the caches of antique Chinese porcelain that are still found in remote areas that face the Maluku Sea.

C. The Mumpu-doi-Jawa Dynasty in the Sultanate of Banggai.

By the sixteenth century traders from East and West were vying for the control of the "Spice Islands", especially Ternate, Tidore and Ambon. Throughout the Archipelago there was conflict as Muslim and Christian traders vied for control of the trade routes (van Niel 1963:276-279). Then, Portugal brought a new element into the trade. With the use of force and by establishing military forts at both Ternate and Ambon, Portugal achieved a monopoly of the spice trade that never would have been achieved by fair competition (Zainu'ddin 1980:73).

In this tumultuous period the Mumpu-doi-Jawa dynasty that ruled the sultanate of Banggai for more than three hundred and fifty years arose. In 1580 AD a Javanese prince, Mumpu-doi-Jawa, arrived, became the sultan and established control over the whole area that is now Kabupaten Banggai. He had three wives, the first the daughter of the sultan of Ternate; the second and third were princesses from Banggai. The names of the two Banggai wives have not been recorded as the royal family was considered divine and their names could not be spoken or written by commoners (Proyek 1977/1978b:55-57).

Because of dissension between his wives and heirs, Mumpu-doi-
Jawa returned to Java, leaving the sultanate in chaos. In his absence four "small sultans" were chosen. Eventually Mumpu-doi-Jawa went to Ternate where the son of the princess from Ternate was enthroned. Thus in about 1600 AD the son of a Javanese prince and a princess from Ternate became the sultan of Banggai and the Mumpu-doi-Jawa dynasty was established as a vassal under the suzerainty of the sultan of Ternate (Proyek 1977/1978b:56)

II TRADING AND NEW IDEAS FROM THE SEA.

A. Ternate and the Challenge of Islam.

Indonesia is an Island archipelago and the world views of its peoples are shaped by the seas which link rather than divide the islands. From the sea have come bearers of new cultures, new ideas, new ideologies and new religions (Chapter 1:7). This was certainly true of the contact between the powerful sultan of Ternate and his vassal in Banggai. Ternate had long been known as a Muslim sultanate and, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Sultan Baab Ullah "was a fanatic Muslim" (Abdurachman 1978:181) considered not only to be the temporal leader, but also *Tubaddilur Rasul* [the Representative of the Apostle], destined by the mercy of God to receive the responsibility of protecting and proclaiming Islam (Putuhena 1980:271). Thus with the sultan of Banggai recognising his place as a vassal of the sultan of Ternate, it was inevitable that Islam, the Court Religion of Ternate, became the court religion of Banggai and also influenced the life of the general population (Putuhena 1980:275).

B. The Challenge of Nationalism.

Under the suzerainty of Ternate the world view of the sultanate of Banggai would have been widened. When the sultan of Ternate defeated enemies or formed alliances with European powers, the people
of Banggai shared in the victories and the seeds of patriotism were sown. When the sultan of Ternate was humiliated by the Dutch, the sultan of Banggai shared his shame and seeds of resentment were sown. The people of the sultanate of Banggai became part of a "shared culture with its patriotism and respect for a national heritage (which) became the root from which grew Indonesian nationalism" (Soelarto: n.d.:44).

C. The Influence of the Bugis.

To the South of the sultanate of Banggai lay the mandala of the sultans of Southern Sulawesi. Here different Bugis and Makassarese sultans were constantly vying for supremacy. The Bugis were among the most skilled sea-farers in the Indonesian Archipelago. They were known as explorers, with a developed cartography and achieved success in the often almost indistinguishable activities of trade and piracy (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962:102; 354n). As they often took their wives on their voyages (Meilink-Roelofsz 1962:86), it was not difficult for them to establish coastal settlements (Hall 1986:373-374) and today the Bugis community is the biggest migrant community in Luwuk-Banggai.

As Bugis sacred writings predated the arrival of Islam, their traditions were retained and the Islam of the Bugis is intertwined with traditional customs and beliefs (Koentjaraningrat 1975b:95). Although the Bugis were slave traders (Bigalke 1983:347), they do not appear to have been involved in this trade in the sultanate of Banggai, hence although present Luwuk-Banggai people consider the Bugis people as pendatang [foreign Indonesians] with a different culture, there is no resentment because of past atrocities.

In the sultanate of Banggai, the Bugis settlers were able to model a way of life that was acceptable to ordinary village people.
These bourgeois Bugis had embraced Islam but at the same time held tenaciously to their own traditional culture. This enabled village people to feel comfortable in accepting the religious forms of Islam while in many ways the challenge of Islam to their traditional culture and world view was minimal.

III COLONIALISM.

A. The VOC in Maluku: 1598-1798.

The end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries was a period of intense rivalry between Portugal, Spain and Holland and also between the various sultans in "the Spice Islands". Although with the use of firearms, Portugal gained the initial foreign entry into Ternate, Portugal was unable to hold Ternate against the superior military organisation of the Dutch (Tate 1971:48). Before the end of the sixteenth century, the Dutch had gained a foothold in Ambon in Southern Maluku where in 1598 the people of Ambon became the first Malay people to sign a treaty with Holland (Tate 1971:53). In 1605 the VOC [Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or United East India Company] was established in Maluku (Andaya 1993:153; Hanna & Alwi 1990:139-150).

Governor General Jan Pieterszoon Coen was the first director of the company and one of the harshest men in the history of Indonesia. His aim was to enhance his own status and fortune by establishing himself as the Dutch Governor General over all of South-East Asia, and then to enrich the share-holders of the VOC by rigidly enforcing a Dutch monopoly of the spice trade. His methods were so "Draconian as to revolt even his contemporaries" (van Niel 1963:280). These included the ruthless execution of chiefs and other leaders "in the slaughter that led to the final subjugation of Northern Maluku" (Tate 1971:54), and forcibly destroying clove trees to maintain high prices on the
European market.

The VOC was not interested in the insignificant sultanate of Banggai from where there was little hope of economic gain. However, as a vassal under the suzerainty of the sultan of Ternate, the sultan of Banggai shared in the shame felt by the proud leaders of the court of Ternate when they were subjugated by the Dutch.

B. Dutch Colonialism in "the Indies" 1800-1942.

Despite its harsh exploitation of "the Indies", by the end of the eighteenth century the VOC was bankrupt and in 1798 was wound up. The assets and debts of the company in Indonesia were taken over by the Dutch Government (Hall 1986:365).

This period of Indonesian History is well documented from a variety of perspectives and only two aspects of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia will be mentioned here: namely the Culture System and the Ethical Policy. Both of these have had an enormous, even if unplanned, impact on the shaping of the world view of every Indonesian person.

i The Culture System.

The Napoleonic Wars in Europe led to Daendels becoming Governor General and introducing numerous legal and administrative reforms (van Niel 1963:283). These reforms were continued during the British interregnum when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was appointed as Lieutenant-Governor of Java. According to Ricklefs, "Raffles stands in the annals of colonial history as a great reformer". He saw "'native welfare' as a concern of government" while "his introduction of the 'land rent' (land tax) system laid the foundation for the later growth of the money economy" (1981:110).

Following the brief Raffles period, the Dutch regained control of "The Indies" but continued to implement many of Raffles' ideas,
including the Culture System. Under this system the Javanese peasants were forced to set aside a proportion of their land to produce crops required by the Dutch. Although the culture system only applied in Java, it became the foundation on which a money economy was to be built and this has subsequently affected the world view of almost every person in Indonesia.

The Culture System confirmed the sultans in their traditional role of leadership and so social stratification was given a stamp of approval by a Western Power.

ii The Ethical Policy and Western Education.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century new concepts of humanitarianism in Europe led to the formation of the Ethical Policy which failed in its aim to improve the lot of the "Indians" (Legge 1980:97–98).

However, the Ethical Policy had unplanned effects that permanently and radically changed the world view of every person in Indonesia. Because of the Ethical Policy a small number of Indonesians were given a "good" Dutch education which the Dutch authorities hoped would free Indonesians "from the narrow confines of Islam" (Benda 1958:27). However, in terms of freeing educated Indonesians from Islam, this was a total failure. Rather it "created an important and vocal class of discontented people and contributed enormously to the intellectual ferment of Indonesia's awakening and nationalism" (Legge 1980:104).

Meanwhile, in the Christian communities in Eastern Indonesia, Dutch education had other unplanned effects. By the end of the nineteenth century a small number of Ambonese Christians in Maluku had successfully completed Dutch education and a Christian elite had developed. Many of these were alienated from village life and became minor officials in the Dutch administration (Chauvel 1990:33).
C. Dutch Colonialism in Luwuk-Banggai: 1906-1942.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Dutch started to establish themselves as overlords of the Outer Islands, and in 1905 under the pretence of subduing tribal warfare, they used military force to subdue the whole island of Sulawesi (Proyek 1978/1979:30). They then established administrative capitals at Makassar [Ujung Pandang] and Manado. Dutch rule began officially in the sultanate of Banggai in 1906. With the establishment of colonial rule, the suzerainty of the sultan of Ternate over the sultan of Banggai ceased (Junus 1986:2) and the focus of the people of Luwuk-Banggai moved from the sea to the mainland of Sulawesi.

By then the sultanate of Banggai was an established political organisation with a clearly defined pattern of control. This was a pyramid shaped form of administration moving down from the sultan through a high court official called basalo sangkap, [preserver of culture] to the four district heads called sangaji. The basalo sangkap interpreted and advised the sultan on matters of adat [traditional culture]. This was enforced through the sangaji who had the task of controlling the proletariat by teaching and enforcing customary law: partly through telling stories of cultural heroes who obeyed customary law; partly through shaming those who transgressed customary law; partly through threats of possible supernatural intervention should the customary law be transgressed; and finally with sanctions against the transgressors.

The Dutch promoted the sultan of Banggai to the position of a legal servant of the Dutch government, using traditional ceremonies and regalia. In token of his office as a sultan under Dutch rule, he was provided with a gold trimmed uniform, while on his hat were the letters "W.H.", a shortened form of Wilhelmina. The hurt that this paternalism produced is described by Soelarto in his discussion of a
similar situation in Ternate:

The Dutch were the only Western power that used paternalism to emphasise a close relationship between the Government of the East Indies and the Sultans. The Sultan was accorded the role of a child Representative of the Government, in this case the Dutch Resident. The Sultan was required to call the Resident, "Father" and the Governor, "Grandfather" (n.d.:44).

As Kabupaten Banggai was progressively brought under the control of Dutch law, coconut plantations were established and the corvée was introduced for a program of road-building that would enable the produce from new plantations to be exported. Such activities continued the process of moving the focus of Luwuk-Banggai from the Maluku Sea to the mainland of the island of Sulawesi.

Although in other areas the Dutch Government established "good" Dutch education, the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai were not considered worthy of this privilege. Hence the only schools were church schools where Malay [Indonesian] was the language of instruction and teachers were sent from established Protestant Churches in Ambon and Minahasa (Tolombot 1986:47).


A The Arrival of the Japanese.

The Japanese Occupation of Indonesia is a period in Indonesia's history that has been thoroughly documented from many points of view. Irrespective of how the Japanese Occupation is interpreted, it is clear that it provided the challenge, the motivation and final catalyst that led to the "final dissolution of the old order" (McCoy 1980:1).

2 Chapter 16:304-309 examines the role of education in the life and ministry of the GKLB.
Indonesian Independence is irrefutably linked with the surrender of the Japanese, for on the fifteenth August 1945 Japan surrendered unconditionally and two days later on the seventeenth of August 1945 Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the Independence of the Nation of Indonesia.

In many areas of Indonesia, including Gorontalo to the north of Luwuk and Bone to its south, the arrival of the Japanese was warmly welcomed (Reid 1980:18). Japanese radio broadcasts proclaimed that Japanese and Indonesians were brothers (Proyek 1977/1978b:154) and initially the Japanese supported and established Indonesian nationalist movements (Sievers 1974:156).

However the Japanese had a war to fight and they were there to exploit the resources of Indonesia, particularly rubber and oil (Ricklefs 1981:188). As the war progressed, food shortages and famine became a major problem. The Indonesian peoples were forced to produce and deliver food to the Japanese. Thus, little by little, Japanese-Indonesian relationships deteriorated until earlier cordiality was replaced by hatred.

B. The Japanese Occupation in Luwuk.

In March 1942 a Japanese base was established in Luwuk and the Japanese moved the headquarters of the Kabupaten from Banggai to Luwuk. A high ranking Japanese officer was placed in charge of the area (Junus 1986:5). However for the Luwuk-Banggai people disillusionment quickly followed and:

It soon became clear that the Glorious New East Asia that Japan talked about was Asia conquered and dominated by Japan ....

We were mere slaves, ruled by an iron hand (Proyek 1977/1978b:154).
Many atrocities were committed in Luwuk. The sultan was accorded some respect because he had the title of sultan. However women of all rank became slave labourers and were sexually abused by Japanese soldiers. If members of the family of the raped woman protested, they were murdered. The men were used as forced labourers to build roads and forts and to prepare caves as air-raid shelters and places where the Japanese could store food. Near starving Luwuk people were forced to produce food for the Japanese.

"The rights of the people were taken from them, their wealth was plundered and their energy used . . . . The promised Independence meant subjugation and persecution" (Proyek 1977/1978b:156).

V HISTORICAL FACTORS AND WORLD VIEW.

As we scan a period of almost two thousand years of history we see that historical factors have directly or indirectly affected the present world views in transition of the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai. Although there is a constant movement towards modern Indonesian world views, the following complexes of factors continue to interact, thereby confirming, challenging, or changing local world views:

A. Factors Concerning Leadership, Authority and Class Stratification.

The ancient world of the sultans demanded a leader whose power was validated by a supra-cultural being or power. The Dutch came and placed their stamp of approval on this class stratification and consciously used the tradition of four divinely appointed leaders as a means of effective administration. Today the world of the sultans has passed, but the world view of the sultans continues. All leaders - in both church and state - possess educational qualifications: the new esoteric knowledge. Hence they are accorded the right to lead and
enjoy the highest social status while the rest of the population obediently submits and often allows itself to be exploited.

B. **Factors Concerned with Relationships with the Supra-Cultural World.**

Old supra-cultural powers are seen as co-existing with the new supra-cultural powers. Village people saw Bugis people simultaneously embracing Islam and the traditional Bugis religion, and this became a model followed by generations of Luwuk-Banggai people who consider syncretistic beliefs and patterns of behaviour normal.

At the same time there is concern with using correct language when dealing with supra-cultural powers. Just as in the past sultans had to be correctly addressed, so today God must be appropriately addressed. This makes the form and language of prayer an extremely important matter in the Christian community (Chapter 14:233-234).

C. **Factors Concerned with Feelings about Nationalism.**

The court of Ternate taught the court of Banggai that they were part of a much wider world. They demonstrated that Portuguese and Dutch traders were not always invincible and the people of Ternate had the power to defeat them. Also, through following Ternate in embracing Islam, the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai became part of an international brotherhood.

With the coming of the Dutch the focus of political power moved from Ternate to Sulawesi and Jakarta. It was the start of an Indonesian world view. When finally the Japanese left, most people in Luwuk-Banggai were convinced that the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia must be claimed and maintained at all costs.
D. Factors Concerned with Progress.

Well-educated members of the Ambonese and Manadonese Christian communities were sent to Luwuk-Banggai where they played a significant role in establishing the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai. Just as the Bugis *pendatang* modelled popular Islam and a more progressive life style to village peoples so the Ambonese and Manadonese *pendatang* demonstrated the Eastern Indonesian Christian, educated world view to village people in Luwuk-Banggai (Chapter 10:127).

Furthermore, the Culture System in nineteenth century Java, was the start of a money economy for all of Indonesia. With progress and modernisation new needs have been created and the people of Luwuk-Banggai increasingly need money to satisfy these needs. The importance of a money economy may well have brought the most radical change of all in the world view of the people of Luwuk-Banggai.
CHAPTER 7.
INDEPENDENCE, NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AND
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW NATION.

I THE STRUGGLE FOR
INDEPENDENCE AND NATIONALISM PRIOR TO 1945.

The Indonesian Nationalist Movement that culminated in the Proclamation of Independence in 1945 began early in the twentieth century. Throughout the history of Dutch colonialism there were always individuals and groups who attempted to reject the authority of the foreign overlords. In 1910, in Kabupaten Banggai, Laginda from the Balantak area led a small scale guerilla movement. The Dutch captured him, cut off his right hand, and imprisoned him as an example to other rebels. However, a song written about Laginda praising his courage became popular and inspired others to plan for revolution (Proyek 1982/1983:112-113).

In the early twentieth century an educated, discontented, and politically active elite emerged (Chapter 6:69). This period saw the birth of Budi Utomo, the first significant national movement that was based on the Western concept of nationalism (Darmaputera 1988a:147). Throughout the second and third decades of the twentieth century, there was a plethora of politically oriented groups that were predominantly "anti-colonial, anti-Chinese, Islamic and socialist" (Vreeland 1975:28). However, nationalist activities also flourished in Christian groups who realised that it was essential for Christians to be recognised as nationalists and not mere tools of the Dutch (Wertheim 1956:63). In this period, Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta, who eventually become the President and Vice President of the Republic, emerged as leaders. Sukarno provided charismatic leadership in Indonesia while Hatta led the thinkers and planners in Holland. Sukarno was popularly and affectionately known as Bung Karno, a Javanese name
that suggested that he was the eldest brother of a family that reached from Java to the distant regions of the archipelago.

Various religious, educational, literary and political movements also emerged and paved the way for Independence. The most important of these were Sarekat Islam (SI) [Islamic Union], the National Indies Party, and Muhammadiyah – the reforming and modernising movement of Islam which is still active today (Chapter 9:115-117).

A. The Educational and Literary Movements.

In Kabupaten Banggai these religious, educational and literary movements led to an "awakening of a national consciousness" (Proyek 1982/1983:48). In Bunta a library was established, modelled on those already established in Java and Sumatra (Proyek 1982/1983:49; Peacock 1973:70-71). There people could read of the struggles for Independence. Voluntary contributions provided funds for subscriptions to newspapers that included Harian Bendera Islam [The Flag of Islam], and a variety of publications from Java, Sumatra, and Cairo that reported on planning for freedom (Proyek 1982/1983:49-50).

B. The Political Movements.

The educational movements were part of the political movements. The earliest of these was SI which had grown out of the Islamic Merchants' Union. It was both anti-Chinese and anti-Dutch. Many of the early members of SI were also members of Muhammadiyah. However as SI developed into Indonesia's first mass organisation, it became a target for Communist infiltration. This resulted in a change from peaceful opposition to violent hostility. Acts of aggression against the Dutch led to harsh reprisals and the exile of many SI leaders. Islamic influence then led to the expulsion of the Communist element from the SI and the subsequent formation of the PKI, the
Indonesian Communist Party, which continued as a dominant force in Indonesian politics until 1965 (Peacock 1973:73; Vreeland 1975:29).

The influence of the PKI was felt throughout Indonesia, and in many areas there were planned insurrections against the Dutch. In the Bunta area of Kabupaten Banggai, Hajji Sunusi Manganco and his followers planned to rebel against the Dutch (Proyek 1982/1983:56). However, the outbreak was crushed and the leaders were among the thousand suspected Communists who were exiled to the malarial swamps of the upper Digul River in New Guinea (Peacock 1973:74).

The failure of the SI and the suppression of an attempted Communist uprising led to formation of the Partai Nasional Indonesia - PNI [Indonesian Nationalist Party]. In the 1930s Sukarno's charismatic appeal, his representation of himself as the Raja Adil [Just King] of Javanese mythology, and his gift of oratory inspired revolutionary feelings in many Indonesians but incurred the wrath of the Dutch (Peacock 1973:75). In 1932 the Dutch exiled Sukarno to the Island of Flores where although he could no longer organise the resistance movement he created symbols of enduring power.

Under his leadership the nationalist movement acquired the concept of a national language, "Bahasa Indonesia" (the Indonesian language), a red and white flag, an anthem "Indonesia Raja"¹ and it popularized the name Indonesia (Peacock 1973:76).

In 1933, at Bunta, in Kabupaten Banggai, the Muslim Feast Day of Idul Quaban was used as an Independence rally with nationalistic speeches and the singing of Indonesia Raya. A Dutch official reported the incident and the leaders of the meeting were taken to Luwuk,

¹ Indonesia Raya [Glorious Indonesia] is now the National Anthen.

On the eve of the Japanese occupation, leaders from the political movement *Gerakan Merah Putih* [the Red and White Movement] crossed from Gorontalo in Northern Sulawesi to Pagaimana in Kabupaten Banggai. A meeting was held in the home of a Chinese trader, Theng Fu Yung (Proyek 1979/1980:14) and in the light of international events the meeting decided to prepare for revolution against the Dutch (Proyek 1982/1983:115). In February 1942, members of *Gerakan Merah Putih* marched from Pagaimana to Luwuk and captured the Luwuk radio station. They then imprisoned both Dutch civil servants and Indonesians who had been faithful to the Dutch. This was followed by an official ceremony transferring authority from the Dutch Governor to the *Gerakan Merah Putih* (Proyek 1982/1983:117-118). The Dutch Red, White, and Blue flag was taken down; the blue section was ripped off; and the Red and White flag was raised in its place (Proyek 1979/1980:16). Sultan Syukuran Amir was appointed as leader of the revolutionary movement in Kabupaten Banggai (Junus 1986:5).

Indonesians who had been Dutch public servants were released after swearing allegiance to the proposed new nation and the Dutch prisoners were transported to Gorontalo where they were handed over to leaders of the *Gerakan Merah Putih* (Proyek 1982/1983:109-120) and subsequently to the Japanese. Two Dutch clergymen who had been working in Luwuk-Banggai were among the prisoners (Chapter 10:131).

On May 17, 1942, the Japanese arrived in Luwuk and took over the government, claiming that the Indonesians were not yet ready to govern themselves (Chapter 6:72ff). The Japanese occupation lasted until the end of the Pacific War. On August 15, 1945, World War II ended. By this time the world views of the peoples of Indonesia had

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2 It is interesting that this meeting was held in a Chinese home, as the independence movement is generally perceived as having been anti-Dutch and anti-Chinese.
been challenged so that they were ready to claim their independence. Hatred of foreign overlords, Dutch and Japanese, had become the catalyst that had prepared a people with a world view that was willing to strive for independence. Symbols had been created that were indicators of a new world view in which Indonesia was a free nation. There was a flag to raise; a national anthem, *Indonesia Raya*, to sing; and in "Bung Karno" there was a charismatic figure able to inspire millions of Indonesians in the far flung islands of a diverse archipelago with the world view that they were "One Nation, with One Language: Indonesia".³


On August 17, 1945, two days after the unconditional surrender of the Japanese to the allied forces, Sukarno read a short, simple declaration:

We, the peoples of Indonesia, hereby declare Indonesia's independence. Matters concerning the transfer of power and other matters will be executed in an orderly manner and in the shortest possible time (Legge 1972:201).

The allies did not at first recognise this proclamation (Sievers 1974:161) and five years of independence fighting passed before, on December 27, 1949, the Netherlands "unconditionally and irrevocably" transferred Dutch sovereignty to the "Republic of the Federated States of Indonesia" (Spruyt & Robertson 1973:163). However, for Indonesians August 17, 1945 is commemorated as *Hari Kemerdekaan* [Freedom Day] and is regarded by Indonesians "as the beginning of their nationhood"

³ The opening line of the theme song of TVRI [Indonesian National Television].
This date is symbolised in Indonesia's national emblem where the Garuda Eagle is the central motif with its feathers representing the date: 17-8-45. There are seventeen wing feathers, eight tail feathers, and forty five body feathers. (See Appendix 2.) Each year on the seventeenth of August, almost the whole nation watches the televised ceremony from the Freedom Palace in Jakarta where the original flag that first flew in 1945 is again raised.

The years 1945 to 1950 saw civil war, with Holland trying to regain control of "the Indies" while the revolutionary government was fighting to maintain their proclaimed independence. There were two periods of Dutch police action, and in the second of these the Dutch captured and imprisoned the leaders of the republic, Sukarno and Hatta (May 1978:61; Zainu'ddin 1980:234). The Dutch also attempted to divide Indonesia into East and West so that Holland could control the economic riches of Eastern Indonesia (Ricklefs 1981:211) and form a Dutch puppet state there (Proyek 1979/1980:123).

In Sulawesi, the revolutionary government appointed Dr. Sam Ratulangi, a Manadonese Christian, as the Governor of the whole island. Dr. Ratulangi wrote to all areas advising them of the proclamation of independence and instructed them to maintain this independence (Proyek 1979/1980:76; Ricklefs 1981:202). When the allied forces arrived in Luwuk on November 3, 1945, Luwuk freedom fighters were ready to defend their independence. As a sultan who had shown himself loyal to the Dutch, Sultan Amir was reinstated by the occupying forces as Sultan of Banggai, but in the light of Dr. Ratulangi's letter, he was confused (Proyek 1979/1980:92-97).

Sulawesi was quickly subjected to Dutch control and the revolutionary leaders including Dr. Ratulangi were imprisoned. This was to have serious consequences for everyone in Sulawesi, including Christians, as Sulawesi was robbed of its leadership. In this vacuum
the terrorist movement of Kahar Muzakkar that ravaged much of Southern and Central Sulawesi flourished (Kirk 1986:43-44; Ricklefs 1981:210).

Throughout Indonesia, Christians emerged among the leaders and fought side by side with their Muslim compatriots in a unified struggle to defend their own land. These leaders included Dr. Ratulangi; Batak military leader, General (later Dr.) T.B. Simatupang; and Amir Syarifuddin who was one of the leading negotiators with the Dutch. Syarifuddin subsequently became a Socialist Prime Minister before he himself was killed by rival factions in the revolution (Crouch 1979 170-171; Sievers 1974:161-163; Simatupang 1986:10).

In terms of shaping the world view of the Christian community, this period was extremely important. Through their active participation in the struggle for Independence, the Indonesian Christian Community demonstrated that an integral element of the Christian world view was loyalty to the new nation of Indonesia.

III THE SUKARNO ERA.

Early official Independence was a time of "tremendous optimism and high hopes". Many Javanese peasants saw in Sukarno the Raja Adil, the promised, messianic Righteous King of their mythology (Zainu'ddin 1980:234). He was perceived as the symbol and embodiment of Indonesian nationalism (Legge 1972:234). However the tasks of rebuilding an impoverished nation and planning for the first national election were massive. Economic conditions were worsening (Ricklefs 1981:233); the leaders were divided among themselves; and there was serious competition in "the struggle for the political allegiance of the Indonesian people" (Benda 1958:204). The revolutionary fight had been the main uniting factor, and after the defeat of the Dutch, diversity and heterogeneity manifested themselves (Darmaputera 1988a:24).
Plans were made to hold national elections in 1955 and there were changes in regional administrative areas. The Province of Central Sulawesi was divided into the present four Kabupaten and administrative centres, and Sultan Amir was replaced by a Bupati (Junus 1986:5). However, politically, the nation was far from stable and different pressure groups struggled for the ascendancy, particularly the Muslim fundamentalists, the army, and the Communist Party. The elections produced no unified solution and there was an ominous split between Java and the outer islands (Ricklefs 1981:238). Sukarno attempted to assume autocratic leadership (Fryer & Jackson 1977:87) through his concept of "Guided Democracy" (Spruyt & Robertson 1973:179) and, in effect, triumphed over his compatriots. He then claimed absolute authority for himself. It was a period of grandiose schemes (Zainu'ddin 1968:261) but with an absence of programs "for major social or economic change" (Fryer & Jackson 1977:87).

This led to the development of resistance groups that finally caused Sukarno's overthrow. These groups can roughly be divided into regional groups and political groups, especially the PKI.

A. The Regional Groups.

None of these was actually present in Luwuk-Banggai. However they were strong in Southern Sulawesi, Northern Sulawesi and Ambon, the "home" areas of many of the Luwuk-Banggai pendatang.

Darul Islam.

This movement was established in Southern Sulawesi and led by Lieutenant-Colonel Kahar Muzakkar who had had a distinguished army

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4 This period will be returned to in Chapter 15 on The Church as a Bureaucracy, as the pattern of Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" is being repeated in the context of a power struggle among leaders of the Christian Church of Luwuk Banggai.
record. According to an anthropologist who worked in Muzakkar's home area, Muzakkar's involvement should not be seen as an "outbreak of regionalism", but rather as a manifestation of the Bugis concept of siri, a complex concept of shame that is basic to the Bugis world view. In Java, Muzakkar and his followers had fought for Independence but because they had not been given positions in the new Indonesian army they felt deeply shamed (Errington 1989:17). They reacted by joining the Darul Islam movement which had begun in 1948 protesting against the central government in Jakarta and aiming to develop an Islamic state. As the years passed, it became "progressively more difficult to distinguish (Darul Islam) from simple banditry, extortion and terrorism on a grand scale" (Ricklefs 1981:215). Muzakkar led the movement in Southern and Central Sulawesi where, from the mid 1950s to the mid 1960s, most areas were in a state of virtual anarchy, experiencing incredible hardship and suffering. Many of the Christians chose to flee to the protection of the Indonesian army bases. Subsequently, many became refugees and established new communities in Central Sulawesi (Kirk 1986).

ii The RMS, Republik Maluku Selatan [Republic of South Maluku].

This functioned between 1950-1952 when there was an attempt to establish an independent republic which had close links with Holland (Cooley 1968:23). Wertheim suggests that this activity was probably the result of social discontent caused by the Communist element (1987:71). However, Chauvel suggests that it was predominantly a Christian movement that feared the loss of traditional Ambonese privilege in a Government from Jakarta which was strongly influenced by Islam. The movement was quickly suppressed, but it seriously divided the Ambonese political elite and proved to be "an unmitigated tragedy for the society that it was supposed to protect" (Chauvel
iii The Permesta Movement.

This movement divided Northern Sulawesi from 1958 to 1962 (Cooley 1968:23). It was not a secession movement, but rather representative of a division between the national leaders. Sukarno had emerged as an autocrat and a despot. Hatta, co-founder of the nation, had been ousted from the position of Deputy President and, together with the powerful Sultan of Yogyakarta, he established a revolutionary council in Sumatra focussing on anti-communism and economic problems, particularly the mismanagement, inefficiency and corruption in the central government in Jakarta. This movement spread from Sumatra to Northern Sulawesi (Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:42-44; Zainu'ddin 1968:254-256). Although the Permesta movement in Northern Sulawesi caused much suffering before it was defeated by the Jakarta Government, it has not left the bitterness or the enduring scars that have been left by the RMS.

B. PKI [The Indonesian Communist Party].

Communism in Indonesia had a long history. There was a PKI branch at Bunta in the 1930s. Sukarno as a young man showed interest in Marxism, recognising in it elements that could be combined with Islam to provide the theoretical base for Indonesian nationalism (Legge 1972:81). Over the years Sukarno's attitudes towards Communism oscillated, at times suppressing the PKI: at other times encouraging it as he sought Russian aid to build overt symbols of nationalism and power (Fryer & Jackson 1977:87; Legge 1972:359-365).

In the late 1950s the economy worsened, malnutrition and disease became rampant (Peacock 1973:91) and, throughout the country, middle and low level public servants were unable to eke out an existence on their tiny and often unpaid salaries. In desperation many such
groups turned to the PKI as a saviour from their economic deprivation, and in many areas teachers joined the PKI (Webb 1986:151). These included many school teachers in Luwuk-Banggai.

With *Permesta* having been suppressed by the Central Government, by 1965 a crisis was inevitable, and in the early hours of October 1, 1965 an attempted coup took place in Jakarta. Six army generals were abducted and murdered. The Halim Army Base was taken over and the Jakarta Radio Station seized. General Suharto moved in to neutralise the opposition and within twenty four hours the Halim Army Base was recaptured and the rebels defeated (Legge 1972:386-389). Although the interpretations of the event are varied, it is clear that the coup failed and the Communists were blamed. Reprisals from anti-communist mobs waged a "one-sided war against anyone they conceived as the enemy, massacring hundreds of thousands of Communists, pro-Communists, ethnic Chinese, and other real or fancied accomplices in the coup" (Sievers 1974:2).

Within two years General Suharto was officially elected President and the New Order was established. Sukarno's rule had come to an end and he spent the remainder of his days under virtual house arrest in the palace at Bogor. Although Sukarno died in near disgrace, leaving a country in turmoil, he is now recognised as the founding father of the nation and honoured with an appropriate mausoleum (Lindsey 1993:166-169). In his formulation of the *Pancasila*, Sukarno laid the foundations for an Indonesian world view that is uniting Indonesia into a stable political state where increasingly "the basic needs of a large proportion of the population" are being "substantially improved" (Hooker & Dick 1993:2).
IV PRESIDENT SUHARTO AND ORBA [NEW ORDER] INDONESIA.

Following the fall of Sukarno a new period of Indonesian history began. This is known as the New Order or *Orba*. Suharto differs in many ways from his predecessor. He is neither a charismatic leader nor a founding father of the republic. He is the Indonesian soldier who worked his way to the top through a combination of hard work, submission to his army superiors, and stubborn tenacity. Through an arranged marriage he established a monogamous family with a style of family life that members of the Luwuk Christian community consider an example for all Indonesians. He is a faithful Muslim but also a Javanese mystic striving for harmony and seeking to avoid religious clashes (Roeder 1970:78).

In 1971 the PKI was banned (Peacock 1973:92). Former Communists who had survived the earlier mob massacres were either imprisoned, exiled or stripped of all rights and authority. In Central Sulawesi, this had serious repercussions which are still being felt today. Teachers who had been members of the PKI were removed and a generation of children in Luwuk-Banggai were deprived of trained teachers. Children were often taught by people who were "politically sound" but lacked basic skills in literacy and numeracy. Present day teachers claim that this is reflected in low academic standards throughout Central Sulawesi today.

There is still no official forgiveness for an ex-Communist. Such a person is forbidden to hold any government office, refused an Indonesian passport, and forbidden by law from holding the office of church deacon. Their children, too, are discriminated against when they seek entrance into tertiary educational institutions.

In the early days, *Orba* stressed progress that was based on

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5 See Chapter 15:266 for a brief reference to nepotism in the Suharto family.
"stability and centrally controlled government" (Hooker & Dick 1993:3). All political parties were drawn under the umbrella of Golkar or Golongan Karya [Functional Groups]. Golkar is financed by government funds and emphasises development (Peacock 1973:92). Although Golkar is still in control, the Islamic Party and the Democratic Party are both growing. In Luwuk several members of the clergy are members of the Democratic Party and have served as members of the local parliament.

Orba economic planning has resulted in a series of Repelita [Five Year Plans]. These plans have addressed economic issues and have included family planning. These plans have resulted in unquestioned economic growth and community development. In Luwuk, prior to each election, a large project which benefits the whole community has been completed. These have included the television station; a modern hospital; improved roads, bridges and port facilities; and an automatic telephone exchange. It is planned that the 400 kilometre link road from the Trans-Sulawesi Highway to Luwuk will be completed as a first class highway before the 1996 election.

Thus 1994 shows Indonesia as a country that is politically stable and progressing economically. This progress is enjoyed not only by the emerging affluent middle class but also by many village people. Certainly there is an element in the International Press that suggests that the Indonesian Government is an oppressive military regime, particularly in East Timor, but many Indonesians appear to regard the Indonesian army as an instrument of stabilisation, unification and modernisation. Nevertheless, there is evidence of growing unrest as the financial associations between the army and Chinese financiers becomes more overt and people within Indonesia join Western observers and see the Indonesian army as "predators" maintaining a "kraton state" with "firm authority over all facets of Indonesian life" (McGuire & Hering 1987:208). However, most Christians in Luwuk want
the army to stay in control because, without the protection of an army in which a significant proportion of officers are Christians, they fear Islamic domination (cf. Wertheim 1980:16).

Before concluding this chapter on Independence in Indonesia, it is necessary to look at the **Pancasila**, the national philosophy that is both the political philosophy and foundation on which the nation is built and the philosophical world view which enables the five diverse, official religions to exist in harmony.⁶

V THE **PANCASILA** AND **INDONESIAN WORLD VIEW.**

From the perspective of 1994, it is safe to state that Sukarno's greatest contribution to the nation of Indonesia was the formulation of the **Pancasila**, the Five Principles of the National Philosophy, i.e.

1. (The Principal of) One Lordship.⁷
2. (A) Just and Civilized Humanity.
3. (The) Unity of Indonesia.
4. (The principle of) Peoplehood which is Guarded by the Spirit of Wisdom in Deliberation/Representation.

In June 1945, prior to the end of the Japanese occupation and the proclamation of Indonesian Independence, Sukarno, with a masterly piece of oratory, challenged the still occupied Nation of Indonesia to nationalism and patriotism. He stressed that the new nation of Indonesia would need democracy, social justice, and belief in God (Abdulgani 1978:269).

Sukarno used a variety of philosophical and ethical sources

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⁶ The **Pancasila** as the philosophical world view in which Indonesian religions exist will be discussed in Chapter 13.

⁷ See Chapter 13:191 for a discussion of the meaning of the word *Tuhao*.
including Lenin, Sun Yat Sen and Gandhi (Sukarno 1984:141) and drew on the wealth of the ancient Indonesian cultures (Sukarno 1984:146). As a Muslim, Sukarno stressed that belief in God was imperative and would have to be nurtured within the context of the *Pancasila* (1984:149) while to achieve the desired new nation, people would have to be willing to work their "fingers to the bones" for the good of the nation (1984:155).

It is highly probably that when the exiled Sukarno formulated the *Pancasila*, he was considering a nation that was Islamic, socialist, and also anti-colonial, thereby precluding Christians who were often perceived as instruments of the Dutch. However, as mentioned above, from the beginning of the Independence Movement, Christians such as Ratulangi, Simatupang and Syarifuddin emerged as leaders and were representative of the millions of Christians who were willing to fight for the independence of their nation. Consequently, before the *Pancasila* was officially accepted, Christian leaders entered into the formal discussions on the formulation of the *Pancasila*. As a result the meaning of belief in the One True Lord was defined so that it was equally applicable to Muslims and Christians (Simatupang 1986:11). Although the concepts and the wording of *Pancasila* were legally accepted in 1945, the understanding of *Pancasila* has not been static. Darmaputra points out that the *Pancasila* brings harmony because it allows for variation in the ways in which it is interpreted. Each group, Christian, Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist, is able to maintain its identity while engaging in continuous dialogues with the other groups (1988a:177).

In modern Indonesia the study of the *Pancasila* is a constant and ongoing process for adults and children. School children from four year olds at pre-school to post graduate students at university,
study *Pendidikan Moral dan Pancasila, PMP*, [Moral Education and the *Pancasila*] as a formal, examinable subject following prescribed text books. The following material from a high school text book sums up the present national teaching on belief in the One True Lord in the *Pancasila*:

The Proclamation of Independence in 1945 guaranteed the right of every Indonesian to worship God in accord with his or her own conscience .... Chapter 29.1 of the initial Proclamation of Independence states that the foundation of the Nation is the Lordship of the One True Lord .... Indonesia recognises five official religions: Islam; Protestant Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism and Hinduism .... All Indonesians are expected to be regular, practising members of their own religion and are required to live in harmony with people of other religions. (Departemen 1983:5-9).

Thus the *Pancasila* provides an official world view within which all members of the independent nation of Indonesia can function. In the *Pancasila* State, Christians are Indonesians. They neither have the right to feel superior as "Brown Dutchmen", nor do they need to feel inferior as members of a minority group. An integral part of the world view of all Indonesians is the self-respect that comes from being Indonesian.
CHAPTER 8.
RELIGIOUS FACTORS 1:
LOCAL RELIGIONS IN LUWUK-BANGGAI.

I DEFINING AND DESCRIBING LOCAL RELIGIONS IN LUWUK-BANGGAI.

Most, if not all, members of the three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic groups belong to an official religion that is approved of in terms of the *Pancasila*. However, many also follow the practices and adhere to the world views of local religions. In Chapter 4 ambivalent Indonesian attitudes towards local religions were discussed and attention was drawn to Darmaputera's analysis of the *Pancasila* in which he demonstrated that the *Pancasila* enables local religions to coexist with Islam or Christianity (Chapter 4:36; Darmaputra 1988a:182).

Nevertheless, increasingly there is a polarisation between local religions and beliefs in *Tuhan Mahaesa* [the Supreme Lord] (Subagya 1981:242) and many people are ambivalent towards local religions. Seminars on culture and religion are frequently held in an attempt to document and preserve local religions as part of the national heritage: yet at other times local religions are regarded as hindrances to development. Kipp and Rodgers suggest that the policy of Indonesian schools is to inculcate the concept that *agama* [a state approved religion] is "progressive" so,

by an implicit logic of opposites, the official endorsement of *agama* makes those persons without *agama* appear to be disloyal national citizens, uncommitted to the values of the *Pancasila*, not to mention intellectually and morally backward (1987:23).

Thus the formal educational process results in Indonesians being more critical of perceived syncretism than are Westerners who study their cultures.

A major problem in attempting to describe local religions is the
obstruction of world views both of the informers and the researchers. This occurs in many ways. It is widely recognised that the world view of the Western observer may lead to his or her adjusting facts in accordance with preconceived ideas (e.g. Tobing 1963:30). Similarly, Indonesian informers also operate within the parameters of their own world views. Basic to many Indonesian world views are "beliefs in multitudinous spirit worlds, morally charged cosmic forces, and supernaturally potent religious objects" (Kipp & Rodgers 1987:3). However, younger educated Indonesians often find it difficult to describe what they perceive as primitive religions in a way that is not pejorative.

Thus the following description of local religion in Luwuk-Banggai is an "interpretive encounter" (Atkinson 1987:171) in which the writer has attempted to "to listen to the culture" (Schreiter 1986:53) and "to operate from within" the culture (Tobing 1963:30) of Luwuk-Banggai peoples. The local religion has been described in terms of categories already used by people from Central Sulawesi to describe their own traditional beliefs (Proyek 1977/1978a:86-103; Tolombot 1986:18-34). Basic to this "interpretive encounter" is the methodology described in Chapter 2 (Chapter 2:21ff).

II BELIEFS IN SUPRA-CULTURAL BEINGS AND POWERS.

In the context of Kabupaten Banggai, local religion refers to the unique religious belief systems of the Banggai, Balantak and Saluan peoples before they were influenced from without. Such religions were considered "pure, uncontaminated by external beliefs, and were ethnic religions in the sense of belonging to one discrete local group" (Tolombot 1986:18). "Their beliefs included animism; beliefs in the supernatural; and dynamism. People were bound in their beliefs in gods, ghosts, magical and supernatural powers" (Proyek 1977/1978a:86).
Aspects of these beliefs include:

A. **Beliefs in Divine Beings and Supernatural Power.**

   i  **A Remote Supreme Being.**

   Most ethnic groups in Central Sulawesi believed that there was a remote being who owned and guarded the cosmos and the earth. He was a capricious, unapproachable being who was recognised as *Tuhan* [The Lord] (Proyek 1977/1978a:87). According to Tolombot,

   The Banggai Tribe believed in one god who was higher than all others and who was called *pilogot*. *Pilogot* was the word for god, *tomundo* meant king, while *no* meant without ending. So *Pilogot Tomundono* meant the king god. This king god was so high above human beings that they needed to believe in a pantheon of relevant, lower gods (1986:19-20).

   Palali states that all three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic groups recognised *pilogot* and their supernatural powers (Palali 1994). Balantak informers show the effect of centuries of Islamic influence when they use the Arabic form *Ala'ta'ala*, for this distant creator god. This god did not meddle in the affairs of men and, although his presence was recognised, he was neither placated nor worshipped (Busenitz 1989:6).

   Matabe, a Banggai speaking clergyman, tells of the search by the Banggai people for *Tamabisa*, a being who would live "within" people.

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1 The Indonesia words *Allah*, *Tuhan* and *dewa*, can be confusing, as all, from time to time, are translated as God or god. *Allah* is used in Indonesia by both Muslims and Christians for the monotheistic, transcendent God. *Tuhan*, often refers to *Tuhan Mahaesa* [One Lordship] as used in the *Pancasila*. The word *dewa* means "gods", supra-cultural beings that are usually not represented by idols. This is the word used by both Proyek Penelitian and Tolombot when describing the beings of local religion.

2 Palali is a Saluan man recently retired from the Department of Education and Culture and recognised as an expert on local culture.
Using an approach similar to Richardson's "redemptive analogies" (1981), Matabe suggests that Tamabisa, has now become known in Jesus Christ. However, most other Banggai-speaking ministers and deacons feel that this is an inappropriate name for God or Christ. Although Matabe's material is difficult to verify, it should not automatically be discarded. It does illustrate ways in which the world views of informants influence description of unwritten traditions. Being the son of a dukun (shaman) and having been brought up within the context of overt shamanism, Matabe has an unusual empathy with local religion. Other church leaders usually reject such beliefs on the grounds that they are sia-sia (in vain or nonsensical). Also, Matabe, himself, may have invested a Banggai myth with a private interpretation just as in Northern Sulawesi traditional Minahasan myths have been adjusted to Christian thought (Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:36).

ii. Lesser gods.

As well as the remote Pilogot Tomundono, there is a whole pantheon of lesser gods who are involved with the daily care and maintenance of the earth. Often these lesser gods balance and complement each other bringing harmony to the earth. This balance and harmony is frequently seen in Malay cosmologies. Among the Tetum, Hicks speaks of the "complementary opposition, dyads, binary contrasts, or binary pairs" (1976:19) while Barnes describes Kedang belief in the gods of the firmament and the gods of the earth with the name of God being made up of words for the sun and the moon (1974:103). Similarly, the Wana people of Central Sulawesi (Chapter 2:36) claim that they have a monotheistic belief in Tuhan Mahaesa, recognising:

two lords, one above the earth and one below .... These two roles are subsumed by the unmarked Wana term Pue (Owner or
Lord), the creator and overseer of the world (Atkinson 1987:181).

Throughout Central Sulawesi, we hear of the ruler of the land and the ruler of the cosmos. These powers control all of life and Banggai, Balantak and Saluan speakers all have a whole range of religious ceremonies to appease and regulate these powers for the good of humanity (Proyek 1977/1978a:87; Palali 1994).

In the Banggai area the four\(^3\) pilogot below Pilogot Tomundono were responsible for food gardens, wealth, the sea, and wild animals.

The relationship between Pilogot Tomundono and the four lesser pilogot can be seen as a relationship between two sides. However in other ways this relationship is unclear. Offerings were not made to Pilogot Tomundono through the lower pilogot but were made directly to these lower pilogot (Tolombot 1986:22).

These lesser gods were approachable and therefore demanded an appropriate system of control and appeasement. They were believed to congregate at places such as waterfalls, big trees, large stones and graves. These locations were called keramat. Because of the high concentration of supernatural power or semangat at such places, they became central to the whole system of ritual in local religion.

iii  **Semangat or Cosmic Power.**

In Chapter 4 the concept of *mana* and the belief in the power of the super-natural were discussed and it was established that the term *semangat*, is an appropriate term for the belief in the concentration of power which is found in all human beings (Chapter 4:40–41). In Luwuk-Banggai, the term for *semangat* is *hantu mian*, [the spirit of mortal life] (Palali 1994). This *hantu mian* may decline and at such

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\(^3\) This can be compared with the Bikusagara myth and the four naga eggs and the four mythical ancestors (Chapter 6:63).
times people must go to a place that is *keramat* or carry a *jimat* [amulet] so their *semangat* will not be lost.

The myth of *mian nu layono'* suggests that this *hantu mian* is the spirit of the gods. The myth tells of seven beautiful virgins, servants of the gods coming to earth. A wise man hid the clothes of one of the virgins so that she was unable to return to heaven. So she married and the people on earth became wise (Related by Palali 1994).

Linking this myth to the present concept of *hantu mian*, or *semangat*, suggests that wisdom is a distinguishing quality of humanity; that this wisdom is a god-like characteristic; and that *semangat* is the power of the gods vitalising human beings.

Thus, throughout Luwuk-Banggai it would seem that there was a high god, *Pilogot Tomundono*, the remote unapproachable king of the gods, with minor *pilogot* below him. These lived together in an opposing but complementary and balanced unity. There was also some sort of all pervading supernatural power or *semangat* which gave life to humanity and which probably emanated from the gods. For the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai these beliefs gave order to their universe, explaining why it worked (cf. Endicott 1979:199).

B. **Beliefs in Territorial Spirits and Ghosts and Control of these Beings.**

As well as the gods, there are also territorial spirits and ghosts. Although the ghosts have formerly possessed some sort of mortal life and the spirits have just come into being, it is difficult to differentiate between them. This group of beings is extremely important to modern life in Luwuk-Banggai. In his description of local religion, Palali placed his greatest emphasis on the control of *setan-*
setan (Palali 1994). These beings, relevant to daily living, belong in a category which missionary anthropologist Paul Hiebert describes as "the excluded middle": that area of life which is addressed by neither technology nor "high religion" (1982:35ff).

The pragmatic control of these beings for the good of humanity results in activities that influence every area of life. Ceremonies need to be held in the home of someone who has died to protect the living from the ghost of the departed. Likewise a chicken needs to be released over a new garden to ensure the cooperation of the territorial spirits in producing good crops (Proyek 1977/1978a:88). Just as people go to places that are keramat to placate the lesser gods or to regain a diminishing supply of semangat, so people go to these places to placate a malevolent ghost; or to pray, chant mantra, and to make offerings to the benevolent spirits asking them to ensure good crops.

In Luwuk-Banggai the most feared of the malevolent beings are Pontianak and Kolomba. Pontianak\(^4\) is particularly dangerous. In some areas the danger is to women when they are about to give birth. In other areas the danger is to men. Pontianak is described as having been either a mother who died in child-birth or a still-born child. She has long finger nails, long hair, a hole in her back and a voice like a chicken's. Pontianak can be controlled by giving her an egg, a needle, a lemon and a net. She holds the egg in one hand and sews with the other so she can do no damage with her long nails. The net covers her hair so that it will not be used to entwine anyone.

Kolomba is a being that comes in the shape of an animal. It is feared throughout Central Sulawesi. In the West of the Province it is

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\(^4\) This material was given to me in a Saluan speaking area in 1991. It is interesting to compare this material with Endicott (1991:60-65) as there are many similarities.
described as a goat; in the Central area as a tiger; while in the Balantak area it is described as a black cat. All areas agree that its breath contains poison and that it smells like a male goat. Likewise all agree that its appearance is an evil omen and a warning of death.

However, the greatest concern in Luwuk-Banggai is with ghosts, particularly ancestral ghosts. Being comparatively tall and fair, I have on several occasions been the cause of extreme terror as little children have mistaken me for a ghost. Although not confined to places that are keramat, ghosts tend to congregate there. Of particular concern is the perception that the ghosts of the ancestors cause illness. In the Oson area of Kecamatan Bulagi, gastro-enteritis is endemic. The government and church leaders are convinced that this gastro-enteritis is the result of people drinking contaminated water. After one epidemic in which 29 people died, a dukun was employed. He informed the Oson people that the ancestral spirits were angry because they had not been given sufficient food so they must have a feast and sacrifice chickens to placate the ancestors. I, together with church leaders, would never be allowed to attend such feasts, as the presence of outsiders would anger the ancestral spirits and invalidate the sacrifice.

In cases of sickness, the dukun's first task is to discover "Who" caused the sickness. This usually involves blowing over a glass of water and reciting mantra followed by consultation with the offended ghost at a place that is keramat. The ghost will then require a gift of food, such as a chicken, a young dog or a piglet. Returning to the patient, the dukun again blows over a glass of water and then

5 As there have been no tigers in Sulawesi in living memory, the suggestion that Koloaba appeared in the form of a tiger gives evidence to the influence of other areas on these beliefs.

6 This Chapter concerns past practices, some of which still continue. Chapter 14, Modern Shasanism, deals with present day practices in the Christian community.
from the patient's body he or she will take out the cause of the sickness, usually nails or needles but sometimes stones, ashes or dust. There are various levels of dukun. The top level consists of those who have proven ability to cure. These are paid before they begin to heal. Others do not get paid until the patient has recovered. Many of the dukun do make use of local herbs and plants to heal people but many dukun can be possessed by spirits and do possess supernatural powers (Proyek 1977/1978a:89).

C. Beliefs in Magic.

The peoples of Central Sulawesi distinguish between white and black magic. Black magic, known as doti, is used by dukun for evil purposes and to harm others. There are different kinds of doti that affect all parts of the human body as well as doti to prevent food for a feast from cooking. Doti may be administered directly to the person through food, drink, or cigarettes or it may be hung somewhere so that people have to pass under it (Proyek 1977/1978a:90). Quite recently a Luwuk doctor hired a dukun to make doti against another doctor nominated for promotion.

White magic is also practised. This includes love magic, magic to protect property, and magic for healing. A mango tree may be protected by hanging a small bottle or bamboo flask filled with pepper juices in the tree. Anyone who touches the tree without permission will feel the hot sting of the pepper juice.

From time to time, a special sort of love magic that is called samauda is practised. This takes the form of reducing a girl who has rejected her lover to a state of hysteria so that she will repent and

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7 The Indonesian Government is now training medical practitioners using traditional skills (Chapter 14:232).
return to him. In one village I witnessed a girl go into this state of
delirium and it took four women to constrain her as she convulsed and
writhed. Finally they cured her by rubbing hot peppers in her eyes.
One university educated man suggested that this was a psychological
disturbance and not related to any form of magic (cf. Winstedt

D. Belief in the power of amulets.

Jimat or magic charms are basic paraphernalia for controlling
supra-cultural beings or powers. In Luwuk-Banggai the two most
valued items are parang [long knives in sheafs] and gongs. These are
always heirlooms. A parang that was once successfully used in battle
is believed to be very powerful. The relics of the sultan's household
are the most valued of all jimat. Because of their exceptional power,
they are given special care, worshipped, and adored (Proyek

Small items such as magic stones can be carried around to keep
the bearer safe. Many everyday items can be perceived as jimat and
elevated to the status of a talisman that either brings good luck or
keeps the bearer safe.

III COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE SUPRA-CULTURAL WORLD AND
HUMANITY.

A. Bird Lore.

Like other Malays, people in Luwuk-Banggai believe that birds
are either super-natural beings or messengers of the gods (cf. Skeat
1965:109-141). Throughout Luwuk-Banggai there are specialists who
know how to interpret bird language and for many activities, including
fishing and gardening, the understanding of what the bird is
communicating is essential for success.
On one occasion I was travelling on a mini-bus when the driver stopped, claiming that he had been warned by a bird of approaching danger. A couple of minutes later a truck passed. Had the driver not heeded the bird's warning, we would have met the truck on a narrow section of the road on a cliff face. I discussed the incident with a fellow-passenger, a well educated, Saluan Muslim woman. She clearly differentiated between her Muslim religion and her daily beliefs which are part of a world view in which Islam is irrelevant.

B. Orthopraxy and the Ceremonial Control of the Supernatural.

As well as the gods communicating with humanity, there is also a ritual system through which human beings approach the gods. Local religions do not have a comprehensive theology, complete with reflective thinking about the nature of God. In their hearts people believe that there is a source of power that influences every aspect of life. Humanity is called to respond to this power in some appropriate way (Subagya 1981:64–65). Therefore religion is practised rather than conceptualised and orthopraxy becomes more important than orthodox belief (Chapter 4:43).

Traditionally, there was a whole system of ceremonies which were concerned with the supply of basic needs. These included ceremonies to ensure success in hunting, fishing, in the making of food gardens, when sowing, and when harvesting (Proyek 1977/1978a:44–62). There were also ceremonies at various stages of building a house and family ceremonies concerned with the life cycle of the individual. The slightly extended nuclear family carried out such ceremonies. Food included yellow rice, eggs, small animals, the ingredients for chewing betel nut, spice, and yellow bamboo (Palali 1994).³

³ See Chapter 12 for descriptions of these ceremonies as interpreted and practised in the Christian Community today.
Both Tolombot and Busenitz describe in some detail two huge Balantak sacrificial feasts that have now been banned by the Government. These were the *Sumawi*, held every seven years, and the annual *Sulean*. During the *Sumawi*, fifty to one hundred beasts were offered to the various spirits in an effort to obtain goodwill and blessing (Busenitz 1989:22). The *Sulean* was "the fellowship of the dance" when every family both fulfilled their vows and made an offering to the spirits (Tolombot 1986:28-29).

IV THE NATURE OF HUMAN BEINGS, SIN AND SALVATION.

A. The Nature of Human Beings.

Just as myth of *mian nu layono* suggests that *semangat* is a god-like animating power that vitalises human beings, so the Balantak myth of *The Great Flood* explains mortality and the necessity of death.

After Pilogot Mola, the Lord of Heaven had made man, when a human being died, the soul did not go to the realm of the dead but to the residence of Pilogot Mola, in Heaven. However Pilogot Mola sent them back to earth where the dead were rejuvenated and kept on living. However the country became overcrowded and one day a bird flew down from heaven and announced that the earth was going to perish and that they were to build a boat to save themselves. Only one family heeded the bird's words and made a boat. Finally this family reached the home of Pilogot Mola where they were offered a choice between shrimp and bananas. Fortunately they chose the bananas and were sent back to earth where humanity became like the banana tree: growing old and dying but producing young plants that continue

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9 See Chapter 13:213 for comparison between the *Sumawi* Feast at the Christian celebration of Easter.
on after each plant has died (Related by Kruyt 1933:81-82).

Although in Central Sulawesi data on traditional beliefs about the nature of human beings is incomplete, it is clear that there was adequate knowledge about the need to care for the human body by using appropriate herbs and plants, by controlling ghosts, and by chanting the appropriate mantra (Proyek 1977/1978a:105).

The most important characteristic of human beings is that they live in communities. To the Indonesian, life without community is not life.10

Both Tolombot and Palali state that the three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic groups believe that each human being is body and spirit. When a person dies, the body perishes but the soul lives on without the body. Both the Saluan and Banggai speakers believe that there is a place to which the spirits of the dead go but there is no agreement as to where this place is located. The Balantak people believe that there is a definite but unnamed abode of the dead which can only be reached after a dangerous journey (Palali 1994: Tolombot 1986:30-31). Kruyt described this journey of the santoeoe [Balantak soul] along a passage that is obstructed by a butting billy-goat, fighting pigs, and snarling dogs until the soul comes to a bridge over a deep abyss. This bridge is guarded by creatures who judge the person according to what he or she has done on earth. People who have done evil are tipped off the bridge into a pan of boiling water but those who have lived a good life pass into the place where the dead live happily (Reported by Kruyt 1933:94-95).

In the South Bulagi area of Peling Island, I was told that the buliko [soul or spirit] can leave a person when he or she is ill, and in such cases people call a dukun who can conduct a special ceremony.

10 Chapter 13, The Christian Community deals with life in community in some detail.
Because the content of a church service is often referred to as "spiritual food", it is sometimes perceived as food for the *buliko*. According to Matabe each human person can be divided into spirit and body, in terms of a "complementary opposition". The spirit, *bobok*, is to the left, and the body, *bakalina*, is to the right (Matabe 1991).

B. *Sin and Salvation.*

Tolombot\(^\text{11}\) points out that there was a correlation between the understanding of the nature of human beings and understanding about salvation. Salvation was only for the *jiwa* [soul] of a person not for the body. The body perished at the time of death. Human beings used to strive to do right and faithfully to worship the gods so as to ensure well being in the present life and to prolong it as much as possible. Death was a sign of failure and evidence that sin had not been forgiven (1986:31).

All three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic groups use the word *dosa* for "sin", a word and a concept that shows the influence of Buginese Islam on the Luwuk-Banggai religious world (Tolombot 1986:31). A Balantak myth emphasises the seriousness of moral sin and the need to appease the gods.

When the earth was still young, brothers and sisters had to marry. As a result of these incestuous relationships the earth was torn apart. These first parents of the human race were distressed when this happened. Then an old woman, Kele, came up from the earth. She was the goddess of the earth and informed the astonished children of men that they must slaughter a pig and pour its blood into the crevice that had

\(^{11}\) Tolombot gathered much of this information through a formal seminar with old men who were experts in traditional law.
appeared. After this the heavy rain stopped and the crevice closed itself (Related by Kruyt 1933:57-58).

Sin was primarily perceived as transgression of adat-istiadat [traditional law] as taught by the "preserver and interpreter of culture" (Tolombot 1986:32). As well as dosa, all three languages had the word baloa, that suggests transgression (Palali 1994). Transgression involved disobedience to laws in almost all areas of life, including marriage laws, laws of inheritance, taboos during pregnancy and child-birth, and laws concerned with planting and harvesting. Other transgressions included failing to care for family heirlooms which were perceived to have magic powers. If not properly cared for, the magic in such heirlooms could lead to disaster. There were also speech taboos, the breaking of which could have serious consequences. Such transgressions could lead to physical punishment and fines. Also offended gods and ghosts had to be appeased. This meant that the whole social unit had to make the appropriate offerings. In South Bulagi such ceremonies are still held and whole families assemble and seek expiation from sin as they gather and confess their sins over an animal before it is sacrificed.

V LOCAL RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW.

Local religion is the foundation for the present world views in transition of the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai and it has shaped the present world view in the following ways:

1. In the belief in Pilogot Tomundono and the lesser pilogot, with the implied unity and harmony between complementary opposites, there is a form of belief that is not incompatible with Tuhan Mahaesa [the one Lordship] of the Pancasila.

2. Their religious beliefs gave the people of Luwuk-Banggai
explanations for natural phenomena which in their pre-scientific culture were difficult to understand and so satisfied the basic human need to understand causality. These explanations are now held concurrently with ideas from modern science.

3. Local religion was pragmatic with orthopraxy being more important than orthodoxy. Local religion provided a system of practices that enabled a level of control over those aspects of the world that were relevant in daily living.

4. Local religion emphasised the importance of the community - particularly the community of the nuclear and slightly extended family - for conducting ceremonies that led to the control of the supra-cultural world for the good of humanity. Local religions also emphasised the continuity between the community of the living and the dead.

There was an explicit moral code which defined sin and provided means of dealing with the sin and appeasing offended gods or ghosts.
CHAPTER 9.
RELIGIOUS FACTORS 2:
ISLAM.

I. ISLAM AND THE COURT OF THE SULTANS.

A. Possible Hindu Antecedents.

The first documented intrusion of another religion on top of the local religions of Luwuk-Banggai was the coming of Islam. However, there is a possibility that in the thirteenth century, a prince of the Singosari Dynasty of Java (Chapter 6:63) could have introduced Hinduism into court circles. Certainly the state clothes of the Banggai aristocracy suggest Indian influence.

It is widely recognised that early Indonesian Islam was sufism, a mystic form of Islam that was attractive to Indonesians and facilitated the process of conversion. Hence, even if there was no direct contact with Hinduism, the Islam that entered Luwuk-Banggai would have been a form that had "filtered through the religious experiences of India" (Benda 1958:2). Therefore, elements of a Hindu world view would have entered the sultanate of Banggai through sufism which had already accommodated itself to the syncretic beliefs of the Hindu-Buddhist courts (Tate 1971:39n).

B. Court Islam from Ternate.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Islam entered the court of Banggai from the court of Ternate. The sultan of Ternate was considered to be Tubaddilur Rasul, the Representative of the Apostle Mohammed with the responsibility of proclaiming Islam throughout his realm (Chapter 6:65). The architecture of fifteenth century mosques in Ternate reflects the dualistic syncretic cosmology of early Islam in Ternate. The Islam of this period was sufism. It was "syncretic, mixed with local custom"; and imparted the "mystical
and magical practices" from the Hinduism, Buddhism and animistic beliefs that preceded it (1978a:64; 1978b:18). Endicott suggests that although the world views of sufism and the Malay peoples were not identical, sufism preached a cosmic unity that was perceived as a rough analogy to the Malay concept of *semangat* (1991:43).

Islam may have entered Ternate as early as the second century after Mohammed [eighth century AD] (e.g. Putuhena 1980:263-276; Soelarto n.d.:82), but most Western historians date its arrival at the beginning of the fifteenth century when the city of Malacca on the Malay Straits was at the zenith of its power as a Muslim trading city (e.g. Benda 1958:9). The Islam of the Malay Straits at that time was a Persian form of Islam with a tradition of kingship which enforced the existing social structures of the Malay sultanates (Milner 1983:27).

Several authorities (e.g. van Leur 1955:115; Schrieke 1955:65-69) suggest that it was competition with the Portuguese that gave the impetus to the propagation of Islam from the sixteenth century onwards. Therefore, the Islam that entered the court of Banggai would have been influenced by the hatred felt by the sultans of Ternate for Portuguese Catholicism. Consequently, hatred of the West became a basic tenet of belief.

C. The World View of Sufism and Court Islam.

Thus the first wave of Islam that reached the sultanate of Banggai was a form of sufism with a "syncretic cosmology". This Islam also encouraged kingship and enforced the stratified world view of the sultanate. Furthermore, this Islam formalised a deep resentment of the Western intrusion into the Indonesian Archipelago as a basic tenet of its belief. Centuries later this developed into "a rallying point of identity" that symbolised "separateness from, and opposition to foreign Christian overlords" (Benda 1958:13).
II ISLAM AND COASTAL TRADERS.

A. Bugis Traders and Settlers.

In Indonesia the sea is the source and the "highway" from which come trade, new ideas, and new religions (Chapter 1:7). The sea is also "a unifying factor" (Wolters 1982:35). As well as contacts with Ternate, the establishment of Bugis settlements enabled coastal dwellers in Luwuk-Banggai to see Islam modelled by ordinary people and not just as a court religion (Chapter 6:66). Islam binds its members into a community for "Muslim law covers every aspect of life - ritual, personal, family, criminal, commercial" (Johns 1980:165). Thus, from these Bugis immigrants, the bourgeoisie of Luwuk-Banggai saw Islam both as a religion of the community and one which enabled the world views of traditional religion and Islam to coexist (Chapter 6:67).

B. Islam and a Trade Ethic.

Brotherhood and equality within Islam have provided ideal conditions for the development of trading communities. Islam provided a general "tone of Koranic moralism" (Geertz 1968:42) which became an ethic and a milieu for trade (Landon 1972:134). Consequently, Muslim commercial law developed and provided both business confidence and a stable environment in which trade could flourish (Johns 980:165).

This has led one observer\(^1\) to ascribe to Islam in Indonesia a role not unlike that ascribed by Weber to Protestantism (Legge 1964:47). Peacock examines the validity of this comparison between the Islamic trade ethic and the Protestant Ethic. He concludes that the Indonesian Muslim community can be divided into reformers and other Muslims, each group having a different ethic. He suggests that Muslim

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\(^{1}\) Clifford Geertz, The Development of the Javanese Economy, (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1956:91).
reformists show some similarity to the rationalisation expressed in the Protestant Ethic and that they could be called "Muslim Puritans". However in contrast with the Western Protestant community, they bear the distinctive stamp of South-east Asian Islam (1978b:205-6).

Throughout Indonesia, Islam has followed the trade routes and great Muslim trading cities have developed (Tjandrasamita 1978:144). Certainly it is often the pious Muslims that go into trade. This is demonstrated by regular programs on Indonesian Television that show the initiative of village people who have established successful village industries. Frequently these successful entrepreneurs are hajji, who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Even though few Muslim villagers in Luwuk-Banggai have either followed their Buginese neighbours into trade or demonstrated great success in initiating small businesses, they have been made aware of a huge Islamic trade network and of the universal nature of the Muslim community of which they are members.

C. Islam, Community, Trade and World View.

Thus, Islam was brought by traders, and village people saw Islam modelled by Bugis communities. Gradually the majority of the coastal peoples of Luwuk-Banggai accepted the Islamic faith. This faith expanded their world view, led to new concepts of the meaning of community life, and gave awareness of their place within an international brotherhood whose ethic governed every aspect of life.

III ISLAM IN LUWUK-BANGGAI TODAY.

A. The Form of Islam in Luwuk-Banggai Today.

Islam lacks a complex ecclesiastical organisation and the "clergy" of Islam are less distinctive than those of Christianity: its appeal is to the devotion of the individual, each one of whom expresses his or her
faithfulness to *Allah* through the life of the community (von der Mehden 1986:89). In Luwuk-Banggai, the mosques are under the control of the *ulama* or *imam*, who are men with considerable knowledge of the Koran, Islamic history and law, and of Arabic. They often function in community activities in the same way as a Protestant minister or Catholic priest. One of the anomalies of Islam in Indonesia is the role of the Muslim *imam* in civil ceremonies when an oath will be taken. On such occasions the *imam* wears the Geneva gown of the Protestant clergy.

However although the mosque and the minaret are central to the life of the community, they are more points of focus than places for worship. Islam is the religion of the Koran in which the truth and teachings of *Allah* have been revealed to his messenger Mohammed. The Koran is believed to be infallible and is so holy that a person must wash his or her hands before reading it. According to Kūng, "in Islam the book takes the place of Christ: Koranology replaces Christology" (1977:106).

Islam has a clearly defined soteriology and eschatology (van Leur 1955:114). Through his or her participation in communal life, each individual Muslim is striving for individual salvation which will give the place in heaven which every Muslim hopes to attain. The authority of the Scriptures, soteriology and eschatology all direct the way of life of the Muslim community. The way of life for the faithful individual is defined and exemplified in *The Five Pillars of Islam*. In Luwuk-Banggai the ego-centric element in Islamic soteriology is manifested in community life in which each individual submits² to the teaching of Islam as represented in each of *The Pillars of Islam*.

² The word Islam means submission (Legge 1980:56).
i  **The First Pillar of Islam.**

The confession of belief in Allah and in Mohammed his prophet is the foundation of belief of every Muslim. However, there is a possibility that for some this confession of faith is also used as an "incantation of great efficacy" (Landon 1972:144) and not only as an affirmation of the exclusiveness of the Islamic belief in Allah.

ii  **The Second Pillar of Islam.**

This is the regular observance of the prayer times. Minarets ring out their calls to prayer five times a day, but the life of the town of Luwuk continues, almost oblivious of the call to prayer. There are a few who at such times excuse themselves and retreat to a quiet place to pray but overt evidence would suggest that Landon's assertion that even the most faithful Indonesian Muslims do not faithfully adhere to the second Pillar of Islam (1972:144) applies in Luwuk.

iii  **The Third Pillar of Islam.**

This is *Bulan Puasa, Ramadan,* or the Month of Fasting. The whole Muslim community in Luwuk fasts but with various levels of commitment. There are those who follow every requirement of the law abstaining from food, drink, smoking, and sex during the hours of day-light, then praying after sunset before they "Buka Puasa" ["Open the Fast"] and eat. Others believe that it is enough to fast for the first two days and the last two days of the month but for the rest of the time, they eat and drink less during the day and then share in the nightly social and religious activities of the community. Dispensations are easily obtained and there are many reasons why people do not fast. Throughout *Bulan Puasa,* no-one is seen eating, drinking, or smoking in a public place and in the afternoons the streets are nearly silent as people conserve their energy. Christians
are very careful to respect their Muslim neighbours at this time.\(^3\)

*Bulan Puasa* ends with the great feast of *Idul Fitri*. Everyone buys new clothes and prepares festive food. Greeting cards and telegrams are sent, not just from Muslim to Muslim, but also from Christians to Muslims. On the first day of *Idul Fitri*, the whole Muslim community gathers together outside the Central Mosque for prayer. Then a complex pattern of visiting begins and, despite the Islamic ban on alcohol, some Luwuk Muslims serve beer to their guests. It is hard to say whether the celebration of *Idul Fitri* in Luwuk-Banggai is a Muslim feast or an expression of Luwuk-Banggai culture. There is free interaction between Muslims and Christians, and the Christian community reciprocates at Christmas with an identical ritual of reciprocity and entertaining (Chapter 12:153).

iv  **The Fourth Pillar of Islam.**

This is the obligatory alms giving at the end of *Bulan Puasa*. This is given in a variety of ways. Many employers give their employees double wages for the last week of *Bulan Puasa* so that the employee and his or her family can celebrate *Idul Fitri* with appropriate feasting and new clothes. Others give gifts of clothes and food. Many families give second-hand clothing to poorer families so that they have something "new" for *Idul Fitri*. Regular giving of alms to the poor is not obvious as there is no community of beggars in Luwuk. As well as giving alms, everyone tries to pay off all their debts during *Bulan Puasa*. This is recognised as a period when there is an increase in petty theft as some people use unorthodox methods, not in accord with the teaching of Islam, to pay their debts.

v  **The fifth Pillar of Islam.**

From the mid nineteenth century, improved world transport has

\(^3\) I have often seen Muslim children go quietly to a Christian neighbour's home and without asking permission help themselves to a glass of water.
made the *hajj* [pilgrimage to Mecca] possible for Indonesian Muslims who make up the largest foreign community in Mecca (Geertz 1968:67). Every year scores of pilgrims set off from Luwuk-Banggai to join the huge Indonesian contingent which in 1993 consisted of 122,855 pilgrims (Garuda 1993:47). Through the *hajj* many Indonesians have discovered orthodox Islam. Returning *hajji*, are influencing Indonesian Islam so that it is gradually shedding its syncretic characteristics and drawing new strength from Mecca (Benda 1958:17). An interesting side-effect of the *hajj* has been that, in Mecca, Indonesians from various islands tend to get together and this has helped them to find out more about their own island world (Landon 1972:147).

B. **Trends in Modern Indonesian Islam.**

i **Education and Muhammadiyah.**

According to Geertz, although as a confession Islam is virtually universal in Indonesia, "as a body of even sporadically observed canonical doctrine", orthodox Islam is a minority creed (1968:66). This point of view is borne out by many Indonesian authorities who claim that many members of Muslim communities still practice dynamism and animism (e.g. Soelarto: n.d.:88; Proyek 1977/1978:90).

However, returning *hajji* have increasingly introduced orthodoxy to Indonesian Islam. In the late nineteenth century many of the *hajji* established Koranic schools (Vreeland 1975:201). Initially these schools were in Arabic and mainly consisted of reciting the Koran but gradually included much wider teaching. In the twentieth century these schools became one of the main arenas for nationalism.

Today in Luwuk there are Muslim schools that cater for students from Pre-School to Senior High School and are controlled by both the Department of Religion and the Department of Education. Although in some of these schools, the girls wear veils as part of their school
uniform, the schools are having a secularising effect as they are required to teach the prescribed government syllabus which inculcates the world view of the *Pancasila* and not the world view of orthodox Islam.

Although education has become a secularising force, there are counter streams that are leading towards Islamic orthodoxy. One of the most important of these is the *Muhammadiyah* movement. Peacock, who has analysed this movement (1978a; 1978b), speaks of the returning *hajji* who are filled with reforming zeal and seek to return to the teachings of the Koran and to purge Indonesian Islam from syncretic practices, animism and sufism (1978a:24).

One Muslim authority warns that Islam cannot be reformed because the truths revealed to Mohammed have "eternal validity". He then describes *Muhammadiyah* as "a highly visible, religious, educational and social movement based on the teachings of Islam" (Nakamura 1980:273).

Benda suggests that *Muhammadiyah* has modelled its approach to "reformation" on the example set by Christian Missions.

Youth and women's organizations, clinics and almshouses – and the new schools – all showed the extent to which *Muhammadijah* successfully followed Western methods, in particular those of the Christian Missions in Indonesia (1958:48).

Just as in recent years Protestant Christianity has emphasised the communication of the Gospel in vernacular languages, so *Muhammadiyah* has emphasised the study of Islamic scriptures in Indonesian so that the words of the Prophet can be understood. Friday sermons should also be in Indonesian or local languages, not in Arabic.

Peacock speaks highly of *Muhammadiyah*, praising their extensive
system of schools, hospitals and social-welfare facilities. He speaks of their excellent record of balanced budgets, efficient organisation and, dedicated and uncorrupted leadership that cannot be matched by any other major movement in Indonesia (Peacock 1978b:106).

In Luwuk there is a Muhammadiyah youth group, a mother and child centre and various schools which are recognised as being the modern schools of the Muslim system in Luwuk.

ii A Changing Muslim Self-Image.

In the days prior to Independence, the Dutch treated the Christian community as a privileged class, while members of the Muslim majority were often "victims of discrimination" (Benda 1958:78), a situation described and criticised by Christian theologian Hendrik Kraemer (1958:14).

Much modern literature suggests that this is a continuing phenomenon and "it was a truism of Indonesian studies in the West that the military dominated, New Order government . . . . was essentially hostile to Islam" (Hefner 1993:3). More than ten years ago Wertheim suggested that Suharto's regime was a form of "neo-colonialism" and, that under Suharto, Islam was expected "to refrain from political activity and to stick to innocuous, purely religious pursuits" (1980:10). Wertheim also suggested that although Suharto was himself a Muslim, one of the aims of his regime was to keep Muslim activity under control. It is possible to suggest that since Wertheim wrote the paper, there has been some change in the Government's perspective. However, recently, Tanham pointed out that even though in 1991 he made the hajj, Suharto still emphasises that Indonesia is neither a religious state nor a secular state: it is the Pancasila state (1992:8). Other Western writers speculate as to whether Suharto's motivation in making the hajj was primarily political: an attempt to keep the vote of the Indonesian middle classes in the Pancasila State,
or whether there is a move towards political Islam (e.g. Tanham 1992; Hefner 1993).

C. Islam and the World View of the Christian Community.

Today Islam is the majority religion of the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai. The Christian community, representing about 30% of the population, is the minority group. In general, social contact between the two groups is good, epitomised in the way in which Christians visit Muslim colleagues and neighbours at *Idul Fitri* and Muslims reciprocate at Christmas. Both Islam and Christianity are foreign religions that originated in the Middle-East and have been superimposed on top of the traditional belief systems of the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai resulting in new transitional world views.

At present the Muslim world view seems to be going through a process of reformation and becoming more orthodox, while Christianity is retaining syncretistic elements and adhering primarily to the world view of the *Pancasila*. The Muslim and Christian world views, however, constantly interact with synthesis and antithesis playing an important part in this interaction. Islamic mores frequently have a direct influence on the Christian world view and lifestyle, while the opposite is also often true as Christians consciously reject some styles of dress and behaviour because they are perceived as being "Muslim."

Many Christians hold top positions in Luwuk. Although the *Bupati* in Luwuk has always been a Muslim, the Chief of Army and Police is often a Christian, and top positions in both the legal and medical professions are shared between Muslims and Christians. In general, Christians in Luwuk-Banggai still have a world view in which they expect Christians to lead and are fearful of any trends towards fundamental Islam that will rob them of status.
CHAPTER 10.
RELIGIOUS FACTORS 3:
CHRISTIANITY.

I THE COMING OF THE GOSPEL TO INDONESIA.

A. The Establishment of Portuguese Catholicism in Maluku 1522–1605.

The Christian Gospel first appeared in Indonesia in Maluku on islands that included Ternate, Halmahera and Ambon. This arrival of the Portuguese Catholicism was directly related to European expansionism, the so-called "Age of Discovery", in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese both desired wealth from foreign trading ventures (Chapter 6:67) and were filled with missionary zeal. Papal Bulls of 1445 and 1493 had inspired a "Mission Sacrée" aimed at converting the heathen (Neill 1964:141; Soelarto n.d.:89). Consequently, priests and lay workers were among the first arrivals to the fort at Ternate where they established the Catholic faith and established a Christian seminary,1 in South East Asia, for the education of children of the aristocracy (Soelarto n.d.:89; Putuhena 1980:272).

The Franciscan order was the first Catholic order to labour in Maluku, followed by the Jesuits, including Francis Xavier who with both papal and royal authority visited Maluku in 1546 (Neill 1964:148). Xavier used the Malay language and had a fruitful period of ministry on the island of Ambon (Abdurachman 1978:179).

By the end of the seventeenth century there were about eighty thousand Christians in Maluku (Latourette 1939a:301-2). Subsequent history has destined that many of today's Protestant leaders are the descendants of those who were converted to Catholicism by the Portuguese. Some authorities suggest that today the understanding of Protestant Christianity in Maluku is greatest in those areas where

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1 This is an unusual use of the now Indonesianised word seminary, which usually refers to a university level institution for theological education.
Jesuit missionary work was strongest (Chauvel 1990:18).

It is difficult to evaluate Portuguese Catholicism in Maluku, as it was short-lived. Some Indonesian historians, speaking from a Muslim perspective, are critical of Portuguese Catholicism in Ternate. Soelarto considers the period a failure of Christianity and a triumph of Islam. He claims that the Portuguese were harsh in their treatment of traditional leaders and despised the traditional culture (n.d:90).

However, Abdurachman, another Indonesian historian, observed that "the consequences - positive as well as negative - of the initial responses to the intrusions of the West have remained and have shaped the distinctive character of the Moluccan life and culture". Muslim traders commenced the process of social change and this was greatly intensified with the arrival of the Portuguese. A militia was introduced and enclaves were established in which new Christians denied their Moluccan citizenship and entered the Portuguese forts where they effectively became Portuguese citizens (1978:178-186).

Thus, in the Portuguese forts the attitude began that Indonesian Christians are a race apart, a minority destined to enjoy privileges and to lead. This attitude became an integral part of the Christian world view in colonial Indonesia and has only slightly diminished since Independence.

B. The Coming of the Dutch.

i The VOC: 1602 - 1799.

At the end of the sixteenth century Dutch sailors reached Indonesia and, when the Portuguese forts at Ternate and Ambon fell to the Dutch guns, Holland appropriated "The Spice Islands". Although the prime concern of the VOC was monopolising the spice trade (Chapter 6:67), in accord with the ideas of the seventeenth century, the Dutch assumed that the Catholic Christians who had become Portuguese
citizens would become Protestants and Dutch citizens (Rauws 1935:34).

As a result of pressure from the churches in Holland, a clause was inserted into the VOC's charter which provided for the spreading of Christianity by means of establishing "good" Dutch language schools (Neill 1966:174). However, the VOC did not have a mandate comparable to the Papal Bulls, and in practice the missionary mandate was a clause in the company's charter that could be effected when it was a financially viable proposition, but disregarded when it was perceived as unfeasible. Chauvel suggests that Protestant missionaries "rarely had the zeal, or the concern for people and their welfare, both spiritual and temporal, possessed by the Portuguese" (1990:18).

Despite the establishment of a seminary in Leyden in Holland to train ministers for "the Indies", the ministers came as servants of the VOC and were expected to minister to servants of the VOC. Some efforts were "made to convert the indigenous inhabitants" (Andaya 1993:35,) but in general Dutch clergy were not encouraged to minister to the "natives" (Neill 1966:223).

Generally the church was controlled in accord with the profit motive of the VOC. If there was a risk of damaging trade relations, witness to Muslims was forbidden (Rauws 1935:34). Meanwhile, in nominally Christian areas such as Ambon, the aim of missionary work was to win Roman Catholics "to that pure and reformed pattern of Calvinism which was accepted and practised in the Netherlands". In these areas, payment was made to those who were baptised (Neill 1966:176-177). Like the Portuguese, the Dutch gave political and social advantage to those who accepted the Protestant faith.

Despite the inadequacies and failures of the period of the VOC, there were definite advances in the Christian faith. The whole Bible was translated into Malay and published in 1734; education flourished in the Christian communities; and the Sanghir Islands of Northern Sulawesi
were evangelised and are still actively Christian today.

The Ambonese Christians took pleasure in their beautifully constructed churches. They were, however, dependent on the Dutch clergy because Ambonese teacher-evangelists were only allowed to read services and sermons that had been prepared by Dutch clergy. There was a desire for education and upward mobility. The problems of mixed religion was evidenced in many ways. These included using the Bible as an amulet and requesting the water that had been used in a baptismal service and retaining it as a magic potion (van den End 1988:65-79). This could well be a description of the GKLB today (Chapter 14:237). Indeed, this period provided the foundation for what Frank Cooley, missionary anthropologist and theologian identifies as the "Indies Tradition" (1981:171). Protestant Churches founded in this period include the Ambonese Church, the Halmahera Church and the Sanghir Church. Later the Minahasan Church, the Poso Church and the Luwuk-Banggai Church developed in the same tradition.


In the late sixteenth century, the church was both controlled by the VOC and financially dependent on the VOC. Thus when the fortunes of the VOC dwindled, the church was directly affected (Latourette 1939b:305). Finally, the greed of the VOC brought its own nemesis (Hall 1986:354), and in 1799 the VOC was wound up and Dutch assets in Indonesia came under the direct control of the Dutch Government. These included the state church (Latourette 1939b:276), which was more an example of eighteenth century Christendom, rather than the result of planned or spontaneous missionary outreach.

As with the VOC before them, the aim of the Dutch Colonial Government was to make a profit, not to evangelise the heathen. In Ambon the government-sponsored church paid the clergy who ministered to the Dutch and to the increasing community of mixed origin (Neill
However, back in Holland the Evangelical Revival was making an impact on the Dutch Church and this resulted in a new feeling of responsibility for the church and "the heathen" in the Indies. In 1797 the Netherlands Missionary Society was formed and missionaries were trained who would not only minister to the established churches, but also push forward the frontiers to non-Christian areas (Latourette 1939b:278).

Able men were trained and appointed as clergymen whose salaries were paid by the government (Rauws 1935:51). Among these was Joseph Kam, later to be known as "the apostle to the Moluccas" (Latourette 1939b:278). Kam, together with Reidel and Swartz, set into motion a process of evangelism and teaching which led to the renewal in the Ambonese Church and the Christianisation of Minahasa in Northern Sulawesi (Latourette 1939b:279).

Outside the context of the Dutch Reformed Church there were areas of significant missionary work where appeal was made to people through their adat [traditional culture]. One such area was the work of the German Rhenish Mission among the Batak of North Sumatra (Neill 1964:350). The Huria Kristen Batak Protestant [HKBP, Christian Protestant Batak Church] is geographically far removed from Luwuk-Banggai, but with its membership of more than two million people, it is the biggest church in the PGI [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches]. Consequently, their world view and respect for adat influence other churches in the PGI.

Although the Dutch Government did not want to preach to Muslims for fear of interfering with trade and profit, in East Java Johannes Emde, a watchmaker with a Javanese wife, and Coenraad Coolen, the son of a Dutch father and a Javanese mother, had a period of effective and fruitful ministry. This work became the basis of the Protestant Church
in East Java, a church which has effectively used Javanese *adat* to communicate the Gospel (van Akkeren 1970:51-67). Bishop Stephen Neill suggests that this movement of Javanese Muslims to the Javanese Church probably represents the largest movement of Muslims to Christianity in history (1964:292).

Meanwhile, the Ambonese Church was willingly sending teacher-evangelists to other areas. Nevertheless, it would seem that many missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church were unable to free themselves from paternalism nor could they respect the positive achievements of the Indonesian Christians. As late as 1926, Kraemer spoke of the need of the Ambonese Christians to be "guided correctly" and of the importance of the Dutch Church making wise decisions for the good of the Ambonese (1958:16-21). Because of the legacy from this paternalism, unlike the Batak and the East Javanese Church, churches in the Indies tradition have never been able to free themselves from Dutch traditions or to use *adat* as a means of communicating the Gospel.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the results of religious revivals in Holland began to affect Dutch policy in the Indies. When in 1901 Abraham Kuyper became Prime Minister of the Netherlands, it was stated that the Dutch were "under an obligation to better the position of Native Christians . . . . (and) had a moral duty to the peoples of the archipelago" (Latourette 1939b:281). This epitomised the world view of the Dutch when they brought the whole Island of Sulawesi under colonial rule at the beginning of the twentieth century.

II THE COMING OF THE GOSPEL TO LUWUK-BANGGAI.
A. The Roman Catholic Church.

Andaya refers to a visit by the son of the sultan of Banggai to Ternate in 1564 to examine both Christianity and Islam (1993:129). However, as this was prior to the establishment of the Mumpu doi Jawa
dynasty in Banggai (Chapter 6:64), the interest expressed in Christianity by the Banggai prince was not perpetuated and the Roman Catholic Church has never been destined to play a major role in Luwuk-Banggai.

In the early twentieth century there was a group of Filipino Catholics at Sambuit on Peling Island who had a contract with the Sultan of Banggai to gather pearls. They asked for help from the Catholic Church at Manado and two catechists were sent. Some Banggai people from the Sambuit area became Catholics. In 1916 the Filipino contract with the Sultan of Banggai finished, the pearl gatherers returned home but the Catholic community around Sambuit continued (Tolombot 1991:1). This community is the only Catholic village community in Kabupaten Banggai, and together with Catholics from other areas living in Luwuk, they represent about ten per cent of the Christian population of Kabupaten Banggai (Tolombot (1986:7).

An Indonesian priest is normally resident in the Sambuit area where there is a fine complex of buildings, including a school. However, unlike other areas in Indonesia (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:137) the Sambuit Catholic school is not achieving educational excellence.

In the town of Luwuk, St. Josephs Junior High School was established in 1985. This was established with Catholic funds and staffed by non-Luwuk Indonesians. It has already been awarded the coveted honour of Sekolah Teladan. School fees are high and results in public examinations are good. Consequently, it is attracting children from wealthy families. Some of these children, particularly Chinese,

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2 There are other Catholic congregations, e.g. in the Lamala area but these are small congregations on the periphery of the Protestant majority.

3 Awards for excellence are an integral part of modern Indonesian life. As well as "sekolah teladan", awards include excellence for school teachers; for individual students; for families that have been successful in implementing the Government's program of family planning; and for progressive villages.
have been baptised with the Head Master as sponsor. As yet, this outreach of the Catholic Church has had little impact on the number of adult Catholics in Luwuk.

B. Protestant Christianity.

i Protestant Christianity in the Indies Tradition.

When in 1906 Holland formally brought Kabupaten Banggai under its control, Christianity became an option that could be considered. As a result of Bugis influence, most coastal villages had embraced Islam. However, most villages in the interior still followed local religions.

In accord with the Ethical Policy (Chapter 6:69), the Dutch resident and the "Indian Church" were anxious that tribal peoples be given the opportunity to become Christian, and so from 1906-1913 there were some attempts made to preach the Gospel. In 1913, a meeting was held in Luwuk between the Dutch assistant director and sangaji [district heads] from Kabupaten Banggai. At this meeting each sangaji was given the opportunity to choose whether his area would follow Islam or Christianity. Those who were considering choosing Christianity were given the assurance that they could continue to breed and eat pigs and dogs (Tolombot 1986:38).

Kruyt describes the meeting between the Dutch assistant resident and Lasompo, the sangaji from Mantok, representing the Lamala district, as follows:

Assistant resident: "What is the religion of your area?"

Sangaji: "Some have become Muslims, but most are still heathen."

Assistant resident: "Do you want to continue as a heathen?"

Sangaji: "If we can continue to eat pig meat, we want to become Christians."

^ See Chapter 2:23n for an explanation of the term Protestant.
Assistant Resident: "You may certainly continue to eat pig meat."

Sangaji: "If that is so, we are ready to become Christians."

(Kruyt 1977:195).

Lasompoh returned to the Lamala district and encouraged the village heads to become Christians. As a result, on January 21, 1913, at Mantok in the Lamala district, the first of a series of mass baptisms took place. That year, two thousand three hundred and thirty eight people were baptised in the Lamala and Balantak areas. This provides an unusual picture as mass baptisms prior to evangelism is contrary to the normal pattern in Indonesia, but the Dutch ministers hoped that the people so baptised would be "dipagar untuk diinjili" [fenced in for the Gospel]. Through mass baptism, they had officially and legally become Christian and could not lawfully be proselytised by Muslims (Tolombot 1986:40).

On Peling Island, the first baptisms took place in 1917 at Paisabatu, Lembe-Lembe and Okumel. This pattern continued so that by 1927 there were more than twenty-five thousand baptised persons gathered into one hundred and twenty two congregations on both the mainland and out in the islands. With this rapid numerical increase in church membership, teacher-evangelists were invited from Ambon and Minahasa to teach and build up the young church. There was strong Muslim propaganda against the Christians, saying that to become a Christian meant to become Dutch and be forced to fight in the Dutch wars, while to become a Muslim meant to remain faithful to the Sultan of Banggai and to live in continued peace (Tolombot 1986:39).

The Pentecostal Churches.

In the early 1950s, following the War of Independence, an
Ambonese Pentecostal Pastor, Pastor Matiri, arrived in Luwuk. Having been a freedom fighter, he was an honoured and respected man. He and his wife established the first Pentecostal congregation in Luwuk.

In the 1970s this congregation split into the Pentecostal Church and the Pentecostal Tabernacle. Pastor Matiri retained the leadership of the Pentecostal Tabernacle while the Pentecostal Church was pastored by an enthusiastic younger man. The Pentecostal Church became active in evangelism, or proselytism, among members of the GKL B and in some villages large numbers of Protestant Christians were rebaptised and became members of the Pentecostal Church. This proselytism angered leaders of the GKL B and together with Protestant leaders throughout the nation, they became deeply suspicious of any practice that is considered to be charismatic, pietistic, or fundamentalist (e.g. Darmaputera 1988b:6; Simatupang 1976:88).

In the 1980s two other Pentecostal Churches entered Luwuk: the Pentecostal Church, Surabaya Synod and the Assemblies of God. Neither of these churches would yet number a hundred members but they have active programs of evangelism.

There is a tiny Seventh Day Adventist Church in Luwuk with fewer than twenty members. This is appreciated because of its provision of excellent English speaking courses.

In the town of Luwuk members of the GKL B, the Catholic Church and the Pentecostal Churches work well together. However, in some villages where there have been serious clashes between members of the GKL B and members of the Pentecostal congregation. The harmony achieved in the town has yet to be achieved in the villages.
III ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE GKLb AND THE
INDONESIAN COUNCIL (FELLOWSHIP) OF CHURCHES.

A. The Development of the Synod of the GKLb.

Initially the Luwuk-Banggai Church was under the control of the
*Indische Kirk* located in Makassar [Ujung Pandang] with practical
ministry being carried out by teacher-evangelists from Ambon and
Minahasa. When in 1934 the *Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa* [GMIM,
Christ's Evangelical Church of Minahasa] was established, the Luwuk-
Banggai area became a district of GMIM. However, geographically this
was difficult, as Luwuk and Manado are several hundred kilometres
apart across the Gulf of Tomini. Hence GMIM requested that the
Luwuk-Banggai churches be ministered to by the Poso Church located
at Tentena on Lake Poso.

This presented problems, for the development of the Poso and the
Luwuk-Banggai Churches had been very different. In the last decade
of the nineteenth century, Dr. Albert C. Kruyt and Dr. N. Adriani
employed missiological principles in the Poso area that almost a century
later became recognised as basic principles of missiology. Firstly, they
believed that a thorough understanding of the culture was essential if
the Gospel was to be communicated in a meaningful way, and therefore
they spent seventeen years in the area, studying the languages,
customs, and religion of the Poso people before attempting to preach
the Gospel. Secondly, they encouraged people to enter the Christian
community in groups to avoid isolating new Christians from their society
(Cooley 1968:81). Thirdly, they recognised elements within the
traditional cultures that could be used to lead people into an

Before the Poso Church would accept the Luwuk-Banggai Church
into its sphere of ministry, in 1937, J. Kruyt (son of Albert Kruyt)
visited Luwuk-Banggai to appraise the position. He reported on the
marked contrast between the churches in Poso and those in Luwuk-Banggai. He also observed the different style of Christianity that was developing on the mainland and in the islands:

On Peling Island large groups of people have been baptised, because they believe that they must choose between Christianity and Islam. One young man said that he wished to become a Christian so that he could continue to worship *pilogot* (idols) and keep his pigs and his dogs as sacrificial animals. If someone became a Christian he could continue with his worship of *pilogot* as usual, while if he became a Muslim, this was all forbidden (Kruyt 1977:195).

In contrast, in many mainland congregations Ambonese pastors were working faithfully, but in a legalistic manner. Repentance meant separation from others who had not repented, and on special days, such as Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, the congregations were only allowed to sing hymns and to listen to sermons that led to spiritual renewal. All their old culture was considered sinful and traditional singing and dancing were forbidden. Thus the churches in Luwuk-Banggai had already polarised into those which were little more than manifestations of christo-paganism and those which were formal and legal (Kruyt 1977:197).

Despite Kruyt's expressed concern, the Luwuk-Banggai Church became a district of the Poso Church, and two Dutch ministers, Feunikes and Baars, came to serve there. However their time in Luwuk was short-lived because in 1942 the Japanese arrived, and they were among those handed over to the Japanese to be interned in Manado for the

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6 In January 1994, Rev. Albert Haurissa, as minister in charge of the Lamala area and as the son of an Ambonese evangelist who had grown up in that area, told me that legalism is still impeding the work and witness of the Church in the Lamala area.
duration of the War (Chapter 7:79). This was to prove a time of testing for the young churches in Luwuk-Banggai. However most congregations endured and were strengthened through the ordeal (Tolombot 1986:45).

In 1947, the Poso Church was officially established as a Protestant synod, the *Gereja Kristen di Sulawesi Tengah* [GKST, Christian Church of Central Sulawesi] with the Luwuk-Banggai congregations as a church district.

However problems soon surfaced. In his recognition of the differences between the congregations in the Banggai Islands and on the Banggai mainland, Kruyt had identified one of the basic problems in Luwuk-Banggai: the difference between the Banggai speakers in the islands and the Balantak-Saluan speakers on the mainland. In 1955 the Banggai speakers requested that they withdraw from the GKST and establish their own Synod *Gereja Kristen Banggai* [GEREKBANG, Christian Church of Banggai]. The GKST agreed to this and in 1959, GEREKBANG, officially came into being. At that stage, the mainland congregations remained as a church district of the GKST.

In 1962, the Saluan and Balantak speakers on the mainland felt that they should combine with the Banggai speakers in GEREKBANG, and on the twenty-seventh of January 1966, *Gereja Kristen di Luwuk-Banggai* [GKLB, Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai] became a legal entity (Tolombot 1986:46).

B. *Early Ecumenical Activities.*

Prior to World War II the anomalous position of the Protestant Church being a state church had been removed (Neill 1966:196) and many Protestant synods had achieved autonomy while still maintaining financial dependence on the Dutch and German sending bodies. There had also been some ecumenical activities in the areas of Christian publishing and of witness to university students through the Students'
C. The Formation of the DGI and the change to PGI.

The Japanese occupation proved to be the catalyst that led to the final emergence of the *Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* [DGI, Indonesian Council of Churches], a member of the World Council of Churches. During the Japanese occupation, in spite of adversity and persecution, most churches grew. Following the Proclamation of Independence in 1945 Indonesian Christians played an active role in the struggle for Independence. In May 1950 the Indonesian Christian community took "a giant step toward achieving full selfhood" (Cooley 1968:109) and the organising assembly of the DGI was held in Jakarta (Cooley 1969:118). Since then there has been a steady growth of membership in the DGI and subsequent PGI. In 1967, a year after its legal inauguration, the GKLB became a member of the national body.

In 1984, the General Synod of the DGI held in Ambon changed its name to *Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia* [PGI, Indonesian Fellowship of Churches]. There it was stated:

>This Meeting records progress in the road towards One True Church in Indonesia. The Churches together have received one confession of faith and have decided to change the name of the DGI to the Indonesian Fellowship of Churches (van den End 1989:370).

The PGI has had a succession of able theologians as leaders and advisers who have consciously evaluated Protestant theology within the context of the *Pancasila* (Chapter 2:23). This is effectively shaping the world view of the Indonesian Protestant Church and there is an "ideal", national Christian world view that is based on the authority of the Bible interpreted within the context of the *Pancasila*. 
IV THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY AND WORLD VIEW.

A. Foreign Influences and the Christian World View.

Three and a half centuries of influence with Western Christendom has shaped the Indonesian Christian world view in several significant ways:

i Both the Portuguese and the Dutch accorded higher status to Christians than to Muslims, often giving Christians greater opportunities for education. Despite the fact that Christians comprise less than ten per cent of the population of Indonesia, many Christians still hold a world view that enables them to believe that they are an élite destined to lead in both the spiritual and temporal spheres.

ii Because of the relationship between Dutch traders who exploited the people and Dutch missionaries who brought the Gospel, the church was perceived as foreign: a product of colonialism and exploitation. Although the role of Christians in the struggle for Independence demonstrated that Christians are loyal Indonesians: today there are Indonesian historians who are interpreting Indonesian history in terms of an Islamic-nationalistic world view. This is creating a new social environment in which the right of the Christians to enjoy special privileges is being questioned.

iii The anomalous situation of the church having existed as a state church in a Muslim country has led to the church being perceived as a bureaucracy and not as a witnessing and serving community. This is a major issue and will be discussed in Chapter 15 on The Church as a Bureaucracy.

B. The Formation of the Luwuk Church and World View.

This period of contact with the geographically adjacent GKST and Kruyt's observations emphasise several facets in the development of the GKLB that have vitally affected today's world view of the Christian
Church of Luwuk-Banggai.

i The Gospel was presented without any respect for the traditional culture. The main church-builders were the Minahasan and Ambonese teacher-evangelists who had never been encouraged to respect or preserve their own cultures. They had an ambivalent attitude to culture, to both their own and that of the people of Luwuk-Banggai. In part they condemned all traditional culture as being sinful, and yet on the other hand they interpreted the ecclesiastical forms of Dutch Calvinism in terms of the epistemology of local religions.

ii Kruyt recognised ethnic differences. Different forms of Christianity developed in the different social milieus: on Banggai mainland, the form of Christianity was not the same as that which developed in the Banggai Islands. Today many members of the GKLB STATE that their biggest problem is sukuisme [ethnocentricism].

C. The PGI and World View.

At the 1984 General Synod Meetings in Ambon an important Protestant constitutional statement was produced, The Five Documents of Truth (PGI 1985). These five documents could well be called the foundation of the official Indonesian Protestant world view:

i The Indonesian Churches are called to fellowship, witness and service in the midst of the Indonesian nation (1985:5-18).

ii In a country where Ketuhanan Mahaesa [One Lordship] is basic to the national philosophy, the Christian community has clearly stated their beliefs in terms that can be fitted into the context of the Pancasila. Allah, Tuhan yang Maha-esa is defined in terms of the

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8 See Chapter 16 for a discussion of holistic ministry in the context of the Pancasila.

9 See Chapter 13:191 for a discussion of the meaning of "One Lordship".
historical statements of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds. Verses from
the Bible where the word esa [true] is used as an adjective for God are
quoted in defence of the Christian claims that Christianity is a legal
religion in terms of the Pancasila. The entire Christian community is
called to understand the relevance of doctrine in terms of caring for
the created world; serving human beings as men and women who are
created by God; and proclaiming God's salvation through Jesus Christ.
The Trinitarian nature of Tuhan yang Maha-esa is carefully spelt out,
while the church is defined in Trinitarian terms. In a country where
revealed scriptures are a requirement for all official religions, the
inspiration and the authority of the Bible as the Word of God are

iii The third document deals with the importance of unity and
fellowship between all the churches of Indonesia, particularly in matters
of accepting as members, groups with different modes of baptism
(1985:49-54).

iv The fourth document provides an organisational structure

v The final document deals with the challenge facing the
Indonesian Church in terms of developing relevant theology, equipped
personnel, and source of finance within the context of the Indonesian

Thus the Indonesian Churches are facing the challenge of an
"official world view" that will enable the Christian Church to work and
witness within the context of the Pancasila. Although there is still some
dependence on foreign funds, the Indonesian Church is striving to free
itself from every vestige of paternalism and to walk together in mature
fellowship with the old "Sending Churches". They are evaluating some
imported beliefs and practices so that they can express their Christian
faith in terms of their own culture and their own world view.
Membership in the PGI has made the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai aware of their place in a national and a global church. Even though they themselves are disturbed by problems of disunity, they recognise their part in an eschatological unity that transcends tribe, nation, space and time.
CHAPTER 11.
THE IMPACT OF MODERNITY.

I MODERNITY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE PANCASILA.

Indonesia is a country that is striving to modernise. Under President's Suharto's New Order there has been a series of Repelita or Five Year Plans which have led to economic growth. Suharto's many speeches emphasise the ongoing process of rational, planned development (Hooker 1993:280) as Indonesia's clear economic vision is leading along "a glistening path to wealth and modernity" (Cribb 1990:32).

The word modern has entered the Indonesian language and is a popular word today. A mark of the dynamic middle-class society is a worship of the new and a contempt for the old that mirrors the Western obsession with progress (Hooker & Dick 1993:15). This is seen among the members of the educated elite in Luwuk where there is a constant striving for a modern life-style, a modern value system, and modern status symbols all of which are to be experienced and enjoyed within the context of a modern state. They see themselves as belonging to "the emerging civilisation which is now being produced by the forces of modernisation" (Guinness 1990:283).

A quarter of a century ago modernisation appeared to offer hope for the developing world. At that time Lerner, in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences defined modernisation as "the social change whereby less developed societies acquire the characteristics common to more developed society" (1968:386-394). Indicators of modernisation included self-sustaining economic growth, political participation, diffusion of secular forms, a high degree of geographical and social mobility, personal transformation and the acquisition of the accoutrements of modernity (1968:386-394). This last has led to a world wide pattern of consumptionism that follows the
unfortunate model established by Western powers, particularly the USA (Finnerty 1977:29-72).

Consumptionism with planned obsolescence is basic to the world view of modernity and entrepreneurs give a quasi spiritual meaning to consumptionism, suggesting that we convert the buying and selling of goods into rituals and seek spiritual satisfaction in consumption (Finnerty 1977:36).

Increasingly, Indonesians, together with many other people, are recognising that consumptionism is devastating our planet, creating problems which include the thinning of the ozone layer, the depletion of tropical forests, contamination of ground water, and the pollution of the atmosphere (Kompas 1990:11-20). This concern was expressed in a cartoon in Tempo, [Indonesian Time Magazine] (1994:8:XXIV:13) that showed a big man, unaware that he was walking backwards, saying to a little man that it did not matter if the environment was going backwards as long as the economy was growing.

By the 1990s both Catholic (e.g. O'Donnell 1991:118-133) and Protestant voices (e.g. Guinness 1990:281-288) were warning that although modernity itself is morally neutral, modernity has a secular world view that alienates humanity from all transcendence and from traditional roots. Guinness suggests that modernity can become a form of idolatry and lead to a generalised syncretism (1990:285-6).

Several authorities suggest that modernity is a result of revolutions: the capitalist revolution, the industrial revolution, and the ideological revolution (Guinness 1990:284); or the agricultural revolution, the industrial revolution, and the cybernetic revolution (Kompas 1990:33). This was the view taken by Simatupang. He wrote:

The historical process that has resulted in modernity had its sources in Western countries that are both modern and
The revolutionary West then colonised and exploited the remainder of the world. As a result of this process, modernity was exported to every corner of the world (1986:6).

Certainly exploitation has been part of the history of Indonesia: beginning with the ancient sultans, through the days of Dutch colonialism until the neo-colonialism of the present day. Today "the glistening path to wealth and modernity" includes the siphoning off of natural resources such as timber or selling tuna to Japan, thereby reducing the nutrition of coastal peoples. For centuries the foreign corporate system has impoverished the masses of the Indonesian people and produced fabulous wealth for the tiny group of imperialists, neo-colonialists, or local *compradors* (Muttalib 1987:189-190).

Darmaputera maintains that although in both the towns and the rural areas there are visible status symbols of a modern life style, frequently inherited customs and values are unchanged so that at present modernity is little more than a new skin overlaying a basically unchanged value system (1988a:72-73).

Nevertheless, Indonesia's world view is changing. Existing norms, values, ideas, expectations, and attitudes are all being challenged. The nation is being transformed from the traditional to the rational; from the rural to the urban; from the static to the dynamic; from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; and from a communal to an associational character (Cooley 1968:37). World views are in transition. Modernisation is in progress and the Church in Indonesia is being brought face to face with both the opportunities and challenges that come from modernity. The challenges include the secularising influences of modernity and the possibility of a syncretistic world view in which modernity, when it is accepted as
intrinsic element of the *Pancasila*, creates a syncretism between secularism and a religion that has been robbed of transcendence.

The Indonesian Church is facing this challenge realistically. As a minority group in a predominantly Islamic nation, Christians have constantly played an active role in the fight for freedom and the formulation of the national philosophy. They face the truth that their present freedom is fragile and could be shattered should Indonesia become an Islamic state. Following the 1989 General Synod of the Indonesian Council of Churches, the term *menuju tinggal landas*, "moving towards take-off" became a popular term for *moving towards modernisation*. Simatupang stressed, that in the Indonesian Churches, Christian ethics and faithfulness to Jesus Christ must become the theological and philosophical foundation for the movement towards modernisation (1988:21-46).

Similarly, Dr. Nababan, one time President of the PGI [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches], states that the Church must face the future in ways that are creative, critical, and realistic, or otherwise the Church will disintegrate and be unable to proclaim the unchanging Gospel of Jesus Christ in a society that is industrialised, progressive, and modern. He uses Ephesians 6:19 as a cryptic warning that Christians must be equipped so that they will be able to stand their ground when the day of evil comes (1985:6).

Certainly the Indonesian Church is facing the challenge and the opportunity that modernity is bringing. However, there is a need to heed the warnings that modernity has "a secularising influence" (O'Donnell 1991:121) and "is hostile to religions that believe in transcendence and truth . . . . (It also) reinforces a generalized syncretism" (Guinness 1990:286).
II EDUCATION.

In his book, Religion and Modernization in Southeast Asia, (1986) von der Mehden claims that education is one of the main core elements of modernisation (1986:48). This is recognised by the government of Indonesia which uses education, both formal and informal, as a tool to achieve national aims. The most important of all school subjects is PMP, the study of the national philosophy (Chapter 7:91). PMP teaches the official national policy that links modernity and progress with the prescriptive belief in the One True God (Departemen 1983:1). The inference is that official religions indicate "progress, modernization, and adherence to national goals" while traditional beliefs and ceremonies are evidence of backwardness (Chapter 8:92; Atkinson 1987:177). School text books teach that traditional beliefs, including fear of ancestral ghosts, are unacceptable in modern Indonesia; condemn atheism on the grounds that it is a mark of ignorance; and portray regular attendance at worship as the mark of the modern, educated Indonesian (Departemen 1983:2-9).

In Indonesia, as in many parts of Asia, Christian education has had a positive effect on the process of modernisation (von der Mehden 1986:140). Christian schools have long had a reputation for excellence and progress (Webb 1986:202). In the past many progressive Muslims chose to send their children to Christian schools which better equipped their children for life in the modern nation. The grandson of the last Sultan of Banggai attended one of the GKLb Primary Schools and at the time of writing is attending the Catholic High School. Islam too has modernised its school system in keeping with the challenge of the Pancasila (Cooley 1978:323).

The use of a unified syllabus and the provision of standard text books ensure that all Indonesian children are taught the same material with its crucial link between the national philosophy and aspirations
for modernity. All must teach the approved ideology that emphasises the virtue of modernising the nation. However, for many, while the life style of modernity remains an unattainable dream, uniformity is enforced in every aspect of educational life. Not only are syllabuses and examinations unified throughout the vast archipelago, even school uniforms are a symbol of national unity. On Fridays and Saturdays every child in the country is expected to wear the uniform of the Indonesian Scouting Movement of which President Suharto is the Chief Scout.

However, despite restrictive uniformity in the present school system, the educated "plastic middle-class" is becoming increasingly modernised, increasingly urbanised, increasingly Westernised and increasingly less Indonesian (Hooker & Dick 1993:19). The modernity that the educated elite has embraced is leading to a new level of questioning President Suharto's "New Order" (Crouch 1992:2) and of addressing social issues that include unemployment, a deteriorating environment, prevailing injustice, corruption, and the lack of genuine democracy (Wirosardjono 1990:43). Education has achieved its aim in preparing people for economic "take-off". It has also produced a vocal middle class with an increasingly secular world view and a desire for new levels of genuine political participation.¹

III COMMUNICATIONS AND THE MEDIA.

A. Communications and Modernity.

A high degree of geographical and social mobility is another indicator of modernity. In the last ten years the Indonesian Government has revitalised sea links and, in Sulawesi, the Trans-

¹ Levels of political participation are still restricted. A demonstration that followed the suppression of three influential news magazines in June 1994 was quickly suppressed (Sydney Morning Herald June 27 1994:13).
Sulawesi Highway now links Luwuk with every major centre on the island. Consequently, more and more young people are being lured away from Luwuk-Banggai to the universities and job opportunities in the cities of Palu, Manado and Ujung Pandang.

This new geographical and social mobility is separating Luwuk-Banggai society into two groups of people. One group is adaptive and progressive and therefore able to establish itself in the money sector of the community. The other group consists of those who lacked opportunity, education, or ambition and has become a residual population. Without leadership this group is unable to make a transition to the modern society that is emerging.

Attitudes towards geographical mobility are ambivalent. The New Order government encourages movement of senior public servants and army officers, believing that in so doing they are promoting national unity (Atkinson & Dick 1993:19). Certainly Indonesia is enriched by such geographical mobility as people from Catholic schools in Flores (Webb 1986:247) or from Protestant schools in Sulawesi or Maluku are appointed to responsible administrative and professional positions throughout Indonesia. At the same time the GKLB is enriched by men such as an Ambonese chief of police or a Javanese judge.

Nevertheless, some people resent members of their group going to work in other areas and being replaced by *pendatang* ["foreign" Indonesians]. Some fundamental Muslim groups claim that this is a deliberate policy of the Suharto Government aiming to destroy Islam in the name of national unity (Hiorth 1986:1). A similar attitude is sometimes voiced in Luwuk-Banggai by village people who resent young people moving away for education, marriage and employment.

One other aspect of geographical mobility needs to be referred to. The new affluent middle class now has the ability to travel abroad, including making the *hajj*, (Chapter 9:115; Hooker & Dick
This can be seen as detrimental to modernisation as it drains large sums of national and personal capital out of the country. However, at the same time, it is promoting national awareness as hajji from different parts of Indonesia meet in Mecca (von der Mehden 1986:62-66). A small number of Luwuk residents have joined the increasing number of Indonesians who travel abroad for business or professional purposes. These people return with a widened world view and become role models of progress.

B. The Media.

As well as physical communications, the media, particularly television, is playing an important role in transmitting the culture of New Order Indonesia. *Televisi Republik Indonesia*, TVRI, is state owned and "part of the state's ideological apparatus" (Sunindyo 1993:134). The Indonesian Government has a policy of transmitting TVRI to every area in Indonesia. In *Kabupaten* Banggai there is the main satellite receiving station in Luwuk and a series of smaller receivers bringing about 90% of the population into the range of TVRI. If villages do not have electricity, batteries are used to work the village television sets. TVRI is both a disseminator of New Order ideology and a genuine challenge to traditional values. It is bringing an awareness of a new value system and is impacting the world view of people in the most remote villages in Luwuk-Banggai. This was demonstrated in 1991 when a remote village on Peling Island hosted Church Synod meetings. Basing their welcome reception on programs viewed on TVRI, village ladies attempted to wear formal Javanese dress and thereby demonstrated the widely held idea that formal Javanese culture is a manifestation of modern Indonesian life (Darmaputera 1988a:71).

Since 1989 other television stations have been allowed. Some
villages now have *parabola* and are receiving overseas commercial television. This is exposing village people to a wide range of concepts and ideas as people are "bombarded with an unprecedented flow of information and opinions" (O'Donnell 1991:123). This could well lead to disillusionment as new wants are created that cannot be fulfilled, and new modes of thinking are developed that are not acceptable in the context of the *Pancasila*.

**IV ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE CHINESE COMMUNITY.**

A further indicator of modernity is self sustaining economic growth (von der Mehden 1986:3). Despite an economic crisis in the mid 1980s when Suharto responded with austerity measures (Utrecht 1987:192; Muttalib 1987:193), by the beginning of the 1990s it could be said that "the New Order's enforced and jealously guarded stability has achieved economic growth" (Hooker & Dick 1993:3).

The present period of economic growth in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the Chinese who have played a vital but ambivalent role in the Indonesian economy. In Dutch times they were both recognised as the economic intermediaries and hated by the indigenous population (van Doorn 1987:14 & 29). After the Proclamation of Independence in 1945, they were considered economically indispensable but were expected to absorb themselves into the main stream of Indonesian culture (van Doorn 1987:32-33). However, the attempted coup led to the mass killing of tens of thousands of Chinese in the mid 1960s (Chapter 7:86; Go 1987:91). Since then, under the New Order, the Chinese have become the financial backers of Indonesian army officers including the Suharto family (Go 1987:92). This has brought wealth and privilege to some people but has led to

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their being resented by large sectors of the Indonesian population (Crouch 1992:42),

At present the Chinese community remains in an ambiguous position: essential for economic progress but still subject to sporadic outbursts of anti-Sinicism (Coppel 1980:731). They have responded in various ways: converting to Islam and merging with the commercial sector of Indonesian society (van Doorn 1987:9); converting to Christianity (Webb 1986:157); and taking Indonesian names and citizenship (Go 1987:91).

All aspects of documented Chinese life in Indonesia are seen in the Chinese community in Luwuk-Banggai where they implement almost all major economic projects. In December 1993 a huge tapioca factory owned by two Christian Chinese brothers was opened by the Governor, while in January 1994 two large freight ships also owned by Chinese families were launched by the Bupati.

Probably two thirds of the Luwuk-Banggai Chinese community are now Christians. In outlying areas, Chinese entrepreneurs are often Church treasurers. However the Luwuk Chinese community lives with a level of fear and they feel that they are exploited by army and government officials. They are frequently required to give gratuities to facilitate nation building projects and they are required to pay enormous, often prohibitive, sums of money to obtain Indonesian citizenship. They are resented by village people and, even in the Church, denied the leadership roles of which they are capable. However their presence has made village people aware of the goods that money can buy and has motivated many Luwuk-Banggai people to work to acquire the accoutrements of the modern world.
Unquestionably the Indonesian nation is seeking to modernise itself and throughout the nation there is evidence of symbols of modernity in terms of economic growth, diffusion of secular forms and increasing geographical and social mobility. One Western authority has suggested that in New Order Indonesia, improved education and communications have led to the growth of material consciousness but has accelerated a process of "detraditionalization" while the myth of modernisation remains an unfulfilled dream (McVey 1990:26).

Notwithstanding, modernisation is in progress and the Christian Church has played a significant role in equipping many Indonesian Christian communities so that today they are recognised as examples of ideal modern societies. These include the Manadonese, the Torajanese, and the Christian Balinese. All of these display "a progressive life style" (Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:22) and are "exemplars of 'modernity' and 'development'" (Cunningham 1979:275). Basic to the Indonesian Christian world view is the concept that success, progress, and material blessing are fundamental rights for Christians (Chapter 10:133). This is so, even in Luwuk-Banggai which is still economically underdeveloped.

Meanwhile Christian thinkers, including Nababan and Simatupang, have seriously examined the ways in which the Christian Church in Indonesia can prepare itself for modernity in the nation of the Pancasila. They also are prepared to face the dangers implicit in the process of modernisation. Discussions at the national level on economic development are disseminated to Church members in Luwuk-Banggai through a formalised form of adult education called Pembinaan (Chapter 16:288-290).

However, despite the enthusiasm with which Indonesian leaders
have accepted the concept and philosophy of modernity, voices in the
Indonesian community are now questioning the process and the results
of modernity. In 1990 an Islamic youth group held an open cultural
forum at which discontent over social issues was freely expressed.
Social problems identified included "unemployment, the deteriorating
environment, overcrowding of the island of Java . . . . social gaps,
ethnic and other social prejudices, conglomerates, corruption, (and)
lack of democracy" (Wirosardjono 1990:43). The feelings of the group
were summed up in the following "Cultural Prayer":

We need to congregate for a cultural prayer to renew our
cultural orientation, to purify ourselves from the accumulated
dirt of the accelerated modernization process, to free ourselves
from the myth of 'sustaining values'. For what we need is not
only an accelerated modernization as such, but also a sustainable
cultural conscience. What we are aiming at is not a sustenance
of values but a transformation of values (Wirosardjono
1990:43-44).

Churches within the fellowship of the PGI need to recognise that
in inculcating the world view of modernity, they are in fact inculcating
the world view of Western capitalism which sees people as economic
units and not human beings (Kavanagh 1982:21-22). World wide,
Christian thinkers are questioning the assumption that modernity is an
unmitigated good. Sine warns that the philosophy of modernity is
based on the hope of attaining "a temporal, materialistic kingdom"
(1981:71) while Donovan draws attention to the assumptions and
fallacies which flowed from these concepts and stated that Africans
had to be civilised before they could be lured into Christianity
(1978:55).

Bediako clearly demonstrates the link between Christendom and a
nineteenth century concept of civilisation (Chapter 3:31; Bediako 1992:228-229). Weber's classic study (1991) demonstrates the relationship between the Protestant ethic and the growth of capitalism in that period. This can be seen in Indonesia for, although the Dutch did not attempt to "Christianise" their colony in the same way in which the colonial powers in Africa did, they still imported the concepts of Christendom with its Protestant ethic. Civilisation, capitalism, and modernisation as perceived through a Dutch, Calvinistic world view were the hallmarks of Christendom or "progress". Today, many in the Indonesian Church have embraced the materialistic world view of Christendom believing that it is the Christian world view.

Darmaputera claims that, unlike the Pancasila which has grown out of Indonesian society, modernity is a foreign influence that, as yet, has not taken root in Indonesian society. He does not see modernity as a viable option in Indonesia in the foreseeable future (1988a:198-199). Darmaputera's assertion needs to be taken seriously.

Certainly it would be easy for the Indonesian Church which is committed to following government policies to join with the government in overlooking problems which include 30 million people living below the poverty line, injustice, and a deteriorating environment (Wirosardjono 1990:43-44). Fortunately, there are Indonesian theologians who are facing this challenge. Widyatmadja, for example, calls the Indonesian Church to challenge the poverty that not only robs people of material well-being but also denies people their humanity. He points out that such people are the powerless and the marginalised. They are discriminated against, oppressed, and exploited. The church needs an involvement in holistic ministry that will reveal human dignity: not a continuing involvement in the historical heritage that has aligned the church with the rich and the powerful (1992:59-61).
Increasingly, Asian theologians are facing the fact that modernity is part of the near-heathen world view of Western christendom. Basic expressions of this world view in Asia are seen in the imperialism of money; the dependence that comes from foreign debt; tourism as a subtle form of conquest; and with the United States army as a colonising power (Rayan 1992:17).

Thus, the Churches that are in fellowship with the PGI, including the GKLDB, need constantly to evaluate the world view of modernity and to heed the words of Darmaputera, one of their own thinkers, when he warns that modernity is not a viable option (1988a:198-199). Rather the whole Indonesian Church, Protestant and Catholic, is called to a compassionate gospel mandate that is not elitist but addresses people within the context of Asian spirituality (Fabella 1992:1).
PART THREE.
MISSIOLOGICAL CONCERNS.

In Chapters 12-16, missiological concerns are discussed. Present patterns of overt behaviour in the Christian community are described and analysed as indicators of world view themes. Responses of the GKLB in each of these situations are examined. They are then compared and contrasted with the responses of other Christian communities in the Two Thirds World.

Chapter 12 examines the Christian community in Luwuk-Banggai as a Community of the Living and the Dead. The life of the Luwuk-Banggai Christian is expressed within the context of the Christian community. Decision making, the relationship between the living and the departed, and concepts of the church are all examined.

Chapter 13 examines the concept of worship within the context of the National Philosophy. Forms and meanings in Christian worship are then analysed. The challenge of replacing "imported" forms of worship with relevant Indonesian forms of worship is addressed.

Chapter 14 investigates the role of the shaman, recognising his or her positive role in traditional societies. Present practices that alienate traditional religion from the church are discussed and the question of relevant "shamanised" Christianity is raised.

Chapter 15 on The Church as a Bureaucracy, deals with the serious problems that have resulted from the interaction of a variety of historical factors and have resulted in the GKLB functioning as a bureaucracy and not as a serving faith community.

Chapter 16 evaluates the Work and Witness of the GKLB. Positive and negative effects of education are examined. This section ends on a positive note, looking at the holistic ministry of the GKLB.
CHAPTER 12.
THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY:
A COMMUNITY OF THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

I THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY.

A desire to be together is a basic characteristic of Indonesian life (Mastra 1982:8). This illustrates one of the main social themes in Asia: man in society as opposed to man the individual (Octavianus 1985:34). Like the African, the Indonesian perceives the individual as "an abstraction". "Man is a family" (Taylor 1963:93 & 100). Life in community gives security but also brings responsibility and obligations.

Children are not just born into Indonesian communities but are initiated into the community through "mystical creative acts" (Taylor 1963:100) or "rites of passage" that in part enforce culturally acceptable sex roles (Child & Child 1993:163). These rites of passage may be correlated with the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church (Subagya 1981:140) or be reinterpreted in the Protestant ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial (Cooley 1967a:135).

The Indonesian community extends beyond the limits imposed by death and there is often "an underlying religious-social vision of the necessary correspondence of cosmic and human relationships" (Warren 1993:3). It is therefore essential to consider gods, ancestors, and dead villagers as genuine social partners in village life. An understanding of communal relationships between the visible living members of the village and departed members of the village is basic to comprehending the social institutions of the living community (Warren 1993:139).

The concept of community is basic to the Pancasila. The second principle speaks of "a Just and Civilized Humanity" and the fourth of "(The principle) of Peoplehood which is Guarded by the Spirit of Wisdom in Deliberation/Representation" (Darmaputera 1988a:155). In
practice these principles mean mutual help and support within the context of the community and in accord with national aims. In the early days of Independence, Sukarno developed words which included gotong-royong and tolong-menolong. Sukarno then used these words in a rhetorical way to promote the principle of mutual help within society (Darmaputera 1988a:150).

Thus we have three recurring themes in our understanding of Indonesian communities: co-operation and mutual inter-dependence in the visible community; activities concerned with the life cycle of the individual; and relationships between members of the living, visible community and members of the departed community.

II LIFE IN THE VISIBLE COMMUNITY.

A. The Rumah Tangga or Slightly Extended Nuclear Family.

The rumah tangga [slightly extended nuclear family] has been identified as the basic kinship social unit in Indonesian villages (Koentjaraningrat 1967:392). The rumah tangga in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai shows the influence of the Manadonese mentors who have been role models for Luwuk-Banggai Christians for the last eighty years. Hence Kalangi’s (1971) and Lundstrom-Burghoorn’s (1981) descriptions of the Minahasan or Manadonese⁠¹ rumah tangga are similar to those seen in Luwuk-Banggai today.

Lundstrom-Burghoorn writes:

The term rumah tangga . . . means family. Usually the family was formed through the association of a man and a woman in a conjugal relationship. Together with their unmarried children, and the possible addition of another relative or friend, they

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¹ Manado is the capital city of Northern Sulawesi. Minahasa is the name of the large Christian ethnic group. In every day usage the terms Manadonese and Minahasan are used interchangeably.
constituted the hearth group. Membership fluctuated continually with the birth, adoption and marriage of children, death of various members, divorce, absentee labour and the permanent visiting of relatives and friends (1981:72).

In Luwuk and other towns, educated people from Luwuk-Banggai live as neighbours with people from other areas in Indonesia. The Christians in this group blend together into an apparently homogenous Christian community. In many rumah tangga both husband and wife work outside the home for wages while frequently several dependents from the kampung [village] live with them. A newly married couple may live with either set of parents until such time as they can build or rent their own home, while grandchildren, including illegitimate ones, frequently live with their maternal grandparents so that their mother may continue her education or career. Some of the dependents are "poor relations" who care for the children of their more affluent relatives; others are school children or anak tinggal [live-in children], who do a certain amount of manual work to pay for their board so that they can go to school in the town. There is a marked difference in status between the children of the family and the anak tinggal. As in rural Minahasa, where children are adopted to increase the farm workers available (Kalangi 1971:158), anak tinggal in Luwuk are expected to provide cheap labour, rising very early to do the heavy work before starting school at 7 a.m. This work includes cutting fire wood; drawing water and carrying it to the kitchen; and the multitude of other house-hold tasks that without modern appliances

\[\text{One grandmother whom I know well is headmistress of a school and also looks after two sets of grandchildren.}\]

\[\text{It is significant that anak tinggal rarely achieve as well at school as the children of the nuclear household. Few go beyond senior high school.}\]
are time consuming and exhausting.

The *rumah tangga* is a definable social entity recognised by both the state and the church. For administrative purposes the whole of Indonesia is divided first into Provinces; then into *Kabupaten* [Sub-provinces]; then into *Kecamatan*; then into progressively smaller units until there is a complex of *rumah tangga* under the leadership of one government appointed person. He, or sometimes she, is not a public servant but receives a small honorarium from the government and is responsible for tidiness and order in the area. The GKL [Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai] recognises *rumah tangga* by giving statistics in terms of the number of "KK" - *Kepala Keluarga* [Heads of Families]. Although in the context of the state the individual has the right to vote as an individual, and in the church to be baptised and confirmed as an individual, these are unique situations. In everyday life the existence of the individual is recognised in terms of his or her membership of a group.

**B. The Rukun.**

However, often the *rumah tangga* is too small a group to function efficiently. In the village situation adjacent homes co-operate together as functional work groups while in Luwuk almost everybody in the Christian community belongs to a *rukun* group. This group consists of between ten and twenty families from the same area of Indonesia. The use of the terms *rukun* and *kerukunan* is interesting in these exclusively Christian groups, as *rukun* is an Arabic word that speaks of the pillars and foundations of Islam (Wilkinson 1932b:353). In Indonesia, the meaning subsequently changed to mean Islamic
fellowship, and then further changed until today it speaks of visible harmony and unity.

This type of mutual-support structure is found throughout the Indonesian Archipelago. The purpose of these groups is *gotong-royong*[^1] [rendering aid to the community for the common benefit]. *Gotong-royong* is the ethos that underlies the whole of Indonesian society (Koen tjaraningrat 1967:394-396). In Bali it is seen in the *banjar* (Warren 1993:11); in Ambon in the *muhabet* (Cooley 1967a:149); and in Manado in the *mapalus* (Kalangi 1971:162). These are all neighbourhood, kin-like communities that are always available to help in *suka-duka* [in joy or in sorrow].

The Christian *rukun* groups in Luwuk have grown out of the Minahasan *mapalus*. This is a complex, traditional organisation that is an expression of rural life. It links together in a complex socioeconomic system the exchange of products, labour, goods, and money (Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:77) and represents a basic quality of Minahasan culture, supporting not only close friends but anyone who is in need (Kalangi 1971:162).

Luwuk *rukun* groups are not only for people from Manado: there are groups from many other areas including Ambon, Toraja and Poso. These *rukun* groups normally meet once a month for a home church service and afternoon tea (cf. Chapter 13:202). Through the *rukun* group, each family regularly contributes to a community fund so that financial resources are available in the event of illness or death of a member. Preparedness to organise death ceremonies for members of the group is perceived as the most important task in the *rukun* in Luwuk, the *muhabet* in Ambon, or the *banjar* in Bali.

[^1]: In Luwuk-Banggai the term most usually used when people work together for the common good is *kerja bakti* [the worshipful offering of work].
However, these groups are concerned with joyful as well as sorrowful events. The Luwuk *rukun* group would give support in the form of work for a wedding, even though the cost of the wedding is borne by the families of the bride and the groom. However, whether in joy or in sorrow, accepting assistance within the framework of the *rukun* automatically brings a person or a household into a web of social relationships in which people are bound to reciprocate at the appropriate time.

C. Reciprocity.

Although being prepared for funerals is one of the basic aims of a *rukun* group, the main activity in the group is the ceremonial exchange of food. Lundstrom-Burghoorn suggests that an apparently new element is fulfilling the function of an older form. Minahans have learnt to like cakes and cookies\(^6\), and these have become items of ceremonial exchange replacing betel nut which is now considered "old-fashioned" (1981:123). Similarly, in the Luwuk *rukun* groups the afternoon tea or light meal represents reciprocity and ritual exchange in a modern guise. The *rukun* is a microcosm reflecting reciprocity and the principle of mutual co-operation in the wider world.

Among the educated elite there is a complex pattern involving the ceremonial exchange of food. This is seen in social visiting at *Idul Fitri* and at Christmas. At first this visiting appears to be an unplanned period of social interaction, but on closer examination it can be seen as a demonstration of status and carefully planned reciprocity that illuminates social rank and unity in the community. As Muslims and Christian interact freely at these times it is also a manifestation of perceived *kerukunan* transcending religious differences.

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\(^6\) This is a national phenomenon. National television frequently shows that the cakes prepared for ceremonial occasions.
In the Christian community preparations for Christmas start in early December as large glass jars of attractive *kue kering* [cookies or biscuits] are prepared. On Christmas Eve elaborate sponge cakes are made, decorated, and then given both to people of superior rank or to people of similar rank with whom there is a need to establish equivalence through a reciprocal relationship. One leading Christian family lives in a Muslim section of Luwuk. This means that at Christmas, they receive up to ten sponge cakes, reciprocating the sponge cakes that they themselves had given to their Muslim neighbours at *Idul Fitri*. As the family of two senior public servants, they are demonstrating their place in a *kerukunan* that is wider than the Christian community.

After the church service on Christmas morning, a process of visiting starts. People at the top of the hierarchy are visited first. These are the most senior public servants in the Christian community. At different times these have included the DANDIM [regional director of the army and the police], the *jaksa* [senior judge], and the medical doctor in charge of the *Kabupaten*. These families do not go out on Christmas day but stay at home to receive guests from the next rank down: the clergy, senior public servants and leaders from the Chinese commercial community. They provide a full buffet meal, including both alcohol and soft drinks. However, members of the next rank down have to spend some time in their own homes to receive appropriate people, including members of their own families who may be perceived

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7 See Chapter 13:209 for a discussion of this reciprocity in the context of the liturgical church year.

8 The Bupati has the highest civil status in the town and the DANDIM the highest military status. However although officially the two men have equal status, the Bupati usually stays in Luwuk for a much longer period than the DANDIM for whom a term of service in Luwuk is a step towards promotion. Hence in popular thought the Bupati has the highest social rank in the town. The DANDIM in Luwuk has from time to time been a Christian, the Bupati has always been a Muslim.
as being of lesser social rank.

The twenty-sixth of December is regarded as "Christmas 2". Again there is a big church service, often with a large number of babies being baptised. After the church service, the second rank tries to stay at home for part of the day and to go out for part of the day. On this day the top rank "visits down" and "equals" try to find each other at home. Refreshments consist of the sponge cakes, the cookies and tea, or soft drinks and cordial. Serving cool drinks means that a family must possess a refrigerator, an indicator of wealth and status.

That evening there are two conflicting sets of activities. Often the families of the children who had been baptised that morning have a thanksgiving meal with from twenty to one hundred invited guests. Thus people have to sort out their priorities between accepting formal invitations and reciprocal visiting. Some families divide, the husband going to one activity to represent the family and the wife to another.

Also, on "Christmas 2" visits from the Muslim community start. These take two forms: firstly, as a demonstration of status and, secondly, children visit. Usually the bupati organises a group of senior Muslim public servants, their wives, and maybe children. They only visit the top ranking Christian public servants, and sometimes the moderator of the church synod. Other Muslims visit Christian colleagues of equal rank. Secondly, large groups of Muslim children visit. These normally wear their best clothes and go from Christian household to Christian household, whether they know them or not, and collect a large number of sweets and less expensive cookies. Usually these children are of a lower social status as the higher status children normally accompany their parents and visit in a more formal way. This pattern of visiting and reciprocating visits continues until early January.
Two important aspects of world view emerge from what at first appears to be a haphazard pattern of visiting. Firstly, Luwuk-Banggai is a stratified society and status is important. In her monograph on the Toluwu' people of Southern Sulawesi, Errington discusses rank and status, demonstrating belief in a correlation between social rank and the greatest concentrations of sumange' [semangat]. This gives the aristocracy a magical potency, and means that they can only be approached in the prescribed way. Social etiquette is a protective measure that enables commoners to approach aristocrats without endangering themselves through contact with the aristocrat's greater concentration of semangat (1989:57-66); hence, the continuing importance of etiquette in societies where the concept of semangat is an important principle.9

The second important aspect of world view demonstrated by this visiting is the use of reciprocity as a symbol of solidarity in the community. Indonesian kerukunan transcends religious and ethnic differences.


Although neither Kalangi nor Lundstrom-Burghoorn suggest that Minahasan people are a proud, ethnocentric, status-seeking group, these qualities are usually ascribed to them by members of other Indonesian groups. Such ethnocentricism is evident to an outsider who studies most racial groups. The Toluwu' people "are proud to be who they are (and) proud of their history" (Errington 1989:24). The Kédang people in Eastern Indonesia refer to the "tree of gold". This myth explains the fact that even though "foreign" Indonesians are at present enjoying superior wealth, Kédang is in fact the source of

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9 See Chapter 4:41 for the introduction to the concept of semangat.
wealth (Barnes 1974:109). These and a multitude of similar examples demonstrate the fact that a group's self image is dependent on neither progress nor regression. Similarly, the Banggai, Balantak and Saluan speakers consider themselves superior peoples.

It has already been stated that many church leaders claim that *sukuisme* [ethnocentricism] is a major problem in the GKLB. The most obvious evidence of this is an overt power struggle between the Banggai and Saluan speakers for the control of the synod office (Chapter 1:9-10).\(^{10}\)

Although living on the mainland has given the Saluan speakers better opportunities for education, as yet no leader has emerged with the charisma to lead them as a unified bloc. On the other hand, several Banggai speakers have emerged with charismatic leadership qualities that enabled the Banggai speakers to work together as a bloc and to gain control of the synod office. However, their control was tenuous and in the last decade there have been two special synod meetings which have resulted in the Banggai speaking moderator of the synod being replaced, each time with another Banggai speaker. On both occasions the official reason given for the dissolution of the synod executive was misappropriation of finances\(^{11}\).

However what one group considers misappropriation of funds, the other group may consider the proper use of funds. One Banggai speaker told me that it was fitting for the Banggai speaking moderator to use church funds for the personal display of status symbols but it

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10 This situation is not unique to the Church. The Government has had to appoint a Bugis man as *Bupati* because of the inability of the Banggai and Saluan speakers to agree on a local man for the top position. The Balantak speakers are the smallest group and they are usually on the periphery of ethnic politics in both church and state.

11 I do not want to attempt to make a judgment on whether or not finances were misappropriated. This is a matter on which even the police have not come to a conclusive decision. Rather I want to show how attitudes in this matter are a reflection of the world view of many people in Luwuk-Banggai. This matter is returned to in Chapter 15, *The Church as a Bureaucracy.*
was disruptive for a certain Saluan man to aspire to leadership. That was ambition and a sin against the church.

As has already been discussed, the world view of the sultans lives on in modern Luwuk-Banggai society (Chapter 6:74). For the last fifteen years, all moderators of the GKLB have had university degrees. In the eyes of village people this is the new form of esoteric knowledge that demonstrates the moderator's divine right to lead. Therefore, just as a sultan had the right to exploit, so the moderator has the right to use church funds for his own personal aggrandisement and for the display of visible status symbols.\textsuperscript{12}

Thus, \textit{sukuisme} defines "sin". Sin is transgression against the group. \textit{Sukuisme} also divides groups of people into "self" and "other".\textsuperscript{13} In Luwuk-Banggai this \textit{sukuisme} is self-destructive and is militating against the \textit{kerukunan} for which church and state are striving.

\section*{E. Decision Making.}

In 1982 there was a split in the biggest congregation in the GKLB. This was ostensibly linked to the alleged misappropriation of church funds but was actually a split along ethnic lines. It demonstrated that many Luwuk-Banggai people resented leadership roles being given to Indonesians from other areas and also to the presence of Indonesian Chinese in the church. Eventually this led to the formation of \textit{Gereja Imanuel}, a new congregation within the fellowship of the GKLB.

\textsuperscript{12} Knowing that the aim of some special Synod Meetings was to remove him from office on the grounds of misappropriation of church funds, the former moderator went to the meetings with new, expensive clothes, including a very well cut suit and new preaching robes. The reception was mixed. Some felt that he dressed in a way that was in keeping with his status. Others asked how he had obtained the money to buy such clothes.

\textsuperscript{13} According to Kearney a division between "self" and "other" is basic attribute of a group's world view (1984:68).
By then I had been living with an Indonesian family for almost a year and was part of a rumah tangga. As a Westerner, I looked at the situation and felt that it would be better if I continued with the main church and maintained better contacts with Luwuk-Banggai peoples.\textsuperscript{14} It was then that I discovered that I was not in a position to make an individual decision. I was a member of a rumah tangga and decision making was in the context of that rumah tangga. The only alternative would have been to move, rent my own home, and establish a new rumah tangga.

The predominantly pendatang [Indonesians from other areas] group was established, and after months of discussion a consensus was reached. These discussions were not formal, often being held late at night or during recreational activities. All in the group freely offered their opinions, but the main voices heard were those of a group of older men who were, or had been, influential in the public service. The wife of a doctor, who subsequently let the group use his office space as a temporary church meeting place, was the most outspoken of the women. She is a beautiful woman with a charismatic personality. She was a close friend of the bupati's wife and the Vice President of Dharma Wanita, [the women's organisation to which the wives of all male public servants must belong]. Thus she had the status - both derived from her husband's position and in her own right - equivalent to that of a senior public servant. The Manadonese woman who subsequently become the successful minister of the congregation was often asked for advice, but her voice did not obtrude in the medley of voices that was heard for many months. Similarly, the Chinese Christians who were to become about half of the congregation and

\textsuperscript{14} Contacts with village people were maintained through the Pembinaan Team (Chapter 2:17) and subsequently good relationships were re-established with the other town churches.
provide most of the finance remained in the background. When the doctor offered, rent-free, his office space, the decision was made. Subsequently, these matters were all discussed in official church and synod meetings and formal decisions were made.

This decision illustrates, firstly, that Luwuk-Banggai decisions are made within the context of a group, not by individuals. There are informal "processes that develop general agreement and consensus" and finally "emerge as the unanimous decision" (Koentjaraningrat 1967:397).

Secondly, those who play the greatest part in the decision making process are those who by virtue of age and experience have established their right to mould opinions of others. These men, and occasionally women, are recognised leaders who "are able to bring together the contrasting viewpoints or have enough imagination to arrive at a synthesis integrating the contrasting viewpoints into a new conception" (Koentjaraningrat 1967:397). These leaders may listen to and evaluate the informed opinions of younger, professionally trained people but modern expertise will only be acted on if the recognised leaders accept it and claim it as their own.

F. The Chinese: A Community within the Community.

The development of *Gereja Imanuel* also illustrates the way in which Indonesian *asli* ["native" Indonesian with ancestors from a recognised Indonesian ethnic group] communities perceives the Chinese community as a community that is not "self" but "other". In larger cities in Java, Sumatra and Southern Sulawesi, synods for Chinese congregations have developed. Sometimes their congregations use Mandarin or Cantonese, but by law everything must be translated into Indonesian. In smaller towns, such as Luwuk, within a synod that is controlled by Indonesian *asli*, there are often individual congregations
with a significant proportion of Chinese members. As in other areas of Indonesian life (Chapter 5:51; Chapter 11:145-146), the role of the Chinese in the Indonesian Church is ambiguous. There are some excellent Indonesian Chinese theologians, including Dr. David Santosa (1990), but generally they are not accorded the esteem that is accorded to an Indonesian asli theologian. At the same time, many synods and congregations want Chinese financial support but without allowing the Chinese any positions of authority.

As a foreigner and a member of Gereja Imanuel I was accepted by the Chinese Christian community in Luwuk. Shopping was difficult as many Chinese store keepers did not want me to pay for things from their shops. It was embarrassing trying to persuade a Chinese shop keeper to allow me to pay for something and then to see a poor Luwuk resident trying to bargain and then being told, "Oh no, we cannot afford to lower the price".

Thus, throughout Indonesia the Church is impoverished because historical and social factors are limiting free interaction between the Indonesian Chinese Church and the Indonesian Asli Church. Even in the church the Chinese are resented and Indonesian Chinese Christians live in constant fear (Sydney Morning Herald 27 June 1994:13).

III THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

A. Birth and Baptism.

In the town situation most babies are born in hospital while in the villages mothers may be attended by a midwife employed by the

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15 I am involved in a network of reciprocity with some members of the Luwuk Chinese community. I have received many valuable gifts and I always have to return from Australia with appropriate souvenirs. Should I eventually settle in Australia, there are those who could expect me to provide a home for their children who want to study in Australia.
Department of Health or a 'd ukun'. The infant mortality rate is very high, even among educated women who have the best possible medical attention. Four of my close friends lost babies at birth.

There are no birth ceremonies, the attention coming later at baptism (cf. Lundstrom-Burghoorn 1981:101). However, as in many other areas in Indonesia, after the birth of their first child, whether boy or girl, the parents are referred to as the father or mother of that child (Koentjaraningrat 1967:400).

In the GKLB, babies are baptised at any age from two months to four years. When two members of the same family are born fairly close together, the family often waits and both babies are baptised together. Usually groups are baptised together, especially on "Christmas 2". Although it is customary to follow the baptism service with a family feast, some clergy are trying to discourage this as it often presents a financial burden. Children have from two to six godparents, usually, but not always, married couples. Godparents are rarely peers of the parents, but older people who are respected in the Christian community, especially deacons and clergy. According to Cooley, the godparents standing with the child being baptised is an indicator of the social dimension of baptism as a rite of passage (1967a:136). The official doctrine of the churches in the Protestant-Reformed tradition emphasises the initiatory aspect of baptism for, just as a Jewish boy was initiated into the Jewish covenant community through circumcision, so the Indonesian child is initiated into the community of the church by baptism (Verkuyl 1992:233-236). Christian baptism has a legal dimension, as any baptised Indonesian person is legally a Christian; belongs in the Christian community; and may not be proselytised by members of another religious group.

16 Most dukun have dual roles functioning both as shaman and traditional healer (Chapter 14:230ff).
B. Childhood and Inculcating the Christian Faith.

Within the context of the Indonesian Protestant tradition, it is assumed that the baptised child has become a member of the visible community of faith, and just as the Jewish child was consciously nurtured and educated as a member of the covenant community, so the Indonesian Christian child will constantly be nurtured in his or her faith (Hadiwijono 1991:437). The three agents that in theory work together in this process are the Christian home, the church, and the school.

a. The Home.

Atmadja-Hadinoto, an authority on Christian education and the Christian family in Indonesia, draws attention to the fact that at present we generally see a process of Christian socialisation of children not a process of planned Christian education (1990:182). She suggests that "pastor-centricism" hinders the proper educative role of the Christian family. The pastor, not the parents, are expected to provide Christian teaching in the home (1990:177). Therefore, the child does not understand the Christian faith but is "socialised" and learns his or her role in the Christian community. This happens through participation in Christian events and festivals (Chapter 13:195ff). However, at the same time, the child is often excluded from many Christian activities, including both regular Sunday services and Holy Communion. Mastra believes that such segregation is harmful and contributes towards the generation gap (1982:105).

In terms of the approaches to Christian education, homes in Luwuk-Banggai Christian appear to be on a continuum. At one end of the continuum there are homes where there is constant teaching of the Bible and applied Christian ethics. Such homes positively nurture the children as members of the Christian community. At the other end of the continuum, there are homes where there is no formal Christian
teaching and the children are socialised into the nominal Christian community through attendance at public events (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:182).

b. Sunday Schools.

Although in Indonesia the baptised child is perceived as being a member of the covenant community, in practice the Christian education of children is often neglected. This was emphasised by a presentation given by children at the DGI/PGI Conference in Ambon in 1984. This was the Lament of the Neglected Children. The theme of this Lament was that in Indonesian Protestant Churches, children are neglected because of inadequate Sunday School Teaching. Similarly, Atmadja-Hadinoto writes:

Christian education of children is still an activity of lay people and outside the formal structures of the church .... Being an activity of the laity, the effectiveness of Sunday School teaching is determined by the level of enthusiasm of those who teach without payment. Generally the teachers are young with inadequate knowledge of either the Bible or teaching methods (1990:173).

This aptly describes the situation with children and Sunday Schools in Luwuk-Banggai. Several Sunday School superintendents are both principals of primary schools and church deacons. This small group of older, dedicated men and women effectively lead the Sunday Schools in their respective congregations. However, many times I have observed a teen-aged girl trying to teach a group of up to seventy children, aged from about two years to ten years. The older children were busy trying to control younger siblings; there were no teaching aids; and children were not graded into classes. Some of the older children brought their parents' hymn books. Singing consisted of
either translations of European hymns, sung like dirges, or a few popular songs that were repeatedly shouted out.

Following the Ambon Conference in 1984, the Pembinaan Team in Luwuk worked with the twelve kelasis [church districts] seeking to improve standards of Sunday School teaching. The problems faced included:

i. The attitude of more than half the clergy and pastors who did not consider Sunday School teaching a priority.

ii. Lack of funds needed to purchase suitable equipment and teaching materials.

iii. The problem of a regular supply of Sunday School teaching materials. This is a national problem as the PGI has been unable to maintain a regular supply of Teachers' Manuals because of unpaid debts.

iv. The gap between experiences in a session of Sunday School teacher training and what is actually done. In one pastor's home, I saw the pictures that he had obtained at a Sunday School teachers training course pasted on his walls as decorations.

On another occasion, the Sunday School teachers had been taught to teach through child activity. In the ensuing practice session, one young man discarded all his new teaching aids, sat the children in rows, and announced, "Will the congregation please stand. We will now sing hymn number . . . .". He then began to lead a typical Sunday morning service for twenty squirming, bored children.

This incident represents a major problem throughout the Indonesian Church: the reactionary clinging to imported forms of worship (Octavianus 1985:109). Mastra draws attention to the fact that:

Balinese, like many other Asians, are extraordinarily visual . . . .

They want everything to become concrete, visible, and tangible.
It is important for them to symbolize their faith in active drama, dance, painting, carving and architecture (1981:267).

Among the *beban sejarah* [burdens that have resulted from historical factors] (Chapter 1:9) that are negatively affecting many Indonesian Churches are forms of early twentieth century Western Christianity worship that were often both legalistic and austere. Thus, a call to Sunday Schools to employ meaningful, joyful learning experiences is often threatening to members of the Christian community and consequently resisted (cf. Mastra 1982:12-13).

So, today, in Luwuk-Banggai the challenge of Ambon 1984 still needs to be realised. Sunday Schools need to become genuine learning experiences so that children are built up in their faith as members of the Protestant community.

c. **PAK** [Pendidikan Agama Kristen or the Teaching of Christian Religion].

Next to the teaching PMP [the study of the *Pancasila*] (Chapter 7:91), the formal teaching of religion is the most important subject in schools. For children from Christian homes, this is PAK. This is an examinable school subject. However, learning in Indonesian schools is usually by rote with children not being encouraged to think for themselves or apply what they learn (Mastra 1982:71). At the same time, education is used to indoctrinate the young and to achieve national goals. Therefore all school subjects, including Christian Education, are oriented so that they emphasise submission to the State and the *Pancasila* (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:175).\(^\text{17}\)

Consequently, the average Christian teenager graduates from

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\(^\text{17}\) See Chapters 9:116; 16:303 for a discussion of the secularising effects of the present formal educational system.
High School with a good cognitive knowledge of the Bible, church history and basic doctrine but with little ability to apply this knowledge to daily life. Both Hooker and Dick (1993:19) and Mastra (1982:71) draw attention to the fact that the present elite sends their children overseas for education so that they learn to think, evaluate and criticise. Meanwhile, the majority of the population is kept in a place of unquestioning obedience. Mastra stresses that all Christian children need to be taught Biblical truths in a way that will enable them to criticise, evaluate and take appropriate action (1982:71).

C. Initiation into Adulthood and Confirmation.

As in both Ambon and Minahasa, confirmation is important in the GKLB but does not appear to be linked with earlier practices that took place during adolescence. As in some other areas of the Malay Archipelago, teeth filing used to be practised in the Balantak area (Barnes 1974:159; Kruyt 1933:73–74). Circumcision is generally considered to be a rite that was introduced by Islam. However, in the Southern Bulagi area, claims are made that circumcision was a traditional rite of initiation, pre-dating the arrival of Islam.

School children are normally confirmed in their last year of High School when they are aged seventeen or eighteen. Others may wait until they are planning to marry. Unlike the situation in Ambon where they have three years of preparation and close scrutiny by the Session, (Cooley 1967:136) catechism classes in Luwuk are usually for less than six months. Those being confirmed always dress in white and wear white gloves. The clothes vary from very expensive new dresses or suits to well-worn school uniforms. It is a very emotional time with most of the girls crying openly. Confirmation is perceived as the rite of passage into adult life: a prerequisite for admission to Holy Communion; necessary before leaving home for further study; and
required by church law before marriage.

D. **Marriage.**

As has already been mentioned, immorality is perceived as one of the most serious problems in the church (Chapter 1:14) and as in other Christian communities there is "conflict between custom-sanctioned traditions and Christian responsibility" (Sherman 1990:77).

This issue of "custom-sanctioned traditions" is central in seeking to understand the attitude of older community leaders towards "immorality". Cooley documents in detail the process of elopement and reconciliation in Ambon, where up to nine out of ten unions were formed by elopement or "wife abduction". Following an elopement there are well defined social conventions which can be followed to make the elopement into a formal and socially acceptable union. Many couples, and their parents, choose elopement as it results in easier and less expensive negotiations between the families. After simulating a level of shame the wife's family can be atoned, a *fait accompli* accepted, the two families reconciled, and the couple can have civil and church weddings (1962:21-26). The role of the Ambonese teacher-evangelists in the building up of the Luwuk-Banggai Church has already been discussed, and it is safe to suggest that they either introduced a world view that enabled young people who had violated official cultural norms to be forgiven, or else they enforced a situation that already existed in Luwuk-Banggai Societies.

It is probable that the latter was the case. Kruyt (1933:59-60) briefly describes the possibility of a Balantak couple who had eloped remaining hidden until such time as they could return with due humility and have the union sanctioned. Meanwhile among the neighbouring Bugis peoples marriage by elopement is still common (Koentjaraningrat 1975b:94).
In Luwuk-Banggai attitudes to rushed weddings vary. Some families feel great shame but this is not universal. Shame is most likely to be felt by people who perceive themselves as having a high social status. Just as in the past pre-marital intercourse was common among village couples but was forbidden among members of the aristocracy in Ambon (Kraemer 1958:23), so, today, in Luwuk the "new aristocracy" - the salary earning, educated elite - want their children to demonstrate their parents' status. Such parents seek upward mobility through marriage and often try to refuse their children the right to choose their partners. Nevertheless, in these situations, the couple frequently forces the issue when the girl becomes pregnant.

Furthermore, many parents are concerned when their daughters marry and move to another area. Among the ordained, university-educated clergy in Luwuk-Banggai about three quarters have "mixed marriages", each partner coming from a different province or language group. This would be representative of other groups in the educated sector of Luwuk. Children of such unions only speak Indonesian and consider themselves Indonesian citizens and are generally free from traditional restraints.

However, many people in Luwuk-Banggai accept a rushed marriage as normal. One young man, with a good salary, was organising a church and civil wedding with his seven month pregnant bride and told me that his mother-in-law had asked that he sleep with her daughter as a pledge of his intention to marry her. As soon as the daughter was known to be pregnant, the bride's family approached the young man's family, the exchange of marriage wealth was arranged and a feast was held in the girl's village and the couple were considered married according to adat [local custom]. The groom, however, was not at the feast and did not consider himself married until such time as they were married in a church with both Christian
and civil ceremonies.

Attempts to force an eligible young man to marry are quite common. A Balantak woman asked my help (which was not given) in getting her daughter into a compromising position so that a young man with a good job would have to marry her daughter. In some Banggai speaking areas the whole community will contrive to get an eligible man into a situation where he will be forced to marry a local girl.

Traditionally in many areas of Eastern Indonesia young people decide themselves whom they are going to marry (e.g. Barnes 1974:241; Cooley 1962:22; Kruyt 1933:59-60). In Luwuk-Banggai the formal betrothal or engagement is still called a pinangan, from the word for betel nut which used to be formally offered by the prospective groom's family or clan to the bride's family. However, as has been pointed out above, the function of betel nut in ceremonial exchange remains, but the betel nut itself has been replaced by more modern items of exchange, particularly food. During the pinangan, arrangements are made for the exchange of marriage wealth and the dates for the various parts of the wedding are set. These include up to four parts: the exchange of the marriage wealth; the church ceremony; the civil ceremony; and the formal visit of the bride to the groom's family.

For the exchange of marriage wealth the girl's family prepares a feast to which the groom and his family come, bringing the appropriate gifts which may include money, animals, clothing, gold or antiques. The girl's family accepts the gifts; a meal is eaten together; the date of the church and civil wedding is announced; the girl's family presents the boy's family with gifts, usually food; and the boy and his family departs. Even if there is not equivalence in monetary value, at the exchange both families give and both receive as the ceremony is considered to be an exchange of wealth and not bride price.
The Ambonese rationale behind the marriage wealth exchanges in Ambon (Cooley 1962:45) is adhered to in Luwuk-Banggai. Firstly, there is a Biblical precedent. In Genesis 24 when Abraham sent a servant with great wealth to find a wife for his son Isaac, the servant returned with Rebekah. Secondly, marriage wealth is a sign of love and respect from the groom's family to the bride's family. Thirdly, there is sometimes a fear of a curse from the ancestors that would fall on anyone who violated adat.

Clergy in Luwuk have tried, unsuccessfully, to be granted authority to conduct both church and civil ceremonies as is the practice in Manado. In the three town churches, church and civil weddings are held on the same day. However, in many villages this is impossible, and the civil ceremony may precede or follow the church wedding, depending on the availability of the government officer, but the preference is for the church wedding to come first.

Brides usually wear beautiful white dresses. At one of the most elaborate weddings that I attended not long after the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales in Britain, I foolishly commented on the inappropriateness of the train in Luwuk with its heat and mud. The implied criticism was not appreciated and I was informed that the dress was just like that which Princess Diana had worn. Dresses can be hired, the rental decreasing each time a dress is worn. In the vestry of one village church there is a collection of bridal dresses that can be hired. The groom usually wears a cream or a navy suit, a tie, gloves and flowers in his buttonhole. Members of the police or army wear dress uniforms.

On the day of the wedding the bride is dressed and sits on an elaborately decorated bed in her home. Her extended family and rukun gather there. Then the groom and his family arrives. Kruyt described the Balantak groom at the beginning of the century making
a ritual entry up the ladder to the bride's house (1933:59-60). Today the ritual entry consists of cutting a ribbon to get into the room where the bride is waiting. Together they go to the church followed by the two extended families. In the villages they walk to the church. In the towns a motorcade, with all horns blaring, goes to the church by the longest possible route. The motorcade is a new symbol of wealth and status (cf. Cunningham 1979:276).

In the church there is a long service that includes the vows and the exchanging of rings which are worn on the right hands. A feast follows. This will always be the best that both sets of parents can afford and often leads to considerable indebtedness. The most important item is the meat. In the town the family aims to buy and slaughter as many beasts as possible, in the village they slaughter their own. Fish and chicken are served but they are considered everyday fare. Usually no pork is served because of Muslim guests. The bridal party does not eat at the reception. The bride and groom sit enthroned as the king and queen for the day. On either side of them are two big arrangements of fruit, symbolic of hoped for fruitfulness in the marriage. There are always speeches, both from a representative of the families and an appropriate community leader. At more expensive weddings there is a wedding cake. This is an elaborately decorated series of sponge cakes. The bride and the groom ceremonially cut one of the cakes and then feed each other as a symbol of life-long service to each other.

Finally, the couple return to the bride's home to the decorated room to spend the bridal night together. Sometimes this is followed by a "family feast" the next day. At this pork is usually served. Among Balantak speakers a further ceremony may be held about a week later when the couple goes to the home of the groom's family.
D. The Role of Women.

Throughout Indonesia, traditionally women were accorded high status (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:7). One Indonesian writer observes:

On reaching Indonesia, the Arabic and Indian traditions, which had kept women in other parts of Asia in servitude, succumbed to the Indonesian culture to a marked extent (Alisjahbana 1966:106).

In Indonesia, and the West, the story of Kartini is well known. She was a nineteenth century Javanese aristocrat who longed that Indonesian women be given the opportunity to study and work. She has become the role model of the modern educated Indonesian woman and her influence has played an important role in opening all careers to Indonesian women (Alisjahbana 1966:106). In 1991, I travelled from Luwuk to Java on the Awu, a 1,200 passenger liner. The captain, a Javanese woman, was named "Kartini". As the first Indonesian woman to command a modern sea-going vessel, the Indonesian media placed great emphasis on the appropriateness of the captain being "another Kartini".

Certainly in Luwuk-Banggai all careers are open to women. They are represented in all professions: medicine, law, engineering and the ordained ministry. Although few women reach the top of their professions, this is changing. A single woman has now been appointed as the medical doctor in charge of Kabupaten Banggai and in the neighbouring synod of the GKST, a single woman has been appointed for her second term as moderator of the synod. The willingness to allow a woman to function in senior professional positions is related to

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18 In Indonesia, very attractive Muslim women actually read the Koran on television.

19 The most recent translation of her letters by Joost Cote (1992) entitles them *Letters from Kartini: an Indonesian Feminist: 1900-1904.*
her possession of the appropriate qualifications. In part, this is concerned with the perception that tertiary education is the new form of esoteric knowledge (Chapter 12:162). Also, in a developing country like Indonesia, education is a precious resource that must be used.

However, even though a woman may function as a professional woman, in the home she is expected to function in a traditional role. A retired army colonel told me proudly that all his children, both boys and girls, had been given the same opportunities for education. Two were visiting at the time, a young woman who was a doctor and a young man who was back from Europe where he had been serving in the merchant navy. The father and the son started playing chess, a game that only men are supposed to play.\textsuperscript{20} Later, I asked the retired colonel if his daughter played chess. He was shocked. "Of course not," he replied. "She is a woman". This is the attitude of many Luwuk-Banggai men. Men respect professional women but in the home they are expected to conform to a traditional role.

However, the lot of the uneducated woman is often very difficult, and according to Atmadja-Hadinoto, colonialism worsened this (1990:7). Today, the government policy of family planning is reducing the burden of bearing large numbers of children.\textsuperscript{21} Even so the diet of many village women and children is often inadequate as they do not eat until the men have eaten and are satisfied. Furthermore many men waste a significant proportion of the family income on smoking. One of the leading Christian women in Luwuk frequently states that smoking causes more problems in Christian families than any other factor for few families can afford the high cost of cigarettes. Therefore smoking

\textsuperscript{20} Some of the better educated teen-aged girls are now ignoring this convention and bewilder their fathers by playing very good chess.

\textsuperscript{21} Indonesia's successful family planning program has resulted in Indonesia having the lowest population increase of any predominantly Muslim country (Economist 1994:34)
means that the basic needs of women and children are not met.

E. The Problem of Adultery.

Although pre-marital sex is not approved of, traditionally there were provisions within society that enabled violation of cultural norms to be forgiven and such unions could be converted into socially acceptable marriages. Today the church condones pre-marital sex by formally blessing such unions. However immorality within marriage is perceived as being different, and both church and society impose severe penalties on adulterers. Proven cases of adultery lead to church discipline, while unproven cases lead to gossip which effectively ruins a person's reputation and status.

The level of hatred that the community has for adultery can be seen in the case of a young, well-qualified, ordained minister who was sentenced to two years imprisonment for adultery. His wife and a village woman bore him children within weeks of each other. The Christian community was so enraged by his behaviour that they refused to show any clemency. His wife would not go home to her village because of shame, choosing to live in poverty and obscurity rather than expose herself to the contempt or sympathy of others.

There are no provisions in the culture of Luwuk-Banggai peoples to forgive adultery, and probably in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai more careers have been ruined by adultery than by any other cause. Adultery is perceived as the greatest of all sins because it is sin against the whole fabric of society.
IV DEATH AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
THE LIVING AND THE DEPARTED.

A. The Funeral.

The first time I visited a home in Luwuk where someone had just died was representative of scores of similar occasions after that. The deceased grandmother, dressed in her best clothes, was laid out on a bed which had been placed in the guest-reception room at the front of the house. It was a busy time for the family and their rukun group with the women cooking and some of the men building a temporary "lean-to" to provide accommodation for guests at the funeral ceremony. Others were away digging the grave and making the coffin. Some of the older men were sitting around smoking and playing dominoes or chess. A small number of visitors sat quietly in the chairs arranged around the bed where the deceased lay, talking softly with her closest relatives and drinking tea. In the corner of the room a child, still dressed in her school uniform, was sleeping on a woven mat. In Luwuk-Banggai there does not appear to be any fear of the ghost of the departed stealing the spirit of anyone who falls asleep in the same room as the corpse (cf. Kruyt 1977:51). The sense of the community between the living and the dead is so strong that it is appropriate for a living child to sleep quietly in the room in which her grandmother is laid-out.

A funeral in the Christian community in Luwuk-Banggai bears the imprint of the mentors of the GKLb, the Minahasan Church and the Ambonese Church, while all three bear the imprint of Dutch Church of the nineteenth century. In Luwuk with its constant heat and no refrigerated mortuary, it is essential that a body be buried within twenty-four hours. Occasionally, a wealthy family will have the body injected with insulin as soon as he or she is medically pronounced dead so that members of the family will have the opportunity to fly
home for the funeral. It is impossible to fly the remains of a loved one "home" to be buried as the airline company, fearing that a plane that has carried a corpse will be considered unsafe, makes the cost of chartering a plane to carry a corpse in or out of Luwuk prohibitive.

On the day of the funeral, the body is placed in the coffin. This is made of undressed timber, covered with black cloth and a large cross is placed on the lid of the coffin. The deceased is dressed in his or her best clothes or, where applicable, in the clothes of office: a minister in his or her preaching gown and anyone from the army or the police in full uniform. The Pentecostal pastor who had been a 1945 Freedom Fighter (Chapter 10:128) was dressed in his uniform, replete with medals. Then, with full military honours, he was buried in the War Heroes' Cemetery.

The service is held at home with the close family sitting around the coffin, usually with a large crowd of mourners, most of whom are dressed in black, in the "lean-to". Often, with police permission, a public road is closed to traffic. Everyone in Luwuk considers a funeral more important than keeping the traffic flowing.

Following the service there are formal speeches and wreaths are laid on the coffin. Finally, amidst much weeping, wailing and protesting, the lid is nailed on the coffin. The funeral cortege then sets off. In the towns the cortege is a motorcade led by the hearse and then followed by private vehicles, mini-buses and motor bikes. In Luwuk-Banggai the Christian graveyard is never near a church building. A further short service is held at the grave, the coffin is lowered into the grave, the wailing intensifies, petals of flowers are thrown on top of the coffin and the grave roughly filled. Unlike the Muslim community that orient their graves to the north west so that they face Mecca, directional orientation of Christian graves in Luwuk is not important. Although Muslims will attend Christian funerals and
vice versa: Muslims and Christians are separated in death. They are carried in different hearses and buried in different cemeteries.22

From the time the deceased is first laid out until the time that the family returns from the grave side, a large glass bottle is placed in the home in a conspicuous place. People outside the rukun group place gifts of money in this bottle to assist in the costs of the funeral. Such gifts are symbolic of the fact that the whole community, and not just the rukun, is involved in the death.

Following the funeral, comfort and thanksgiving services and feasts are usually held on the third, fortieth and hundredth day after the death. There are some who question the appropriateness of these feasts, suggesting that they are linked to old beliefs concerning the stages through which the departed moves, wandering around as a ghost until such time as he or she finally goes to rest. However, Lundstrom-Burghoorn discounts the continuation of old beliefs in the Minahasan funeral and subsequent feasts, seeing them as a time "of sadness mixed with the joy of being together" and in their membership of a group (1981:121).

B. Graves and Edifices.

Close to the Saluan people on the mainland of Sulawesi live the predominantly Christian Toraja peoples. The Sa'dan Toraja are famous for their mortuary rites and galleries with effigies of their dead (e.g. Volkman 1987:161-167). Similarly, Batak Christians preserve old mortuary customs and preserve the bones of ancestors in a stone urn, or sarcophagus. The Bataks claim that in so doing they are honouring parents and demonstrating obedience to the fifth commandment

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22 There have been several legal cases in Luwuk involving a person who has changed his or her religion being buried in the cemetery of the new religion and then being dug up by members of the former religion and reburied.
Although in Luwuk-Banggai mortuary rites are less ostentatious, there is still a desire to build expensive edifices for the departed, particularly for parents and grandparents. However, this desire may lead to children being withdrawn from school to pay for the monuments together with the associated feasting. Many Christian and Muslim leaders consider that these activities are counter-productive. Nakamura states that one of the aims of *Muhammadiyah*, an Islamic Reform group, is to teach people to use money wisely and among other things to not waste it on expensive graves (1980:274).

Volkman (1985) reported the discussion in the Indonesian press on expensive mortuary rites among the Toraja people after a feast in which "animals valued at three hundred buffalo were slaughtered". Points discussed included the link between *adat* and social rank; changes in social rank since Independence; the value of such feasts in terms of tourism; and the indebtedness that results from sacrificing such an enormous number of beasts. One article claimed that such ceremonies do not benefit the majority of Toraja people and recommended that schools and churches must implement an educational program so that people will see that these ceremonies belong to the past and are counter-productive in terms of the modern nation and economy (Volkman 1985:191-196).

Certainly through its official policy and teaching, the GKLB is attempting to encourage people to abandon counter-productive activities and to be less ostentatious in feast giving and in building graves. However, this brings a conflict between the aims of development and the traditional world view. For in the traditional world view there is a vital unity between the ancestors and the living. They are perceived as being one community and offended ancestors can make life very difficult for their descendants.
C. The Relationship between the Living and the Departed.

Catholic theologian Ennio Mantovani points out that there is a special relationship between the ancestors, the departed and those who are still living. The ancestors become symbols that point towards what will be experienced. He submits that the ancestors may communicate the love and protection of God. He then claims that the belief system of a culture determines how these symbols are interpreted (1989:29).

Certainly for many people in Luwuk-Banggai the culture determines their understanding of the role of the departed. In the Christian community there is a range of opinions. Some reject the power of the ancestors. Other relegate belief in the spirits of the ancestors as superstitions held by illiterate primitive people. These people claim that such beliefs are inconsistent with development and progress. Others believe that the spirits of the ancestors are alive somewhere, but as Christians they must neither fear them nor worship them. The living may, however, honour their memories and follow their examples. Nevertheless, for many people in Luwuk-Banggai the spirits of the ancestors are a very real power. If angered they will avenge, and there will be crop failure, sickness and death. If placated, they will bless with good crops and physical health.

Burial is extremely important. One Christian family in Luwuk was very distressed when their son who was a sailor was drowned when his ship sank. Their deepest concern was that his body was never recovered and so could not be properly buried. Many believe that a bad burial will lead to an unhappy ancestral ghost who will make life difficult for the living.

However, fear is not the only emotion felt towards the departed.

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23 According to the questionnaire (Chapter 2:21), 75% of Church members, including clergy, believe that the souls of Christians in their graves are waiting for the return of Jesus Christ and the resurrection of the dead.
In Maluku, Muslims and Christians employ both the power of the high God and the power of the ancestors, using whichever power is most effective. They also believe that the ancestors fill a void between themselves and the abstract God of both Islam and Christianity (Bartels 1979:291). Many Christians in Luwuk-Banggai would agree with Mbiti's summary of the relationship between the living and the newly departed or the "living-dead" in Africa:

People want to remain in harmony with their departed relatives, and to lead peaceful lives. To forget the living dead would upset the harmony of life, it would generate ill-health, failure in hunting, difficulties in childbirth, and other evils. Normalizing relations with the departed ensures continued peace and tranquillity in the daily affairs of human life (Mbiti 1975:101).

V THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY AND WORLD VIEW.

A. The Importance of the Community.

In the above discussion several themes concerning the present world view in the Luwuk-Banggai Christian community have recurred. There has been a constant emphasis on the importance of the group: the place of the individual within the group, and of his or her responsibility to the group. Decisions must be made within the context of the group. When couples make their own decisions about marrying there are complex sanctions and provisions from within the group to turn an individual decision into a group decision. Through church festivals such as Christmas, group solidarity is demonstrated through traditional patterns of reciprocity. Sin is primarily defined, not in terms of Biblical or theological concepts, but in terms of how it effects group solidarity. Baptism, confirmation, marriage, and death rites serve as Christian rites of passage, defining a person's place and role
Linked with the concept of the community is the concept of "Self-Other". In contrast to the teaching of both the Christian and the Islamic faiths, as well as the emphasis on *kerukunan* in the *Pancasila, sukuisme* still alienates and divides in Luwuk-Banggai.

Status within the group is a recurring theme. Reciprocity at Christmas and differing moral standards for children of the new elite emphasise social stratification and status. This demonstrates the ability of people to receive a new religion, but then to use the forms of that religion to enforce the values of the old world view.

**B. The Community of the Living and the Dead.**

For many members of the Christian community, there is no clear line of demarcation between the living and the dead. Death is a certain and an important event. Therefore the Luwuk Christian *rukun* group is always prepared to organise a socially acceptable ceremony to mark a transition of one of their members from the place of the living to the place of the dead. It is as if they are moving from one part of the community to another part.

The desire to achieve and display status that is so apparent in the community of the living is clearly seen in the funeral activities. The clothes in which the departed is dressed, the funeral cortege, the feasting, and the subsequent erection of edifices over the grave are all a study of status.

Finally, funeral activities demonstrate the belief that life as it is known on this earth is part of a continuing existence. Indonesians do not refer to the "after-life". Life and death are integrally related. They are a unified whole. Certainly there are questions about the state of the ancestors and of their role in the affairs of the living. Often the ancestors are feared. Sometimes they are regarded with
ambivalence. Sometimes they are regarded as irrelevant. But by his or her participation in a *rukun* group and in death ceremonies, everyone demonstrates his or her belief in the unity of the community of the living and the dead and the continuity of the community after death.

As Luwuk-Banggai people view their position in a present community that transcends time and space, and gather at one of the feasts commemorating the recent death of a loved one, they would agree with Lundstrom-Burghoorn when she states that there is security in membership of a group (1981:121).

In accord with the teaching of Hebrews 12:2, the Christian community has the right to see themselves as part of an eschatological community that transcends time and space. In his STh thesis, on *The Church as the Body of Christ*, Labotano, one of the younger leaders of the GKLB mentions briefly that the Church which is the Body of Christ and the Fellowship of Redeemed people, is located on earth and in heaven. It is one community: but the mission of the church is confined to earth (1990:70).

Thus, in their ideal form, the death ceremonies of the GKLB, provide hope, assurance, and emotional support that strengthen and sustain the Christian family after the loss of a loved one. Ceremonies anchored in the old culture, but reinterpreted in terms of Biblical teaching appear to equip Indonesian Christians to cope with death better than the impersonal practices of Western death ceremonies support Western Christians.

C. The Christian Community and the Church of Jesus Christ.

This chapter has primarily been concerned with the Christian community as an *adat* community. We have seen the Christian *rukun* group in Luwuk interpreting the values of the *muhabet* group from
Ambon or the *mapalus* from Minahasa within the context of the Christian society of Luwuk-Banggai.

However the Church of Jesus Christ can neither be equated with Christianised *adat* nor be seen as a reinterpretation of an Indonesian *adat* society. Christian theologians within and without Indonesia have addressed seriously issues which include the nature and purpose of the church and the relationship of the church to the society in which it exists. Chinese Indonesian theologian, David Santosa, defines the church in terms of Biblical metaphors including the Body of Christ, the Temple of God; the Lord's Field; and the Bride of Christ (1990:160-163). He then speaks of the ministry of the Holy Spirit in giving gifts and power to the church so that the church can work and witness in the world (1990:164-169).

However, in Indonesia such teaching is often perceived as Biblical theology unrelated to the daily life of the Christian community. Bediako's emphasis on the teaching of Mbiti could well address this issue. A constant theme of Mbiti's writings is that the Gospel must create a new community which meets the African longing for life in community but with a new allegiance to Jesus Christ. The Church needs to be seen as the community of the redeemed (Bediako 1990:310).

However, in the Indonesian Church the vision that Mbiti has for the African Christian community "as the essential bearer of the Gospel" (Bediako 1990:309) is often eclipsed by the requirements imposed on the Church as an official religion in accord with the *Pancasila*. This leads to the Indonesian church neglecting basic theological discussion for fear of disrupting religious harmony (Sidjabat 1982:230).

Furthermore, there is some reluctance among the many able Indonesian theologians to critique the church itself or its work and witness in the way in which theologians such as Kúng (1977) have done. The concept of understanding the church as the executor of
missio Dei as introduced by Barth and developed by Küng (Bosch 1991:390) is rarely discussed in the Indonesian Church. This concept of understanding mission as participating in God's love toward people (Bosch 1991:390) has been eclipsed by the PGI [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches] in its choice to be primarily initiators of action in the context of nation-building (cf. Simatupang 1986:1-17).

Similarly liberation theology and the Gospel as good news for the poor have only played a small part in the thinking of Indonesian theologians. This is not because of the absence of poverty in Indonesia but because any suggestion that there is a need for liberty is perceived as a criticism of Merdeka [Liberty, Independence]. There is confusion between attained political freedom and freedom for human beings living in oppression and poverty.

Thus, one of the challenges facing the Indonesian Church is the need to understand more fully the church, not just as a community with a "Christianised adat", but as the community of God's holy people who has been called to be the executor of missio Dei, implementing God's mission of shalom in the context of the Indonesian nation.

However, this is not just a matter for the Indonesian Church at the level of the PGI. Donovan has explored ways in which the nomadic Masai people recognised their spiritual gifts and, as a nomadic people without formal education, were able to function as a faith community and explore the issues that concerned the way in which the Catholic Church should function in their society (1978:142-148). The Christian community exists in Luwuk-Banggai and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it is realistic to believe that the Holy Spirit can equip the community of faith in Luwuk-Banggai so that the GKLB itself can be an executor of missio Dei and bring shalom to the whole community.

See Chapter 16:313-314 for further discussion on missio Dei.
CHAPTER 13.
WORSHIP AND THE CHURCH CALENDAR.

I THE ONE TRUE LORD IN THE NATION OF INDONESIA.

A. The Pancasila: The Milieu in which Indonesian Religions Exist.

Through the national philosophy of the Pancasila, Indonesia has created a social milieu in which diverse ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups can live together in harmony. Indonesians do not perceive the Pancasila as a religion. President Suharto himself emphasises that Indonesia is neither a religious state nor a secular state: it is the Pancasila state (Chapter 9:117). The Pancasila as formulated by Sukarno and presented to the new nation of Indonesia in 1945 (Chapter 7:89-90) represented a national philosophy that accorded with the needs of the new republic, allowed for the faith of the Muslim majority to be nurtured, and accommodated other religious traditions.

Although the wording has not changed, over the last half century there has been a constant process of development in the concepts embraced in the Pancasila. Today, most Indonesian Protestant Christians are committed to the Pancasila as it provides a visible symbol of their right to continue as a minority religion in Indonesia. Darmaputra sees it as essential for the preservation of religious harmony (1988a:120).

Thus, officially, the Pancasila is not a religion. It is an Indonesian philosophy of life based on an Indonesian world view. It is the philosophical rationale behind the national motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [Unity in Diversity]. It is "an inclusive approach to reality", that calls the Indonesian Church to commitment: both to the Christian Gospel and to national aims (Darmaputra 1988a:208).

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1 Both Sukarno and Simatupang recognised the fact that Indonesians are not Westerners and therefore consciously used the Pancasila to appeal to Indonesians through their world view (Chapter 2:28; Simatupang 1991:187).
Sidjabat points out that in this officially non-religious state, the concept of *Tuhan Mahaesa* [the principle of the one True Lord or of Divine Omnipotence] "judicially and formally (is) interpreted as a neutral concept of Deity without leaning towards any single religion". However, in practice the world view of the Muslim majority leads them to define the *Pancasila* as a religious document with *Tuhan Mahaesa* being redefined as the Allah of Islam. Very few Indonesian thinkers, either Muslim or Christian, have succeeded in maintaining the balanced neutrality of the *Pancasila* (1982:233-235).

B. *Tuhan Mahaesa* and the *Pancasila*.

Although the *Pancasila* itself is not officially a religious statement, belief in *Tuhan Mahaesa* is mandatory. Indonesian law "requires its citizens to believe in God but imposes no particular religion on them" (Liddle 1990:54). In accord with the neutral concept of deity in the *Pancasila*, *Tuhan Mahaesa*, may be identified as the *Allah* of Islam; *Sang Hyang Widhi*, the spiritual, creative and sustaining power of Balinese-Hinduism (Octavianus 1985:71); or God the Father Almighty. This "very general concept of Deity" is in fact "a guarantee for freedom of worship" for all Indonesians. This freedom of worship means an obligation to worship (Sidjabat 1982:44-45).

C. Worship in Indonesia.

i. Traditional Worship.

The English word *worship* is not easy to define as frequently different religious groups understand the term differently. In everyday usage, the Indonesian Christian community uses three words, that can be translated as *worship*. *Sembah* is a Malay word for obeisance to a god or a sultan. In this obeisance the positions of the
hands and the posture of the body are important (Wilkinson 1932b:421). 

Bakti [bhakti] is a Sanskrit word suggesting faithful work or devoted and loyal service (Wilkinson 1932a:71) while ibadah [ibadat] is an Arabic word for service to God or the fulfilling of religious obligation (Wilkinson 1932a:416).

In his investigation of religion, Durkheim asserted that central to all religions is the cultus which is a system of diverse rites and ceremonies that occur regularly. Through the cultus, the whole group assembles in an expression of joy that dominates the religious life (1976:344-350). Sebastian Kappen, an Indian Christian theologian suggests that through worship there is an encounter with God who is totally other. This encounter may be either individual or within the context of community worship. Such an encounter leads to the worshipper being "invaded and inhabited by the Absolute" and to the transcendent becoming immanent (1980:109). Mbiti defines worship in the African context as "man's act or acts of turning to God. These acts may be formal or informal, regular or extempore, communal or individual, ritual or unceremonial, through word or deed" (1970:178).

All these elements are seen in Indonesian worship. There is a conscious striving to turn to God through community celebration as humanity approaches the transcendent God. Subagya compares the core rituals of Indonesian local religions with worship in the Catholic Church. Basic to rituals in local religions is a period of mourning followed by a cathartic period when there is some form of activity that reminds people of cosmic laws and of the need for prayer and sacrifice. This culminates in community celebration (1981:121). Among the core rituals mentioned by Subagya are the Merok feast and the Ma'bugi ritual of the Toraja of Sulawesi (1981:120). In the rites of the Merok feast, van der Veen identifies elements that include offerings to the ancestors; atonement for transgression; thanksgiving;
and ecstatic community participation (1965:1-9). Meanwhile the *Ma'bugi'* can be seen as a "dramaturgy" in which through ecstatic, ritually correct dance both the performers and observers "experience the power of the gods". It is religion practised rather than conceptualised in an abstract manner. The emphasis is on ritual correctness or orthopraxy (Crystal & Yamashita 1987:48-70).

Apparently this same pattern of repentance, penance and ecstatic celebration used to be seen in the *Sumawi* Feast held in the Balantak area. The purpose of this feast was:

- Asking blessing and protection from the gods;
- Asking for forgiveness and payment of vows to the gods;
- Demonstrating group solidarity and the feeling of good fortune in every aspect of social life (Tolombot 1986:30).

Although it would appear that ecstatic performances were an integral part of core ceremonies in local religions in Sulawesi, they are not part of either Christianity or Islam in Indonesia.\(^2\) However, in their yearly cycle of religious feasts, both Muslims and Christians emphasise orthopraxy in celebration rather than orthodox belief that accords with the revealed Scriptures of either the Koran or the Bible.

\(\text{ii Contextualised Christian Worship.}\)

Probably the GKPB [the Balinese Church] has been the most successful *Protestan* Church in Indonesia in terms of using traditional forms of worship in the nation of the *Pancasila*. Wayan Mastra, the leading Balinese Christian theologian is internationally recognised as a leader in the field of contextualisation (Chapter 2:24). Overtly, the Balinese world view is different from other Indonesian world views. Yet, it could well be described as the visible root of the world view

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\(^2\) See Chapter 14:223 for a discussion on the Malay shaman functioning in the context of an Islamic world view.
from which most other Indonesian world views have grown. Modern Balinese culture reflects the culture of the Javanese sultanates before they converted to Islam. With the coming of Islam, many Javanese nobles and artists fled to Bali, taking with them the world view of the ancient Javanese dynasties. Since then, beneath a veneer of Islam, a significant proportion of Javanese Muslims have retained the old beliefs in what is officially called *kebatinan* [Javanese mysticism]. Javanese who follow the way of *kebatinan* are officially Muslims, but their world view is shaped more by residual elements from ancient Buddhism and Hinduism than by Islam. Meanwhile, in Bali Buddhism and Hinduism did not change the old beliefs of the people, rather they gave Hindu names to the beings of traditional animism, pantheism and polytheism (Mastra 1981:263). Thus the traditional beliefs that are veiled in Muslim and Christian areas of Indonesia are clearly visible in Bali, and it could be argued that the divine omnipotence of the *Pancasila* has greater affinity with the Balinese pantheon of gods than with the monotheistic God of Islam.\(^1\)

Orthopraxy dominates the Balinese religious scene (Geertz 1975:177) and orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy is an important feature of local religions in Indonesia (Crystal & Yamashita 1987:49). Similarly, the overt Balinese belief in spirits and ancestors (Mastra 1981:269) is representative of similar beliefs held throughout the archipelago.

Officially the GKPB has the same *presbyterial-synodal* form of organisation as the GKLB (Cooley 1981:83-89) and as a member of the PGI a similar doctrinal stance (Chapter 10:134-135). Certainly members

\(^{1}\) Even though this statement does not accord with official government policy it is frequently suggested that the understanding of Tuhan Mahaesa is rooted in the Wayang myths of the Javanese shadow plays (Darmaputera 1988a:92-112). Both President Sukarno and President Suharto have seen the divine omnipotence of the *Pancasila* as the means of achieving the religious harmony that is basic to both *kebatinan* and the Balinese world view.
of both the GKPB and the GKLB worship together in community. However, their forms of worship are radically different because the GKPB has consciously used Balinese forms in their worship.

Mastra describes the socially irrelevant forms of worship in hot closed-in church buildings that he experienced in the days after his conversion. Such worship made him "sleepy" (Mastra 1982:100). Similar services are still regularly held in GKLB congregations with similar soporific effects. Mastra then describes reading Psalm 149:2-3:

Be glad, Israel, because of your Creator;
Rejoice, people of Zion because of your king!
Praise his name with dancing;
Play with drums and harps in praise of him (Psalm 149:2-3),

and his subsequent realisation that it was "important to bring the Balinese culture into the church in order to help the church share the love of Jesus with Balinese people" (Mastra 1982:100). The result has been the use of Balinese-Hindu forms of worship - including both music and dance - in the worship in the GKPB. There is an emphasis on the communal dimension in worship and the orthopraxy with which Balinese worshippers feel comfortable is retained. However, the orthopraxy is accompanied with orthodoxy as the Christian meanings conveyed through traditional forms of architecture (1982:46), music and dance (1982:12) are carefully taught to church members.

iii The Indonesian Government and Worship.

The Indonesian Government encourages the celebration of religious feasts by granting a large number of religious holidays so that each group can worship Tuhan Mahaesa in the appropriate way. Except for New Year's Day and Hari Kemerdekaan [Independence Day], all Indonesian holidays are for religious celebrations and some would suggest that the first of January is really a Christian holiday, as
there are huge church services on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day while Muslims celebrate their new year on another date. Christians are given Christmas Day, Good Friday and Ascension Day for religious celebrations; while Muslims are given five religious holidays; and Hindus and Buddhists one day each. The Government expects that followers of each religious group use their respective religious holidays for public worship in the context of community life.

C. **Christian Theology and Tuhan Mahaesa.**

Christian politicians, theologians and church leaders constantly struggle with the relationship between *Tuhan Mahaesa* and God. They have attempted to clarify their belief by defining God in terms of the Apostles' Creed (Sidjabat 1982:94). At one level, the problem is simplified for Christians because the word *Tuhan* is part of the Christian vocabulary. Christians frequently address God the Father as *Tuhan Allah* and Jesus Christ as *Tuhan Yesus Kristus* (Sidjabat 1982:97).

Indonesia has many able Christian theologians (Chapter 2:23) and the understanding of the relationship between *Tuhan Mahaesa* and God the Father Almighty is increasingly challenging them. Shortly before his death, Simatupang called the Christian Church to develop Christian theology in terms of questions and challenges that emerge from the aim of the National Philosophy (1988:34). Similarly, Darmaputra stresses that throughout Indonesia there must be a continuing ongoing process of formulating an understanding of the Christian faith in a given situation at a given time "so that the universal "kerygma" is manifest in a living context" (1988b:9).

GPM [the Ambonese Church] is one church that has seriously

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4 In 1994, this fell on 10 June on the Gregorian calendar. The Muslim calendar follows lunar months so is about eleven days shorter than the Gregorian calendar.
addressed the need of understanding its own identity in terms of the relationship between *adat* [local custom] and forms of theological thought and patterns of ministry (Matsuoka 1972:22-23). As a result they developed "a confession concerning Jesus Christ, His Church and His Word" which is leading to a better understanding and acceptance of the Gospel by the peoples of Ambon and Maluku (Cooley 1968:53).

Thus, Christian theologians are recognising that the survival of the Indonesian Church as a minority religious group is dependent on the development of a viable Christian theology within the context of the *Pancasila*.

II THE REGULAR PATTERN OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN THE GKLB.

A. The Church Building.

The Indonesian building is usually symbolic of an ultimate reality (Waterson 1993:223). In the Christian village of Blimbingsari in Bali, Mastra was instrumental in the planning and construction of a church building which is "a sermon in stone". Balinese-Hindu architecture and symbols were consciously used and then invested with Christian meanings (Mastra 1982:46-58; McKenzie 1988:42-49).

Such conscious use of local architecture and symbolism is not seen in GKLB church buildings. Nevertheless, the imported styles of buildings have been imbued with local symbolic meanings and, despite differences in building materials and quality of buildings, the same general pattern and symbolism is seen in all churches.

There is the main meeting hall used for worship with a smaller *konsistory* [vestry] behind the pulpit where the deacons and pastors gather before and after the service. The raised pulpit is at the front of the main meeting hall and usually in the centre under the king-pin. However, traditionally this was the place where amulets were hung that would protect a building from evil spirits and hence not a "safe"
position. Therefore, a few village congregations insist on the pulpit being off-centre so that it is "safe". Below the pulpit, there is a platform where the deacons sit, raised above the rest of the congregation and at right angles to them. Below the pulpit, but on the platform, there is a lectern which is used by a deacon for announcing the opening hymn while the pastor and deacons process in. This small lectern is later used by another deacon for the announcements. Pulpits and lecterns usually have cloth covers with monograms of the Greek letters Alpha and Omega. This is a symbol of a place where the Word of God, about "Jesus Christ, the Alpha and the Omega, the First and the Last" (Revelation 1:8) is proclaimed. In front of the pulpit is a table for the offertory, the Advent candles and sometimes flower arrangements. Behind the pulpit there is often an appropriate symbol such as a cross, a crucifix, or a picture of Jesus. A banner with the theme of a past celebration may still be hanging there. The four or five churches (out of a total of two hundred and sixteen) that have an organ place it beside the pulpit.

The location of the church is symbolically important, being located either in the village square where it is seen as an official building within the context of the Pancasila (Chapter 5:52); or being built on the top of a hill where it is symbolic of the church as the light of the world (Matthew 6:14). Just as houses are lived in throughout the process of construction, so church buildings are used for worship long before they are completed. A church building is not really considered complete until it has a spire. This section of the building is usually the last completed as it is functionally unnecessary but symbolically important. When the building is complete, two ceremonies are held, usually concurrently: the consecration and the official opening.

A church building is always consecrated by one or more
members of the ordained clergy. During such a service, the meanings of different parts of the church are emphasised. The pulpit is the place where the Word of God is proclaimed. Attention is drawn to the place where the deacons will sit as custodians of the Christian Faith. A Bible is placed on the pulpit and the deacons are charged to guard the truth of the Word of God. Bread and wine for holy communion and water for baptism are placed on the table and the deacons are charged with the responsibility of guarding the sacraments of the church.

The official opening is usually carried out by the camat [the government officer in charge of a district] or with very big churches by the bupati [regent]. There is always a ceremony outside the church with a ribbon being cut by the senior government official. After the ribbon has been cut, the congregation files into the church for the service of consecration. After the service there are speeches and a meal. If the person opening the church is a Christian, he participates in the church service, otherwise he and his party would go to a suitable house and be served with refreshments until he was invited back for the speeches.

B. Sunday Services.

In Indonesia, Sunday, the Christian day of worship, is the free day and not Friday, the Muslim day of worship. A fairly high percentage of Christians do attend worship each Sunday and it seems as if orthopraxy and ritual correctness predominate in ordinary Sunday services. Services may be taken by ordained clergy - both men and women - unordained pastors, or by deacons. When the service is led by an ordained person, he or she is expected to wear the black Geneva gown that was introduced into the Ambonese Church

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5 Many middle-class Muslims like this, because they have time off work on Friday to go to the mosque and they can use Sunday for sport and recreational activities.
several centuries ago. A few people have started wearing white preaching gowns and one or two status conscious young men have started wearing purple ones. However, most people consider that this is "gensi" [the ostentatious display of status symbols]. The Geneva gown is a symbol of both Protestant Christianity and a religious leader who has official government recognition. Unordained pastors and deacons who are involved in pulpit ministry are expected to be as well dressed as economically possible. The ideal is a suit and tie for a man and a dark skirt and jacket for a woman. Deacons, too, dress as well as possible and in some village congregations, stoles are provided and are worn by the deacons as an indicator of their office and status.

After prayer in the konsistory, a deacon enters the church, goes to the small lectern and announces the processional hymn. The rest of the deacons then process into church. Last of all the person who is taking the service is escorted by a senior deacon who carries his or her Bible and hymn book. At the foot of the steps going up to the pulpit, they shake hands, the books are surrendered and the leader of the service goes up into the pulpit and the set liturgy begins. This is usually strictly followed and deacons will complain if words are in the wrong order or hands are raised in the wrong places. The liturgy makes extensive use of hymn singing. In the town churches these are often varied, but in some village congregations, people expect to use the same hymns every Sunday. Almost all hymns are translated from Dutch, German or English. Neither Bibles nor hymn books are provided but a significant number of families possess a hymn book, and in many congregations enough people bring hymn books so that

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6 See Chapter 9:112 for the use of the Geneva gown by the Muslim imam on official occasions.

7 In Kidung Jemaat (1990) the most widely used Hymn Book in Indonesia, only 104 of the 478 hymns have been written by Indonesians and these are still unknown and unused in the GKLB.
most people can "look on".

Almost all sermons are read. Most ordained clergy and some pastors and deacons prepare their own sermons, writing them out in full before reading them from the pulpit. However, many sermons are prepared by teams from the synod office or found in books of sermons that can be purchased. This is a continuation of a tradition from the time when teacher-evangelists were not allowed to prepare their own sermons but had to preach those that had already been prepared by Dutch clergy.

There are often choirs or vocal groups who participate in services. Guitars may be used to accompany vocal groups, but never to accompany congregational singing. There is still a minority group that believes that guitars should not be used in Protestant Churches as they are a mark of Pentecostal Churches. Rarely is there any coordination between choir items and the rest of the service. Choirs desire to "offer" their song as a sacrifice to the Lord. However, at the same time, there is also keen competition between different choirs and vocal groups, not only in how they sing but also in styles of dressing. Choirs and vocal groups are rarely linked with any one congregation. Each one has a name, often from the Bible, for example Maranatha, Naviri [The Trumpet] and Tabita; or they may be named after a work group such as the Police Vocal Group; or take the name of a residential area or an ethnic group.

C. Home Services.

Weekly services held in people's homes are a characteristic of the life of the GKLB. The bigger congregations are organised into

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8 These are often unsuitable for village people as many are prepared by theological seminary lecturers, addressing middle-class urban congregations and using examples from the cities that are meaningless in rural Luwuk-Banggai.
local groups or *kolom*. *Bukit Zaiton* [Mount of Olives Church], the biggest congregation, is divided into twelve *kolom*. The pattern of fellowship seen in these groups is similar to that which is seen in the *rukun* groups (Chapter 12:156). As the owners of the home used each week are expected to provide afternoon tea or supper for a group that ranges in size from twenty to one hundred people, the cost is considerable; but most people are happy for their home to be used as a *mimbar* [pulpit] from which God's Word in proclaimed. The same level of formality seen in the Sunday services is repeated in the services held by the fellowship groups. Although ordained ministers do sometimes lead these services, they are often led by deacons and it is an opportunity for people to develop the necessary skills so that later they will be able to lead services in the church. A typical service consists of three hymns, two prayers, a Bible reading and a short sermon. There is always an offering at such services. Usually two plates are passed around: one for church funds, the other for funds for the group.

The reciprocity and fellowship seen in the *rukun* groups is seen in the *kolom* (Chapter 12:157). Almost everyone serves weak, black, sweet tea and some sort of cookies, cake, or biscuits. Because of the importance of maintaining reciprocal balance, steps are often taken to ensure that the wealthy families do not prepare a greater number of cookies than poorer families can afford. Some groups make their own rules including fining a family that prepares too many different kinds of cookies or stipulating that only simple "cookies" such as rice cakes or fried banana may be prepared.

Someone always prays before people eat and drink. A frequently used expression is, "Thank you Lord that we have already been fed with spiritual food. Now the family here has prepared food for our bodies ... .". In some remote Banggai speaking areas people
believe that human beings consist of body and buliko [spirit or soul] (Chapter 8:105) and that church services feed the buliko while tangible food feeds the body. Frequently distinguishing between physical and spiritual food suggests that in many areas there may still be a residual belief in a separation between body and spirit, both of which need to be nurtured separately within the fellowship of the Christian community.

In addition to routine home services, there are a large number of special thanksgiving services. These include services that are held forty or one hundred days after the death of a loved one (Chapter 12:178); thanksgiving for a new home (14:240); thanksgiving for someone's birthday or a wedding anniversary; thanksgiving for healing or for success in business or in education; thanksgiving for a baby being baptised or a teenager confirmed; thanksgiving for someone who has returned to Luwuk-Banggai for a holiday from another area; in other words, thanksgiving for almost any event in the life cycle of members of the family. In these cases the proceedings start with a worship service. If possible this is taken by an ordained person. A meal is then served. Depending on the financial status of the family and the importance of the event, food will range from chicken noodles to full dinners.

Luwuk-Banggai people are adept at building a temporary lean-to beside a house and borrowing chairs, china, glass-ware, and cutlery so that an apparently tiny house can accommodate a large number of guests.

D. Prayer.

Prayer is usually perceived as either part of the liturgy of the church or as a function of a pastor or a deacon. Occasionally younger people who have experienced Persekutuan Doa [Prayer Fellowships] in
other areas try to establish prayer groups in Luwuk, but this is opposed by most church leaders, who consider such groups charismatic and therefore a threat to the GKLb. Fear of a movement of mainstream Protestant Christians to the Charismatic Churches is widespread in Indonesia. Darmaputera warns that many Protestant Christians have a very limited understanding of theology. There is a serious loss of faith with members of mainstream churches moving to the Charismatic and Fundamentalist streams (1988b:6).

Pastors or deacons are frequently called to pray for a person or a family in times of sickness, when someone is departing on a journey, or on special occasions such as a birthday. Probably as a reflection of a society where longevity is still unusual, every birthday is seen as a special gift of God's goodness.

Christians in the GKLB are well taught in the church's view that prayer is fellowship and communication with a loving Heavenly Father. Almost half of the teaching in the Book of Catechism used in the GKLB is on Christian prayer (Dewan 1982). Nevertheless, local religion and Islam still influences Christian understanding of prayer. Many Christians still perceive prayer as a manipulative device (Chapter 14:234) while contacts with Muslim friends suggests that prayer is a duty, in which set words are recited and humanity submits to God (Siegel 1969:105-115). Thus many Luwuk-Banggai Christians still believe that prayer that is sah [valid or acceptable] depends on using the right words (Chapter 14:234).

D. The Regular Pattern of Worship and World View.

Several world view themes emerge from this description of the

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9 In the ten years in which I lived in Luwuk, only one Christian couple celebrated forty years of married life and not one couple reached fifty years, although people do hope to have a "Golden Wedding".
regular pattern of worship in the GKLB. These include spatial orientation, and relationships both within the community and between members of the community and God.

i Spatial Orientation.

Communal buildings such as church buildings are indicators of social themes (Fox 1993:1-2). In GKLB church buildings there is a constant emphasis on spatial elevation. The church is on the top of a hill; the spire points towards heaven; and the minister ascends the pulpit. These all point towards Christ in heaven. Just as worshippers have to "climb a stairway" to the sanctuary to reach the Blimbingsari Church in Bali (Mastra 1982:46), so in many places in Luwuk-Banggai, worshippers must ascend very steep hills before entering the church. Either consciously or unconsciously, both the GKPB and the GKLB make use of heights and the process of ascending to represent belief in the transcendence and exaltation of God. Alternatively, a church building located near government buildings is symbolic of the Christian community participating in the life of the nation. These two aspects of the church - "the light on the hill" and its official presence in the Indonesian nation - are also seen in the religious and civil ceremonies which are part of the consecration of new church buildings.

ii Community Life.

Throughout history social stratification has been basic to Indonesian life. Starting in the courts of the sultans and enforced by Dutch colonialism, social stratification entered the Indonesian Church and has become part of its life. Unlike the church in many mission contexts, the GKLB did not develop from para-church organisations (cf. Costas 1974:159), but directly from the Dutch Reformed Church.

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10 See Chapter 6:73 for historical factors that have led to social stratification and Chapter 15, The Church as a Bureaucracy, for the implications of this in the life and witness of the church.
Consequently it inherited a fully developed ecclesiastical system. This has been fitted into the existing stratified society and is symbolised in the church building. The minister in his or her Geneva gown is in the pulpit high above the congregation and the deacons are in the next zone, below the minister but above the rest of the congregation.

Services in homes show that Christianity is a religion of the community. Although it may present economic problems, people are delighted to have the Word of God proclaimed in homes. Such an activity exalts a home while the communal meal acts out the relationship between humanity and God.

iii Cultural Relevancy.

Many authorities believe that present forms of Indonesian worship are unrelated to Indonesian life. Octavianus, speaks of many Indonesian liturgical forms as being "imports" which have been completely accepted by the Christian communities but which insulate them from those around them (1985:109-110) while Cooley speaks of the need to nurture congregational life so that church members can "break out of traditional patterns" (Cooley 1981:187). Mastra, however, took decisive action and used Balinese forms of worship in the GKPB (Mastra 1982:100).

Most church members in Luwuk-Banggai do not want their styles of worship changed. In the 1991 questionnaire (Chapter 2:21) only 2% of church leaders considered material about patterns of worship important or interesting. In 1987 a workshop was held by the GKLB with the aim of renewing the orders of service used throughout Luwuk-Banggai. During this workshop the authoritative work on *Principles of Liturgical Worship* (1963) by Dr. J.L.Ch. Abineno of Timor was used. Abineno has both studied liturgical forms and patterns of worship found in his home island of Timor and has played a key role in developing relevant forms of liturgical worship for the Church.
throughout Indonesia (Verkuyl 1978:271). However, there were no substantial changes in the resulting "new" liturgies, and no attempts were made to use culturally relevant Luwuk-Banggai forms of worship. As yet the GKLB needs to hear Abineno's challenge to understand the worship of God "as missio, as mass, as mission. In it the light is kindled which ought to enlighten the world" (1964:63).

III THE CHURCH CALENDAR.

With the church year of liturgical worship, a new annual cycle of Christian holy days has been taken up by church-going villagers. In some areas of Luwuk-Banggai, particularly the few areas where rice is grown, harvest thanksgivings have been included in the yearly cycle of worship and celebration.

A. The Liturgical Year 1: Advent and Christmas.

Christmas is regarded as both the centre of church life and the crown of the church year. Consequently, the weeks of Advent are important, so that people are prepared "to welcome the coming of Jesus Christ". On the first Sunday in Advent, a deacon enters the church before the service and while the congregation is standing lights one candle; similarly on the second, third and fourth Sundays two, three or four candles are lit. Often teams from the synod office prepare special Advent sermons that are used in all congregations. It is also a time when choirs, vocal groups and youth groups prepare Christmas music and plays.

For the women it is a specially busy time as hundreds of cookies have to be baked for the guests who will come and visit at Christmas (Chapter 12:158). New clothes for the whole family also have to be
purchased\textsuperscript{11} or acquired. Poorer village people will often approach more affluent town people asking if they can exchange village products, such as sweet potatoes or bananas, for used clothes that will be suitable for their family at Christmas. Never do they beg. They want the dignity of appropriately exchanging goods for their "new" Christmas clothes. For some people new clothes at Christmas are significant as a symbol of renewal (Subagya 1981:121). Quite often houses are painted, new curtains purchased and even new furniture bought so that the family can more appropriately "welcome the coming of Jesus Christ".

Throughout the Indonesian Protestant Church, the \textit{pohon terang} [lighted tree] is the symbol of Christmas. One judge's wife expressed anger to me, because Catholics deny the meaning of Christmas by emphasising manger scenes and the Baby of Bethlehem instead of Jesus Christ, the Light of the World.

Almost every Protestant home tries to have a \textit{pohon terang}. This is not a place to hang gifts, but a place of light. In the case of homes, the family gathers for a home service. Those present may be members of a slightly extended nuclear family or they may represent an extended community group. The service is always led by an ordained minister or a deacon and a set liturgy is followed. At the central point of the service, the room is darkened and the hymn "Silent Night" is sung. During the second verse which in the Indonesian translation tells people to look at God's Light coming into the world, a procession of family and honoured guests starts and the candles are lit. Sometimes the candles are on the tree itself, at other times they are arranged in the shape of the cross on a table in front of the tree. At the conclusion of the singing of "Silent Night", either

\textsuperscript{11} Very few women make their own or their children's clothes. If a woman does have the necessary skills to make clothes, she probably works as a dress maker.
the kerosene lamps are brought back into the room or the electric lights are switched on. If there is electricity, flashing coloured lights on the *pohon terang* are turned on. Bible readings, sermon and offering then follow. Family members will often place large gifts of money in envelopes as offerings on such occasions. Family trees are usually set up before the twenty-fifth of December and once the necessary home service has been held, the lights will shine every night until early January when the trees are put away until the following Christmas.

There are also group *pohon terang* and the big church *pohon terang* on Christmas Eve. Groups include *kolom* groups; Sunday School and youth groups; *rukun* groups; school groups; and work place groups.

The work place *pohon terang* is an important indicator of Indonesian *kerukunan* [unity]. Muslim colleagues often attend but they are never invited to light a candle. Some attend the whole service; others move into a near-by room and often listen attentively; others only come in for the speeches that always occur at these functions and for the supper. Alcohol is never served. One of my clergy friends expressed surprise when I told him that in Australia, there would be no Christian service at an office Christmas party and that there was a possibility of some people becoming intoxicated. He had no problem accepting the possibility of drunkenness but he could not envisage a Christmas party that did not include a religious service. Work group *pohon terang* are often held between the twenty-sixth of December and the thirtieth of December. The big "Luwuk 1993 Ecumenical Service" organised by the armed services was held in that period. The *bupati* and other top Muslim officials only attended for the speeches and supper. A similar ecumenical celebration held in Jakarta the next evening was attended by important Muslims including
the President and his wife. Not only was the Jakarta service held and televised during prime television time, it was considered important enough to push the world news into a later time slot.

Often in the towns of Luwuk, Banggai or Bunta there is a Christmas procession. This starts with children on brightly decorated push bikes, followed by a large number of decorated motor bikes, and then every vehicle to which the Christian community has access. These include privately and government owned four wheel drive vehicles, mini buses, open trucks, ambulances, garbage trucks and police armoured vans. Just as Indonesian space is multi-functional, so Indonesian vehicles are multi-functional. The only vehicle that is never used in such processions is the hearse. Often groups of children and teenagers dress up as angels and shepherds and, accompanied by guitars, sing Christmas carols as the motorcade moves through the town.

Christmas Eve and Christmas Day Services are considered the most important services in the whole year. Churches are packed. Some congregations build a lean-to beside the church to accommodate the extra number of worshippers. The town churches now use closed circuit television to cater for over-flow congregations.

The GKLB is in the Protestant tradition and emphasises the Reformation teaching of two sacraments. However, it appears that the Christmas Eve *pohon terang* is often perceived as a sacrament rather than as a symbol. Certainly this is not official church dogma, but represents the gap between official dogma and everyday beliefs that are based on the world view of local religions. The sacramental nature of this particular *pohon terang* is implied by the ritual of the service. If possible, the service is taken by an ordained person wearing the Geneva gown as a symbol of ecclesiastical authority, and at this service only deacons light the candles. Many Christians in Luwuk-
Banggai believe that Christ comes at Christmas. His advent is perceived as an annual event with the symbols of his first coming being taken as the reality of a present event (Oosthuizen 1972:209).

For the Indonesian Christian, Christmas is the main feast. Similarly for the Indonesian Muslim, *Idul Fitri* celebrated at the end of *Ramadan* [month of fasting] is their main feast. During *Ramadan* there are special services to commemorate the angel dictating the Koran to Mohammed. It is significant that both holy days are celebrated in similar ways for, as Kūng points out, in Islam, the Koran takes the place of Christ (1977:107). Both feasts celebrate the coming of the central motif of their religion.

Following the church service on Christmas Day, the complex pattern of social interaction and reciprocity begins (Chapter 12:157-160). The twenty-sixth of December is regarded as "Christmas 2". Although the twenty-sixth is not an official public holiday, no Christian public servant would be expected to go to work. This is the most important day in the year for baptisms (Chapter 12:166). I have never heard it stated, but there could be some feeling that the period in which Christ is newly incarnate is an appropriate time to bring babies to him.

New Year's Eve and New Year's Day Service are related to Christmas, but there is a significant difference. People greet one another with the date. It is important. It is a new year. A new phase in history, not another event in a cyclical year. The date, "the first of January one thousand nine hundred and ninety four", will happen in history once, and once only. The liturgical year speaks of cyclical time. The first of January speaks of linear time and of progress.
B. The Liturgical Year 2: Lent; Easter; Pentecost.

Less enthusiasm is shown for worship during the period of Lent, Easter and Pentecost, than during Advent and Christmas. During Lent, some congregations in the GKLB put dark coloured cloths on the pulpit and the lectern but this is not universal. There is no attempt to copy the Muslim month of fasting with any form of self denial and there is little to distinguish services during Lent from services at other times.

Good Friday sees large Church attendances, but beyond the use of special liturgies, there is little to suggest the pattern which Subagya saw in Indonesian core rituals of mourning over sin and catharsis (1981:121).

There have been attempts to have Sunrise Services in the town of Luwuk on Easter Sunday. However, as Luwuk is only 1° from the equator, throughout the year the sun rises at about 6 a.m.. Furthermore, many churches have their normal Sunday service at 6 a.m., before the heat of the day. Therefore there is nothing special about a sunrise service. These services have not been a success. The normal Easter services are well attended but churches do not have to provide extra accommodation as they do at Christmas. There is no community inter-action and visiting. If possible churches do try to have a service of Holy Communion on the afternoon of Easter Sunday but as a Communion Service can only be taken by an ordained person, this is dependent on the availability an ordained minister.

Although granted as a public holiday, Pentecost is almost a non-event. Church members are annually reminded that the government has granted the Christian community Pentecost as a holiday for worship and religious celebration and if more people do not attend worship services on that day, there is a likelihood that they will forfeit this particular religious holiday. Churches are usually less
than half full, but Christians are careful not to be seen in public recreational activities.

The question needs to be asked why the Indonesian Protestant Church has been able to receive and Indonesianise the Christmas event so that, despite the foreign symbol of the *pohon terang*, it has become an Indonesian core ritual while the Easter-Pentecost event has remained foreign. In many rituals of Indonesian local religions including the old Balantak *Sumawi*, there appear to be elements of confession of sin, atonement and celebration that could point to the Easter Event. Meanwhile the Islamic community annually celebrates *Idul Adha* when they commemorate Abraham's offering of his son (Ishmael, the first-born) with ceremonies that include sacrificing cattle and goats. In every day language this feast is called *Hari Raya Korban* [Celebrating the Sacrifice].

However, for Indonesian Christians, Easter celebrations have remained foreign. Here is an area where in local religions there appears to be "dynamic equivalence" (cf. Kraft 1979:291-305) that could lead to a greater understanding of the Gospel. However, to date, Indonesian theologians have shown little interest in recognising "dynamic equivalence" with practices from local religions that would enable the Gospel to be communicated in a more meaningful way to people whose world views are still influenced by local religions. Maybe the whole approach of "dynamic equivalence" is a Western concept that would be unworkable in Indonesia, but it would seem to be an area that needs further investigation by the many able theologians in the Indonesian Church.
C. Bi-annual Communion Services.\textsuperscript{12}

In most congregations Communion services are held twice a year. Prior to this there is a short service of preparation in which confirmed church members stand up and confess their faith and their intent to attend the Communion service.

If possible the Communion service takes place in the afternoon. Long tables are set up in the centre of the church building with chairs arranged in a circle around the walls, as if for a feast. This is the purpose of the arrangement: for the service is the \textit{Perjamuan Kudus}, [Holy Feast]. Only confirmed members attend the \textit{Perjamuan Kudus}.

As the service starts, candles on the tables are lit. Deacons and ministers enter in the normal way and the service starts. For the distribution of the communion bread and wine, the minister comes down from the pulpit into the body of the church. Groups of people then come and sit at the tables. The minister prays for the bread and the wine and this is distributed by the deacons to those who are sitting at the tables. In a congregation the size of \textit{Bukit Zaiton}, there may be seven or eight "sittings" before the hundreds of communicants are served. Fermented wine is used and several cups are taken around at the same time. Bread is always used: never a local substitute.

Although the term \textit{perjamuan} [feast] is used, for most people it is a time of mourning, remembering Christ's death. It is also a time when symbolically the deacons assume a servant role in serving the rest of the congregation, but in so doing emphasise their status as leaders.

\textsuperscript{12} See Chapter 14:241-242 for a discussion of the Communion Service interpreted as a source of esoteric power.
D. Harvest Thanksgiving Services.

Traditionally in Luwuk-Banggai storable crops such as rice or yams were rarely grown, and consequently harvest thanksgiving festivals were of minimal importance. However, rice is now grown in some Saluan and Balantak areas and the trans-migration areas. In these areas annual thanksgiving services for the rice harvest have become important.

Most of the rice growing areas are accessible by road from Luwuk. Consequently, congregations in these areas have harvest thanksgiving services and invite individual people and choir groups from Luwuk to attend. Basing their services on the Old Testament grain offerings, members of the congregation bring their best rice and present it to the Lord. God is thanked for the harvest and petitioned for a good harvest in the coming year. The visiting choirs participate in the service. After the service the offerings of grain are auctioned, the proceeds going to church funds. Luwuk people, particularly public servants and Chinese, pay extremely high prices for this rice, partly because it is excellent rice and partly because it is a means of helping village congregations. After the service, members of the local congregation and visitors from Luwuk share a common meal.

Although these harvest thanksgivings do not come directly out of Luwuk-Banggai local religions, they accord with it. Such ceremonies point to an economic cycle and supernatural provision and the hope for supernatural protection in the period ahead (Child & Child 1993:200). Harvest festivals occurred in many Indonesian societies and were usually pragmatic, hoping to increase future fertility and productivity as in the case of "washing the buffalo's leg" in parts of Timor (Hicks 1978:76). They also demonstrate humanity's place in the cosmos. Such ceremonies enabled followers of local religions to:
acknowledge their submission to supra-cosmic laws that are stable, unifying and eternal. . . . To demonstrate his belief and faith as well as his submission to such laws, man has used signs and symbols that demonstrate this relationship between man and the supra-cultural world (Subagya 1981:114).

The modern thanksgiving service shows both these elements. Through presenting an offering to God, there is hope of God's care and protection in providing future crops. It also demonstrates the place of the modern Christian farmer in the whole Christian community. There is reciprocity in the harvest thanksgiving, with the village person exchanging his best rice with wealthy town dwellers at the inflated prices that are willingly paid when the produce is auctioned. The proceeds are then given to the Lord. They then enjoy fellowship over a communal meal.

Indonesian Christians are comfortable with a religious ceremony that is anchored in the Old Testament because they unconsciously recognise in the world view of early rural Israel a world view with which they can identify (cf. Newbigin 1989a:172).

E. The Liturgical Year and World View.

i Time.

The liturgical year is appropriate in the context of Luwuk-Banggai because it is related to the old economic cycle with its cyclical view of time. Many Indonesian Christians are more comfortable with an understanding of a Christ who is incarnate every year in their culture rather than with an historical and eschatological Christ who was born two thousand years ago in a linear historical past and who is coming back at some future date in a linear eschatological future.

However, despite the fact that many Indonesians feel more
comfortable with a cyclical view of time and the claim by Künig that most non-Christian religions, including Islam, "think unhistorically", the process of modernisation is bringing a new form of awareness to the countries where the great non-Christian religions have reigned (1977:105-109). This is introducing a linear view of time. Indonesian calendars reflect a transitional view of time, giving both the Gregorian calendar and the Arabic lunar calendar. Similarly, attitudes towards jam karet [rubber time] are transitional. The modern world has taught anyone who has access to a television set, that time is inflexible for people who want to watch major sporting events. Meanwhile, chronologies – particularly of the post-independence period – are becoming an important aspect of Indonesian life.

Thus the liturgical year provides a basis for a world view in transition with which Christians are comfortable. It is cyclical, repeating the same activities year after year but it also fits into the modern world that has a New Year's Day every year. The cyclical, liturgical view of time and linear time co-exist.

ii Community and Reciprocity.

Christmas celebrations and the Harvest Thanksgiving services have been introduced and developed in Luwuk-Banggai. Both emphasise the importance of group membership and reciprocity in religious celebration. However, Easter celebrations seem to provide no opportunities for group celebration other than in formal Church services and despite their place in the Church calendar, the Easter-Pentecost events are still foreign religious forms.

iii Light.

Light is a continuing theme in Christian worship in Luwuk-Banggai. Candles are lit in many services: the communion services; the Advent services; and especially in the Pohon Terang. Furthermore a large proportion of GKLb Churches are located on hill-tops, symbolic
of the Christian calling to live as the "Light of the World". As Abineno points out: "Christian worship is the Light of the world .... for through the worship of God the light is kindled which ought to enlighten the world" (1964:63).

IV  THE CHALLENGE OF WORSHIP AND WORLD VIEW.
Worship is basic to religious life in Indonesia. In Luwuk-Banggai penitence, sacrifice, catharsis, and celebration were all seen in the ecstatic Sulean and the Sumawi feasts.

Yet throughout the Indonesian Christian Church much of the worship has remained foreign, irrelevant, imported, and unrelated to the daily life of the Christian community (Octavianus 1985:109). When Indonesian theologians used the word *impor*, they usually have negative connotations. Simatupang spoke of the success of the inaugural meeting of the Indonesian Council of Churches rejecting imported meanings of the Gospel, choosing rather to interpret the Gospel as *shalom* within the context of the Pancasila, (1986:14). However, it would seem that although the DGI/PGI has made a genuine effort to contextualise the Gospel, most churches have retained forms of worship that were brought by foreign missionaries in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Theologians who want worship to be contextualised are people who have studied overseas and seen the importance of culturally relevant forms of worship in other areas.

This is probably related to orthopraxy in Indonesian religions. Many Indonesians, particularly those at the grass-roots level are comfortable with established forms of worship. People want to use the same religious forms that their parents used. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 14 on Modern Shamanism, there is evidence that

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13 See Chapter 16, *The Work and Witness of the Christian Community*, for a more complete discussion of the concept of *shalom* in the PGI.
the high religions of Islam and Christianity are not satisfying the spiritual needs of a large number of Indonesians. Consequently, many Indonesians turn to shamanism which they practise concurrently with a high religion approved of in terms of the Pancasila. As missionary anthropologist Paul Hiebert warns, "the uneasy coexistence of public Christianity and private 'paganism'" often leads to syncretism (1987:106).

As leaders of the GKLB have identified perceived syncretism as a major problem in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai (Chapter 1:14) the challenge of making Christian worship culturally relevant becomes a crucial issue. Bediako speaks of the need for African Christianity to make a home in the lives of the peoples of Africa (1992:8) and draws attention to the fact that in the early Church, true worship and spiritual understanding were the basic elements that led to Christian identity. Such worship was "in spirit and in truth" (1992:36).

Thus, contextualisation of forms of worship in Indonesia is a critical issue. To date the most successful use of contextualised forms of worship in Christian worship has been in the Balinese Church. However, the GKPB is a comparatively new church - only having begun in the 1930s (Mastra 1982:20). In contrast churches in the Indies tradition - including GPM [Ambonese Church], GMIM [Manadonese Church], and the GKL B - have up to three hundred years of tradition behind them and their religious forms are enveloped in centuries of tradition that are resistant to change. Also, the GKP B is a numerically small synod that has little impact on the PGI and the very big churches such as the HKBP [Batak Church] and the Churches in the Indies tradition. Hence, most churches in the PGI are, as yet, unwilling to follow where the GKP B has led.

A few leaders, such as Abineno, want appropriate forms of
worship but the majority of church members do not. They fear change. They want a religion that is approved of in terms of the 
Pancasila, with its validity demonstrated in orthodox religious practices. Today, many mainstream theologians believe that the 
Indonesian Protestant Church is facing a crisis that can only be combated by developing theology in context in all given situations, both among academics and at "the grass-roots" level (Darmaputera 1988b:3-19).

Hiebert recognises the importance of participation at the "grass-roots level and speaks of the importance of drawing upon the strengths of people groups and involving them in evaluating their own culture (1987:110). This is well documented among the Masai, a nomadic tribal people of Africa. Acknowledging his indebtedness to the thinking of missionary statesman Roland Allen, Donovan tells how the Masai Church developed as an eucharistic community, led by the Spirit of God, and worshipping God in a fitting way within the context of Masai society (1978:154).14

Thus, the GKLB "must face new questions for which they must find Biblical answers" (Hiebert 1987:108). The folk theologians of Luwuk-Banggai have the need and the right to be equipped to develop their own forms of Christian worship so that throughout Luwuk-Banggai vital, integrated indigenous Christianity can take root and flourish. This is possible, if each community takes the Bible seriously and recognises the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of all believers (Hiebert 1987:111).

14 See Chapter 15:275 for further discussion of Donovan's principles.
CHAPTER 14.
MODERN SHAMANISM.

I THE ROLE OF THE SHAMAN IN SOCIETY.

Throughout the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai, one of the most frequently asked questions is, "What do we do when we are called to pray for a sick church member and the *dukun* is already there?"

This simple question brings into focus several important aspects of the role of the *dukun*, or shaman, as well as the relationship between the church and the *dukun*. Firstly, sickness calls for supernatural intervention; secondly, the *dukun* is perceived as having a clearly defined role in the healing process; and thirdly, there is a perceived tension between the role of the church pastor or deacon and the role of the *dukun*.

Before looking at the role played by the *dukun* within the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai, it is necessary to look briefly at shamanism in a world-wide context and to ask whether or not the role of the Luwuk-Banggai *dukun* accords with the roles normally ascribed to shamans.

A. Theories of Shamanism.

Ethnographic literature on shamanism and shamans cover a wide variety of phenomena and there is little agreement as to the scope of these terms (Graham 1987:1). Nevertheless, there is a general recognition of the prominence of the shaman's healing role accomplished through communication with the spirit world (Firth 1964:638; Graham 1987:1). This role was accepted by Koagouw and Platenkamp in articles on shamanism published in a joint Indonesian-Dutch project (Masinambow 1980) made in Halmahera in Maluku and the Raja Ampat Islands in Irian Jaya (See Appendix 1: Map 4). These
areas are culturally similar to Luwuk-Banggai with a significant number of members of the GKLB coming from Tobelo on the Island of Halmahera.

It is generally accepted that the term \textit{shamanism} is the name of a phenomenon that occurs and has been documented among the Tungus people of Siberia and has subsequently been observed and documented in other societies (Firth 1964:638; Koagouw 1980:325; Platenkamp 1980:338; Burnett 1988:175). As "a specialist in healing, divination, and allied social functions", (Firth 1964:638), the shaman is usually perceived as having a positive role in society and protecting the people from spiritual powers (Burnett 1988:175)

Shamanism may also be defined in terms of standardised ritual behaviour. This may lead to "trances or ecstasy, followed by acts of exorcism or by divinatory statements" (Platenkamp 1980:338). Such standardised ritual behaviour leads to shamanism becoming an institution in society.

Endicott, discussing the similar Malay culture (Chapter 5:41), describes the shaman or \textit{belian} in terms of his activities:

The shaman is distinguished by his method of operation; he carries out his work, which includes healing illnesses, divinations, and general spirit propitiation, by means of spirit-raising seances called \textit{berhantu} or \textit{berjin}\textsuperscript{1} (1991:13).

In a fairly recent study on shamanism in South-East Asia, Heinze summarises various Western theories that see the behaviour of the shaman in a trance as aberrant, idiosyncratic or schizophrenic (1988:21), but points out, that those who use such terms have failed to recognise the fact that the shaman "is functioning according to the

\textsuperscript{1} Literally to have or to be possessed by a ghost or a jinn.
worldview of his society" (1988:182). Furthermore, she points out that these more spectacular manifestations of the shaman's behaviour are rarely seen in the Malay bomor or shaman (1988:3).

The Malay shaman never practises self-mortification (1988:11): he is primarily a medicine man who practises the healing arts by utilising the knowledge of traditional medicine, and he may foretell the future and raise spirits by reciting verses from the Koran (1988:32n). When practising, he uses a minimum of paraphernalia and wears ordinary clothes (1988:67). He maintains that he is a good Muslim (1988:54) and he wears a jimat [amulet] on which verses from the Koran are written (1988:83).

Earlier, Winstedt had traced the historical development of the Malay shaman, showing how various influences made him the person who sat with the faithful in the village mosque and acknowledged that there is no God but Allah and that Mohammed is His Prophet, yet at the same time learnt all that he could of the names of the angels and demons of Islam, so that he could add them to his repertory of incantations (1925:29).

Winstedt also suggested that the original Malay magician, who was often a woman, was an animist who needed no initiation and no help from a familiar spirit and who dealt with the spirit world in a polite way for indeed "courtesy and diplomatic language were the weapons of the Malay magician of animism" (1925:41). Later, migrations from Central Asia, led to the appearance of new forms of shamanism (1925:42). Next, Hinduism influenced the Malay shaman. He then learnt all that he could from the Hindu pantheon and also learnt to use ascetic practices (1925:46). Subsequently, with the coming of Sufi Islam, the names of Allah, Mohammed, and a host of Muslim saints were added to his incantations (1925:47).

Thus the role of the Malay (or the Indonesian) shaman has
developed over several millennia. He has constantly added to his art and enriched his techniques from any possible source, but always he has accommodated himself to the needs of the present world in which he must function.

B. Functions of the Shaman.

The shaman is usually perceived as having a positive function in society. Heinze points out that according to leading Malay academic, Professor Taib Osman, there would be no shamans, mediums and healers if there were no need for their services. Heinze goes on:

Shamans, mediums and healers have operated in changing societies for thousands of years. They are certainly more than curers. They solve problems beyond the knowledge of the Western physicians and go beyond dogmatic limitations of world religions. Most of them treat physiological and psychological disorders that appear to be inexplicable to modern medicine . . . Shamans, mediums, and healers cut through the complexity of the problem, touch the core and point to the cause beyond the physical realm (1988:121).

Thus we see the shaman functioning in the following ways:

i The Shaman as a Healer.

Healing is often perceived as the shaman's most important role. They are helpers (Firth 1964:63) and have an "altruistic role" (Inge 1988:60). They are "warrior healers, spiritual adventurers . . . . champions of the people who combat the forces of evil. They must fight not only against evil spirits, but illness and even black magic" (Burnett 1988:179).

ii The Shaman and the Maintenance of Food Supplies.

Of almost equal importance with the shaman's role as a healer is
his or her role in the control of the material environment for the purpose of obtaining food. In hunting or fishing societies, the shaman may lead the hunter or the fisherman to the game or he may conjure up and propitiate the soul of the hunted animal (e.g. Heinz 1988:126; Platenkamp 1980:340). In agricultural societies, the shaman may direct a whole series of agrarian rites to ensure harmony between the spirits and powers who control the land and the people who wish to obtain their livelihood from the land. Rain control is another important function of the shaman (Burnett 1988:13–14; Heinz 1988:126). For the Malay shaman, this is not only important for agricultural life but also for important social events such as royal weddings. Heinz describes a well documented occasion when in October 1962, a shaman by the name of Bomoh Lebai, "tied up" the rain so that a cricket test between England and Malaysia could continue (1988:126).3

iii The Role of the Shaman in the Life Cycle of the Individual.

A third function of the shaman is to assist at various important events in the life cycle of every individual and on other special occasions. These events vary from society to society and include a wide variety of activities such as child-birth (Platenkamp 1980:341; Errington 1989:39); circumcision (Endicott 1991:25); initiatory rites; courting and marriage ceremonies (Winstedt 1925:46); celebrating a new moon (Kalangi 1971:165); and death ceremonies (Kalangi 1971:164).

iv The Religious Function of the Shaman.

A further function of the shaman is a religious one. The shaman deals with matters of ritual transgression and offers the community

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2 Winstedt differentiates between the ordinary Malay magician who traffics with the supernatural and is concerned with hunting and fishing activities, and the minority of specialised magicians or shamans who go into ecstatic trances and who are concerned with healing and with telling the future (1982:7).

3 She also mentioned that one of the English cricketers wanted to take Bomoh Lebai back to England.
information of a religious-cosmological nature (Platenkamp 1980:345). The shaman often fulfils the functions of the priest with the role of mediating between humankind and the spirit world (Burnett 1988:121-124). This combination of the roles of the shaman and the priest is more likely in small, isolated societies rather than in bigger ones (Firth 1964:638). This is seen in the Tobelo area where the shaman is perceived as the mediator between humanity and the supernatural beings (Platenkamp 1980:343-345).

v The Shaman's Provision of Emotional Support.

Heinz writes at length on this aspect of shamanism. In her study of Asian countries that are undergoing rapid social change, she shows how shamanism continues to satisfy peoples' spiritual, psychological, and emotional needs. Koagouw demonstrates this in the Indonesian context. He claims that without shamanism, many needs of the community will not be satisfied. The organised religions of Islam and Christianity are not satisfying people's spiritual and emotional needs. Meanwhile, PUSKESMAS [the Government Community Health Service] provides physical healing but does not alleviate emotional needs. Consequently, Koagouw believes that shamanism will continue among both village dwellers and the educated elites of the cities (1980:331).

C. Becoming a Shaman.

A person becomes a shaman as a result of an initiatory experience which radically affects his or her life. There may be differentiation in levels of crisis but the process is similar throughout the world (Burnett 1988:177).

Endicott and Winstedt describe at some length the process by which the Malay bomor [magician] or belian [shaman], gets his power. Basic to both roles is the acquisition of magical knowledge. This may
be received as an inheritance from an ancestor; obtained through praying, fasting and reciting the Koran; given in a dream; or acquired through formal training as an apprentice to an established magician. This would be followed by a formal ceremony of initiation which would give the initiate the right to use the magical knowledge. As well as possessing magical knowledge, the shaman must also acquire a spirit helper, or a familiar. This may be inherited and often involves waiting beside an open grave or in the jungle for the coming of a tiger familiar (Endicott 1991:14-19; Winstedt 1982:9-13). Although in Malaysia and Indonesia a woman may function as a shaman, the influence of both Hinduism and Islam have resulted in a preference for male shamans (Winstedt 1982:13).

II THE ROLE OF THE DUKUN OR SHAMAN IN INDONESIA.

A. In Healing.

Perusal of monographs on Indonesian societies shows that the role of the dukun or healer who uses traditional healing methods and may have contact with spiritual powers is a national phenomenon. Whether or not the dukun is a shaman in terms of the earlier discussion could be a matter for debate. Wojowasito's Indonesian-English Dictionary (1976) simply defines a dukun as a medical man or woman who has much experience with medical herbs (1976:123).

However, in everyday usage, the term dukun refers to a person who uses ritual and magical means for healing. This magical dimension of the dukun's healing powers is referred to in a secondary sense in the two main Indonesian dictionaries in current usage (Salim & Salim 1991:370; Poerwadarminta 1976:261) while Wilkinson states that dukun is a Javanese word for a medicine man, a witch doctor, a shaman or belian (1932a:289).
Koagouw accepts that the Indonesian *dukun* is a shaman as defined in the general body of literature on shamanism (1980:327). He speaks of the importance of the trance, of ecstatic performance, particularly when dancing, and of making offerings to the spirits of the dead. According to Koagouw, it is through contact with the spirits of the dead that the Indonesian shaman encourages and gives success in daily living (1980:325-327).

Thus it is safe to state that the person, who in Indonesia is popularly referred to as a *dukun*, is a shaman who operates within the context of Indonesian world views and is often a practising Muslim or a Christian. His or her role as a healer is needed and he or she may or may not resort to supra-cultural means to bring about the healing process.

Kalangi describes the continuity of traditional beliefs and worship of the spirits in the lives of the Minahasan Christian community. Originally worship of these spirits was carried out by ceremonial leaders called *walian*. Nowadays their role is diminishing, but they still function as *dukun* who can heal the sick (1971:164), often using Christian symbols as part of their paraphernalia (Kalangi: unpublished paper quoted by Koagouw 1980:331).

B. **Guidance and the Search for Causality.**

Providing guidance and making magic is a recognised role of the Indonesian *dukun*. The peoples of Central Sulawesi distinguish between white and black magic. Black magic, known as *doti*, is used by the *dukun* for evil purposes, including harming others (Chapter 8:100). Despite the claims of Heinze, Firth, and Burnett that the shaman functions for the good of society, it is clear that in Sulawesi, the *dukun* may operate against the good of at least some members of society.
The dukun is also needed to determine propitious dates for events such as a marriage; the direction of a hunt; or the position of a new food garden. However, in everyday living, there are others who are not necessarily specialists who can interpret supra-cultural guidance. As in other areas where there is a predominantly Malay culture, bird lore is important in Luwuk-Banggai (Chapter 8:101-102). As well as the dukun, many members of the community are conscious of signs from the birds. Birds are believed to possess supernatural qualities and to have a desire to communicate with human beings. Birds may warn of approaching danger or of the advisability of being involved in normal economic activities, including gardening or fishing.

The dukun also has a unique and indisputable role in divining the unknown and in seeking the cause of events. As most misfortunes and disasters are blamed upon either a living enemy or an angry ancestral spirit, it is important to recognise who was responsible so that appropriate action can be taken.

Thus, throughout Indonesia the shaman is still needed to heal the sick; to ensure good crops; to appease the spirits of angry ancestors; to foretell the future; and to provide help in the multitude of daily matters that appear to be beyond the scope of formal Islam and Christianity. This is summed up in the following comment of the Christian Toba-Batak community:

It can be said that the village women no longer fear being victims of human sacrifice, but is there enough difference between the adoration of Jesus and the worship of Mula Jadi to overturn their lives? The rice still needs the same care and the children are no less hungry. Nor does Christianity protect them from illness, so the magic remedies of the "medicine man" will be indispensable for a long time (Barbier 1983:184).
Although the role and the function of the dukun are essential for people with Indonesian world views, for many years "Islam and modern education . . . . (have been) trying to extinguish the shaman's seance" (Winstedt 1950:24). Nevertheless, Indonesian world views change slowly and in the context of continuing emotional needs, the function of the shaman continues. This may be in the form of covert shamanism; or else new cultural forms may be reinterpreted in terms of the world view of shamanism.

III THE ROLE OF THE DUKUN IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF LUWUK-BANGGAI.

A. The Role of the Dukun.

Just as Barbier claims that the "medicine man" is indispensable in Batak society, so the dukun or bulian is indispensable in Luwuk-Banggai. His primary role is one of healing, using both magical methods and traditional natural cures such as the use of local herbs and roots. Within the Christian community, the role of the dukun is often more clearly understand than the role of the Christian pastor. At the Christian Teachers' College during a session on Christian counselling methods, a group of students were role playing a pastor counselling a family who had consulted a dukun during a time of illness. The students had all been brought up in Christian families, but for most pastoral counselling was an alien concept. So the group ignored the aspect of the task that involved Christian counselling, but demonstrated a very thorough knowledge of the methods employed by the dukun, including blowing over a glass of water and whispering a mantra.

B. Paraphernalia and the Use of Jimat [Amulets].

The blowing over a glass of water is probably the most usual
method used by the Luwuk-Banggai *dukun* during the healing and divining process. Whispering mantra over water transfers potency and basic to this transfer is the concept of *semangat*. *Semangat* is powerful but it cannot be seen, tasted or touched. A whisper is a barely audible sound, therefore it is a suitable medium for transferring *semangat*. Similarly, water is transparent and tasteless and so can be used as a vehicle to convey the great potency of *semangat* [sumange'] (Errington 1989:45).

Various forms of *jimat* are also used (Chapter 8:101). In Northern Sulawesi, many Minahasans believe that objects given by the ancestors and used with Christian Bible reading and prayers are the most powerful of all *jimat*. When magical powers that have been received as an inheritance from the ancestors are assigned for good purposes, they parallel the norms of the Christian religion (Koagouw 1980:331).

Similarly, in Luwuk-Banggai the *dukun* frequently uses a Bible as part of his or her paraphernalia. Many people regard the Bible as *berkeramat*, [possessing magical power]. In Buko, I was told of a Muslim *dukun* using a Bible when praying for the healing of the sick. The *dukun* may use the Bible to oppose others in the operation of *doti* such as when the *dukun* is making *doti* against the tax collector or an erring spouse and he may use it as part of his paraphernalia in the exorcism of evil spirits.

The role of the *dukun* as a healer in terms of local religion in Luwuk-Banggai has already been described (Chapter 8:99-100). These practices still continue but increasingly recognition is being given to

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4 See Chapters 4:40-41; 8:96-97; and 12:160 for other aspects of *semangat*.

5 The church deacon who told the story did not approve of a Muslim *dukun* using the Christian Holy Book as part of his paraphernalia.
the *dukun's* use of traditional herbs and alternative medicines. The government and the PGI [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches] now use the term *dukun terlatih* for health workers who are trained in the use of traditional medicines without resort to supra-cultural powers. There is now both a government-run school of traditional medicine and a Directorate for the Control of Herbal Medicines (Agranoff 1993:14).

C. Mantra.

Although prayer is basic to the activities of the Christian and Muslim communities in Luwuk-Banggai, it seems to have been relatively unimportant in the traditional religion of the area. Certainly the *dukun* used mantra but it is a matter for debate whether or not the *dukun's* mantra can be compared with Christian or Muslim prayer.

To the shaman, the use of mantra is not so much communication with supra-cultural beings as seeking to control them. The use of the right words to control supra-cultural powers is a recurring feature in discussions of local religions. The Batek Negritos of Malaysia use songs and spells that are believed to have been received from the *hala*, [supra-cultural beings]. These songs have power in their own right and the whole song is preferable to part of a song (Endicott 1979:134-146).

Some Indonesian *dukun* do pray to the High God. Koagouw gives the example of a *dukun* in Tobelo praying:

0 God Almighty who dwells in Heaven and in Truth
You are the one True Lord (1980:329).

This is probably an example of a *dukun* operating within the context of a world view in transition and adapting his mantra to meet the requirements of the new society.
It has already been observed that the function of the Indonesian dukun is usually perceived as being a positive one: concerned with healing sickness and providing emotional support within the context of community life. Indonesian shamanism has adapted to the world view of the Pancasila and has been stripped of many of its ecstatic practices. Nevertheless, shamanism continues to exist both as a basic structure of society and as a cultural form that has been invested with content from the approved national religions, including Christianity.

Hence several normal, orthodox practices and beliefs of the Christian community will be examined in the light of the possibility that they are in fact now functioning either as shamanistic forms with Christian meanings or Christian forms with shamanistic meanings.

A. Prayer.

In the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai, prayer is basic to the liturgical worship of the GKLB. At the same time some members of the Christian community perceive prayer as a manipulative device that may either complement or replace forms of shamanism.

The Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai has come out of a Dutch Reformed tradition that made use of a set liturgy. Christian prayer became a function of the clergy and there was an emphasis on using either Dutch or Malay. This accorded with the beliefs of local religions which emphasised the use of the correct words.

Thus, today, the use of the right words are basic for two reasons. Firstly, Christian prayer is to "God the Father Almighty". Traditionally care had to be taken when addressing members of the sultan's family because they were perceived, at the very least, to be
empowered by the spirit of the gods (Chapter 6:74). Because of the
greatness of God, his transcendence is emphasised in the language
used in prayer. Rarely is God addressed in terms that recognise his
imminence.

Secondly, prayer needs to be sah [valid]. The printed book of
Liturgical Worship published by GMIM, the large Christian Synod in
Minahasa comments on the importance of using the Lord's Prayer to
menyempurnakan [make perfect] other prayers:

Public Prayer is usually finished with the Prayer "Our Father"
through which earlier prayers are summed up and perfected

This contrasts with other publications of GMIM which teach that prayer
is a relationship between God, a Heavenly Father, and his children
(e.g. Dewan 1982:123).

The search for the right words is illustrated in the frequent
discussions that are held over the words to use when praying before
eating a meal. The question is often asked: "Which is sah: 'God bless
this food,' or 'Thank you God for this food'?" To many Christians this
is a major issue. Two important points have come up in these
discussions.

Firstly, it is hoped that prayer will make the food physically
safe. Despite the fact that dishes may not be well washed, it is hoped
that prayer will protect those who eat. There is also a fear that food
may have been poisoned (cf. Errington 1989:91).

However, of greater importance is the concern, usually unvoiced,
that the food be rendered ritually safe. One highly educated minister
pointed out that when food is bought in the market, people do not
know what ceremonies from local religion may have taken place during
the growing period. Consequently people do not know whether there
is a presence of evil that needs to be cancelled out by Christian prayer. His words emphasised the underlying fear of evil spirits that is basic to the world view of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai.

The value accorded to words is further demonstrated by the hundreds of books of prayers sold annually by the Christian Book Shop. Words are printed, therefore they must have the necessary power. Certainly not everyone regards a book of prayers in this light. Many parents buy a book of prayers to teach their children patterns and styles of praying. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of the population consider that prayers printed in a book are more likely to be sah than extempore prayer.

The length of the prayer is also considered important. "Makin panjang: makin kuat" [The longer it is: the greater the power], I was told. Language also needs to be high and lofty while prayer in a public place, particularly a church, is considered more likely to be sah than prayer in a private home.

The status of the person who prays is also perceived as affecting the prayer. I was told that the prayer of a minister, pastor or a deacon, has greater efficacy than the prayer of an ordinary person. This would accord with the fact that the dukun would have been equipped for his task and initiated into his position. Similarly, the ordained clergy have been equipped through their long period of training at seminary and "initiated" through the service of ordination. At an ordination service, members of the synod executive and as many other clergy as possible are present to raise their hands in blessing. One possible inference is that the clergy receive more power through the raising of many pairs or hands. Unordained pastors or deacons also have been set apart for their task through a "lesser" service of consecration. In practical terms this results in an unofficial hierarchy
of "powerful pray-ers" that more or less parallels the lines of authority within the synod. It is perceived as follows:

Moderator of the Synod

Other ordained Members of the Synod Executive

Lay Members of the Synod Executive or Ministers in Charge of Districts

Ministers of Town Churches

Other Ordained Ministers or Deacons from Town Churches

Unordained Pastors from Village Congregations

Deacons from Village Congregations

Leaders of Men's Fellowships

Leaders of Women's Fellowships

Both men and women can be accorded high status as those who pray, but men are more likely to have the necessary official standing. Older retired people retain the status that they had at the time of retirement. However, people who have been disgraced, particularly as a result of moral lapses, lose their place in this unofficial hierarchy of people whose prayers are sah.

People who go to a home to pray for the sick often receive a thank offering. In the town context, this is usually money.

B. Christian Prayer and World View.

Firstly, words themselves are perceived as having efficacy. Speaking of the situation in the culturally similar Church of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia, Hoskins points out that Christian prayers were perceived as having "a magical efficacy similar to that of ritual language associated with the ancestor centers" Such prayers warded off evil spirits, protected the community, and helped the crops to grow (1987:151).

Thus the person who prays is often perceived as functioning in
the role of the dukun. He or she is a professional, religious person who has been initiated through the churches' rite of ordination as a minister, pastor, or deacon and prayer is a function of this role. To function in the accepted positive role of the dukun does not automatically mean that the Christian minister, pastor or deacon has moved outside the world view of Biblical Christianity. In many cases the form of shamanism has been imbued with a Christian meaning.

C. The Bible.

Every Christian family tries to possess a Bible. This is encouraged by church leaders and subsidised by the Indonesian Bible Society (Simatupang 1990:1-12).

However attitudes to the Bible vary. A significant proportion of Christians have similar attitudes to those of Protestant Christians in Western societies. In keeping with the official doctrinal statement of the PGI such Christians accept the Bible as the foundation and authority for all beliefs and practices in the church (PGI 1985:44-45). In the GKLB the public reading and exposition of the Bible is basic to all services both in the church and in homes. There is also some effort to encourage families to read the Bible regularly together in their homes.

For many the Bible is important as a symbol of the Christian faith. In Indonesia, the possession of written, revealed Scriptures is an important indicator of a religion's orthodoxy and acceptability in terms of the Pancasila (Darmaputera 1988a:84). Just as the right words make a prayer valid or sah, so possession of Scriptures makes the religion sah. The Bible is a symbol that the Christian religion is sah just as the Koran is a symbol that Islam is sah.

Biblical knowledge may also be an indicator of education and status. With Christianity being an official religion, PAK [the study of
Christian Religion] is a compulsory and examinable school subject for all children from Christian families. Consequently most Indonesian Protestants have a good cognitive knowledge of the Bible. Prior to Independence in Sumba literacy and the ability to read the Malay (Indonesian) Bible were pre-requisites for church membership. This could then lead to upward social mobility and a position in government service (Hoskins 1987:142). Webb suggests that the Sumbanese followed a Dutch precedent in using the Bible as a reference book from which appropriate precepts could be obtained. He quotes a cryptic verse that links resentment of the Dutch with the Bible:

Belanda punya Bijbel: kita punya tanah.
Kita pegang Bijbel: Belanda pegang tanah.

[The Dutch have the Bible: we have the land.
We stick to the Bible: the Dutch stick to the land] (1986:121).^  

Many GKLB members believe that the Bible has its own intrinsic power. The Bible cannot be read in public without praying first. A frequently used prayer asks that the Bible will "meniadakan segala kekurangan kami [eliminate all our weaknesses] and will be our guide in the coming week". There are many that believe that the act of reading the Bible automatically bestows cleansing from ritual uncleanliness and gives the ability to live effectively within the context of the Christian community. 

Other church members regard the book itself is holy, "clean", and unimpaired. For some, it is too holy to be read except by deacons and pastors. ^ Those who hold this view consider that the Bible is not

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^ Webb's translation seems a little weak. Probably "the Dutch grabbed the land" would be more in keeping with the purpose of the verse.

^ The wife of a former Moderator expressed this view to me. In terms of the Churches doctrinal statement, this is unorthodox.
a book for children and it must not be allowed to become dirty. In the event of some misfortune and the Bible having become dirty, it may not be thrown out. Bibles must never be placed on the floor, and a person's own Bible is normally buried with that person.

Others regard the Bible as a *jimat*. The individual Christian sometimes uses the Bible as a private *jimat*, in the same way as the *dukun* uses the Bible as part of his or her paraphernalia (Chapter 14:231). A sick person will often take a Bible to hospital and place it under the pillow. A Bible can also be expected to protect a home against evil spirits, or to protect a person during a journey.

D. The Bible and World View.

Attitudes to the Bible are complex. For all members of the Christian community the Bible is important. It would be true to say that for most Christians the Bible is a basic symbol of their world view. This may be orthodox Protestant faith; nationalism in the country of the *Pancasila*; educational achievement and modernity; or the continuing power of traditional shamanistic society.

E. The Sacraments of the Church.

Being in the Protestant tradition, the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai only recognises two sacraments, baptism and holy communion. Only ordained ministers may officiate at these services. In some church districts there is only one ordained minister, the *pendeta kelas*, who may be in charge of over twenty congregations. Getting to one of the more remote congregations may involve a long canoe trip across the open sea; an extremely difficult motor bike ride; or a walk up a mountain trail. Consequently some congregations are

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8 Reference has been made in Chapter 13:210 to the *Pohon Terang* being perceived as a sacrament but this is a belief of folk Christianity and it is certainly never stated.
only visited by an ordained minister once or twice a year and for the rest of the time they are ministered to by an unordained pastor. Thus for practical reasons, the sacraments of the church appear to be high and holy, separated from the normal life of the church.

Baptism:

Two hundred years ago the forefathers of the Ambonese Christians who later were to become mentors of the GKLB would request the water that had been used in a baptismal service so that they could keep it as a magic potion (Chapter 10:122). This still happens from time to time in Luwuk-Banggai, and not all the ordained clergy can cope with such requests. Such a situation demonstrates the difference between the clergy's perceptions of their role and the perception of their role by many members of the laity. Most of the clergy see themselves as ministers of Jesus Christ, serving him as they serve the GKLB in the modern nation of Indonesia, while many members of the laity see the clergy functioning in the role of the shaman dispensing magic potions and amulets. Education and experience have divorced many of the clergy from their roots and given them a world view that is significantly different from the world view of those to whom they are ministering.

However, apart from the idea that the water used for baptism has magical properties, there does not appear to be a great deal of magical thinking attached to the baptismal service. This is probably due to the fact that in Indonesia, baptism is viewed less as a religious ceremony than as a legal ceremony that gives a person legal status as a Christian who may not be proselytised by members of other religions.

See Chapter 12:165-166 for a discussion on baptism in the life cycle of the individual.
ii Holy Communion.

However, even if there is not a great deal of evidence that in the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai baptism has been reinterpreted in terms of the local religion, holy communion has been enveloped within a web of traditional thought.

The service is celebrated as an esoteric feast which only initiates, in other words those who have been baptised and confirmed, may attend or even watch. This means that younger women can only go to a communion service if there is someone to mind younger children, who are not admitted under any circumstances.

There are often strict, unofficial dress codes. In the town churches many people, particularly from Manado and Ambon, dress completely in black as they consider the communion service a time of mourning. In one remote rural congregation where I was present with the deputy moderator of the synod, the pendeta kelasis was present for a communion service. The deputy moderator and I were rather conspicuous in a red and gold batik shirt and a bright blue dress in a church filled with worshippers sombrely attired in black and white. Many people will not attend communion services because they consider that they do not possess suitable clothes.

In some areas people consider that because they have been "blessed", the communion bread and wine have elements of magical efficacy. Older women try to get extra, to take home to their children and grandchildren. There are many astounding claims made as to the efficacy of the communion bread and wine. These include healing from cancer. One ordained minister gave the example of someone who drank from the communion cup after someone who had tuberculosis without contracting the disease. He then commented, "That is evidence of the power in the communion wine."

Because of the perceived magical power in the communion
elements, great care has to be taken when receiving them. To cough after drinking the wine could lead to one being cursed. This makes it difficult for the women, as fewer women drink alcohol than men and therefore often do cough after sipping the unaccustomed wine.

We were told of one congregation where the bread for the communion service was considered so holy that it had to be baked in a special place. Children were not allowed to enter while the bread was being made and were in fact locked up so that they could not get to their mothers. This was a unique situation, but indicated that the attitudes towards the communion elements were similar to attitudes towards village fetishes that could only be seen by the initiated.

F. The Sacraments of the Church and World View.

As in other areas, the attitudes reflect a variety of world views. They also reflect a difference between the world view of many village people and most of the clergy, almost all of whom have received tertiary education in other areas of Indonesia. As in other areas of life, Indonesian nationalism affects the interpretation of the sacraments. Baptism is often perceived as a legal ceremony that establishes a person's place in a formal religion that is approved in terms of the Pancasila.

However, the attitudes towards holy communion suggest that the ordained minister is seen by some as a powerful shaman distributing his powerful magic potions. In this situation tension exists between the attitudes of the clergy who do not perceive themselves in this role and adherents of folk Christianity who do. Consequently, there is a clash between the world views of the educated leadership and the world views of many church members.
G. Ceremonies Concerned with Building a House.

Among church members in all areas of Luwuk-Banggai ceremonies concerned with building houses are frequently held. One such ceremony that I attended was a family gathering for putting up the initial frame-work. The minister of the congregation arrived at the house before 5 a.m., while it was still dark. The concrete foundations had already been laid and the wooden frame-work for the four sides of the future cement rendered brick house was lying on the ground. A chicken was killed and its blood sprinkled around the building site. Then the minister prayed, especially for the safety of the workmen and for God's blessing on the family. There was then a rush as the men set to work to get the framework into an upright position before the sun rose. The women and the house-helpers returned to the old house and prepared the chicken and other food for a small feast.

Frequently a new brick and corrugated iron structure is built over the top of an existing bush material house, the family continuing to live in the old house until the iron roof of the new house is on and the old structure can be removed. In one such situation we attended quite a big thanksgiving luncheon when the king post went up, above the existing palm thatch roof. On that occasion all the church deacons were invited and there was a formal service of Christian worship in the rather cramped conditions of the old house, before eating a communal meal.

Almost everyone in the Christian community celebrates the completion of a home with as big a feast as they are able to afford. This starts with a long formal thanksgiving service, consisting of hymns, prayers, Bible reading, sermon and "thanksgiving offering". The list of invited guests often extends beyond church members. Muslim guests usually come to the house after the service, although some do attend Christian services in private homes. There are often
two tables of food - one serving everything, including pork, the other only serving halal food: food that is ceremonially clean for Muslim guests.

H. House Building Ceremonies and World View.

In these three types of situation the minister of the congregation has a vital role to play. In the first, he or she is a representative of the person in society who mediates between human beings and the supra-cultural powers. Although it is not mentioned, there is a tacit recognition among some of those present that with the sprinkling of the chicken's blood there is an exchange of its blood for the blood of the workmen. There is propitiation but who or what is being propitiated is unstated. Probably some people believe that the spirits of the land or the spirits of the ancestors are being placated. Certainly no one would confuse a minister of the Christian Church with a dukun, but there is an unspoken recognition that the Christian minister is functioning in the role of the shaman.

In the second and third examples the ordained minister still has the major religious role to play, but in these cases the focus changes from one of mediating between human beings and the unseen powers to one of creating unity in the visible community. Here he or she functions as the shaman who lifts people out of themselves into a "communal union" by means of rights and ceremonies (cf. Winstedt 1982:6).

I. The Search for Causality.

According to traditional beliefs, not only do the ghosts and the spirits cause illness, they also determine people's fate. In the case of an accident, people will want to know who caused the accident. There is little emphasis on human irresponsibility as in over-loading vehicles
or ships; disregarding police advice in terms of using a mountainous road when land slides are likely to occur; taking a ship across the Peling Strait in high seas; or riding a motor bike without a crash helmet. Even the death from cancer of someone who had been a chain smoker would lead to the same question: Who caused the death?

Such questions mean looking for supra-cultural explanations. In the Protestant community this leads to a complex interaction of views from local religion, Islam, and Calvinism reinterpreted by folk theologians. The standard answer for such calamities is that the accident or the death was "the will of God". Fatalism is certainly a characteristic of many members of the Christian community. In this they are influenced by members of the Muslim community who believe that they must submit to the will of God without complaining. The situation in Aceh where a mother was rebuked for weeping over the loss of a child (Siegel 1969:116) occurs from time to time in Luwuk when a "fanatical" Muslim man will rebuke his wife for failure to submit to the will of God when she is mourning the loss of a child. However, such fatalism and submission does not satisfy emotional needs, and people still look for causality and meaning in terms of their old world views. Lubis devotes almost his whole book *The Indonesian Dilemma* (1991) to criticising his fellow Indonesians for syncretistic behaviour that does not accord with the *Pancasila*. However, in contrast, Koagouw demonstrates that shamanism must continue in Indonesia as neither the official religions nor modern education are satisfying the emotional and spiritual needs of the majority of Indonesians (Chapter 14:222).

Thus, when a big Christian thanksgiving service and feast is celebrated a hundred days after a tragic accident, at one level it can be perceived as the triumph of Christianity, but at another level it may represent the fulfilment of traditional responsibilities with some
members seeing the feast as a means of appeasing supra-cultural beings so that they will be kept safe in the future.

J. The Search for Causality and World View.

In the past a dukun would have been employed to find out who had caused an accident so that an angry ancestor or other supra-cultural being could be placated or avenged. However, today, Calvinistic Protestantism, as interpreted by folk theologians, provides a means by which God can be identified as the cause of many problems. There may still be some recourse to a traditional dukun to discover additional spiritual causes, but the modern thanksgiving feasts after the death of a loved one use the forms of the old traditional religions and give the forms Christian content. Thus some will hope that both the High God of Christianity and also any angry ancestral ghosts are satisfied. It is a manifestation of a religious observance that provides many with necessary emotional support within the context of a traditional world view.

IV SHAMANISM AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF LUWUK-BANGGAI.

The discussion of this chapter demonstrates several basic facts about shamanism. Firstly, the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai has been planted and has grown in the "soil" of traditional religion and shamanism. Secondly, shamanism needs to be evaluated in its relationship with Christianity, and thirdly, shamanism is satisfying basic human needs of millions of people in the modern country of Indonesia.

A. "Shamanized" Christianity.

Bediako draws attention to the fact that "African primal religions form part of the spiritual heritage of mankind" (1992:6). He also
points out that throughout history, Christianity has had its greatest impact when it has confronted people with local, tribal or "animistic" religions (1984:96). Illustrating this, Korean theologian David Kwang-sun Suh draws attention to the fact that the Korean Church is now considered to be "the success story of Christian mission in the 'non-Christian' world" (1992:32). He demonstrates that the Korean Church has grown within the context of Korean spirituality which is shamanism (1992:31). He then claims that Korean Christianity is "shamanized" Christianity (1992:31). He asks:

Is shamanized Christianity compatible with the Gospel of Jesus" (1992:32)?

Suh then demonstrated that Korean shamanism was the religion of the poor, the oppressed and the socially marginalised. He goes on to suggest that "shamanized" Korean Christianity is performing a priestly role in the lives of the poor and the oppressed (1992:33-34).

In the same way, it would seem that many people in Luwuk-Banggai continue to have world views that fluctuate between the world views of the old local religions and the world views of the modern nation of Indonesia. Although it is contrary to the official doctrinal stance, some clergy have demonstrated their capacity to function effectively in the positive role of the shaman in meeting people's every day needs. Unconsciously some ministers, pastors and deacons of the GKLB have fulfilled the function of the shaman, divesting the role of magical elements and invested shamanistic forms with Christian meanings. However to date, Indonesian theologians, together with most other theologians have been hesitant to recognise the possibility of the church functioning within the context of the traditional world view of the shaman without denying Biblical truth (Suh 1992:31).
Yet this should be possible. Burnett suggests that there is a Biblical world view and that this can be equally manifested within the secular world view of Western man or among peoples with primal world views (1990:207-251).

B. Evaluating Shamanism in Indonesia.

In Indonesia, shamanism has learnt to co-exist with the world view of Indonesia which is dominated by the powerful influences of Islam and the Pancasila. As a result Indonesian shamanism has repressed and hidden some of the magical and ecstatic elements concerned with the control of the supra-cultural world.

However, basic to the world view of many, if not most, people in Luwuk-Banggai is a fear of the evil spirits or of ancestral ghosts. To help people with this fear, confrontations between the shaman and the powers of evil with the use of shamanistic trances will continue.

Many of the practices of shamanism conflict with the practices of Islam and Christianity and there are tensions between formal institutions in Indonesian society such as the church, and an informal institution such as shamanism. This has often led to negative adaptations, such as the people of Ambon seeking the key to power and to esoteric knowledge (Bartels 1979:285).

Similarly, in Luwuk-Banggai today, negative adaptive techniques lead to overt tension between the pastor and the dukun. Bediako draws attention to the importance of demonology in the thinking of both Justin and Clement (1992:156 & 190). This has been an aspect of Christian thought and doctrine overlooked by Calvinistic missionaries in Indonesia as it had no place in the Protestant world view of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Consequently, the church has failed to address an essential aspect of the world view of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai. Charismatic and "Third Wave"
theologians, within and without Indonesia, are now seriously facing the question of power encounters (McAlpine 1991:43-56). However, Indonesian Protestants are fearful of the Charismatics and Pentecostals (Chapter 13:200) and so are hesitant to face the issue of the need for a relevant demonology.

C. Shamanism and Healing.

Meanwhile, the positive aspects of shamanism continue to function in society, providing the healing and emotional support that is not given through the Pancasila and the approved religions, particularly Islam and Christianity. Yet many pastors in Luwuk-Banggai have demonstrated that without compromising their faith, they can function as "Christian dukun" and perhaps the time has come for Indonesian theologians to follow the example of the Korean Church and to define the role of the pastor in terms of the Christian dukun who cares for the poor and needy and who has a priestly role in interpreting the Good News of Jesus Christ to the weak and the oppressed.

D. Towards an Indigenous Church ..."where the old finds fulfilment in the new" (Bediako 1990:272).

Bediako analyses the works of African theologians including Bolaji Idowu and John Mbiti who recognise that African traditions and spirituality provide the soil in which the African Christian Church has grown. Bediako demonstrates that the approach taken by Idowu and Mbiti in recognising the validity of the awareness of God in pre-Christian Africa is similar to the approach taken by Justin and Clement in the Hellenistic period when they were prepared to argue for the operation of the pre-incarnate Word in non-Christian traditions (Bediako 1990:436).
Idowu sees Islam and Christianity as foreign religions. In West Africa, these religions are little more than veneers "supplied by Westernism and Arabism" overlaying African traditional religion. Yet Christianity has a unique and universal message that could well fulfil traditional African concepts of God - particularly for those Africans who have "outgrown" old beliefs (Bediako 1990:285-289). Meanwhile, Mbiti believes "that Africa's "old" religions constitute a proper (though by no means sole) source of African Christian theology". He differentiates between Christianity and the Gospel. Christianity is the result of the encounter between the Gospel and any given society. Christianity is "indigenous" and "culture-bound". However, the Gospel "is 'God-given', eternal and does not change". Mbiti believes that the Gospel must be communicated in culturally appropriate African terms that are meaningful to African perceptions of African needs. The resultant African theology must be both a response of the Church to African life and an expression of the Universal Church (Bediako 1990:305-311).

In the Asian context, many authorities recognise that Korean "Christianity is now a Korean people's religion and no longer an import" (Clark 1986:36). Suh demonstrates that although Korean Christianity initially opposed Korean traditions and religion, the growth of Christianity in Korea had "a lot to do with the shamanistic mind set of the people" (Suh 1991:112). In other words, Korean theology is both a response of the Church to Korean life and an expression of the Universal Church (cf. Bediako 1990:307-311).

This brings a new focus to the task of the development of an appropriate local theology in Luwuk-Banggai. The GKLB accepts without question that the Gospel "is 'God-given', eternal and does not change" (cf. Bediako 1990:305). However, they have accepted imported forms of church life that are not always in keeping with their world
view and they have as yet not recognised the spirituality in the local religions.

In using the term *dukun terlatih* (Chapter 14:232), both the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian Church have recognised the positive role of the *dukun* in the medical field. At the same time the Korean Church is a living witness to the fact that the Gospel can be sown and flourish in the soil of Asian spirituality and Korean shamanism.

Basic to Christian identity in Indonesia is the recognition of the spirituality in their own local religions. At present this spirituality is denied by the government with children in schools constantly being taught that traditional religions are backward (Chapter 8:92). Yet this spirituality was manifest in many forms. Firstly, in keeping with the national striving for harmony (Chapter 13:190) Luwuk-Banggai local religions sought to establish harmony between the supra-cultural world and humanity so that the daily needs of people could be satisfied and people could live together in peace (Chapter 8:107; Chapter 14:225).

Secondly, although the Easter event is almost a non-event in the GKLB, traditional spirituality had recognised the importance of mediation and blood sacrifices (14:241) while the concepts of confession, atonement and redemption were seen in the *Sumawi* and *Sulean* feasts (Chapter 8:103; Chapter 13:193). In contrast to the situation in Bali where Mastra was able to use a desire for blood sacrifices to point to Christ's death on Mount Golgotha (1982:87), the people of South Bulagi consider the desire to seek expiation through confession of sin and slaughtering an animal (Chapter 8:99) as a major problem that is impeding the life of the South Bulagi Church.

Thus, one of the challenges facing the Indonesian Church is the challenge to move away from the imported European, Calvinistic form of Christianity and to recognise the spirituality in its own heritage. In
such an environment, the renewal that has taken place in the Korean Church could well take place in Luwuk-Banggai. Faith that is rooted in the Bible could grow in the spirituality of Luwuk-Banggai shamanism. This spirituality was expressed in a search for harmony and a desire to achieve and demonstrate group solidarity. It also recognised the importance of a blood sacrifice that could reconcile humanity with the supra-cultural powers.
CHAPTER 15.
THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF LUWUK-BANGGAI
AS A BUREAUCRACY.

I THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUREAUCRACY IN THE INDONESIAN CHURCH.

As has already been discussed in Chapter 10, the Christian Church in Ambon primarily grew out of Dutch trading interests and the Dutch colonial government. This meant that from the beginning the Christian Church in Ambon and those churches that developed in the same Indies Tradition (Chapter 10:122) did so within the bureaucracy of the Dutch East Indies Company [VOC] and later within the Dutch colonial administration (Hall 1986:305 & 354). These foreign bureaucracies dominated the churches through paying and controlling the clergy (Latourette 1939b:276-277). In Luwuk-Banggai the church was established on the initiative of a Dutch resident (Chapter 10:126-127) and so grew as a church within the context of a colonial bureaucracy in which the Indonesian Protestant Church was "conceived in centralist bureaucratic and secular official forms" (Kraemer 1958:33).

Indonesian historian and sociologist Sartono Kartodirdjo has made a detailed study of the way in which Dutch bureaucracy accommodated itself to the Javanese aristocracy and how the blend of these two forms of organisation have resulted in the present Indonesian form of bureaucracy. Traditionally Javanese society was a stratified society with the god-king, or sultan, at the top of the apex (1988:129). The sultan had a large entourage of relations and landed gentry and these became the ruling elite (1988:130). However, with the coming of the Dutch an organised bureaucracy entered Indonesia and a wider span of social stratification occurred (1988:130). The VOC adapted itself to existing social structures, placed itself at the highest level of the political hierarchy, and mobilised the sultans for the benefit of the company (1988:132). When the Dutch Government took
over the control of the VOC's interests in the nineteenth century, they formalised this arrangement. The old sultanates were renamed *kabupaten* or regencies, and the sultan was accorded the title of *bupati* [regent] (1988:134). Kartodirdjo sees the end of the nineteenth century as a period when traditional organisational patterns were replaced with Dutch bureaucratic patterns. Admission to the hierarchy was no longer solely dependent on hereditary factors but also on technical qualifications (1988:135). Certainly many of the old aristocrats did become the new bureaucrats as Western education had opened the way "for the fusion of two sets of values . . . . (that welded) together the bureaucratic hierarchy and the old social rank order" (1988:138).

Kartodirdjo documents this process in Java but it was part of a process that happened throughout the Archipelago. Cooley (1962) describes in some detail the role, status and life style of the sultans in Ambon, while Chauvel analysing the changing role of the Ambonese sultans [Ind. *raja*] under the VOC writes:

> The Ambonese islands were a 'directly' ruled area and the raja held the key position between the Dutch authorities and the mass of Ambonese population . . . . The raja was the foundation of colonial society . . . . (and his) incorporation in the bureaucratic society was, in part, an endeavour to reach an accommodation with the subjugated society (Chauvel 1990:8).

Certainly the Sultan of Banggai fitted into this pattern. Modern Indonesian documents reveal Sultan Amir, the last sultan of Banggai, as an indecisive man oscillating in his loyalties between the Dutch, the Japanese and the Independence Movement (Proyek 1979/80:92–97). He had accepted his role within the Dutch hierarchy and found it difficult to accept change.
Although Sultan Amir was a Muslim, probably the way in which he accommodated himself to the Dutch was similar to the way in which the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai accommodated itself to the Dutch. The GKLB grew as a bureaucracy closely related to the Dutch Government and dependent on the Dutch for finance and personnel, usually in the form of teacher-evangelists from Ambon and Minahasa. These men were trained by the Dutch, sent by the Dutch and paid by the Dutch. They were *de facto*, low-level public servants. Bishop Stephen Neill observes that

This dependence of the Church on the state, under which the preacher of the Gospel was reduced to the status of a civil servant, could not but strike at the very root of the existence of the Church as a Church (1966:189).

Thus as a *beban sejarah* [burden from history] the GKLB has inherited a form of bureaucracy which developed through the fusion of two forms of organisation which had their sources in two different world views. Consequently, in the bureaucracy of the GKLB we continue to see the world view of the sultans and the world view of nineteenth century Dutch colonialism, capitalism and Calvinism.

II THE ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF LUWUK-BANGGAI.

According to its Constitution, the GKLB is organised on *Synodal-Presbyterial* principles (GKLB 1985:3). In an official DGI survey of Indonesian Churches (Cooley 1981), the GKLB did not supply sufficient data to determine their levels of organisation (Cooley 1981:86).

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1 Prior to World War II these teacher-evangelists were all men who were usually married and took their families with them. In that period there would have been no thought of sending a woman as a church worker.
However, in terms of doctrine, organisation, and practice they are closely aligned with the GKST [Poso Church] and the GMIM [Minahasa Church], both of which are organised along lines of synod, district and congregation (Cooley 1981:86-87).

Different churches in Indonesia interpret the terms *presbyterial* and *synodal* differently (Cooley 1981:86) and in practice the GKLB displays a tripartite form of division in terms of synod; *kelasis* [church districts]; and congregations. There are twelve *kelasis*: six are on the mainland and six are in the Banggai Islands. Each *kelasis* has an annual assembly which is attended by five representatives from each congregation. Each *kelasis* appoints five representatives to the general assembly of the synod. This group elects the synod executive. Although, according to the constitution, the general synod has the authority, the GKLB is increasingly coming under the control of an elite on the synod executive and the individual congregations and *kelasis* are systematically being stripped of rights, autonomy and authority.

In Chapter 1 the problems that the GKLB is facing were identified. The first of these was *sukuisme* [ethnocentricism] and the second of these was a complex of economic factors. These have come together in the context of church organisation and have resulted in a series of nearly insurmountable problems. These problems are seen in terms of an overt power struggle and the alleged misappropriation of church funds. Such problems are not unique to the GKLB. In 1992 the HKBP [the Batak Church] with over two million members, experienced similar problems which are often reported in the national media (e.g. Kompas 19.5.94:6; Tempo 23.4.94:40). One Indonesian news magazine reported:

The debt of a life must be paid for with another life. This is
happening in the HKBP which failed to choose a moderator at their fifty-first synod, two years ago . . . . The Church has now split into two groups, one group pro-Nababan and the other group pro-Simanjuntak who was appointed by the Government and the army to take control of the HKBP (DeTIK 8-14.6.1994:27).

In the GKLB bureaucratic formalities are precisely followed. Each congregation has its pastor and deacons who have regular meetings and submit regular reports. Similarly, each kelasis has an annual meeting, and every year there is a working assembly which aims to evaluate progress in terms of the decisions made in the five yearly general synod assemblies. In the last twelve years the recurring themes at the working assemblies have been concerned with leadership and with finance. Leadership problems have included a leadership crisis expressed in terms of an overt power struggle and a large number of clergy facing church discipline - sometimes followed by the movement of these men to other areas of Indonesia. Financial problems have been seen in the failure to meet budget targets and alleged misappropriation of foreign grants.

III LEADERSHIP.

A. Appointment of Leaders.

In theory the synod executive is elected every five years at the general synod assemblies. Although the constitution of the synod executive is defined by the membership of the synod executive, every election sees a variation in the composition of the executive. This is simply done by deciding by formal motion and vote to change the constitution prior to each election. However, despite some variation in the ratio between clergy and laity and the number of members, the
key positions are those of Ketua [Moderator], Deputy Moderator, Secretary, and Treasurer. These positions remain constant. The moderator must be an ordained person who is academically well-qualified. University education is now perceived as being the new esoteric knowledge (Chapter 6:74) that equips a person for status and power (Kartodirdjo 1988:118) while "the main criteria for power . . . (is) holding office" (Kartodirdjo 1988:129). Once the moderator is appointed, a large proportion of the Christian population will accord him the status of a sultan. This means he is perceived as being infallible and as possessing a divine right to rule. Speaking of the role of the minister in Ambon, Cooley observes:

> He enjoys, together with the village chief (radja), the highest position in village society, with which goes the fullest respect, and even fear, since he is the person who is representative of the Power rooted in the "Other World" (*Dunia Sebrang*) which is so important in this (1967b:19).

With the moderator of the GKLB being accorded even greater status and honour than the village minister in Ambon, the position of moderator is coveted both in terms of personal and group aggrandisement.

From the time that it separated from the GKST and became a separate Synod, the GKLB has consisted of two blocs: the Banggai speakers and the Saluan speakers (10:131). The separation from the GKST was inevitable because of social differences and different historical factors in the development of the churches in *Kabupaten* 2

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2 Western writers variously translate the term Ketua as Moderator, Chairman, and Bishop.

3 As yet no woman has ever been on the synod executive but this is not precluded in terms of the constitution. The neighbouring, much bigger Church, the GKST has a woman as Moderator and she has been re-elected for a second term.
Poso and Kabupaten Banggai (van den End 1989:151). However, in many ways the social differences and the different patterns in church development are as great between the people of Kabupaten Banggai that live on the mainland and those that live on the islands (Chapter 10:130).

The Banggai speakers consider themselves members of the "royal tribe" (Chapter 6:65), while the Saluan speakers tend to be better educated as a result of living on the mainland and close to modern education facilities in Luwuk. Consequently, both groups consider that they have the right to lead. Until 1990 the Banggai speakers have worked together as a bloc and controlled the synod. At present Saluan speakers are controlling the synod, but they have a fairly young Banggai speaking man as the moderator. Most of these Saluan men are laymen with considerable political experience. Several claim that the clergy are incapable of leading and are seeking to organise the church in the same way as the local parliament.

As has already been stated, elections for the members of the synod executive follow constitutional procedures. However the actual selection takes place outside the official voting system. Consensus is reached by discussion following traditional patterns. Then a rational-legal process formalises what has already been decided. Although the election takes place by secret ballot, very few people would consider offending local custom by using a bureaucratic secret ballot to make a choice that was contrary to the direction of the group.

Representatives from most kelasis are village men usually with less than nine years of formal education and some with less than six. Consequently, the control of the general assembly has been in the hands of a semi-literate men who are more comfortable with traditional

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4 See Chapter 12:162-164 for a description of the decision making process in terms of community life.
forms of decision making than with bureaucratic forms. They can also be more easily given incentives to decide in a certain way.

However, the new synod executive under the control of politically able laymen is at present suggesting that the decision making would be more rational and more in keeping with the constitution if only the minister in charge of each kelasis had a vote, not the five delegates from each kelasis. In support of their argument they point out that in the PGI [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches] general assembly only one person from each synod has voting rights. Therefore in the GKLB general assembly, only one person from each kelasis should vote - in accordance with the consensus of opinions of the delegates from his kelasis. Those who are opposed to the change point out that the ministers in charge of the kelasis are appointed by the synod executive. Such a change would therefore put the control of the whole GKLB into the hands of a small power elite. In the case of the PGI, each person with voting rights is appointed by his or her synod and not by the executive of the PGI.

Probably an even greater problem than choosing a leader is the problem of relinquishing leadership. The GKLB's constitution has been changed so that no person may stay in any one office for more than two terms of service, in other words for ten years. It has yet to be seen whether such a constitutional procedure will work.

B. Life Style of Leaders.

The moderator of the GKLB lives in one of the finest homes in Luwuk and joins the most senior public servants and wealthy Chinese in having a chauffeur driven vehicle. Furthermore, wherever the moderator and his entourage go, he is accorded very high honour. He

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5 The home was built with overseas finance and the vehicle was bought with overseas finance.
is referred to by title as "Bapak Ketua yang terhormat" [Most honoured Mr. Moderator]. This language reflects the language of the courts of the sultans and defines one's position in society (Kartodirdjo 1988:110-112). To most Indonesians respect and honour are of greater importance than the accoutrements of personal wealth.

However, although personal wealth may be a secondary symbol of leadership, the erection of bigger and better public buildings is an evidence of the successful leader. In Luwuk, as in other centres where the Christian population is a significant minority, there appears to be constant rivalry between Muslims and Christians in building bigger and better mosques and churches. There is keen competition for the best sites so that the dome of the mosque or the spire of the church can dominate the skyline. The building is a symbol of power and the "sultan" of the group who has the most splendid religious edifice can take pleasure in the power of his group.

In addition to this, the moderator of the synod travels extensively between different parts of Indonesia and even outside Indonesia. On such trips he is always accorded honour as the moderator of the GKLB.

Few men can cope with this situation without beginning to assume that they have the right to such privilege and honour. Some church leaders, together with some civil leaders, yield to the temptation to exploit a subservient people who allow themselves to be exploited by leaders. However, no leader of the GKLB has become extremely wealthy at the expense of church members even though local gossip attributes to dishonesty the ability of some church leaders to give their children a good education and to wear better than average

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Gossip needs to be accepted as information that is frequently misinformed. I was a frequent visitor in the home of one family that was accused of misappropriation of money and in terms of daily food intake they were living at a standard that was considerably below normal.
Nevertheless, even if personal wealth is a secondary consideration among leaders of the GKLB, status symbols that are reminiscent of the honour accorded to the sultans are still sought after. Darmaputera, sums up the situation for all of Indonesia:

it is true to say that the bureaucracy in Indonesia . . . . is but the modern skin of the old wine of the Javanese status-oriented hierarchism, or that democracy is but a modern name for the old political practice and doctrine (1988a:73).

C. The Leadership Crisis.

The GKLB needs men and women who can lead. In 1990 there were forty-seven ordained clergy in the GKLB. About half of these were in administrative positions either in the synod office or as the ministers in charge of the *kelasis*. This left between twenty and thirty ordained people who could minister in 216 congregations.

However, since 1990 an alarming process has come into being. A significant number of well qualified clergy have faced church discipline and have been suspended from ministry. Most of these have left the GKLB and will not return.

Prior to 1990 there were several cases of men being suspended after admitting that they had committed adultery. Where there has been evidence of repentance, these men have been reinstated, albeit with some concern being expressed by community leaders who believe that adultery is the greatest of all sins because it is a crime against society (Chapter 12:179). Also, prior to 1990, some able young men and women did not return to Luwuk-Banggai after completing Theological Seminary. For a variety of reasons, including marriage and other job opportunities, they chose to leave the GKLB.

7 Many church members, particularly wealthy Chinese storekeepers give gifts of expensive clothing to ministers and their families.
However, the new trend that began in 1990 of suspending potential leaders on any possible grounds is threatening the very existence of the GKLB. In 1991, at the annual working synod meeting the report of the synod executive began:

On this occasion that is full of joy and blessedness, there are no words more beautiful and glorious that we can offer to God than the words of the angel who cried out, "Amen! Praise and glory and wisdom and honour and power and strength be to our God for ever and ever, Amen" (Revelation 7:12).

All honour, glory, and praise we present to God the Father who in Jesus Christ has been with us and has protected us in our journey since the last conference .... (GKLB 1991:1).

The report went on to tell of seven ministers who had faced church discipline that year and had been suspended for offences that included adultery, misappropriation of church funds, and "disrupting church unity". Although it was not stated in the report, all present knew that three of the men who were suspended for alleged corruption or disrupting church unity were among the best educated and most able men in the GKLB. Their presence presented a challenge to the moderator, whose leadership was based on charismatic appeal and not on either the highest academic qualification or administrative performance that could be evaluated empirically.

Significantly, most of the men who have committed adultery have been reinstated. This has angered some members of the community but with such a background, such men are less likely to be appointed to the Synod executive: hence they do not present a challenge to existing leaders.

Since 1991 several more of the most able men have been suspended or encouraged to leave for reasons which have included
misusing scholarship money, heresy evidenced by being re-baptised, and criticising the leaders. Furthermore in 1993 five ministers, all formerly ministers in charge of *kelasis*, were terminated because of their involvement in a movement to secede and form a new Synod. In the same period there have been a few young men and women who have returned from seminary with STh degrees, but these still lack experience. Also, in 1992, a group of older men and women were ordained. These have had experience in smaller village congregations, but limited theological knowledge. In a society that seeks status in the form of rank and title, the possibility of being addressed as *Pendeta* [Ordained Minister] is a coveted status symbol. Those who agreed to their being ordained are hoping that these new ministers will give allegiance to the new power elite because they are grateful for the privilege of ordination.

Thus the period 1990-1994 has seen a slight increase in the actual number of ordained clergy but in the same time there has been a decrease in the number of men and women with experience and good academic qualifications.

D. The Banggai Speakers Secession Movement.

This secession movement has been referred to several times. Following the special synod meeting in 1992, the ministers in charge of five of the six Banggai speaking *kelasis* made allegations that the new synod executive had become an unconstitutional power elite and was acting corruptly. The synod executive refused to listen. The Banggai speakers then decided to form a new synod. Pointing out that there was an historical precedence in the Christian Church of Banggai that predated the GKLBC (Chapter 10:131), the leaders of the movement wrote

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8 STh = Sarjana Theologia representing 6 years of tertiary study.
to the PGI requesting permission to form the *Gereja Protestan Indonesia Luwuk-Banggai* [The Indonesian Protestant Church of Luwuk-Banggai]. The Synod executive responded by excommunicating all ministers involved in the movement and forbidding them to continue in ministry.

This injunction was ignored, and those concerned continued to function, but refused to make the required financial contributions to the GKLB. The synod executive then sued them on the grounds that they were disrupting religious harmony. This is a serious charge in Indonesia (Chapter 13:190). The GKLB won their case in the local court in Luwuk. However, the secession group sought legal advice in Jakarta and appealed to a higher court on the grounds that the local court did not have the right to arbitrate in such matters. At the time of writing litigation is still in progress.

The leader of the secession movement is a man of about forty. He did not complete his theological training. Nevertheless, he was ordained by the moderator who was subsequently deposed in 1991. This - together with the fact that the former moderator helped to arrange his marriage - has under *adat* [traditional law], placed the leader of the secession group under moral obligations to the deposed moderator. Despite the fact that the leader of the secession group is less qualified than many others, he is an eloquent and persuasive speaker. He is also faithful in his ministry. More charismatic than most Christians in Luwuk-Banggai, he had a supernatural conversion experience and tends to be guided by dreams and supernatural experiences rather than by the rational methods that are considered normative in a church that has grown out of Dutch Calvinism.

It is a difficult movement to describe as it is a movement that is

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9 The word *charismatic* is used here in the sense of being associated with the Pentecostal movement, not in the sense in which Weber uses it.
at present in the process of trying to form a new synod while the power elite of the GKLB is seeking to crush it. What is indisputable is that there is a serious rift in the GKLB. There has been no attempt to use Biblical principles to restore fellowship. Rather there has been resort to bureaucratic methods including litigation.

E. The World Views of the Sultans and Church Leaders.

The present trend in the GKLB of rendering ineffective potential leaders is a reflection of what happened in the period of Indonesian history known as Guided Democracy (Chapter 7:83). At that time Sukarno established himself as "President for Life" and "conducted himself like the Sultan of the Republic of Indonesia" (Sievers 1974:177). His style of presidency demonstrated the way in which charisma and symbols are perceived as the requirements of Indonesian leadership. A leader is seen as a "god-king" (Schulte Nordholt 1980:179) and expected to live a in opulence that is reminiscent of the ancient Javanese kraton [courts] (Chapter 7:83). In this period of Guided Democracy, Sukarno managed to render politically ineffective those men of his own generation who were a threat to his power (Zainu'ddin 1968:260-261).

Today, in the closing years of Suharto's long regime, Western observers again see the pattern of the Javanese sultanate emerging. Nepotism has flourished and Suharto's children have all profited from their father's position and are entrepreneurs controlling huge business interests. Now that the aged Suharto is ready to retire, many factors, including what will happen to his children's economic empires, are keeping him in office. Suharto has become the Javanese sultan and "who has ever known a Javanese sultan to retire?" (Crouch 1992:43-62).

It would seem that the model of a sultan as a leader is basic to
the Indonesian world view and events already seen in the macrocosm of national politics are at present being re-enacted in the microcosm of politics in the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai. The life-style, the titles, the visits between other Indonesian churches by men in authority are reflections of life in the kratons. However, the most alarming reflection of all is the present process of systematically rendering ineffective those men and women who are capable of true leadership. Thus, in their present crisis, the GKLB is functioning within this world view of the sultans.

The GKLB like the much bigger HKBP is passing through a period of turmoil (Chapter 15:250). Both churches appear to be functioning within the syncretistic world view of the old sultans wedded to Western bureaucracy. The GKLB has come out of Dutch Calvinism and the HKBP from a German Lutheran tradition. Yet the leadership struggles in both churches are following similar patterns. The HKBP has been remarkably successful in maintaining its own identity (Beyerhaus & Lefver 1964:88-89) and throughout its history the PGI has developed adequate theologies of social change (Chapter 10:134-136). Yet the Indonesian syncretistic bureaucratic world view that is a beban sejarah has yet to be seriously faced and challenged by the Indonesian Church.

IV THE PLACE OF FINANCE WITHIN THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE GKLB.

A. Church Finances.

The GKLB is entirely dependent on local offerings for the normal running of the synod office, each of the twelve kelasis, and every congregation. Following a wide-spread Indonesian pattern, the GKLB requires that a set proportion of all church offerings must go to the support of administration of the synod and the kelasis (cf. Cooley 1981:119). Many local congregations deeply resent 50% of their
offerings being given to the minister in charge of the *kelasis* to be passed on to the treasurer of the synod. One village man described this as "a church tax for which there is no return". Such an expression is significant as it shows the perceived link between the church and state bureaucracies.

Many congregations try to find ways to evade giving the 50% to the synod office. However, a minister of a congregation or a minister in charge of a *kelasis* who fails to deposit the required funds may face church discipline and be suspended from ministry. This has happened from time to time. Nevertheless, as many village congregations have an unordained pastor who receives a small honorarium and is not an employee of the GKLB, there is less control over these people.

Churches involved in the Banggai secession movement are no longer contributing to synod funds while litigation costs resulting from contesting the Banggai secession movement are a drain on already limited finances.

**B. Salaries for Church Workers.**

The synod office is not receiving all the money for which they have budgeted and, therefore, the GKLB is caught in a vicious circle. Many church workers are well qualified but appropriate salaries are a considerable drain on the resources of village people (Cooley 1981:118). Lack of finance results in inadequate remuneration for these people so many find ways to supplement their salaries - including teaching in government and Christian schools; a variety of forms of ministry that attract an honorarium; and private agricultural projects. These activities, although legitimate, reduce a person's *perceived* ability to function efficiently in his or her ministry.

This is indeed a *beban sejarah*. In the GKPB [the Balinese
Church], pastors are actually encouraged to develop their own businesses (Chapter 16:294; Mastra 1982:75). In the GKL B the pastor is seen both as a person destined to lead and as a public servant who is subject to the control of those who pay his or her salary (Chapter 13:219). In contrast, the "newer" GKP B lacks the hundreds of years of foreign domination and so has been free to develop its own style of ministry and support. Financial independence means that the pastor has the resources to give not only spiritual but also financial support to those who are in need (Mastra 1982:73).

C. Use of Aid Money - either from within or without Indonesia.

Throughout Indonesia income from "partner churches" and foreign aid groups is rarely adequately reported. This may in part stem from dishonesty, but primarily as a minority group in society, Indonesian Christians are hesitant to discuss outside aid which is a significant part of many church synod budgets (Cooley 1981:120). The willingness to accept or even exploit overseas funds is a problem that has grown out of the church's place in the state bureaucracy prior to Independence, and will probably continue in the Indonesian Church as long as the Christian community continues to receive overseas aid money.

In the GKL B the use, or misuse, of overseas finances is a serious, overt problem (Chapter 1:12-13). In the last decade this problem has been so serious that in 1983 and in 1992 special synod assemblies were convened. These assemblies dissolved the existing synod executives on the grounds that one or more members of the executive had misappropriated aid money.

As is customary in Indonesia, those who administer overseas funds consider that they are entitled to an honorarium for their services. This is a difficult issue as the definition of what is an
appropriate honorarium varies from those who have access to the funds and take it as their right, and those who accuse them of corruption. Although there have been court cases, there has never been conclusive evidence to prove anyone guilty of corruption. However, rightly or wrongly, people's reputations have been ruined and it is possible that several men will never again return to the Christian ministry because of these allegations. This problem is linked with ethnocentrism (Chapter 12:161) and could lead to the splitting or even the complete self-destruction of the GKL.

D. Financial Reporting.

In terms of bureaucratic procedures, the GKL is meticulous in reporting certain aspects of church finances. During Sunday services, many congregations give regular, verbal, monthly financial reports. Sources of income are often painstakingly reported, but often less information is given about expenditure. Similarly, financial reports are carefully prepared for meetings of the kelasis or general assembly of the synod. Despite attention to often irrelevant details, these reports are usually inadequate and often emphasise a continuing lack of skill in financial administration (cf. Cooley 1981:120-121).

Cooley believes that the Indonesian Church needs a fuller realisation of its own support potential. This will come in part from the theological perspective of understanding the role of the church in the world and seeing the church as the means of manifesting God's plan of salvation. It will also come with a new understanding of the place of each believer in the Body of Christ and the mutual interdependence of all members for support and fellowship (1981:121).
THE INDONESIAN CHURCH AS A BUREAUCRACY, WORLD VIEW, AND ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED.

A. The Problem of a Bureaucratic World View.

The GKLB has developed as a bureaucracy that reflects two different world views that history has blended into one: the world view of the old sultanates and the world view of a colonial power and Western Christendom. The GKLB has developed as a church that was both completely subjugated to a colonial power and had a fully developed foreign ecclesiology. Furthermore, the church in Luwuk-Banggai was initially dependent on funds from the government of "the Indies" and developed the concept that the church was both dependent on and subject to the state. Existing as a bureaucratic organisation under the Dutch, the churches in the Indies tradition accepted the only leadership pattern that they had ever seen modelled, that of the sultan functioning in a bureaucratic organisation. The result is a syncretistic world view based on a concept of bureaucracy that allows ordinary people to be ruled and exploited by despots.

Throughout Indonesia, there are theologians who can grapple with dogmatic issues, but who have to date overlooked ecclesiology. There is a wealth of writing from Indonesian theologians that explores the relationship between the church and society (Chapter 2:23). However, in terms of theological thought on the organisation of the church, ecclesiology, and leadership, Indonesian theologians appear to need access to the wealth of thought from other areas, particularly in the Two Thirds World.

Simatupang (1987a) discusses the need to prepare leaders who will be able to guide the Indonesian Church into the twenty-first century. Simatupang's name has appeared repeatedly throughout this
thesis, not only as the author of many books, articles and essays, but also as a Christian army general who played an important role in the struggle for Independence and the establishment of the Pancasila (Chapter 2:23). He was a prolific writer and an adviser to the PGI. However, as a military man, Simatupang emphasised that the Christian leader is a person who can lead in battle whether against unjust colonial domination, social evils or in spiritual warfare (e.g. 1987b:16). Simatupang played a significant role in setting the agenda and establishing the basis for a revolutionary Christian world view that required militant leadership and would enable the Christian Church to exist, grow, work, and witness in the context of the most populous Muslim nation in the world. Yet in choosing this model of leadership, the Indonesian Church has overlooked the servant motif as a component of Christian leadership. Therefore the Indonesian Church could now be facing self-destruction from within because of a lack of willingness by leaders to embrace a servant style of leadership.

The theology of the Indonesian Protestant Churches has to a large extent been shaped by Continental European Reformed and Lutheran theology and it would appear that the time has come for Indonesian theologians to be more aware of the work of theologians from the Two Thirds World. Bediako (1992) draws attention to a valid comparison that can be made between the cultures in which African churches exist and the cultures of the ancient Graeco-Roman world. He suggests that an important aspect of Christian identity for the African Christian is how to "settle accounts with his past and his own cultural tradition; either to reject them, or to integrate them" (Bediako 1992:33). This is a relevant question for Indonesian theologians to address as they seek to establish a Christian relationship with Indonesian cultural traditions, including the Pancasila. Maybe a greater understanding of Indonesian Christian identity lies in
understanding the ways in which the Church Fathers proclaimed the Gospel in the "pagan" Graeco-Roman world, rather than in reinterpreting the "civilising" doctrines of nineteenth century Christendom that have been imported into the Indonesian Church (cf. Bediako 1992:225ff).

It would appear that the present bureaucratic form of church organisation that is evident throughout the Indonesian Church needs to be evaluated by wise Indonesian theologians and lay people who are led by the Spirit of God. Such men and women will draw on their own experience together with that of theologians from other countries in the Two Thirds World so that they can use the Bible to critique their own culture (Newbigin 1991:46).

B. The Example of the GKPB [the Balinese Church].

The GKPB is one Indonesian Church that is attempting to use the Bible to critique its own culture - both traditional and "pancasilarised" Christian culture. As has already been shown, the GKPB is in the same doctrinal position and officially has the same organisational stance as the GKLB (Chapter 13:194). However, the GKPB lacks the hundreds of years of foreign domination that has become a beban sejarah for churches in the Indies Traditions (Chapter 13:219). As mentioned above (Chapter 15:26) the ministers in the GKPB are encouraged to develop business ventures so that their ministry can be both spiritually and practically more effective. Ministers in the GKPB are not perceived as public servants in a church bureaucracy, but as servants of Jesus Christ. Unlike the churches in the Indies Tradition that believe that Christians have the right to lead (Chapter 10:120; 133), the GKPB began as a persecuted minority in Blimbingsari\(^\text{10}\) and

\(^{10}\) See Chapter 16:291 for a discussion holistic ministry that began in Blimbingsari.
developed appropriate forms of ministry in the context of oppression and poverty. Consequently, the GKPB has been free to develop a different philosophy of leadership.

Mastra obviously recognises the influence of the military in directing the PGI and has actually commented that some churches are "like an army with one dictator in charge" (1982:37). He then sets out to develop the concept of servant leadership (1982:37). As well as the Scriptural analogy of Christians being members of a body working together and serving each other (1982:38), he also uses the motorbike - the best known of all forms of transport in rural Indonesia - as an example of all parts needing to work together if the motor bike is to go anywhere (1982:38). He then emphasises that above all the church is a family, called by a loving Heavenly Father to meet together in fellowship as God's family, the church (1982:42).

C. **Hierarchy or Ecclesia.**

However, most Indonesian Church synods are still ruled by an hierarchical structure that is in fact a syncretism formed by the merging of the world views of Western Christendom and Indonesian Sultanates. The president of the PGI could be seen as the supreme sultan over the well established "mandala" of church hierarchies (cf. Chapter 6:63). An understanding of the meaning of ecclesia or assembly is an issue that has yet to be addressed by the Indonesian Church.

Catholic theologian, Hans Küng, draws attention to the fact that the Church "is the whole community of those who believe in Christ" without differentiation that is dependent on "any privilege of birth, class, race and office" (1977:481). It is "a community of fundamentally equal people" (1977:482). Such a concept would be unacceptable in the status conscious bureaucracy and hierarchy of the churches of the PGI.
Another Catholic priest, Vincent Donovan, put Kung's concepts into practice in the unlikely context of the Masai Church, a church made up of members from a nomadic tribal people in Northern Kenya (Chapter 13:220). Challenged by Roland Allen's Protestant missionary classic, *Missionary Methods: St Paul's or Ours?* (1959, Orig.1912), Donovan attempted to implement a strategy which for the Catholic Church in Kenya was radical and different (1982:38). He abandoned the expensive para-church activities and took up an itinerant ministry which meant moving around the area as a nomad (with a Landrover and a tent); evangelising people where they were; and believing that the Holy Spirit would convict of sin, convert, and establish a faith community that was not dependent on foreign missionaries (1982:37–40).

Later, Donovan describes the problem that he had with the concept of the priesthood with its authoritarian understanding of "the ruler and the ruled" (1982:150) in the context of the Masai community. He points out that this concept does not come from Christ's teaching, but is in fact the result of two millennia of contextualisation of the Gospel in the Graeco-Roman world and in the Eastern Byzantine world. The result of these two millennia of contextualisation is Western Christendom (1982:150). Donovan then describes the point of radical departure from the teaching of the contextualised Western version of Roman Catholicism when the entire Masai Christian community in a given area would sit together under a tree, and would be consecrated as "the eucharistic community with a mission" in that area (1982:155).

**D. Challenges from Bureaucracy.**

The problems that the GKLB faces because of its bureaucratic nature become challenges that call for a new understanding of the nature of the church. Although the Indonesian Church has a role to play in enriching the Universal Church with its scholarship and
Biblical studies (Verkuyl 1978:268), the Indonesian Church itself needs to be enriched by the wealth of scholarship from the Universal Church on the nature of the church, understanding church finances, and Christian leadership:

1. Understanding the meaning of Gereja [Church].

The most usual term used for individual Christian congregations and synods is the word gereja. Gereja comes from the Portuguese word igreja (Verkuyl 1992:212) and is related to the German kirche or the English church which come from Germanic languages and means "belonging to the Lord" (Kung 1977:478; Verkuyl 1992:212). The Indonesian Bible does not use the word gereja for "church" but the word jemaat which is related to the Arabic jemaah which is used for both modern day Muslim communities and also in the Old Testament for the community of Israel.

Orlando Costas speaking from the perspective of a Latin American context addresses some of the problems of the church in former colonial states. He expresses concern that in many countries the missionary movement has been carried out by voluntary organisations. These were minority groups "outside official ecclesiastical structures". Consequently the missionary movement had "a lot of zeal but with a weak theological foundation", and these factors led to the development of "clusters of believers with little church-consciousness" (1974:159).

When looking at the Indonesian Church in terms of Costas' critique, two points need to be made. Firstly, most Indonesian Churches did not grow out of para-church missionary agencies and consequently have never lacked a formal ecclesiological structure. Secondly, "Indonesian Churches existed in a condition of subservience to the colonial power, which is almost without parallel in other parts of the world" (Neill 1966:202). Therefore the present ecclesiology is a
result of wedding a fully developed Dutch, Calvinistic ecclesiology with the worldview of Indonesian sultanates. This means that it is still necessary to evaluate and maybe to change inherited, bureaucratic church structures and to attempt to define the term *gereja* in terms that are appropriate in the Indonesian context.

Costas defines the church in Biblical terms including "the Body of Christ" and "the temple of the Holy Spirit" (1974:25-33). These are the metaphors that are frequently used in Luwuk-Banggai. In his STh thesis Junus Labotano one of the younger leaders of the GKLB writes:

"The Body of Christ" is a theological expression that is used by Paul and points to the unity of believers who live within a variety of different contexts but are one in their purpose and function. In other words they are called to live by God's grace in Christ and to continue Christ's work of salvation in the world (1990:10).

Labotano then discusses the work of the *Sidang Am* [Regional Synod] and describes the working together of the bureaucracies of the established Protestant Churches in Northern and Central Sulawesi in a bigger bureaucracy, the *Sidang Am*. In no way does he challenge the bureaucratic or institutional organisation:

Costas recognises the role of the institutional nature of the church and states:

The institutional character of the church is . . . . implicit in the theological and praxeological dimensions of ecclesiology. It must be added that the organizational forms taken by the church must be subject both to her purpose and mission as well as to the leading of the Holy Spirit. In other words the church's institutional forms are relative to the concrete situations in
which the church must carry out her ministry (1974:35).

The problem of evaluating organisational church structures is rarely addressed in the Indonesian churches. Mastra's genuine recognition of the church as a family (1982:42) that is called to become a blessing to society through service (1982:39) is atypical. The Batak Church has shown initiative in formulating a culturally relevant theological statement (Beyerhaus & Lefever 1964:74-89). Yet the inherited German, Lutheran ecclesiastical structures in the HKBP have remained unchallenged.

Hanoch Kupagen, an older Luwuk man, wrote his STh thesis on Pastoral Care in the Church (1986). In this he emphasises the organisation and management that are essential in establishing the framework within which God's work can be carried out (1986:90-91). He claims that administration in the church uses similar organisational forms to those used by the government or by private enterprise. However, there is a radical difference in that church administration is for the glory of God; the good of others; and for the building up of each individual congregation (1986:93). Like Labotano and Costas, Kupagen refers to the church as "the Body of Christ", but then he describes a bureaucratic organisation (1986:96). He defines the pastor's role as being that of a preacher (1986:102) who adequately cares for his congregation (1986:105) and leads them wisely (1986:107). Kupagen finishes his thesis with a call to evaluate the organisation of the church as this is the channel through which the good news of the Kingdom of God will be proclaimed (1986:114).

Thus it would seem that use of the Western word gereja for

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11 The HKBP was founded by German missionaries but after World War I, came under the control of the Dutch Colonial Government. However, the Dutch government was less paternalistic with the HKBP than with churches in the Indies tradition. Hence the HKBP was able to develop a distinctive form of autonomy.
"church" continues to enforce the concept of the church as a Western bureaucratic organisation. The Muslim community in Indonesia effectively uses the word *jemaah* to describe the Islamic community of believers. Perhaps the use of the non-Western word *jemaat* for the Indonesian Christian community would lead to a greater understanding of the church the family of God (Mastra 1982:37), and an assembly of believers living together in liberty, equality and fraternity (Donovan 1982:150; Kün 1977:478-487).

Understanding of the church as *jemaat*, a community of people living in true freedom and guided by the Holy Spirit (Kün 1977:482) could help to free the GKLB (and other Indonesian churches) from their concept of the church as a powerful sultanate, a Western bureaucracy, or a syncretistic blend of the sultanate and the bureaucracy.

2. **Understanding Church Finances.**

With an established ecclesiology, a paid class of clergy has become basic to the Indonesian Church. In the early years of this century Roland Allen saw an insistence on paid clergy in missionary situations as laying a burden on the missionary church (1959:187) or in Indonesian terms, it is a *beban sejarah*. Nevertheless, in terms of the historical development of the Indonesian Church, it is difficult to envisage any form of church organisation that is not dependent on paid clergy. Certainly the relatively unorganised Christian communities or *ecclesia* of New Testament times (e.g. Bosch 1991:165) would be illegal in Indonesia because all religious groups have to be registered with the Department of Religion.

Indonesian Churches are facing the challenge of finances and in the last decade there has been a considerable emphasis on becoming self-reliant in terms of theology, personnel and finance (PGI 1985:17),
particularly at the level of local congregations. This problem was addressed by leaders of the Indonesian Church who had flown in to Ambon for the 1984 General Synod of the PGI (PGI 1985:17; 73-87), but those who were addressing the problem were used to a middle or an upper middle class life-style. It is widely recognised that Indonesian Christians are more likely to share in the advantages of the present economic development than are Muslims (Hefner 1993:7). Consequently, the emphasis on development of self-reliance in terms of finance often means the development of adequate sources of finance so that the present clergy will be able to maintain a privileged life-style. Thus the problem of finance is related to the role of the clergy and whether the leaders of the Indonesian Church are sultans or servants.

3. The Leader as a Sultan or a Servant.

Indonesian traditional and colonial histories have together created a world view in which leadership is perceived as assuming the authority of a sultan.

In a fairly recent book of essays on challenges facing the church in Indonesia, Yakub Susabda wrote on *The Challenge of Leadership and Management in the Church* (1990:39-56). Susabda laments the absence of empirical research in Indonesia concerning church leadership and administration. He sees the need to study patterns of leadership in the Indonesian church as a priority, and expresses concern that, of necessity, his writing is based on personal experience and observations without reference to Indonesian source material or research (1990:39).

According to Susabda the laity are increasingly criticising church leaders. There is also a vacuum in Indonesian thinking concerning relevant styles of leadership while older leaders are refusing to yield authority to younger leaders (1990:40). Certainly
Susabda's observations describe the present situation in Luwuk-Banggai where church leaders are criticised by the laity; where there is no development in appropriate leadership styles; and where older men do not want to yield authority to younger ones. At present the GKLB has responded negatively to this challenge by moving further away from the concept of the church as an assembly of believers that is led by the Holy Spirit and that lives together in liberty, equality, and fellowship. Rather, the GKLB has increased bureaucratic forms of control and church policies are enforced in the civil courts.

Drawing on Western sources, Susabda suggests that the keys to effective church leadership in Indonesia are personal maturity evidenced by servant-hood, integrity, and a sensitivity to the needs of others; the ability to work with others; vision and the ability to be innovative (1990:43-51). In other words, the model of leadership that Susabda advocates is the servant leader, the antithesis of the sultan leader that is at present seen in the GKLB. After giving various New Testament examples of servant-hood as a leadership motif, Susabda stresses the importance of being examples worthy of emulation. He concludes:

The most effective edition of the Gospel is bound in 'human hide'
... the effectiveness of Jesus as teacher is that He was His message (1990:53).

According to Susabda, this theme is as yet inadequately developed in Indonesian Christian literature and certainly in recent publications of readings, there appears to be few, if any, essays on the servant motif in leadership.

Dr. Vinay Samuel, an Indian theologian, has developed a clearly stated theology in which servanthood following the example of Jesus Christ is seen as a manifestation of the Kingdom of God. He writes:
Jesus' understanding of history was that God was at work through the servant ministry and lifestyle of Jesus taking the side of the poor and the victims of current injustices to enable them to achieve full humanity. Disciples were to image this servanthood, to serve as the Son of Man served, by making their talents and resources available without limit to enable the humanisation and fulfilment of others, especially the poor (1981:6).

Greenleaf, a North American authority on management, sees servant leadership as being the ideal form of management in all organisations. He sees a gradation in leadership styles with servant leadership at one end of a continuum and bureaucratic leadership at the other. The bureaucratic leader is alone at the top of a pyramid and this is an abnormal and corrupting position (1977:59-63). Sadly he could be describing the moderators of some Indonesian Protestant Churches. Greenleaf then describes some of the attributes of the servant leader. A servant leader is a servant first (1977:13) and he has a "passionately communicated faith in the worth of people" (1977:13). A servant leader looks at another and says, "He must grow. I must disappear" (1977:48). Servant leaders are healers (1977:227); they are strongly ethical people (1977:277); they love and take responsibility for their society (1977:224); and they alleviate the all pervasive alienation of modern life (1977:218).

Thus the GKLB, together with the whole Indonesian Church, is at present facing a crisis. As a beban sejarah they have inherited a bureaucratic form of church organisation in which the leaders fulfil the role of sultans and not of servants. The Indonesian Church has demonstrated that it can develop relevant theologies of growth and holistic ministry (Chapter 16). Thus it is realistic to assume that
today there are Indonesian theologians, not just from Bali but from the
Batak Church and from churches in the Indies Tradition, who can
develop a theology of servant leadership which is fitting in the
Indonesian Church.

Therefore a greater understanding of the church as a community
of believers living together in liberty, equality and fraternity and led
by servants and not by sultans could better equip the GKLB to live as
"the salt and the light of the world" without the light being hidden
by bureaucratic forms.
CHAPTER 16.
THE WORK AND WITNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

I THE INDONESIAN CHURCH AND HOLISTIC MINISTRY.

From the earliest days of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesian Churches have taken seriously their work and witness in the community - with holistic ministry being seen as a basic component of the Church's mandate. At one of its first assemblies, the DGI [Indonesian Council of Churches] defined the mission of the Church as the proclamation of the Kingdom of God. In the light of Romans 12:1 they called on the whole Christian community to renew their minds so that they would know God's will and be able to play a positive role in the "long-march" towards building the new nation (Simatupang 1986:14).

Following their early acceptance of the proclamation of the Kingdom of God as the foundation of the mission of the Church, Indonesian theologians have continued to consider the Biblical and theological basis of mission and to plan practical ways in which the Christian community can live as "the salt and the light of the world" (e.g. Mastra 1984:17; Simatupang 1984:5).

The 1984 General Assembly of the Indonesian Council of Churches was a significant occasion (Chapter 10:132). At this assembly it was recognised that the Indonesian Churches must live as mature Churches developing their own theology, human resources, and financial resources. Consequently, a clear statement of belief and practice, Memasuki Masa Depan Bersama, [Entering the Future Together], was prepared for membership Churches in what was to be called the Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia [PGI or Indonesian Fellowship of Churches] (PGI 1985:55-56). One stated reason for the change of name was that the word fellowship expressed a spiritual oneness between members of the Christian family that would lead to a desire to
share resources in Christian love (Oikoumene 1985a:5).

In preparation for these meetings, Mastra (Chapter 2:24), the Moderator of the Balinese Christian Protestant Church [GKPB] prepared a paper on the need for autonomy in the Indonesian Church in the areas of theology, workers and finance. By then Mastra was internationally recognised as a precursor in contextualisation and holistic ministry, and hence was able to bring to the General Assembly in his own country concepts and insights that had been presented and evaluated by leaders of the international Christian community. Mastra suggested that the time had come for Indonesian Churches to examine their environments and, where necessary, to free themselves from the shackles that were hindering growth and development (1984b:21). This meant that the Indonesian Church would have to make a concerted effort to understand Indonesian culture so that there would be a development of Indonesian theology that was in keeping with the Indonesian cultural context (1984b:21). At the same time there had to be a corresponding development in human and financial resources (1984b:22). This did not have to be done in human strength alone: God has already given the Holy Spirit to be with, to comfort, and to equip each believer (1984b:23). According to Mastra, Indonesian Churches frequently forget their cultural heritages and there is a constant need for traditional cultures to be evaluated and then to be "baptised" and illuminated by the Gospel (1984b:23).

In the following DGI/PGI Assembly, it was decided that, under the leading of the Holy Spirit, the Indonesian Church needed to recognise its call to take a positive and creative role in national development in keeping with the aims of the Pancasila (PGI 1984:24). The Assembly endeavoured to establish a theological base on which Christian programs of work and witness could be built. The following statement was the result:
a. The Churches are called to administer and care for God's creation (Genesis 1:26-28).

b. In accord with Old Testament examples,¹ the Church, as the people of God, is called to work and strive for the justice and the welfare of the whole community.

c. From the point of view of proclaiming the Gospel, the Kingdom of God needs to be understood as both a present reality and an eschatological hope that will be fulfilled with the ushering in of a new heaven and a new earth, the home of righteousness (II Peter 3:13). The Church is called to proclaim the Gospel of the Good News of Jesus Christ that offers repentance and renewal to all people (Mark 1:15) together with freedom, justice, righteousness and the well being that the Lord has planned for the earth (PGI 1985:25).

Darmaputera draws attention to the fact that the DGI/PGI has realised the inseparable unity of martyria [witness], koinonia [fellowship], and diakonia [service]² and that "human persons have to be seen and hence served in the wholeness of the whole Gospel". This understanding has grown out of the relationship between the Indonesian Church and Indonesian society, and has been influenced by thinking about holistic ministry that has come from the World Council of Churches (Darmaputera 1988a:223-4). Indonesian Churches have chosen a central position between the two extreme positions that have polarised thinking about Christian mission in the West, where some fundamental evangelicals see Mission as consisting entirely of

¹ Verses cited were Jeremiah 22:3; Jeremiah 29:7; and Amos 5:15 & 24.

² These Greek words martyría, koinonia, and diakonia have entered the vocabulary of Indonesian Christians as many Christians believe that this links the Church with its Biblical roots (McKenzie 1988:34).
evangelism and "verbal proclamation" of the Word, while some people in the ecumenical movement see Mission as the establishment of *shalom*, in the sense of social harmony and addressing social issues (Stott 1975:11-17).

Certainly overseas debates are reflected in the thinking of Indonesian theologians. However, for centuries, Indonesians have been exposed to foreign ideas and concepts which have been evaluated and then either rejected or "Indonesianised" and assimilated into the existing world view (Geertz 1963:95-96). Modern ideas of Christian theology, Christian life and Christian practice are dealt with in the same way. Theological concepts are received from a variety of sources, and then in the light of the Indonesian cultural context, they are applied, modified or rejected. This is both an unconscious and a planned process. Indonesian Christian leaders, both within and without the PGI, consciously strive to understand the relevance of the Christian faith within the nationally prescribed world view of the *Pancasila*. In one of his later essays, Simatupang claims that because of the influence of the *Pancasila*, the unique and harmonious relationships between different religious groups in Indonesia have become a reality. He stresses that the church is not called to Christianise the *Pancasila*, nor is the *Pancasila* called to "*pancasilarise*" the church. Rather the *Pancasila* is the guiding principle that enables all religious groups to work together for the common good (1987:5-6).

In a recent essay on the Great Commission in Matthew's Gospel, Rev. Dr. E.G. Singgih points out that assumptions already made by the Indonesian Church about the Mission of the Church must constantly be evaluated in the light of the Word of God and within the Indonesian context (1993:25). He suggests that some Indonesians exegete the Great Commission (Matthew 28:16-20) in a way that is perceived as conflicting with the national aims of unity and harmony between
members of different religious groups (1993:25) while other suggest that it precludes social involvement as a means of obeying Christ's Great Commission (1993:26). Singgih refutes such interpretations on the grounds that the Great Commission must be seen within the context of the whole Book of Matthew and concludes that the Indonesian Church is called to live in such a way that the message of the good news of the Kingdom of Heaven is not "veiled". The Church must demonstrate Christ's teaching and show the vertical and horizontal dimensions of God's love through worship of God and through service to fellow human beings. To achieve these aims the Christian community is called to holistic ministry (1993:41).

Evangelical leader, Dr. Chris Marahtika, similarly emphasises the theological and Biblical foundations for "social service". Christian service to other human beings is the Churches' response to the love, power, goodness and justice of God (1990:189). He argues that although the world is de facto under the control of Satan, de jure it is the possession of God the Creator. God still has a plan for the world which he created and is at present working through Christ, "the second Adam", to prepare for the consummation of the Kingdom of God (1990:190). Therefore holistic ministry and evangelism are integrally related, two aspects of the one task of proclaiming the Kingdom of God (1990:193).

In Indonesia such teaching is not just a matter for academic debate. There is a conscious effort to build up every Church member in his or her faith through Pembinaan Warga Gereja [Building up of Church members]. Ongoing adult education in the Pancasila is an important aspect of adult life (Chapter 7:90) so the whole population is conditioned to accept adult education as normative. At the same time all children from Christian homes must study Christian Education as an examinable school subject (Chapter 12:170) so the study of the
Christian religion is perceived as a valid field of study. Therefore, in the early 1970s the PGI established a Commission to study ways in which adult church members could be equipped for work and witness in Indonesia. The result was the establishment of *Pembinaan Warga Gereja*, an organised structure which is established within each Synod and which aims to disseminate Christian thinking from the national level; to bring each Christian to maturity; and to equip every Church member for service in the community (Schmidt 1983:11-26). As in other areas, the DGI was careful to establish the Biblical and theological foundations for *pembinaan*:

The word *pembinaan* is not found in the Bible but can be linked to references which include a building (I Corinthians 3:9; I Peter 2:15); a foundation (Ephesians 2:20); being built up and being equipped for service (II Timothy 3:13-17) . . . . From these and other references it is clear that the Church is a dynamic building, built from living stones on the foundation which is Jesus Christ (Schmidt 1983:41).

*Pembinaan Warga Gereja* is an important aspect of life in the GKLB. As well as disseminating information from National Assembly meetings, the GKLB itself decides in what areas its members need to be built up and plans accordingly. Teams of church leaders then move around each of the church districts with a program of Bible studies, seminars, workshops and planned discussions. Through these activities leaders and members are educated and equipped for service.

As well as this *pembinaan*, a variety of successful projects concerned with holistic ministry have been implemented. These are generally planned by the GKLB, often staffed by local people from

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3 The questionnaire distributed in 1991 (Chapter 2:21; Appendix 3) was an attempt to involve all church members in this planning.
Luwuk-Banggai, but usually funded from external sources. At present there are two organisations that are working with the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai in providing expertise in the field of holistic ministry. These are Bina Kasih and PPMD, Proyek Pengembangan Masyarakat Desa [Project for Village Development].

II HOLISTIC MINISTRY IN LUWUK-BANGGAI.

A. *Bina Kasih* - An Outreach of the Balinese Church.

Although *Bina Kasih* is the smaller of the two developmental groups working with the GKLB, it will be discussed first because it is an Indonesian missionary movement. *Bina Kasih*, meaning "Building Up Love" is a missionary movement from the Balinese Christian Protestant Church [GKPB]. Mastra has clearly outlined his theology of holistic development in several books and essays in both English and Indonesian (1981; 1982; 1984a; 1984b) and has collaborated with McKenzie and documented the growth of the GKPB and the development of his theology of holistic ministry (McKenzie 1988). Although the GKPB is one of the smallest Synods in the PGI, it has demonstrated to the whole Indonesian Church the way in which a persecuted minority can display the love of Christ and be a blessing to the whole community (Mastra 1982:37).

As has already been discussed, although overtly different, the Balinese world view could well be described as the visible root of the world view from which most other Indonesian world views have grown (Chapter 13:193–194). The *Pancasila* is rooted in the value orientation of Balinese Hinduism and Javanese kebatinan (Chapter 13:194) and yet "it is an effective ideology for Indonesia . . . . because it is rooted in the value orientation of the majority of the Indonesian people" (Darmaputera 1988a:190). Thus Mastra's thinking for Bali is relevant for the whole archipelago.
Mastra recognised the three basic needs of the Balinese peasants who live in poverty. They have intellectual needs; their hearts need spiritual satisfaction; and they have physical needs. Thus the whole Gospel must be presented so that the needs of the whole person can be met (Mastra 1984a:169). Mastra's concepts of contextualisation stress the importance of Christ's incarnation. Just as God took the initiative in restoring the relationship between himself and fallen man through the incarnation of Jesus Christ, so the church must "go into the world to represent Christ, that people may encounter him and surrender themselves to him who is the Truth, and the Christ the Son of the living God" (Mastra 1984a:159-60).

The holistic ministry of the Balinese Church led to the transformation of Blimbingsari, a malaria infested swamp land to which the Christians had fled in 1939, into a Christian village with a fine dam and irrigated rice fields that give the highest yields in all of Indonesia. This achievement resulted in the Christian village of Blimbingsari receiving the coveted award of desa teladan [the village that is an example of excellence]. Central to the village is a worshipping Christian community gathering for worship in a new Church where Balinese architecture and symbols are consciously reinterpreted as symbols of the Christian faith (Chapter 13:197). The project was Mastra's vision, but financial resources for the development came from the Australian Council of Churches and the Australian based Maranatha Trust (McKenzie 1988:42-48).

Webb, in evaluating the witness of both Protestant and Catholic communities in Bali, speaks highly of the "charitable projects" in which both groups are involved. Nevertheless, Christians in Bali still face persecution from the Balinese-Hindu majority. The success of the

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4 See Chapter 10:125n for the importance of awards for excellence in Indonesian life.
village of Blimbingsari has led to envy. However, continued concern and action that stems from genuine love, particularly in times of crisis such as the 1976 earthquake in Central Bali, has led to a reluctant acceptance of the Christian communities. Both Catholic priests and Protestant clergy claim that through faith and good works they are helping the Balinese face an "increasingly bewildering future" (1986:213-214). In common with most Indonesian Christians, the Balinese Christians see themselves "as the salt of the earth that purifies and gives savour to every aspect of society" (Chapter 16:277; Mastra 1986:215-216).

The successful social development within the GKPB has led to their desire to be become a blessing to others - in other words to be involved in mission outreach. So the GKPB established an organising body through which a net-work of fellowships concerned with development could be established.

Initial contacts were with the Balinese of the diaspora, particularly at Parigi area in Central Sulawesi, about five hundred kilometres by road from Luwuk and close to Palu, the provincial capital. Mastra sees the process of transmigration as a period of crisis during which people need compassion. Most Balinese transmigrants who become Christians do so when they are ministered to immediately after their arrival in their new areas (1980:170). Initially the Balinese Church in Parigi continued as part of the Balinese Church but now the Balinese Christians have merged with the local synod, Gereja Protestan Indonesia Dongala [GPID]. The present moderator of the GPID is a Balinese transmigrant and there is now one ordained Balinese minister from Parigi serving with the GKLB.

Anthropologist Gloria Davis analyses this movement pointing out that the earliest Balinese transmigrants to Parigi were people who had allegedly transgressed customary law, usually by marrying outside
their caste (1979:310). After Independence, there was a spontaneous migration of landless Balinese Christians to Parigi where they interacted with the Balinese who were already there. These Christians brought the fundamental beliefs of the GKPB and "embarked on a forward looking program of planned change". They adopted the Indonesian language, erected churches, schools and clinics, modernised agriculture but maintained traditional work patterns if they were effective. They even managed to eliminate gambling and divorce. They worked with the local Parigi people and with Chinese and Bugis middlemen, and were careful not to offend the Muslim majority in matters such as eating pork (Davis 1979:311-312).

Subsequently, the GKPB began ministering to other synods. No longer dependent on any foreign aid themselves, the GKPB continued to receive foreign aid which they channelled into other areas and administered so that the finance would be used wisely. In 1990 one such project, *Bina Kasih*, was established in Luwuk-Banggai with the GKPB working with the GKLB. The stated aim is "building and developing the economy" (Yayasan 1993:1). Members of the *Bina Kasih* team claim that 98% of people in village communities in *Kabupaten Banggai* are economically disadvantaged and backward, even though there is an undeveloped economic potential (Yayasan 1993:1). To achieve the desired development *Bina Kasih* has established an office with consultants in Luwuk. They give motivation and training in specific skills, mainly on an individual basis, and where appropriate give loans which can become the initial capital for development programs (Yayasan 1993:2). It is hoped that these loans will lead to:

i An increase in family earnings;
ii Provision of work for all members of the family;
iii Teaching in the importance of saving;
iv Achieving financial responsibility and independence (1993:3).

By January 1994, three hundred and ninety-eight Luwuk-Banggai workers had been equipped as productive workers as the result of training and loans from Bina Kasih. Present programs include a rice growing program; chicken projects; a pig raising project; and several small stores. At present it is too early to state how effective these programs have been. However, they are certainly inspiring many with hope of financial independence in the future.

B. PPMD, Proyek Pengembangan Masyarakat Desa [The Project for Village Development].

Based on planning by the GKLB and funded from a variety of foreign sources, the village development programs have been a successful aspect of the work and witness of the GKLB. At the five yearly Synod Meetings held in 1989 the program for 1989-1994 was formulated. Prior to deciding on the forms that the plan should take, the GKLB established the following theology of development:

1. The love of Christ has already unified humanity so that there is a possibility of experiencing the life and status that is God's will. Therefore the GKLB is called to Christian service and the proclamation of liberty to society.

2. The Church is called to shalom, or social service, that is a manifestation of the new heaven and the new earth.

3. Only as the GKLB works for the glory of Jesus Christ can the hoped for repentance and renewal be realised.

4. Service to society must be an ongoing process through which the Church can be seen as the Body of Christ in the world. Through the presence of the Church, the world will be
freed from sin and suffering, and, as well, humanity will be unified as God's people in the area of the GKLB (GKLB 1989:8-9).

This document gives evidence of the use of material from a variety of sources. One feature is that mission is seen as presence (cf. Nazir-Ali 1990:139-148). Although not under Islamic law, Indonesia is predominantly a Muslim country and when Indonesian Christians speak of the "proclamation of liberty", they mean to professing Christians as any attempt to "proclaim liberty" to a Muslim would be illegal and could lead to imprisonment.

In this statement there are elements that, according to Bosch, are indicators of the thinking of members of the ecumenical movement. These include the use and understanding of the word *shalom* (1980:213); "the sacralisation" of society seen in the concept that humanity can be being unified as God's people (1980:231); a suggestion that the Kingdom of God can be evident in both the Church and the world (1980:209); and the proclamation of liberation (1980:214).

This document is clearly dependent on a variety of sources and is not representative of the GKLB's own theology of development. It suggests that those who compiled the document collected ideas from a variety of sources and put them together seeking to get a "powerful" document. Unconsciously the concept of the intrinsic power of the word, or the power of the mantra, could have led the committee that compiled this working paper to choose "powerful" but unconnected phrases (Chapter 14:233ff).

In actual fact the proposed local theology of development had little effect on the actual planning by the GKLB. This program is determined by the PGI which determines both the theology of development and the methods of training village *motivators*. These are a group of men and women who have basic theological training and
who are then given basic skills in community development (Oikoumene 1985b:4). There is a tendency to choose and train as *motivators* people with lower academic qualifications, thereby lessening the gap between the *motivators* and those whom they are serving.

In Luwuk-Banggai between twenty and thirty *motivators*, together with their families, live in villages and demonstrate a Christian village lifestyle. These *motivators* often, but not always, pastor the local congregation. Although men outnumber women, some of the most effective *motivators* are women. In one village I witnessed a very pretty young woman ably bargaining with the Chinese storekeeper for bags of cement which were used to build an efficient village water reticulation system.

Because of the unreliable rainfall, water supply is a serious problem throughout the Kabupaten of Banggai. This is particularly so in the Bulagi area where there is the biggest concentration of Christians and where there are dry river beds in which water rarely runs (Chapter 5:48). So, unless there is already an adequate supply of drinking water in the village, the provision of a water supply either through the establishment of a reticulation system or the building of tanks is a priority project for *motivators*. Where there is an accessible source of water, *motivators* work with village people and build a system of bamboo pipes to reticulate water into the villages and some of these systems have transformed village life. In other places they make concrete tanks. Tanks have had only limited effectiveness. Firstly, many tanks develop leaks, probably because of

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5 *Motivators* rarely dig wells, as if there is a potential for well water, wells are usually in existence.

6 Unfortunately the corrugated iron tanks that store water in much drier conditions and with even less reliable rainfall in rural Australia have never been tried in Luvuk-Banggai - but as the normal corrugated iron used in Luvuk is thinner than that used in Australia and the weather is much more humid, there would be a high risk of rust.
a residue of salt in the beach sand that is normally used in making the cement. Secondly, the unreliable rainfall means that is not possible to build concrete tanks big enough to store sufficient water for three or four months without rain. Thirdly, if one household has water, others borrow, so that the supply runs out very quickly. Fourthly, most houses have sago palm roofs which do not provide a suitable catchment for drinking water. However, despite difficulties, motivators are demonstrating that clean drinking water can be made available in many villages, and in 1992-1993, in the Buko area PPMD provided 2,300 metres of piping giving water to 1,252 people while in the South Bulagi area they built tanks that have provided water for 45 families (PPMD 1993:4).

Probably PPMD's second most important project is building pit toilets and educating people to use them. Throughout the area gastroenteritis is endemic and traditionally this is attributed to the anger of ancestral spirits (Chapter 8:99). In many areas pigs scavenge on human waste; the rivers and streams are used both as sources of drinking water and for the disposal of waste. Many villages oppose toilets being built in the village as they consider them "unclean". However, community attitudes have changed in the last decade and are continuing to change. Most kelasis [church districts] insist on the provision of toilets with pastors' houses. Also, young educated people who return home for the holidays now demand toilets in the villages. In 1993, in one village alone, 35 toilets were built (PPMD 1993:1).

Nutrition is another important emphasis, and as well as teaching about nutrition, motivators provide seedlings or shoots that help in the establishment of household vegetable gardens. Fish ponds with fresh water carp are helping to add protein to many diets.

There is a constant effort to establish a cash economy. Cooperative groups have been established, and demonstration plots are
at present testing the feasibility of growing nutmeg, cashew nuts and chocolate (PPMD 1993:3). There are many projects for different forms of animal husbandry including pig projects and chicken projects. It could well be as a result of these PPMD projects that people with new skills approach Bina Kasih for loans. However, there are many problems with the development of cash crops in Luwuk-Banggai. These include the problem of unreliable weather patterns and the possibility of drought; problems concerned with isolation; and human factors.

Isolation gives rise to many problems. Motivators often have difficulty getting new breeding animals or plants, even when capital is available to buy them. Marketing the products can be a major problem. I stayed in one village which was twelve hours by small ship from Luwuk, followed by several hours on a truck until washed away bridges meant wading through rivers and completing the trip on foot. We walked through areas where there were wild orchids for which there would have been a ready market in Luwuk for weddings and other receptions. Then, apologising that they could not serve us proper meat, in other words pig meat (Chapter 5:56), the pastor and his wife served us delicious fresh water shrimp, again a luxury item for which there is a market in Luwuk. They then talked of their harvested peanuts which they wanted to keep until the market improved. There was so much potential, but because of the isolation, there was little possibility of economic development that would lead to an improvement of the quality of life in that particular village.

However, according to the PPMD reports, the biggest problem is with the village people themselves. The low level of education among village people means that many lack the necessary skills and motivation to try new ideas. Furthermore, a lack of group consciousness reduces the possibility of success in cooperative
ventures (PPMD 1993:5). This is a national problem and Indonesian development is being hampered by the fact that many village people can only work when they are directed from above (Koentjaraningrat 1974:40).

One other aspect of "human problems" needs to be mentioned: the misappropriation of foreign funds. To my knowledge, no village motivator in Luwuk-Banggai has ever been publicly accused of corruption, but leaders do have access to foreign funds and some of the money given for development purposes does not reach the villages (Chapter 15:262).

Nevertheless, after more than a decade of moving around villages and staying in village homes, I would say that even if not all aims have been achieved, the PPMD through the village motivators has had a high level of success. Many villages are cleaner; water supplies have been improved; people are aware that pigs should be penned and not used as scavengers; and children are cleaner, more healthy, and better dressed.

Health services have never been an important aspect of the work and witness of the GKLB. Through the PPMD program there is some teaching about nutrition, especially for children under five years of age; programs of immunisation are organised; and advice is given for family planning in accordance with the successful, national policy of family planning (Chapter 12:178n) with its stated policy and slogan: "Two is enough. Boys and girls are just the same."

C. The Development of a Money Economy and World View.

As was mentioned in Chapter 6, the Culture System in nineteenth century Java was the start of a money economy for all of Indonesia. Since then modernisation has created new needs and money is now essential for school fees, clothing, kerosene or electricity for
household lighting, and new food requirements such as sugar and tea. Money is also used for certain items that men want, especially cigarettes, whether they can afford them or not.

Certainly *Bina Kasih* is helping a few people to move into the moneyed sector of the community and PPMD projects are improving the standard of living of some village people. However, the need to create a situation in which a significant number of people can be engaged in productive employment remains an aim to be pursued. Furthermore, a Christian theology of money in the Indonesian rural context needs to be thought through.

Mastra has probably gone further than any other Indonesian theologian in thinking through the theology of money in rural Indonesia and then implementing his ideas. He suggests that one of the essential roles of the Balinese Pastor is that of an economist who is concerned for the care of people’s bodies in the world which God created (1982:73). Just as in the Old Testament Levi had a right to the tithes from his brothers so that he could fulfil the priestly role, so today a pastor is called not to poverty but to service (1982:73). This will often mean that the pastor or members of his family are involved in an economic ventures (Chapter 15:262). Mastra believes that the pastor who is seen to be a hard worker is an example to other Christians so that they too will develop resources and become a blessing to others (1982:75).

Mastra’s ideas accord with those of Dr. Vinay Samuel from India. Samuel has provided one theology of money that fits in the Indian context. He sees servanthood as a manifestation of the Kingdom of God (1981:5) and warns of the danger of accumulated wealth while others remain in poverty (1981:9). Those who have resources are called to make them available to meet the needs of others (1981:14). However, not everyone is called to become poor, and the parable of the talents
teaches that stewardship is required so that riches are developed and used for the good of all (1981:15).

In a wider Christian context, Bradshaw sees community development as a manifestation of *shalom* which he defines as the vital bridge between development and evangelism (1993:5-19). Basic to this theology of *shalom* are the concepts that Christ's redemptive work includes the whole of creation (1993:16) and is the expression of the establishment of a covenant relationship between God and his people (1993:17). God's *shalom* can transform people's perceptions, whether they are products of a modern theistic world view, or of a primal world view (1993:21-48). *Shalom* leads to Biblical holism that erases false dichotomies or dualisms; recognises human activities as part of God's reconciling work in creation; and enables us to perceive God's role in creation as normal, not miraculous (1993:35). When Christians engage in economic development they are bringing *shalom* and thereby helping to empower people (1993:119). This is similar to the theology of social change proposed more than a decade earlier by Samuel and Sugden (1981). Although they do not use the word *shalom*, they emphasise that God is at work in the world establishing his kingdom through Jesus Christ. There can be no false dichotomy between God's work in creation and his work in redemption, and the heart of the theology which they propose for social change is "the atonement, the resurrection and the work of the Holy Spirit" (1981:52-67).

Groups like World Vision International Indonesia [WVII] are beginning to address the problem of a needed cash economy. In a paper on self-help groups in Indonesia (1991), Petrus Iranto discusses ways in which such groups can be developed so that, in keeping with the aims of the *Pancasila*, an increasing proportion of the population can experience the economic well-being to which many Indonesians now aspire. According to Iranto, Christianity provides an ethic that can
motivate Christians to work for economic progress within the context of *shalom*. Iranto suggests that the Church should encourage people to form appropriate groups based on locality, ability, and resources as such groups could lead to progress in developing the cash economy (1991:2).

However, even while groups such as WVII and *Bina Kasih* are working with the GKLB in encouraging the development of a cash economy on the grounds that access to a cash economy will empower the powerless, there are warnings that need to be sounded. Bradshaw talks about "making the worldly philosophy holy" (1993:113), but the opposite can also happen. This is well documented in Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1991). Weber shows how different Protestant groups emphasised various Biblical ideas which could be summarised as "worldly asceticism" and included characteristics such as "a life of good works" (1991:117); "proving one's faith in worldly activity" (1991:121); and "a methodically rationalized ethical conduct" (1991:125). These features subsequently led to capitalism and "the pursuit of wealth, stripped of its religious and ethical meaning" (1991:182).

Duncan warns that a sound theology and good motivation may still lead to problems. He refers to the "Sins of Servanthood" (1990:29-31). These include the aid worker, whether national or foreign, taking away the rights of the people to care for each other (1990:29); becoming a provider of services instead of encouraging community development; and not recognising that the poor have abilities that can contribute to development (1990:1).

Duncan points out that this is part of the material orientation of the Western development worker (1990:31). This in a way presents the greatest challenge in introducing a money economy to Luwuk-Banggai. Money is needed. The world view of Western materialism is not.
Kavanaugh alerts us to the fact that organised Christianity "has actually served to legitimatize worldviews and political systems whose values are diametrically opposed to the message of Christ found in the Scriptures" (1982:149). He then warns against "the commodity form" which evaluates people in terms of economic success (1982:21-26). This is in marked contrast to the traditional Indonesian world view where a person's worth and status is defined in relationship to his or her membership of an participation in a group. Sine (1981) warns of the secular roots of Western development. He points out that Marxism was born out of the same ferment "which sees society as moving towards a temporal future that is singularly economic and political" (1981:72). Sine then cites Gandhi's model that was based not on the creation and "multiplication of human wants, but their limitation so that essentials could be shared by all" (1981:73). It is significant that Sukarno consciously used Gandhi's philosophy in his formulation of the Pancasila (Chapter 7:90).

Another important aspect of a money economy, the way in which the money is used, is discussed in the Catechism Book used throughout Northern and Central Sulawesi (Dewan 1982:272-284). Many church leaders recognise that a disproportionate amount of income is used on satisfying the wants of the men in the community. In the cane cutting camps in the Lamala area, most of the income is spent on prostitution and strong drink, while the women and children are left destitute in the villages. Although this is an extreme case, the general pattern in Luwuk-Banggai is that most men smoke and thirty to fifty per cent of a family's income may go on the husband's cigarettes. Not only that, these men usually expect to eat most of

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7 The Indonesian Government recognises that smoking is a health hazard but is reluctant to reduce the sale of cigarettes because they are such a high source of revenue. The death of several prominent Christian men from smoking related diseases is causing some younger men to stop smoking.
the protein that comes into the home, leaving the women and children with an inadequate diet. Thus the process of education on how money is used that has already been begun through catechism classes needs to be further developed so that both adult men and women can learn to use their income wisely.

III EDUCATION.

Traditionally education has been seen as an essential aspect of the Church's work and witness in the world. Even in the most extreme form of fundamentalism with its emphasis on the "Proclamation of the Word", education has been considered necessary, even if only as a tool that enables Christians to read the Bible. Certainly in Indonesia, as in most of the Two-Thirds World, foreign groups have been establishing Christian schools as part of the program of "Christianisation" that was associated with Western imperialism and Christendom. This started with a Portuguese Christian school or seminary in Ternate in Northern Maluku in the sixteenth century (Chapter 10:119; Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:125). In the centuries that followed, imperialist and missionary attitudes towards education were clearly seen in Maluku, especially in Ambon. In the seventeenth century schools were established to teach loyalty to their new Christian overlords (Chauvel 1990:26); later, in the nineteenth century, with the arrival of Joseph Kam who did much to establish the GPM [Ambonese Protestant Church], schools were established to train teacher-evangelists. In these schools the emphasis was on Bible reading, copying Bible texts, singing Christian hymns, and on practical Christian ethics (Chauvel 1990:26). Later a broader pattern of education was established by the Dutch Government aiming to fit Ambonese Christians for lower and middle ranks in the Dutch civil service (Chauvel 1990:27).
This pattern of schooling with steady accommodation to Western standards and philosophies of education was repeated throughout Indonesia and Christian schools have played a vital role in modernising the nation of Indonesia. By the beginning of the twentieth century the Dutch Government had a policy of subsidising education run by the state-controlled Indonesian Church. By then there was a dual system of education: the Dutch schools which could be attended by the children of the aristocracy, and three year village schools which gave minimal teaching in literacy in the vernacular or in Malay⁸ (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:133).

The Christian Gospel did not enter Luwuk-Banggai until the final stage of Dutch colonialism. A large number of people were baptised with no prior knowledge of the Gospel, so village schools were established to provide a rudimentary education for these people. The Dutch authorities appointed and paid teacher-evangelists from Ambon and Minahasa who could function both as pastors of village congregations and school teachers (Tolombot 1986:40). Education consisted of simple literacy in Malay; health; simple numeracy; ketertiban dan ketaatan [orderliness and obedience]; and elementary religious knowledge which included memorising the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and the names of Jesus' twelve disciples (Tolombot 1986:47-48). In other words it was elementary education for a people who were perceived as being subservient.

Prior to World War II, there does not appear to have been any attempt to develop an elite among the peoples of Luwuk-Banggai, and, outside the royal family, those who did emerge as leaders were the youth who were educated outside the official Dutch system through the Islamic educational and literary programs of the Independence

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⁸ The Malay language has subsequently and consciously been developed into the modern Indonesian language.
Following World War II, despite the proclamation of Independence, the Dutch did return to Luwuk-Banggai but in those impoverished days there was no attempt made to re-establish schools (Tolombot 1991:2). In the 1950s the Luwuk-Banggai Church was recognised as the Eastern District of the GKST [Poso Church]. However, finances were inadequate and civil war was ravaging the island of Sulawesi. Consequently schools were still not established.

In 1966 the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai became an autonomous Synod and the leaders decided to establish a school system. The envisaged school system was to have been dependent on foreign funds which were rarely forthcoming. Other than the primary schools in the town of Luwuk, the schools of the GKLB are perceived as second rate educational institutions where students only go if they cannot get into government schools. In the 1980s the GKLB handed over as many as possible of their school buildings to the government, so that teachers would receive government salaries.

Throughout Indonesia, many Catholic and Protestant schools are held in high esteem by the whole population. Even though these Christian schools teach the mandatory Indonesian curriculum, their success in public examinations comes from their being undergirded with foreign philosophies of education, foreign personnel and foreign finance (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:137). However in Luwuk-Banggai there have been few foreign funds and most people consider the schools run by the GKLB a failure because they have not given excellent academic results to open the way to higher education and government jobs.

Today the GKLB still has a senior high school, three junior high

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9 There are three GKLB Primary Schools in the town of Luwuk, all of which are staffed by teachers who are public servants and paid by the Government. The Chinese choose to send their children to these schools and the consequent extra funds have made possible the recognised excellence of these schools.
schools and about a dozen primary schools. However, other than the three primary schools in Luwuk, they depend on students' fees for everything, including the low honoraria paid to teachers. This means that the teachers are either young and inexperienced or people who for a variety of reasons have taken on a second job, usually when they are tired and cannot be fully committed. Often the children who come from other areas to attend the junior or the senior high school in Luwuk live as anak tinggal or in what is called an "asrama". Both styles of living are manifestations of poverty. The child who lives as an anak tinggal becomes a member of a household where he or she works extremely hard to pay for his or her board (Chapter 12:154). Not surprisingly, few anak tinggal achieve at school. However some do and manage to get positions in the salaried sector of the community. Those that choose the "asrama", live in shanty settlements.\footnote{\textit{Asrama} means boarding house or barracks. Living in one of the so-called Luwuk asrama is almost always the choice of the child who has rejected his or her parents' arrangements to live as an anak tinggal.}

Occasionally their parents will send them some sweet potato, but their food is usually inadequate and there is a complete absence of study facilities and discipline. Few, if any, of these young folk achieve at school and most become drop-outs and misfits. Having qualified for high school they count themselves unsuited to rural work but they are unqualified for any work in the moneyed sector of the economy.

The GKLB has attempted to address the problem of living in the "asrama" by using foreign finances to establish an Asrama Puteri [Girls' Hostel], where facilities are simple, but adequate, and where there is protection and supervision. Boarding fees are low but still prohibitive for village people and consequently this has not been a success.

Again, this is an area where Mastra's philosophy and the example
of the GKPB could become an example to the GKL. The GKPB provides and subsidises hostels where poor children can live and study (Mastra 1982:67). Mastra sees this as demonstrating the call of Jesus to those who are tired and carrying heavy loads (1982:68). Although there is no pressure put on them to become Christians some children do choose to do so but the GKPB insists on prior parental permission before any public confession of the Christian faith (1982:68). These hostels are supported by GKPB funds but the children are expected to do a certain amount of work - such as growing coconuts or mangoes and caring for farm animals. In Denpasar, the capital of Bali, hostel children are learning business skills through running a book-store (1982:69). However, as in other areas, such programs have been able to develop in Bali because they are free from the *beban sejarah* that have inhibited other Indonesian churches, particularly those in the Indies tradition (Chapter 15:248; 263).

Generally, although the Indonesian Church has thought through a theology for development in terms of the national philosophy, there has been little thought on the role or the philosophy of Christian education in Indonesia. Few Indonesian Christians, either Protestant or Catholic, have recognised the secularising effect of Western education or the possibility that "secular humanism . . . remains the masked metaphysics of Western university learning" (Henry 1987:5). Consequently, assumptions based on a late nineteenth and early twentieth century Western world views have been accepted as being normative for Christian education. These have legitimatised an inappropriate world view (Kavanaugh 1982:87) which is representative of the "neopaganism of the West" (Newbigin 1987:2). The aim of this form of education has been achieved and a few people have received and profited from a Western style education. However, for the majority, an education system that is a reflection of a competitive,
capitalistic world view has only increased the poverty, disillusionment and feelings of worthlessness and alienation that have become the lot of many village people in Luwuk-Banggai. Education that can "liberate and empower" (Bradshaw 1993:87) people within the cultural context of Luwuk-Banggai, remains an aim for which the Church must strive.

Today this secularising effect of education has been accepted and reinterpreted as "pancasilarised" education (Chapter 9:116). Modern Indonesian education critic, Atmadja-Hadinoto points out that in emphasising the role of the Pancasila, the modern curricula emphasise Sukarno's nationalism. Children are taught to remember slogans but they are discouraged from divergent thinking. Competition for the position of school or student teladan (Chapter 10:125n; Chapter 16:291) means that students and teachers are bound by the contents of the prescribed curricula. Indonesian education is stressing unity and harmony and seeking to eradicate religious difference (Atmadja-Hadinoto 1990:154). Consequently, the present curricula are secularising all schools - government, Muslim and Christian.

IV THE WORK AND WITNESS OF THE CHURCH AND WORLD VIEW.

When we look at the work and witness of the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai, we see an area of church life in which there have been clearly stated aims which have been achieved, even if at times there have been some unplanned, and even undesirable, side effects. Achievement in the work and witness of the GKLB can be seen as a result of the following factors:

A. A theology of holistic ministry that is related to the world view of the Pancasila.

The GKLB is part of the Indonesian Church and in fellowship with the PGI. From the earliest days of the New Nation, Christian
leaders have grappled with the problem of how the Indonesian Church was to work and witness within the context of the *Pancasila*. Consequently plans by Church leaders for economic and social development begin with a recognition that they must function within the parameter of the national philosophy and world view. Ever since Independence, Christian leaders have been endeavouring to formulate theologies of growth and development that are faithful to the witness of the Bible and that are applicable in "The Nation of the *Pancasila*". Men cited above, including Darmaputera, Mastra, Marantika and Singgih, all obtained their doctorates overseas. They, together with many others, have brought insights and a wealth of knowledge from a variety of theological perspectives and have evaluated them in the light of the national philosophy. The result is, that at the national level, the Indonesian Church has a theology of development and of holistic ministry that is relevant within the context of the national philosophy. This is summed up in a report made at a fairly recent conference at Yogyakarta in Java when leaders from all Indonesian religious groups met together to discuss the moral issues concerned with national development in the light of the different religions. Dr. Djaka Sutapa, the Protestant representative, saw three Biblical events, each of which gives a mandate for national development. The first of these is the creation event. After creation, man and woman were given responsibility to represent God in caring for the created world (1989:45). Secondly, the exodus event gave the mandate for building and developing a nation (1989:46), while Christ’s work in salvation gives the mandate for working now for the recreation of the world and looking forward to the eschatological event which will establish a new heaven and a new earth (1989:46-48). In the light of these Biblical events, Christians are called to play an active role in national development (1989:49).
Throughout Indonesia - in both church and state - there is a pattern of "dictation from above" (Watson 1987:11). This means that local churches, including the GKLB, are planning in terms of national goals, a national ethic, and a national world view. This is possible because, the world view of the Pancasila is, at least in part, the world view of almost every local society in Indonesia. Basic to the world view of the Pancasila is the concept of "pragmatic commitment to economic development" (Watson 1987:4). Therefore, because it accords with national goals, the GKLB's involvement in social development is having a significant level of success.

B. Personnel who have an appropriate world view.

For holistic ministry to be a success in Luwuk-Banggai, the motivators are key people. Motivators must be special people. Firstly, they must be willing to serve and to live as "an incarnational witness" in village situations. They must have sufficient theological knowledge to communicate the Gospel effectively. At the same time they must have the practical skills that village people need if the quality of life in the village is going to improve. Their personal aspirations must be directed towards helping others progress and not for personal advancement. They must be willing to accept and model an adequate and healthy standard of living, but at the same time sacrifice personal ambition both for themselves and their children as they work and serve far from the centres of growth and prosperity. They need to be people with a world view in transition and not a reactionary world view; able to recognise the value in the old belief systems and life style; and yet to confront people with the Gospel which is for the whole person.
C. A realistic recognition of people's needs.

Through PPMD and Bina Kasih the GKLB has recognised the needs of village people and has attempted to improve the quality of life for village people. Hopefully what has already been seen in the Catholic communities in Bali and Flores will become a reality in Luwuk-Banggai with:

improved material welfare for those of low income, and the eradication of mass poverty in which can be included illiteracy, prevalence of disease together with a short expectation of life. This development means the organisation of the economy in such a way, that productive employment is general among the working age population, rather than the situation of a privileged minority (Webb 1986:165).

However, in contrast to the perceived success of the PPMD and Bina Kasih projects, most people in Luwuk-Banggai perceive the GKLB's educational program as a failure. This is because only a few graduates of GKLB schools have received the coveted jobs in the moneyed sector of the community. For many the formal education program that was to lead to economic independence has in fact locked them into a poverty cycle more insidious than that experienced by members of the rural community.

Thus in the work and witness of the GKLB we see a contrasting picture between the results that have come from the GKLB's involvement in educational work and in holistic ministry. Throughout Indonesia the Church has accepted a Western philosophy of education that is a product of capitalism and modernity. As a result of this education, a few people have become successful in the moneyed sector of the economy. They have good jobs, have acquired the accoutrements of modernity, and have embraced the philosophy and
world view of modernity. In contrast, those who have not achieved success in the moneyed section of the economy have become a semi-literate group of people who are disillusioned, disoriented and frustrated. Progress and economic development for the minority has marginalised the majority.

V THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION FOR SHALOM.

However, there is increasing evidence that the world view of the Pancasila is becoming less attractive to members of the educated elite. Repression of magazines that question Suharto's policies and New Order Indonesia are leading to increased intellectual discontent (Chapter 10:142). There is increasing evidence that the secularising influences of modernity are creating a syncretism between secularism and a religion that has been robbed of transcendence (Chapter 10:139-140).

Thus today the Indonesian Church is facing a new challenge. For the Christian community, the 1990s could be called "The Post Simatupang Era". As a general who was active in both the War of Independence and in the formulation of the Pancasila (Chapter 2:33), Simatupang dominated the thinking of the PGI for nearly half a century. Probably, he did more than any other person to establish the church in the independent nation of Indonesia. However, the issues that were relevant for the DGI/PGI in the 1960s and 1970s are not the issues of the 1990s.

For nearly half a century the Indonesian Church has endeavoured to establish shalom in the context of the Pancasila. In that period, the concept of missio Dei has become increasingly important in the worldwide church - conciliar Protestant, Eastern Orthodox, evangelicals and Catholic (Bosch 1991:391). Basic to the concept of missio Dei is the fact that Triune God is the initiator of
mission and that his salvic work precedes both church and mission. God's mission institutes the churches' mission (Bosch 1991:390).

Reviewing a wide spectrum of Christian literature on *missio Dei*, Bosch (1980 and 1991) demonstrates the Trinitarian nature of this concept of God's mission which has its origin in the "fatherly heart of God" who sent his Son (1981:240). Christ in his incarnation, death and resurrection pronounced both God's judgement on the earth and God's way of reconciliation; while the mission of the Son signifies a new dimension of God's concern for the world. This mission of the Son is then continued by the mission of the Holy Spirit working through the disciples in the world (1981:241).

The concept of *missio Dei* was first embraced by the IMC and the WCC in the 1950s (Bosch 1980:179; 1991:390). However, although by then the Indonesian Council of Churches was aligned with conciliar Protestantism in the WCC, the concept of *missio Dei* has never been important in the DGI/PGI Churches, probably because it conflicts with their own self concept of being the initiators of progress (Chapter 12:189). This contrasts with other terms, particularly *shalom*, that are basic to Indonesian theological thought and vocabulary.

Certainly the concept of God taking the initiative in redemptive history is basic to those Indonesian Churches that have come out of Dutch Calvinism. The word *bertindak* for God taking executive action in history is frequently used. Mastra's theology of holistic ministry illustrates this position. As stated above, Mastra sees the theological foundation for mission and holistic ministry as God's executive action in sending the incarnate Christ into the world (Chapter 16:291; Mastra 1984a:159-60).

However, as has been mentioned several times, Mastra's applied theology is a-typical. Being free from the *beban sejarah* that has bound most church leaders, Mastra has been able to apply the Word of
God to his own culture. Today, the *Pancasila* has become a new *beban sejarah* for the Indonesian Church. Just as Bediako draws attention to the inability of African theologians to recognise negative aspects of traditional African culture, so most modern Indonesian theologians accept the "*pancasilarised*" church as normative. Therefore the PGI aims to establish the Kingdom of God and *shalom* in the midst of the Indonesian nation rather than being participants in God's mission to Indonesia.

Thus, today the Indonesian Church is facing a challenge. Leaders need to recognise that past success in the field of holistic ministry does not guarantee success in the future. Unquestionably the Christian Church has played a vital role in the development of the Indonesian nation. However as Indonesian Muslim thinker, Muhammad Kamal Hassan points out development and modernisation are linked and:

> the real issue behind the modernization debate is not the substantive questions relating to the progress of modernization but the ideological orientation of the modernizing elite (1985:375).

This is a vital perspective for the Christian Church. If the Christian Church continues to place its emphasis on *shalom* within the context of the *Pancasila*, failure is probable; for as indicated above, increasingly people are questioning Suharto, New Order Indonesia and its philosophy.

However, if the ideological orientation of the Indonesian Church can place its primary emphasis on God the author of mission and not on society the beneficiary of God's mission, the Indonesian Church can expect to become God's instrument: manifesting the Kingdom of God and bringing *shalom* to the nation of Indonesia.
In Chapter 17 we see that the world views of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai are the result of the interaction of four great traditions: local religion, the national Indonesian world view as portrayed in the Pancasila, the formalised doctrines of Christianity, and the forces and philosophy of modernity. The result is a variety of world views in transition. Although there are four ideal world view models, in practice these "ideal" models blend and interact in a variety of ways. There is constancy in world view categories but variety in the content of the categories. These world views all recognise One Supreme Being, but his nature is variously understood. All stress the importance of life in community, the importance of status, and divide humanity into "self" and "other". The understanding of space and time shows a range of concepts which increasingly accord with those acceptable in the modern nation of Indonesia.

Chapter 18 recognises the challenges facing the GKLB in terms of world views in transition and the need for planned change. The challenges include: the challenge of Christian identity in traditional cultures; the challenge of Christian value transformation in terms of both modernity and community life; the importance of recognising the mission of the GKLB as missio dei. Finally there is a call to creative maturity.
CHAPTER 17.
THE WORLD VIEWS OF
THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF LUWUK-BANGGAI.

I  PRESENT WORLD VIEWS.

A.  An Interaction of Traditions.

As we review the preceding discussion on the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai various factors from the past have been seen interacting with the influences of modern Indonesia and shaping world views. We have seen that for thousands of years Indonesian people groups have had the ability to receive new ideas from a variety of sources and then to Indonesianise them into distinctively Indonesian philosophies, belief systems, and world views (Chapter 6:65; 73f).

This is clearly seen in the Pancasila, the national philosophy drafted by Sukarno. The Pancasila is firmly anchored in ancient Indonesian philosophical and religious thought but has been enhanced from a variety of foreign sources. Sukarno consciously refined his ideas so that Islam could be nurtured within the context of the Pancasila (Chapter 7:89f; Sukarno 1984:141-149). Later, Christian influences further shaped the Pancasila so that it could accommodate other religious traditions (Chapter 7:90; Darmaputera 1988a:155). Even though some of the content of the Pancasila is religious, Indonesians do not perceive the Pancasila as a religion (Chapter 13:190f). It is an Indonesian philosophy that is a product of an Indonesian world view and, according to Sukarno, not necessarily comprehensible to the Western mind (Chapter 3:27-28).¹ All groups do not interpret the Pancasila in the same way and over the last half century there has been a constant process of interpretation and reinterpretation of the concepts contained in the Pancasila (Chapter 7:90)

¹ Darmaputera (1988a) devotes much of his book to pointing out that the Pancasila is an Indonesian document rarely understood by Western intellectuals (e.g. 1988:175ff).
This thesis suggests that, today, the Christian community in Luwuk-Banggai has its own distinctive, but still Indonesian, world view or world views which have been formed through the inter-action of four great belief systems:

i the beliefs of local religion (Chapters 6; 8; 14);
ii the national philosophy of the *Pancasila* (Chapters 7; 13);
iii the formalised doctrines of Christianity (Chapters 10; 15);
iv modernity which is primarily a Western philosophy of economic growth and progress (Chapters 11; 16).

It would be true to say that themes from these four belief systems are apparent in the world view of every member of the Christian community in Luwuk-Banggai today. However, it is equally true to say that although these four belief systems blend in a variety of different ways, sometimes one belief system appears to eclipse all others. The daily life of some people indicates that their world view is similar to the world view of local religions; some Christians deliberately reject the world view of local religions and interpret the *Pancasila* through the formalised doctrines of Christianity; others interpret all of life in terms of the official world view of the *Pancasila*; and others who want economic progress have embraced the philosophy and world view of modernity. Thus, it could be suggested that there are four ideal, discrete world views in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai. However, in practice such a discrete world view rarely or never exists. For, example, it is not uncommon for a Christian public servant who is committed to the philosophy of the *Pancasila* to seek help from a *dukun* who will give super-natural assistance so that he will be promoted (cf. Chapter 14:231).

**B. World Views in Transition.**

Today in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai we see
world views that are in transition from those belonging to the conservative past to world views that belong to the multifarious present. For many people world views are in a state of flux and will probably continue to be for some time.

Indonesia is a stratified, hierarchical society (Chapter 6:73f; Chapter 15:246f) and so leaders of the GKLB believe that they have the responsibility to shape the world view of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai so that they will live as Christian citizens in the *Pancasila* state of the future. There is an ideal Christian world view (Chapter 10:134ff) which leaders seek to inculcate (Chapter 16:281). Hence, church members living at the "grass-root" level are told that they must begin the journey along "a glistening path to wealth and modernity" (Chapter 11:137). This is to some extent happening. Over the last decade there has been a significant increase in the quality of life in Luwuk-Banggai villages (Chapter 16:292) and Indonesian television is making many Luwuk-Banggai villagers aware of the progress that is at present taking place in the Republic of Indonesia (Chapter 11:144). So, even if the concept is imposed from above, Luwuk-Banggai people are looking away from the insular past to their place in the modern Indonesia of the future.

However, as well as the formal Indonesian world view being in transition, the world views that come out of the four great belief systems are also in transition. At times local religions appear to be forgotten and ignored while at other times the practices and world views of local religion are respected as part of the national heritage (Chapter 4:36). Meanwhile, Christianity is constantly seeking to apply Christian teaching in appropriate ways (Chapter 16:277ff). Similarly, the *Pancasila* is continuously being examined and reinterpreted from every possible perspective; while at the same time scholars from both East and West are critiquing
modernity (Chapter 11:138ff; Chapter 16:296).

As we look at world views in transition in Luwuk-Banggai, we see real world views that can be described and defined in a variety of ways (Chapter 3:29f). These world views in transition are valid world views and contain the world view categories demanded by Christianity (Beeby 1994:6). They are the "cultural lenses" through which the people of Luwuk-Banggai see reality (Chapter 3:27).

II WORLD VIEW THEMES 1.

BELIEFS IN SUPRA-CULTURAL BEINGS.

A. Belief in Tuhan yang Mahaesa [The One True Lord].
   i In terms of the Pancasila.

Belief in the One True Lord is basic to the world view of the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai. Whether they still have residual beliefs in Pilogot Tomundono (Chapter 8:94), or have orthodox Christian beliefs in "God the Father Almighty" as affirmed in the Apostles' Creed: everyone believes in Tuhan Mahaesa [the One True Lord] (Chapter 13:191). This belief is the foundation of any Indonesian world view and the government expects that belief in Tuhan Mahaesa will directly influence each Indonesian person as an individual, in his relations with others, and in the relationship of humanity with the physical world (Mimbar 1983/1984:22-24).

   ii In terms of Protestant Christianity.

Through the regular confession of the Apostles' Creed all Christians affirm their acceptance of "God the Father Almighty" as a basic belief that accords with the Christian world view of the Pancasila (Chapter 10:132).

However, despite the official stance that declares that Tuhan Mahaesa is the same person as "God the Father Almighty", there is a growing number of Christians who believe that the terms are
incompatible. Similar concerns are expressed in the Islamic community, but there is an element of restraint in both faith communities in questioning this relationship between *Tuhan Mahaesa* and the Christian or the Muslim God, because everyone knows that their well-being is dependent on their public acceptance of the *Pancasila* (e.g. Sidjabat 1982:70).

In their confession of faith through the Apostles' Creed, Luwuk-Banggai Christians reflect the four belief systems mentioned above. Those who have the world view of local religions believe that *Tuhan Mahaesa* can be fitted into a pre-existent cosmology and pantheon. He may, or may not, be equated with some ancient Luwuk-Banggai deity but he is always remote and irrelevant. Therefore, if daily needs are to be satisfied, there needs to be access to other supra-cultural beings.

The second group is composed of people whom Lubis calls "*Pancasilaists*" (1991:7). The national belief takes official precedence over all other beliefs. Nevertheless, the *Pancasila* and official religions are not satisfying people's emotional needs (Chapter 14:226; Koagouw 1980:331) and so many people, including public servants, resort to the practices of local religion even though they are practising members of a "high" religion that is approved of in terms of the *Pancasila*.

The third group is seen among orthodox Protestant Christians who adhere to the world view of Reformed Calvinism. Members of this group express their beliefs in terms of established Continental theologians, such as Verkuyl. Verkuyl's *Aku Percaya* [*I believe*] (1992; Orig. 1954) is the basic treatise of Protestant doctrine and is reflected in later books such as Hadiwijono's, *Iman Kristen* [*The Christian Faith*] (1991). Indonesians with this world view are loyal to the nation of Indonesia and support the *Pancasila* but take care to differentiate
between the official *Tuhan Mahaesa* and "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" (Hadiwijono 1991:139). They represent a highly educated minority that has given intellectual assent to the world view of the Western Reformed tradition.

In terms of belief in *Tuhan Mahaesa*, those who have the world view of modernity would accept this belief from the point of view of expediency. For them, then, belief in the official *Tuhan Mahaesa* provides access to well paid jobs or government contracts so that the tangible and intangible symbols of modernity may be possessed.

B. **Belief in Supra-Cultural Beings.**

Beliefs in this class of beings has been a recurring theme throughout this thesis. In the *Introduction*, it was stated that perceived syncretism is claimed to be a major problem in the GKLB (Chapter 1:13). Often new cultural and religious forms have been received into existing world views and many Christians now combine an orthodox belief in "God the Father Almighty" with beliefs in the traditional pantheon of supra-cultural beings.

Unquestionably, today, the most important of all supra-cultural beings are ancestral spirits or ghosts (Chapter 8:97ff). These are honoured, feared, worshipped, appeased, and sometimes ignored. This presents a complex issue in the Christian Church. Generally the official view, of both Christianity and the *Pancasila*, is that fear of the ancestral spirits is primitive and therefore wrong. Yet the orthopraxy of Indonesian religions demonstrates that the orthodox denial of the power of any supra-cultural being has little impact on what people actually do. Consequently, many practising Christians covertly continue with the practices of local religions. In Chapter 12 it was shown that in popular thought, there is no clearly defined line between the community of the living and the dead (Chapter 12:184ff).
However, as yet, no orthodox Protestant theologian in Indonesia has addressed the issue on what the Bible has to say to the Indonesian culture about the relationship between the living and the ancestors. As an African Mbiti (1969:83ff) suggests that it is not incompatible with the teaching of the Bible to recognise the place of ancestors in a Christian world view. Thus, a major issue that Indonesian Church leaders need to address is a Biblical understanding of the Church as a living community that transcends time and space (Chapter 12:187).

Meanwhile, in practical living, the beings of the supra-cultural world are extremely important. Hiebert describes reality as existing at three levels. In between the unseen world of absolute reality and the visible world of empirical reality is another reality which, in Western epistemology, is "the excluded middle" (Chapter 8:98; Hiebert 1982:35ff). For most people in Luwuk-Banggai this "middle" area of reality is extremely important, as it represents the abode of the powers that need to be controlled for the good of the visible community.

Both Christianity and the Pancasila are failing to address this "middle area". Therefore, in Luwuk-Banggai, it is not surprising to find that in this area of the "excluded middle" beliefs in the pilogot [lesser gods] flourish and that the pilogot are approached when people want practical needs satisfied (Chapter 8:96; Tolombot 1986:22).

Although with the coming of Christianity the names of the old pilogot have become less important, their role and their function has now been ascribed to the ancestral spirits because, according to the world view of folk Christianity, it is acceptable to have a relationship with departed ancestors but not with pagan gods or goddesses. Similarly, according to this world view, fears of malevolent beings such as the pontianak and kolomba are not incompatible with Christianity, and resort to traditional methods to control these beings is acceptable (Chapter 8:98).
The small group of leaders who have consciously accepted the intellectual world view of European Reformed Protestantism are troubled by perceived syncretism and of the ways in which folk Christianity is addressing issues that the formal theologians have feared to confront. These educated leaders have accepted a European world view that has "almost swept away Europe's ghosts, ghoulies, and nightmares" (McAlpine 1991:11) even though this world view is incompatible with the world views of the majority of Indonesian Christians. Consequently, various adaptive techniques are seen among members of this educated group. Some try to ignore elements from traditional religion and support the compilers of Indonesian school textbooks when they claim that fear of ghosts are residual traditional beliefs that are unacceptable in modern Indonesia (Chapter 8:92; Departemen 1983:2). However, in times of stress, others may admit to the reality and fear of ghosts. Some may then resort to methods which, according to McAlpine, are typical of "The Third Wave Tradition" (1991:43-56). These methods may involve recognising the presence of evil powers and becoming involved in some form of prayer or spiritual warfare against the supra-cultural beings or powers. Although this could lead to "critical contextualization" (Hiebert 1985:186) this is perceived as being charismatic and is therefore feared in the mainline Protestant Churches (e.g. Darmaputra 1988b:6; Simatupang 1976:88). Therefore "charismatic" beliefs and practices, that may or may not be defensible on Biblical grounds, are automatically discarded because they are outside the parameter of orthodox Protestant beliefs.

C. Worship.

Today, in the Christian community, worship is primarily a public activity (Chapter 13:194f). The GKL B closely follows the liturgical
church year with an annual cycle of worship which culminates each year in the celebration of Christmas and the coming of Jesus Christ the Light of the World (Chapter 13:207ff). Certainly there does not appear to be any antecedent in local religion for this particular celebration, but it has been incorporated into Indonesian Protestantism as a core ritual. Official documents that interpret the *Pancasila* emphasise that it is obligatory for members of all religions to worship regularly.\(^2\) To facilitate this, public holidays are given so that all religious groups can celebrate and worship *Tuhan Mahaesa* in an appropriate and public way (Chapter 13:195f). Thus the two main influences that have shaped public worship in the GKLB are the Western pattern of liturgical worship and the *Pancasila*.

Meanwhile, the spirituality that was present in local religions has not been recognised (Chapter 14:246ff). In the old *Sumawi* and *Sulean* feasts there were elements that suggested the need of confession of sin, repentance, and atonement (Chapter 8:103; Chapter 13:193; Tolombot 1986:28-29). However, the government has banned these feasts because of the associated ecstatic trances, drunkenness and immorality. Therefore, the Christian community is fearful of attempting to differentiate between the spirituality that was expressed through such feasts and the overt ecstatic and orgiastic forms that have been banned. Thus forms and meanings in local religions that could become bridges leading to a greater understanding of the Christian concept of sin and atonement have yet to be recognised.\(^3\)

\(^2\) e.g. Special Meetings of the National Parliament in 1967 (Kristiadi 1983:15).

\(^3\) This issue will be returned to in Chapter 18 when the issues of Christian identity, including the possibility of shamanised Christianity are summarised.
A. Status and Stratification.

One of the main social themes in Asia is man in society as opposed to man the individual (Chapter 12:152; Octavianus 1985:34). However, in the previous discussion of Luwuk-Banggai society, it has not been the idealised concept of life in community that has been most apparent, but rather social stratification. The phrase beban sejarah [burden imposed by history] has often been used in this thesis.

Social stratification was basic to all three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic groups. Historical contacts and developments from the days of the sultans, through court Islam and Dutch colonialism enforced this concept and when the church entered Luwuk-Banggai, it came as a Dutch bureaucracy with an established, ecclesiastical hierarchical tradition (Chapters 6; 10; 16).

Thus, as a beban sejarah, Indonesian Christians have a world view that enables them to accept the church as a stratified bureaucracy, functioning in a similar way to the state and dominated by men who function in the role of a sultan (Chapter 15). The right to lead is determined by the possession of the new esoteric knowledge in the form of modern education. Then, once a person is incumbent in a position, he is considered to be there by the will of God, with the right to lead, direct, and even exploit the ordinary people.

Such beliefs are part of many Indonesian world views. The fourth principle of the Pancasila clearly differentiates between the leaders and those who are led. The leaders have the responsibility to lead or guard the ordinary people with social justice (Chapter 7:89). Leading Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat, believes that this vertical orientation in world views is hindering national growth and development (1974:40). Meanwhile in the church it is a major problem
expressed in power struggles and in various forms of ethnocentrism.

B. Life in Community.

The basic social unit of the Christian community is the *rumah tangga*. These household groups combine together and form larger groupings including the *rukun* [voluntary support group]. Both the *rumah tangga* and the *rukun* are quasi religious groups that support members of the group in the activities concerned with the life cycle of each member of the group. These activities often have a religious nature (Chapter 12:153-157).

Religious observances related to the bureaucratic, institutionalised church are an important aspect of life in the *rumah tangga*. This is seen in the willingness of families to have their homes used for weekly home services and in the desire of every family to have a lighted tree which speaks of the annual incarnation of Christ, the Light of the World in their homes. There does not appear to be any antecedent in the traditional culture that would suggest household priests as there has always been a reliance on the professional class of *dukun* [shaman] to lead religious functions. Consequently, today services within the *rumah tangga* are normally conducted by ministers and deacons. Although the Bible verse, I Peter 2:3, that speaks of the whole Christian community as being "a royal priesthood" is emphasised in the GKLB, in practice, the Reformation teaching of the universal priesthood of believers is repudiated. Nevertheless, the *rumah tangga* does exist as the basic unit in society and it could be the place in which all Christians learn to participate actively in Christian worship. Although social stratification has divided the Christian community into those who actively lead Christian worship and a watching audience, Kungs's challenge for the worldwide Christian community to recognise
the whole "community of faith" (1977:482) could well take root within
the established social structures of the Luwuk-Banggai *rumah tangga*.
The *Pembinaan* team (Chapter 16:289) has been encouraging this, but,
to date, the *beban sejarah* seem insurmountable. Members of the GKLB
appreciate symbolic actions and so Donovan's consecration of the whole
eucharistic community (Chapter 12:189; Chapter 13:220; Donovan
1982:154) could be an example worthy of emulation. Through a service
of consecration, adult members from each *rumah tangga* could be
consecrated to lead worship regularly in the home, thereby
emphasising the Reformed teaching on the universal priesthood of
believers.

C. The Problem of Ethnocentricism.

One of the most obvious aspects of the world view of the
Christian community in Luwuk-Banggai is the way in which people are
divided into self and other (Chapter 12:162). Ideally "self" is a
member of "my" *rukun* group. He or she comes from the same ethnic
group, has the same religion, and has a similar socio-economic status.
Everyone else is classified as "other" - members of other ethnic
groups, members of other religious groups, and people with a different
socio-economic status. As a result, ethnocentricism has developed and
this has been identified as one of the main problems in the GKLB
(Chapter 1:9). This is manifested in various ways. The description of
the formation of the new congregation, *Gereja Imanuel* (Chapter
12:162ff) emphasised the inability of the three Luwuk-Banggai ethnic
groups to accept *pendatang* and Chinese Christians.

Officially the Indonesian Government encourages ethnic diversity
but not ethnocentricism. The national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*
[Unity in Diversity] recognises and encourages ethnic identity and
expression within the context of the unity of the whole while the
Indonesian Christian Church constantly emphasises "that all are one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 4:28). There is a conscious policy in the Indonesian Church to make no discriminations on the grounds of ethnic background or sex. However, there is a gap between the philosophical and theological ideals of ethnic identity and unity and the problem of ethnocentricism.

The problem of a divided church is not unique to the GKLB. Christians throughout Indonesia feel shame over the public scandal of the division in the HKBP (Chapter 15:256f). Many educated Christian leaders are aware that some countries now under the control of fundamental Islam are places where the Christian Church was once strong. They recognise that initially Islam was able to spread in North Africa because of the preoccupation of the church of that period with its own domestic quarrels (e.g. Nthamburi 1989:112).

Certainly most Indonesian Christians genuinely want unity in the Christian community. However, Christian unity is not just a matter of right doctrine. Rather it can only be achieved when the Gospel continuously confronts the various world views in Indonesian society. Therefore the challenge comes to the Indonesian Church to recognise both Indonesian world views and beban sejarah and to demonstrate the fact that God has taken the initiative in Christ Jesus and can deal with the hostility and antagonism that stands between ethnic groups everywhere.

IV THE USE OF SYMBOLS.

Symbols are frequently used in the Christian community of Luwuk-Banggai. These can be divided into four groups which correspond to the four traditions that are at present interacting and shaping the present world views in transition. There are symbols associated with local religion, symbols associated with Christianity,
symbols associated with the *Pancasila* and nationalism, and symbols that are indicators of modernity.

A. **Symbols of Local Religion.**

Symbols of local religion have frequently been referred to throughout this thesis. These symbols usually, directly or indirectly, represent *semangat* and *keramat*. *Semangat* is an appropriate Malay word for the continuing belief in some external form of cosmic energy that suffuses and animates the world (Chapters 4:40-41; 8:96-97; 14:230-231). It is present in all human beings, is concentrated at certain places that are called *keramat* (Chapter 8:96), is needed by the *dukun* [shamans] when they are involved in healing or other forms of magic, and it is present in certain objects or *jimat* [amulets] giving them supernatural powers.

In normal Luwuk-Banggai life, the concept of *semangat* is rarely discussed. However, it continues as a residual belief seen in the reliance on the *dukun* for healing and the dependence on *jimat* for safety. Today items that are representative of the world views of Christianity, nationalism, and modernity can all become *jimat* and a multitude of such symbols are believed to have magical properties giving them the ability to protect or to heal from sickness.

B. **Symbols of the *Pancasila*.**

These symbols are uniform in nature and represent the official Indonesian world view. They include a multitude of pictorial symbols such as the *Garuda* eagle on the national emblem (see Appendix 2); the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, [Unity in Diversity]; the regular ceremonial raising of *Sang Merah Putih* [the Red and White Indonesian flag]; and the national uniforms worn by all public servants and school
children. The meanings of all symbols are constantly taught and explained. Many are directly related to the *Pancasila* which grew out of an Indonesian world view. Thus the success of the *Pancasila* in shaping Indonesian world views comes from the fact that it is an idealised Indonesian world view that is being presented to Indonesians with symbols that are relevant and meaningful.

C. **Symbols of Christianity.**

These include the recognised symbols of Christianity: the water of baptism, and the bread and wine from communion as well as the lights on the lighted tree and candles used symbolically in many services. These may be symbols or *jimat* from the old local religions or symbols of traditional Christian belief imbued with traditional meanings, including magical properties being attributed to the communion bread and wine or to the water that was used in a service of baptism (Chapter 14:240-242).

The church building itself is also seen as a symbol of reality. Most GKLB churches are either built on an elevated site with a spire pointing to heaven, or else in the village square together with the government buildings. The elevated position speaks of worship to a God who is in heaven while the location of the church with government buildings is symbolic of the church working with the government for the fulfilment of national aims. Thus the location is symbolic of the function of the church (Chapter 13:198).

Furthermore, there is a constant struggle to find forms and symbols that are *sah*. The right words must be used. The right clothes must be worn. People must be seated in the right place. This search for the forms that are *sah* is directly related to the orthopraxy of the old religions where doing the right thing was more important than believing a body of revealed truth (Chapters 13:204; 14:235-237).
Consequently symbols of orthopraxy have become basic to the forms of modern Christianity.

Thus the symbols seen in the normal life of congregations in the GKLB are indicators of three different world views: the world view of local religion, the world view of the Pancasila, and the world view of Christianity. The symbols of modernity - electric guitars, amplified bands, and the need to provide parking space for vehicles and motor bikes - are only minimally affecting the life of the GKLB at present.

D. Symbols of Progress and Modernity.

These are many and varied. Villages are now built along roads that lead to Luwuk or around the wharf from which the small ships leave for Luwuk. They are oriented in the direction of progress (Chapter 5:51). Until the end of the nineteenth century the sultanate of Banggai looked towards the sea, and the ancient mandala under the leadership of the supreme ruler, the Sultan of Ternate. Gradually this orientation changed until today the trans-Sulawesi highway links Luwuk with the modern cities of Ujung Pandang, Manado, and Palu where increasing numbers of young people go to acquire the symbols of modernity: modern education and the possibility of a job in the salaried sector of the community. Great ocean-going liners, carrying over a thousand passengers, regularly call at the modern port facilities at both Luwuk and Banggai and passengers head for Java and Jakarta. The privately-owned parabola compete with the minarets from the mosques and the spires from the churches for a place on the skyline. Meanwhile in Luwuk where, less than ten years ago, the motor bike riders dodged the goats in the main street, the world wide picture of modernity in terms of motor vehicles clogging the streets and polluting the atmosphere has become part of the Luwuk scene. The material and social symbols of progress are announcing that the
world view and philosophy of modernity are bringing rapid changes to the life styles and world views of many people in Luwuk-Banggai.

V WORLD VIEWS IN LUWUK-BANGGAI.

Thus in Luwuk-Banggai we see four world views interacting. Various symbols are indicative of each of the world views. Interaction is constant and, as a result, there is a variety of world views in transition. All are in a constant state of change in the "dynamic setting" of Indonesia where world views and theology are in a state of rapid change (Simatupang 1976:89).

Nevertheless, world view themes are constant even though the content of these changes. There is belief in supra-cultural beings. Everyone believes in Tuhan Mahaesa. Many supplement this belief with additional beliefs in other supra-cultural beings and relationships with these beings are essential. Thus the Government's requirement that all Indonesian citizens must be faithful in the worship of Tuhan Mahaesa according to the requirements of a state approved religion is often modified in terms of practical considerations that lead to the control of supra-cultural beings for the safety and welfare of humanity.

A second world view theme concerns humanity and community. Almost all Indonesian world views officially stress life in community and kerukunan [social harmony], but, in practice, throughout Indonesia a dominant social theme is social stratification. This results in an elite, ruling as sultans and often suppressing the general population. Furthermore, most Indonesian ethnic groups display the characteristics of ethnocentricism, a recognised world view theme that divides humanity into "self" and "other". Even though ethnocentricism is officially disallowed by the Pancasila, it remains an essential element of world views in Luwuk-Banggai. This illustrates the difference between
actual world views of living communities and ideal world views.

Space and time are increasingly defined by the modern Indonesian state. No longer are houses oriented in the direction of the abode of a powerful supra-cultural being or a place that is keramat, but in the direction of progress. Old concepts are there, but the world view of modernity is more and more determining how time and space are defined. However, vestiges of the old orientation towards the supra-cultural power remain in the elevated positions chosen for churches and the church spires pointing towards heaven.

Thus in Luwuk, in the soil of local religion, the Christian Church has been planted. The GKLB has grown, and at present world views in transition are being shaped in both planned and unplanned ways. This presents a challenge to Indonesian Church leaders. So, in the final chapter we will look briefly at the challenge of Christian identity in traditional cultures, the challenge of Christian value transformation within the framework of the Pancasila; the importance of recognising the mission of the GKLB as missio dei, God's work in Luwuk-Banggai; and finally a call to creative maturity.
CHAPTER 18.

WORLD VIEWS IN TRANSITION: THE PRESENT LIFE AND WITNESS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF LUWUK-BANGGAI.

I THE WAY FORWARD.

The 1990s could well be a crucial period in the Indonesian Church. In Chapter 16 it was suggested that this decade could be called "The Post Simatupang Era" (16:313). Not only has the last great Christian freedom founding father of the Republic passed away, 1995 will see the celebration of half a century of Independence in the Nation of Indonesia and the long regime of the aged Suharto must be drawing to an end (Chapter 15:266). The time has come for the Indonesian Church realistically to face the future and to recognise that they have three choices. The first is to cling to the Christian philosophy of the first half century of Independence. The second is to wait and see what happens after Suharto. The third is to acknowledge the challenge facing the Indonesian Church and to prepare for the future.

However, Indonesian church leaders do not want change. Fifty years of Independence has seen significant growth in the Christian Church in the midst of a predominantly Muslim nation and today many church leaders cling to the past. They hope that Indonesian Christians will continue as a privileged class surrounded by a Muslim majority. Fear of losing status and privilege is one of the main factors that is causing the Indonesian Church to resist change (Chapters 10:133; 15:274ff).

A second factor that is inhibiting change is the commitment of Indonesian Protestant theologians to a theology of *shalom* that is linked with national development in the context of the *Pancasila*. This includes a rejection of traditional, "primitive" cultures. One of the few exceptions to this position is Mastra from Bali but, as has been
pointed out, the "newer" Balinese Church has been less restricted by historical factors than the older churches that dominate the thinking in the PGI - particularly those in the Indies Tradition (Chapter 13:219).

The churches in the Indies Tradition (Chapters 10:122; 15:253) have inherited the doctrines of Calvinism (Chapter 16:314) but for centuries Indonesians have been receiving new ideas and new religions and "Indonesianising" them (Chapter 16:287). Consequently, Indonesian Calvinism has been Indonesianised and is only a minor factor in the resistance to change that is evident in the Indonesian Church.

The time has now come for the whole Indonesian Church to recognise that as well as obvious problems inherited from the past, some of the successes experienced in the last half century have now become beban sejarah. Attitudes that equate Christian involvement in national development with the mission of the church, or expect Christians to live as a privileged minority must be relinquished if the Indonesian Church is to go forward. This does not only involve leaders from the PGI but every Christian in Indonesia, including Christians living at the "grass-roots" in Luwuk-Banggai. The whole Indonesian Church must face the challenges of establishing Christian identity; accepting the need for value transformation; and redefining the role of the church in terms of missio Dei (Chapter 17:234).

II WORLD VIEWS IN TRANSITION AND CHRISTIAN IDENTITY.

Many influences in Indonesian society militate against the search for Christian identity. There is an official identity - that of the Pancasila and any other identity is considered backward or unpatriotic.

Nevertheless, both the Ambonese Church and the Balinese Church have demonstrated that with varying levels of success, regional
churches can establish their own identity. Twenty years ago GPM [the Ambonese Church], "the oldest known evangelical church existing in Asia" (Matsuoka 1972:23) and a mentor of the GKLB, needed to face the challenge of understanding its own identity in terms of the relationship between adat [local custom] and forms of theological thought and patterns of ministry (Chapter 13:197).

Nevertheless, although GPM faced these issues and developed "a confession of faith" that is leading to a better understanding of the Christian faith by the peoples of Ambon and Maluku (Chapter 13:197) GPM is still assumes the role of the "mother church" in the Indies Tradition and faithfully preserves three and a half centuries of Dutch tradition. Furthermore, after the unfortunate affair of the formation of the Republic of South Maluku in the 1950s (Chapter 7:84), today Christian leaders from Ambon and Maluku are careful to demonstrate their loyalty to the Pancasila State with unerring allegiance to the official position of the PGI. This contrasts with the situation in Bali, where freedom from long centuries of Dutch or any other form of foreign ecclesiastical control has enabled first generation Christians, including Mastra, to recognise the sovereignty of God working in pre-Christian Balinese culture and to use Balinese cultural forms in their church architecture and worship (Chapter 13:195-197).

Thus one of the challenges facing the GKLB is establishing Christian identity in the cultural context of Luwuk-Banggai. Members of the GKLB, both leaders and those at the "grass-roots", need to recognise that the Christian Church developed in Luwuk-Banggai "in the soil", or in the spirituality, of local religions. Despite the fact that the old Sumawi and Sulean feasts pointed to the need for confession of sin, atonement, and fellowship in a cleansed and renewed community (Chapters 8:108; 13:189), Luwuk-Banggai Christians are fearful of attempting to differentiate between the spirituality that was
expressed through such feasts and the overt ecstatic and orgiastic forms that have now been banned by the government. Consequently forms and meanings in local religions that could become bridges leading to a greater understanding of the Christian concept of sin and atonement have yet to be recognised.

This question of Christian identity is now attracting the attention of theologians from both the Two Thirds World and the West. Bediako is one who has seriously addressed the issue of Christian identity in African societies. He draws attention to the spirituality that was present in African cultures referring to "the operation of the preincarnate word in African traditions" (1992:436) and to the fact that throughout history, Christianity has had its greatest impact when it has confronted people with local religions (1984:96). Bediako has shown that the convergence between Christian and primal traditions - whether in the Patristic period or in modern Africa - demonstrates that Christian communities can witness and learn to survive in the context of religious pluralism (1992:433). This is important in Indonesia for despite the Pancasila with its emphasis on harmony, Indonesia is a country of religious pluralism. Because of fear of disrupting the status quo, Christians choose to live in security and harmony under the umbrella of the Pancasila, rather than recognising the reality of Christian identity.

In his analysis of the work of African theologian and philosopher, John Mbiti, Bediako draws attention both to Mbiti's unique contribution to the understanding of the way in which Christianity can develop in the context of African religions (Bediako 1992:303-304) and to Mbiti's emphasis on the uniqueness of Jesus Christ (Bediako 1989:61). Mbiti recognised the importance of African ontologies, or world views. He also emphasises that the Gospel must be communicated in terms of these world views (Mbiti 1969:16ff; Bediako 1992:307).
Meanwhile in the Asian context, Korean Christianity has become known as a "success story of Christian mission in the 'non-Christian' world". Suh suggests that this is because Korean Christianity has taken deep roots in the Korean spirituality of shamanism (1992:31-32). These theologians from the Two Thirds World - Bediako, Mbiti, Suh, and many others - recognise the importance of proclaiming the Gospel in appropriate African or Asian cultural terms so that meaningful discipleship can develop out of a relevant encounter with God. They are not advocating any form of simplistic syncretism.

For the Luwuk-Banggai Christian community, recognition of the spirituality in their own local religions is basic to establishing their Christian identity. Such a recognition could enable the people of Luwuk-Banggai to let the Gospel grow and develop in the soil of Luwuk-Banggai shamanism. Suh points out that in Korea shamanism was the soil in which the seed of the Gospel was planted and grew. Similarly Bediako draws attention to the fact that throughout church history "paganism" and "primal religions" have proved to be fruitful soils in which the seed of the Gospel has flourished (1992:443). In their use of the word "soil", both Bediako and Suh point to Jesus' Parable of the Sower (Luke 8:1-15) where the Gospel is seen as seed being planted in various kinds of soils. The subsequent growth is dependent on the soil in which the seed was planted but the growing plant is a living organism that is distinct and different from the soil.

In recent years there have been a variety of approaches by Western theologians in how best to proclaim the Gospel in societies with local, primal, or folk religions (Chapter 3:32-33). Kraft speaks of the importance of recognising world view categories and establishing dynamic equivalence (1979:276-290); Schreiter writes on the importance of recognising symbols in a culture and developing appropriate local theologies (1986:39-74); while Hiebert speaks of the importance of
drawing upon the strengths of people groups and involving them in evaluating their own culture (1987:110). One important message in all these approaches is that there must be co-operation between foreign theologians and local theologians if the Gospel is to be understood by peoples whose world views retain the concepts of local religions.

This is a notion that Bediako, and other Two Thirds World theologians reject. Bediako points out that part of the success of early Hellenistic Christian theology lay in the fact that the Apostolic Fathers were witnesses of the traditional faith and not interpreters of it (1992:434). According to Bediako, this must be emphasised if African theology and identity are going to develop. Almost a century ago Roland Allen challenged the world-wide missionary movement to such an approach (Chapters 13:220; 15:275). He pointed out that the Apostle Paul preached the Gospel (1959:82); expected a moral response by faith (1959:92); and with a nucleus of well-instructed new believers established churches (1959:107); and then left them to continue their dialogue with God (1959:110). The Apostle Paul believed that the Holy Spirit could guide the young churches so that they would develop as national churches and not exotic enclaves (1959:181). Influenced by Allen's book, Catholic missionary, Vincent Donovan, applied Allen's methods among the Masai people of East Africa (Chapter 15:275). More than a decade after Donovan had described this "unusual" approach to mission in Christianity Rediscovered (1978), African Anglican Bishop, David Gitari, spoke of the inspiration that Donovan's work had been to others involved in community evangelism in East Africa (Gitari 1989:120).

However, Kabupaten Banggai is part of the Nation of Indonesia with its clearly defined national philosophy and official world view. Established Protestant theologians emphasise the importance of value transformation within the framework of the Pancasila. Darmaputera
summarises the "typical" Indonesian Protestant viewpoint that has been depicted throughout this thesis (e.g. Chapter 16:277ff) when he states that Christians are to be Christ's presence in Indonesia bringing shalom within the context of the Pancasila (1988a:223).

Today, the GKLB, together with other Indonesian Churches, is being called to recognise its own spiritual identity. This includes recognising as beban sejarah the achievements as well as the failures of the last half century. Now is the time for the whole Indonesian Church to change its focus. No longer is the Indonesian Church being called to act as a developmental agency in the nation of the Pancasila. Rather the call is to be participants in missio Dei - God's mission in Luwuk-Banggai. This could well lead to the development of vibrant Christianity growing from the soil of traditional shamanism in Luwuk-Banggai.

II WORLD VIEW AND VALUE TRANSFORMATION.

On the flyleaf of his book Pancasila and the Search for Identity and Modernity in Indonesian Society (1988a), which has frequently been quoted in this thesis, Darmaputera quotes from Thomas à Kempis:

If the truth shall have made thee free,
thou shalt not care for the vain words of men.

Darmaputera's reference to truth and freedom at the onset of such a book are significant. No concept is more important in Indonesian life than Kemerdekaan [Freedom]. There are still those who remember the domination of Dutch colonialism, and no one is more honoured in the Indonesian community than the few remaining, pre-1950, freedom fighters. Following a careful analysis of the Pancasila, this juxtaposition of truth and freedom becomes the basis for Darmaputera's final challenge which is for value transformation in the
whole Indonesian Church within the context or the "social soil" of the *Pancasila* (1988a:220).

A. **Value Transformation, Development and Modernity.**

Modernity, ethics, and value transformation are vital issues in Indonesia. Many authorities in the West and in the Two Thirds World are warning of the dangers of modernity when it becomes a temporal, materialist philosophy and world view (Chapter 11:48). In Chapter 11, the possibility was raised of the secularising influences of modernity becoming an intrinsic element in the *Pancasila* and creating a syncretism between secularism and religion that has been robbed of transcendence (11:139-149). Indonesian Christians are facing realistically the ethical dimension of modernising the nation and many believe that the formulation of an ethic for progress is one of the basic tasks facing the Indonesian Church today (e.g. Tanja 1991:17ff). Similarly, Muslim thinkers recognise that the ideology behind modernity must constantly be identified and evaluated (Chapter 16:315; Hassan 1985:362ff).

Darmaputera warns that although modernisation and development are essential, models for development must not be based on Western society (1988a:202). He believes that the Indonesian Church needs to take greater initiative in translating their theology of holistic ministry into practical service (1988a:219). The Indonesian Church has already played a vital role in this area. The PGI recognises that the proclamation of the kingdom of God and *shalom* are basic to the mission of the Indonesian Church (Chapter 16:284ff; Simatupang 1976:104). Over the years, both within and without Indonesia, Christians have struggled with the concept of *shalom* so that God's *shalom* can be meaningfully translated through the life and the witness of the Church (Chapter 16:301ff). Although the term *shalom* is often
used in terms of bringing "blessing" to the poor and the oppressed (Mastra 1982:35), shalom can also be concerned with God's transforming power in a "buoyant" world that is progressing. Shalom, in both senses, needs to be manifested in Indonesia today where the poor and the oppressed still need deliverance and a rapidly developing economy means that many people need to be receptive to "the Bible's theology of management and celebration" (Brueggemann 1982:30-36). In the past the Indonesian Church has led the Indonesian nation in providing models of ministry based on shalom for the underprivileged and today there is a challenge to lead the way in developing an ethic for modernity in the midst of the economic development of New Order Indonesia.

B. Value Transformation in Community Life.

Value transformation is also needed in the area of community life (Darmaputera 1988a:206). In the course of this thesis, social structures have been described and it would appear that there needs to be further creative interaction between the Gospel and some of these social structures. These include social stratification (Chapter 15:253), forms of leadership based on a sultan motif together with a desire to exploit others (Chapter 15:266), and ethnocentricism (Chapter 12:161ff). These social structures are unacceptable both to the philosophy of the Pancasila and to the teaching of the Christian Gospel. Simatupang recognised these problems when he wrote:

The problem facing the Christian Church in Indonesia during the next decade is to determine how it can be integrated into the emerging modern Indonesian culture and at the same time

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1 See Chapter 9:116 for a suggestion that Muhammadiyah followed the example of Christian Missions in their programs of social responsibility and social involvement.
penetrate the value system and the political, social, economic structures with insights that are based on the Christian faith (Simatupang 1976:114).

However, this is the traditional approach of the Indonesian Church and as has been suggested this has become a new beban sejarah (Chapter 16:315). The perceived roles of the church and the state in working together to implement national aims have already been discussed (Chapter 16:277ff); Samuel's theology on both the Christian use of money and servant leadership has been considered (Chapters 15:281f; 16:300); and examples have been given of alternative Indonesian theologies and practices in terms of Mastra's contextualisation of the Gospel in Bali (e.g. Chapter 16:290ff).

Darmaputera suggests facing the question of transformation of community values in terms of the inclusiveness and exclusiveness that are seen in the national motto Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [Unity in Diversity]. It is not a concept of "either-or": it is a concept of "both-and" (1988a:208). In the light of this inclusive approach to reality, the Indonesian Church is called to commitment both to the Christian Gospel and to national aims. The Christian God is both inclusive and exclusive:

The exclusiveness of the Christian God lies exactly in His inclusiveness...which includes the whole of humanity under His judgement and grace (Darmaputera 1988a:225).

The Christian is called to an exclusive commitment to God and through this exclusive commitment he or she is called to involvement in God's inclusive program in the world (1988a:228). This is not a call to put the Pancasila first and then bring God's shalom into the Nation of the Pancasila. It is a call to be involved in missio Dei.
This inclusive approach to reality with complementary balance between supra-cultural beings is basic to the Luwuk-Banggai cosmology (Chapter 8:95). Thus, in accord with their world views, the Luwuk-Banggai Church is called to a program of both truth and freedom; proclaiming both God's judgement and grace; and of both evaluating corrupt human cultures and proclaiming Christ's power to redeem people who live in Luwuk-Banggai. Such an inclusive approach to reality will result in the seed of the Gospel not only being sown in the "soil of shamanism" but also in the "social soil" of the Pancasila: in the social soil of world views in transition.

IV MISSIO DEI.

Unlike the terms shalom, martyrria, koinonia and diakonia the term missio Dei has not been incorporated into the vocabulary of the Indonesian Church. Basic to the concept of missio Dei is the fact that Triune God is the initiator of mission and that his salvic work precedes both church and mission. God's mission institutes the churches' mission (Chapter 16:313-314; Bosch 1991:370).

The PGI has tended to emphasise establishing shalom in accord with the aims of the Pancasila. However, although rarely emphasised the concept of missio Dei is basic to Indonesian Protestant [in the Reformed Tradition] doctrine. Free from the pressures from historical factors that are inhibiting the churches in the Indies Tradition, Mastra has been able to develop a theology of holistic ministry that accords with Protestant doctrine and emphasises God taking the initiative in sending Christ into the world and establishing shalom.

Furthermore, some years ago, Simatupang, who could well be called the father of the present development-oriented theologies in the Indonesian Protestant Churches, raised the question:
How should theological construction be moving in the days ahead to undergird the churches in facing their task? The Apostle Paul spoke with power because he was gripped by the mystery of God's act in Christ and spoke about that mystery with an intimate knowledge of the thought-forms and the worldviews of his contemporaries (1976:114).

Simatupang saw that Paul's encounter with Christ was basic to his effective ministry. Even though Simatupang normally stressed shalom in accord with national aims, he certainly recognised that "God's act in Christ" is basic to mission. Many authorities recognise this encounter with the Triune God as the starting point of mission. The ministry of Jesus Christ is in fact the mission of the Triune God. Jesus Christ the Son is anointed by the Spirit of God to announce the coming of the reign of God (Newbigin 1989:51). Mastra recognises this Trinitarian model of mission and implies the paradigm of missio Dei in his writings. In an article on Christology in the Context of the Life and Religion of the Balinese, he sees mission beginning with God taking executive action in history and sending his Son so that sinful humanity can be reconciled to God (1983:159). Later in the same article, he emphasises the importance of the work of the Holy Spirit in witnessing of Christ (1983:168).

However, although the concept of missio Dei is present in the theology of Indonesian churches a variety of factors have eclipsed it. Firstly, there is a complex of factors that have resulted in Christians restricting their references to the Triune God. The emphasis of Tuhan Mahaesa in the Pancasila means that Christians normally refer to God as "God the Father Almighty" as used in the Apostles' Creed (Sidjabat 1982:94); then there is a fear that references to the "Triune God" may lead to charges of polytheism from members of the Islamic community;
and there is also a fear of aligning with the Charismatic movement with its emphasis on the Holy Spirit.

Secondly, in churches affiliated with the DGI [Indonesian Council of Churches], mission is often seen as working with the government and providing a Christian presence in national development (Chapter 10:134). Indonesian theologians, including Marantika and Singgih, have carefully thought through the Biblical theology of development, and the resulting theologies of holistic ministry are relevant within the context of Indonesian life.

It is appropriate to suggest that the Indonesian Church can best face the task ahead by recognising *missio Dei* as basic to an understanding of mission (Bosch 1991:370). In no way does this paradigm contradict the dogma and teaching of the Indonesian Church: rather it represents a change of focus from the loyal "Pancasilaist" as the initiator of mission to God as the initiator of mission. Teaching about the kingdom of God is basic to the Indonesian Protestant Church which recognises the kingdom of God as both a present reality and an eschatological hope (e.g. Simatupang 1989:108). Speaking from a similar doctrinal position, Padilla discusses the kingdom of God and suggests that the church is the dynamic, messianic community that is called to be involved in a mission which is the extension of the mission of Jesus himself (1985:186-199). In other words the concept of the kingdom of God is congruous with the concept of *missio Dei*. As Kung points out, the kingdom is not brought into being through human activity but the consummation of the kingdom comes by God's action. Kung goes on pointing out that God's sovereign action does not preclude human involvement in individual and social spheres but warns against "false 'secularizing' of God's kingdom" (1977:224). In the context of Indonesia, there needs to be a warning against attempting to "pancasilarise" the Kingdom of God.
It could be suggested that although the concept of *missio Dei* is basic to the teaching of the Indonesian Protestant Church, this truth is often hidden and needs to be both recognised and affirmed. Luwuk Church leader, Junus Labotano, speaks of the church being called "by God's grace to live in Christ and to continue Christ's work of salvation in the world" (1990:10); while the 1984 General Assembly of the DGI [PGI] affirmed belief in the fact that God is at work in the world by his Holy Spirit in a salvic role. This assembly also stated that *Allah yang Esâ* – God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit – is the eternal God from everlasting to everlasting (PGI 1985:38).

However, although there is no conflict with official dogma and the concept of *missio Dei*, a change in emphasis of mission as *shalom* to mission as *missio Dei* will represent, if not a major paradigm shift, a change in focus.

Simatupang saw the need for a new vision, so that the Indonesian Church could be strengthened to face their task of proclaiming Christ in the midst of Indonesia's pluralism. Another Western authority, speaking of the challenges of confessing Christ in the world of religious pluralism, points out that the "acceptance of Jesus' uniqueness will enable the Christian community to make a creative contribution to the future of humanity" (Bradshaw 1993:5-19).

Thus the challenge comes to the Indonesian Church to change the focus of mission from the church being the Christian presence supporting national/aims to being participators in God's mission. When the Indonesian Church hears God's call to participation in His mission, *missio Dei*, holistic ministry will be revitalised and *shalom* will become a vital bridge between God and humanity.

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2 It is significant that in this official document, the PGI used the term *Allah yang Esâ* that accords with *Tuhan yang Esâ* [the One True Lord] as used in the *Pancasila*. 
V TOWARDS CREATIVE MATURITY.

Following his reminder to the Indonesian Church that the Apostle Paul's ability to challenge the Church of his day lay in the fact that he "was gripped with the mystery of God's act in Christ", Simatupang challenged the whole Indonesian Church to a similar encounter with Christ. This needed to be followed with an understanding of the diverse "ethnic-religio backgrounds" from which Indonesian Christians have come as well as an understanding of "the modern worldview" (1976:114-115). He then stated:

Only a creative maturity on the part of the theological community in Indonesia - older pastors, younger theologians, and responsible laity - can provide theological constructions which can undergird the life and the thought of the churches in the years ahead (1976:115).

Certainly Simatupang's challenge to creative maturity is imperative, but it is problematic if it originates in the stratified elitist world view that has so often been seen in this thesis. Probably few men have done more than Simatupang in ensuring the continuance of the Christian Church in the midst of Indonesian Islam. Yet, it could be suggested that as a retired army general and ex-President of the DGI, Simatupang represented the "Sultan" at the top of the Indonesian Church bureaucracy. Consequently, his call to "creative maturity" may have been a call, not for maturity for every member of the Indonesian Church, but only for the ruling elite. The challenge now comes to broaden this call so that it becomes inescapably inclusive of "the grass-roots".

As he faces his expressed fear over the crisis in the Indonesian Protestant Church that is coming from the charismatic and fundamental stream, Darmaputera stresses the importance of developing theology in
context in all given situations, both among academics and at "the grass-roots" level (1988b:3-19). Paul Hiebert points out that each culture must face new questions for which they must find Biblical answers" (1987:108). These answers must be found both among the formal theologians of the Indonesian Church and among the village Christians on Peling Island in Kabupaten Banggai.

Hiebert is alert to the fact that "the uneasy coexistence of public Christianity and private 'paganism' has led to syncretism" (Hiebert 1987:106). Thus the folk theologians on Peling Island in Kabupaten Banggai have the need, the right, and the responsibility to come to creative maturity. These men and women need to be equipped so that they can recognise the spirituality in local religions. Then instead of overt syncretism, the Gospel will be able to take root in the soil of Luwuk-Banggai shamanism and vital, integrated indigenous Christianity will be able to take root and flourish in Luwuk-Banggai. This is possible, if each community takes the Bible seriously and recognises the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of all believers (Hiebert 1987:111).

Donovan illustrated the possibility of this happening by his witness to God's work among the Masai people of East Africa (Chapter 15:275). As a Roman Catholic priest, Donovan expected the official dogma of the Roman Catholic Church to be formulated in the Vatican but he recognised the right of the Masai Church to be both an hermeneutical and an eucharistic community. As a result, Masai Churches developed and continue even as the nomads herd their cattle around Africa, far away from all recognised ecclesiastical systems and counsel.

Therefore throughout Indonesia, there needs to be a movement towards creative maturity, both among the formulators of official dogma in the PGI and in the theological seminaries and among the local
theologians in every church synod in Indonesia, including the GKLB. Fabella described this need for "creative maturity" in Asia as *Asia's Struggle for Full Humanity* (1980). With a development of creative maturity in Luwuk-Banggai there is hope for a future in which there will be an authentic growth of the Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai that has come from "a genuine encounter between God's Word and His world" and is "challenging and changing the situation" in Luwuk-Banggai "through rootedness in the commitment to a given historical moment" (Fabella:1980:4).
GLOSSARY.

[Note concerning spelling: Throughout this thesis the most usual modern Indonesian spelling for places and names has been used, except in the case of quotations. Variations do exist. One of the most obvious variations in spelling is seen in the name of President Suharto whose name is still often written Soeharto.]

adat (istiadat): local custom; "the conventions of society which decide what is proper" (Wilkinson 1932a:5).

anak tinggal: a child living with another family and working to pay his or her school fees.


agama/beragama: a religion that is approved of in terms of the Pancasila/ "to have" such a religion.

asli: "native" Indonesian with ancestors coming from a recognised Indonesian ethnic group.

beban sejarah: burdens that have resulted from historical factors.

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika: Unity in Diversity. The National motto, held by the feet of the Garuda Eagle on the national emblem.

Bina Kasih: a mission outreach from the GKPB involved with holistic ministry with the GKLB.

bulian (belian): shaman or dukun (see below).

bupati: regent. Representative of the Governor in the kabupaten or sub-province.

camat: the person in charge of a kecamatan, or district.

DANDIM: Komandan Distrik Militer. [Regional Director of Army and Police.]

DGI: Dewan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia. [Indonesian Council of Churches.]

Dharma Wanita: The women's organisation to which the wives of all male public servants must belong.

diakonia: the Greek word for practical Christian service - frequently used by members of the Christian community.

doti: black magic.

Drs: Doktorandus. A degree given to someone who has a minimum of six years tertiary study. The degree is equivalent to a masters degree.
dukun: traditional healer - who may or may not use magical means to cure.

dukun terlatih: a modern medical healer, trained to use traditional herbs and other remedies without resort to magical means.

Garuda: the mythical eagle that is the central motif in Indonesia's national emblem. The number of feathers on the eagle represents the date of the proclamation of Independence 17-8-45.

gereja: church

GKLB: Gereja Kristen di Luwuk-Banggai [Christian Church of Luwuk-Banggai.]

GKPB: Gereja Kristen Protestan di Bali [The Protestant Christian Church in Bali].

GKS: Gereja Kristen Sumba [Christian Church of Sumba].

GKST: Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah [Christian Church of Central Sulawesi] or the Poso Church.

GMIM: Gereja Masehi Injili Minahasa [Minahasa Evangelical Christian Church] or the Manadonese Church.

Golkar: Golongan Karya [Functional Groups]. The main political party in Indonesia.

gotong-royong: community service or mutual co-operation. The term was developed and popularised by President Sukarno in the early days of Independence.

GPID: Gereja Protestant Indonesia Dongala [The Protestant Indonesian Church of Dongala - with headquarters at Palu in the Kabupaten of Dongala, Central Sulawesi].

GPM: Gereja Protestant Maluku [The Protestant Church in Maluku] or the Ambonese Church.

hajj: Muslim Pilgrimage to Mecca.

hajji: men or women who have made the Hajj or Pilgrimage to Mecca.

halal: food, that is food that is ceremonially clean for Muslims. Particularly important is the absence of pig meat or dog meat.


Hindu Dharma: Balinese Hinduism. The religion of Bali that is a mixture of Hinduism and Balinese religion.
HKBP: *Huria Kristen Batak Protestan* [Batak Protestant Christian Church].

Idul Fitri: The great Muslim feast at the end of the month of fasting.

Idul Adha: The Muslim feast that commemorates Abraham's offering of his son (Ishmael, the first-born).

Indies Tradition: Churches in Eastern Indonesia that grew together with Dutch trading interests. These include the GKLB.

jaksa: senior judge in charge of the legal system

jemaat: the word used in the Indonesian Bible for church congregations - related to the Arabic *jemaah* for religious communities.

jimat: amulets; objects that possess *semangat* or magical power.

kabupaten: regency or sub-province.

kain: a multi-purpose length of material about 2 metres long that may be worn as a sarong, a light blanket, etc.

kampung: village or residential area in a town.

kebatinan: Javanese mysticism: a present-day mixture of Islamic Javanese beliefs and Islam.

kecamatan: administrative district or sub-regency.

kelasis: church administrative area in the GKLB.

kepala desa: village head.

keramat: a concentration of *semangat* resident in a place or object that gives the place or object magical powers. Graves, waterfalls and big trees are recognised as places that are *keramat*.

kerja bakti: literally the worshipful offering of work. Used in Luwuk in for community service and equivalent to the concept of *gotong-royong*. (See above.)

kerukunan: social harmony (See *rukun* below.)

Ketua Sinode: Moderator of the Synod.

koinonia: the Greek word for fellowship - frequently used by members of the Christian community.

kolom: area fellowship groups in larger congregations in the GKLB.
kolomba: a malevolent being that comes in the shape of an animal, usually a male goat or a tiger.

konsistory: church vestry.

KPWG: *Komisi Pembinaan Warga Gereja*. The "commission" of the GKLB concerned with *pembinaan* [building up] Church members in their faith. (See *pembinaan* below.)

kraton: court of a sultan.

matyria: the Greek word for witness - frequently used by members of the Christian community.

mapalus: the traditional organisation that linked Minahasan people into a complex socioeconomic system.

mimbar: pulpit.

missio Dei: God's mission in the world.

motivator: Church worker employed by the GKLB and involved in holistic ministry.

Muhammadiyah: the most important Islamic reform group in Indonesia, often perceived as the modernising section of Indonesian Islam.

muhabet: the Ambonese neighbourhood, kin-like support system.

NHK: *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk* [A Dutch Church that gives considerable amounts of financial aid to the GKLB].

New Order: See Orba.

Orba: *Orde Baru* [New Order] Indonesia, i.e. from 1966 onwards, under President Suharto.

Pancasila: Indonesia's National Philosophy. (See Appendix 2 for a copy of Indonesia's national emblem and a translation of the Pancasila.)

PAK: *Pendidikan Agama Kristen* - the formal school subject for teaching the Christian Religion.

pembinaan: in-service training; in the Christian context discipleship training. (From the verb *bina*: to build up.)

pendatang: Indonesians living away from the area of their ethnic origin.

pendeta: ordained minister of religion.
PGI: *Persekutuan Gereja-gereja di Indonesia* [Indonesian Fellowship of Churches]. New name taken by the DGI in 1984.

pilogot: gods - in local religions in Luwuk-Banggai.

Pilogot Tomundono: the King of the Gods in the pantheon of Banggai gods.

pinangan: Betrothal ceremony, from *pinang*, the word for betel nut which used to be exchanged at such ceremonies.

PMP: *Pendidikan Moral dan Pancasila*. School Education about the national philosophy, morals and ethics. This is the most important of all school subjects.

PPMD: *Proyek Pengembangan Masyarakat Desa* [The Project for Village Development].

pohon terang: lighted tree: the main symbol of Christmas in the Indonesian Protestant Church.

pontianak: a female malevolent being who is feared in Luwuk-Banggai and other areas with a Malay culture.

Protestan: Usually used for Churches that are in the Reformed or Lutheran tradition and members of the PGI. However, officially referring to all Protestant (i.e. non-Catholic) Christians under the control of the *Protestan* section of the Department of Religion.

Proyek Penelitian Kebudayaan Daerah: *The Project for Examining the Culture of the Area.*


raja: traditional sultan or king.

Raja Adil: the Just King of Javanese mythology.

repelita: five year plans for economic growth in *Orba* [new order] Indonesia.

roh nenek moyang: spirit of the ancestors; ancestral ghost.

rukun: voluntary groups, including Christian groups, that function as social support systems. Originally *rukun* was an Arabic word for "pillar, stay, support, foundation. esp. in the expression rukun Islam or five pillars of Islam." (See Wilkinson 1932b:353.)

rumah tangga: household group normally under the leadership of a married couple - but sometimes a widow, widower or a financially independent single person. (Literally *rumah* [house], *tangga* [steps].)
saguwe: palm wine.
sah: valid - in the sense of being an acceptable form that will validate an action so that it is acceptable to supra-cultural powers.


semangat: external cosmic energy that suffuses and animates the world.
siri: concept of shame felt among the Buginese people of Southern Sulawesi. When someone has offended against adat, the family has responsibility to avenge, often with murder, the offender.

SmTh: Sarjana Mudah Theologia. The first degree in theology, representing four years of tertiary study.
STh: Sarjana Theologia. The higher degree in theology representing six years of tertiary study.
suka-duka: in joy or in sorrow.
suku: ethnic group or tribe.
sukuisme: ethnocentricism or tribalism.
suku-suku terasing: primitive ethnic groups.
sumange': The Toluwu' word for semangat. See above.
teladan: example. The Indonesian Government gives award for excellence to individuals and groups that are examples of excellence.

Tuhan Mahaesa: the one True Lord.

Two Thirds World:
The term used by Samuel and Sugden (1983) to refer to the two thirds of the world's population who live in contexts of poverty and powerlessness.

TVRI: Televisi Republik Indonesia [the State owned Indonesian Television Station.]
VOC: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie [United East India Company].
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA.
MAP 2.

THE ISLAND OF SULAWESI.
KARUPATEN BANGGA
THE AREA SURROUNDING THE MALUKU SEA.
ETHNIC GROUPS REFERRED TO IN THE THESIS.
APPENDIX 2.

THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA:

COAT OF ARMS AND

THE PANCASILA OR THE NATIONAL PHILOSOPHY.

Bhinneka Tuggal Ika - Unity in Diversity.

THE PANCASILA.

1. (The Principal of) One Lordship.

2. (A) Just and Civilized Humanity.

3. (The) Unity of Indonesia.

4. (The principle of) Peoplehood which is Guarded by the Spirit of Wisdom in Deliberation/Representation.


(Translation: Darmaputera 1988a:155).
APPENDIX 3.

QUESTIONNAIRE: COMPILED BY PEMBINAAN TEAM [KPGW].

Below is a translation of a selection of the multi-choice questions from the questionnaire that was distributed by the Pembinaan Team in 1991 to all Church Districts in the GKL. (Chapter 2:21.) The purpose of this questionnaire was to assist in planning for future pembinaan [the formal educative process of building Church members up in their faith]:

1. You obtained information about the KPWG from:
   a. A representative from the synod office
   b. The minister in charge of this kelasis [church district]
   c. Deacons from your congregation
   d. Some other source

2. In your opinion the program of the KPWG is influencing:
   a. 75 - 100% church workers
   b. 50 - 75% church workers
   c. 25 - 50% church workers
   d. 0 - 25% church workers

3. The purpose of the program of the KPWG is:
   a. Refreshing the faith of church workers
   b. Equipping church workers so that they in turn can equip other church members in their work and witness
   c. Refreshing the faith of church members
   d. Equipping church members so that they can assist the pastor and deacons

4. The program of the KPWG:
   a. Has already fully met the needs of your congregation
   b. Has partially met the needs of your congregation
   c. Has yet to meet the needs of your congregation
   d. Has failed to meet the needs of your congregation

5. Future pembinaan should be initiated by:
   a. The synod executive through the KPWG
   b. The minister in charge of this kelasis
   c. Church deacons in each area
   d. Men's, women's, or other fellowship groups

6. Future training sessions should be held:
   a. In Luwuk
   b. At the central church in each kelasis
   c. In different congregations
   d. At a. b. and c. - in turn

There were further questions concerned with practical planning.
7. To date the most interesting material presented by the KPWG has concerned:
   a. Worship in the church
   b. Fellowship
   c. The witness of the Church
   d. Practical service

8. Future *pembinaan* is most needed in the area of:
   a. Worship
   b. Fellowship
   c. Witness
   d. Service

9. The group that most needs *pembinaan* is
   a. The clergy
   b. Unordained pastors
   c. Deacons
   d. All church members

10. In terms of community life, *pembinaan* is most needed in:
    a. Raising economic standards
    b. Community health
    c. Agriculture
    d. Adult education

11. The factor that is most inhibiting church growth is:
    a. The influence of local religion
    b. Immature thinking about the nature of the church
    c. Ethnocentricism
    d. Church leaders who do not want renewal

There was then a series of questions which asked people whether they considered that members of the GKLB lived as "workers together for God"; as the salt of the earth that would bring change and renewal; as the light of the world that would lead others to Jesus Christ the Light of the world; as an, obedient, dynamic fellowship.

12. The life of your congregation is influenced by local religions:
    a. Always
    b. Usually
    c. Occasionally
    d. Never

13. The church is called
    a. To participate in national development
    b. To not become involved in activities that are the responsibility of the government
    c. To encourage each individual to choose his or her role in national development
    d. To proclaim God's judgment on sinners

14. Work is:
    a. A gift from God;
    b. Punishment because of sin
    c. Necessary to supply a person's basic needs
    d. A characteristic of developed nations
15. Finances for the KPWG should come from:
   a. Each congregation
   b. The *kelasis*
   c. The Synod Office
   d. Overseas aid

16. Fewer women than men attend *pembinaan* because:
   a. Their educational qualifications are too low
   b. Their husbands refuse to let them go
   c. They have home responsibilities with their children
   d. They do not want to attend

17. Some congregations do not send delegates to *pembinaan* because:
   a. Communications are inadequate
   b. They cannot afford the cost of travelling to another place
   c. They cannot understand the material from the KPWG
   d. They are indifferent

18. Health education is:
   a. The responsibility of the Department of Health
   b. The result of education in schools
   c. Part of the mission of the church
   d. Not important

19. Generally people in this area regard the environment as:
   a. Existing for human being to use as they will
   b. God's world which human beings care for as God's representatives
   c. A fearful place inhabited by evil spirits
   d. Something they never think about

20. Church leaders are chosen because:
   a. It is God's will
   b. They are politically active
   c. They are the most able
   d. They are representative of certain factions

21. Human beings attain eternal life through:
   a. Faith in Jesus Christ
   b. Faithfulness in attending church services
   c. Hard work
   d. Loving our neighbours as ourselves

22. Sin is forgiven:
   a. By praying
   b. Through repentance and faith in Jesus Christ
   c. Through fasting and humbling oneself
   d. It is not need. Christians are already forgiven.

23. People believe in Jesus Christ because:
   a. They are born into a Christian family
   b. They themselves look for God
   c. They hear God calling them
   d. They have been baptised
24. People are born:
   a. Like "a white paper" free from either good or evil
   b. Righteous
   c. Not knowing the difference between good and evil
   d. With a sinful nature

25. Children need to go to Sunday School because:
   a. Having been baptised they need to be built up in their faith as children of the New Covenant
   b. Their parents are incapable of teaching them about God
   c. It is compulsory and related to learning Christian Religion at school
   d. They need to believe in Jesus Christ as their Saviour

26. When a Christian dies:
   a. His or her soul "sleeps" in the grave waiting for the second coming of Jesus Christ
   b. He or she goes to heaven
   c. He goes immediately to be with Jesus
   d. I do not know what happens

27. When someone who is not a Christian dies:
   a. He or she goes to hell
   b. Angels preach to his or her soul so that he or she can be saved
   c. He or she exists as an ancestral spirit and worries people who are still living
   d. He or she dies and both body and soul are finished with

28. "The Bible is the Word of God." This means:
   a. God used human beings as "pens" and then dictated his Word
   b. It is a treasured possession from Christian ancestors so it must be honoured and valued
   c. Through the Holy Spirit, human beings spoke in the name of God
   d. It is a book that speaks of life in heaven but has little use in this present world

29. If a Christian seeks help from a dukun:
   a. It does not matter - as long as the person continues to go to church
   b. It is sin - but God is willing to forgive sin
   c. God will punish him or her
   d. He or she does not really believe in Jesus

30. If a village experiences a disaster, such as an outbreak of gastro-enteritis, it probably means:
   a. The spirits of the ancestors are angry
   b. They have not been faithful in prayer to God
   c. It is a judgment from God
   d. Village sanitation is inadequate
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