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## MABUCHI Tōichi in Makassar

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## MABUCHI Tōichi in Makassar

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### Introduction

In recent years, one sees a growing trend to look back on past ethnographic work and review the history of anthropology. This process, which can be termed the ‘anthropology of anthropology,’ involves not only tracing the history of past ethnographies but also attempts to draw the latest self-portrait of anthropology and use it as a clue to identify the nature of anthropology.

Since anthropology was born in Japan over a century ago, Japanese anthropology (also called ethnology) has produced original studies by rapidly adopting Western theories, and keeping pace with the expansion of the Great Japanese Empire. In this sense, reassessing the past accomplishments in anthropology and/or ethnology in a historical context will help us realize their political implications.

In the 1930s and thereafter, namely during the period of what is known as the ‘Fifteen Years War,’ which started with the ‘Manchurian Incident,’ original anthropological studies conducted by Japanese scholars through fieldwork were closely linked with the country’s expansionist policies. Those studies were supported, both financially and logistically, by the administrative bodies in Japan’s colonies and by the Military and its Intelligence Agency in the areas occupied by Japan. Furthermore, it is also essential, in describing the history of anthropology/ethnology in Japan, to examine how Japanese anthropologists catered in their ethnographic work to the political needs – the military ones in particular – of the country in those days.

Recent studies on Japan’s modern history have revealed the Military’s intelligence activities in the Imphal Action, which sheds light on the contemporary situations in which Edmund Leach conducted research for his later work, *The political systems of Highland Burma* (1954). As far as Japanese anthropologists are concerned, their ethnographic work was inevitably utilized for the purposes of war. It was fatal to wartime anthropological studies. In this paper, I focus on the anthropologist MABUCHI Tōichi (馬淵東一), who earned a high reputation both at home and in the West after World War II. Some of his pupils reviewed his work and wrote detailed and interesting stories about his life (KURATA 1992; NOGUCHI 1980; OGAWA 1988). MURATAKE Seiichi (村武精一), among others, outlined MABUCHI’s theoretical frameworks and evaluated his contribution as follows:

He extensively studied social structure, religion, magic, and mythology, and presented a unique theoretical framework of the total structure in which social organization, myths and rituals are coherently integrated with each other; production and other institutions are to be analysed in

terms of this total structure. He obtained this perspective and method through studying Indonesian society and culture, and at the same time through deeply understanding, and being influenced by, Dutch structural social anthropology beginning in the pre-war period.

(MURATAKE 1987: 727)

MABUCHI once stated that his research subjects or areas were aboriginal peoples in Taiwan in the pre-war years, Indonesia during the wartime and Okinawa after the war (MABUCHI et al., 1988: 235-6). Before the war, he conducted fieldwork in Taiwan. During the war, he joined the Tōa-Keizai Chōsakyoku (東亞經濟調査局), or the East-Asiatic Economics Investigation Bureau (EAEIB) of the Mantetsu or the South Manchurian Railway Company, where he studied Dutch literature on Indonesian *adat* law; he extended this task, after he moved to the Navy's Makassar Research Institute. Those cumulative studies conducted before and during the war became the basis of his theoretical works in the post-war years. MABUCHI himself never recounted his wartime research activities in a systematic fashion. Hence biographical essays about him have not mentioned in detail his wartime Indonesian studies. Nevertheless, if one calls his fieldwork in Taiwan the 'flesh' of MABUCHI's theory, his research at the East-Asiatic Economics Investigation Bureau of the South Manchurian Railway Company and the Makassar Institute was its 'bones.' In this paper, I will examine how his knowledge of the Dutch materials on Indonesian *adat* law came to stimulate MABUCHI's theoretical insights, by locating him in the broader context of Japan's 'national policy' of the occupation and administration of Indonesia and the research activities conducted for that policy.

### I. Wartime Anthropology: Edmund Leach in Highland Burma

During WWII, every country utilized anthropology as a basic science useful for their war efforts. Among the well-known anthropological works of this kind is Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* (1946). Evans-Prichard's *The Nuer* (1940) and Leach's *The Political systems of Highland Burma* (1956) were based on the research they conducted as part of their country's war efforts in strategic areas. Leach's work, in particular, reflects his firsthand experience of military service. He himself outlined his life in Highland Burma when he conducted the fieldwork out of which he later wrote *The Political systems of Highland Burma*.

I arrived in Burma four days before the declaration of war. Of the next twelve months I spent seven in Hpalangng itself [and conducted anthropological field-work. ...]

From the autumn of 1940 until the summer of 1945 I served as an officer in the Burma Army. During much of this time [...] I never had the opportunity to carry out detailed anthropological study. My military duties did, however, have the advantage that I travelled very widely in the Katchin Hills Area. [...]

In 1942 I saw military service in the Northern Shan States and later made an undignified withdrawal on my feet. [...]

By the end of August 1942 I had re-entered Burma from Assam and was engaged in raising a force of Katchin irregulars. In 1943 I visited the Nung country in the Nam Tamai on a political mission. In all, the only main section of the Katchin Hills Area of which I have no direct experience at all are the Hukawng Valley and Jade Mines area. [...]

My Hpalang filed notes and photographs were all lost as the result of enemy action. During 1941, however, [...]

In 1946 I was released from the Army and was permitted by the University of London to prepare a thesis based largely on historical materials relating to the Katchin Hills Area.

(Leach 1964: 311-2)

Recent studies on the military campaigns of WWII excavated records of the Imphal Action that reveal the intelligence activities carried out by Japan and the U. K. in Highland Burma. Both cases show how basic research for military campaigns was similar to anthropological research. This affinity to intelligence activities can be called the ‘destiny imposed on wartime anthropology’ and Leach’s work was no exception.

MARUYAMA Shizuo (丸山静雄), who joined Japan’s Imphal Action as a war correspondent, wrote, in a memoir he published after the War, about the intelligence activities organized by the Japanese Army – just the counterpart of Leach’s military service – in the battle with the Burmese Army in which Leach found himself. He detailed how the Japanese Army dispatched agents to Highland Burma prior to taking military action to placate the local peoples.

Placation squads consisted of young officers, educated in the Nakano School (中野学校, an Army institution located in front of Nakano station in Tokyo, for training intelligence officers), who led non-commissioned officers, soldiers, special service troops of the Indian National Army, intelligence troops, and personnel recruited from local peoples (Chin, Naga, Manipuri, Karen, Burmese and Indian). The size of the squads varied from less than ten to hundreds of members when accompanied by armed troops. The first task of the squads was to conduct intelligence activities, which involved checking the British Army’s moves, studying factors necessary for carrying out actions – topography, geology, forests, flora and fauna, roads, rivers, bridges, weather, rainfall, endemic diseases, production of supplies, and the distribution, composition, languages, lifestyles, traits, and the present situation of the peoples living in the vicinity – and reporting the findings to the Japanese Army and the Indian National Army. The second task was to carry out counter-intelligence activities that involved breaking the British Army’s intelligence networks while at the same time concealing the activities of the Japanese Army and the Indian National Army. The third task was to work as a go-between for the Japanese Army and the Indian Army. This task contained helping communications between the two armies and coordinating their military actions. The fourth task was to buy or procure provisions from local communities to provide to the Indian National Army; the National Army had no quartermaster corps. The fifth task was negotiation with, and the placation of, the local peoples for the sake of the fourth task.

The Army could not carry out any activities without the help and cooperation of the ethnic minorities in the target area. We could expect of the local peoples not only information but also works such as constructing roads, guiding, and supply of foods for the task forces. To serve these purposes, we tried to placate local peoples through persuasion, provision of gifts (textile, medicines, hatchets, kitchen knives and other types of knives, pans, kettles, matches, and other goods for daily life), technical assistance (building roads and bridges, constructing drinking water supplies, building dwelling houses), medical treatment (of injuries and illnesses), arbitration (of disputes between and within communities, and domestic problems), and helping people to deal with personal problems.

One cannot carry out the placation of the local peoples without any preparations. As the first step, one needs to investigate the lifestyle of the target people. Specifically, one has to

observe the shapes of their heads and faces, hair and skin colours, the size and figure of their bodies, clothes, foods, ways of cooking, language, religion, funeral and festivals, customs, houses, and the way of farming, and finally one has to grasp their ethnic character and their geographical distribution. It is also important to recognise the members of [major] families, kinship relations among them and the allocation of power in each community. By tracing these relationships, one can see the operation channels reveal themselves.

(MARUYAMA, 1985: 99-101)

From the above quotation, it is evident that the content of the basic research for placation of local people was quite similar to anthropological research. ŌTA Tsunezō, (太田常蔵) who published *The history of Japanese military administration of Burma* after the war, wrote that he was commissioned by the Department of Military Education to go to Burma to investigate the peoples of Burma (ŌTA, 1967: 1-2). This suggests that – the placation of the peoples in Highland Burma was among the most important policies of the Japanese Army right from the initial stage of occupation.

However, the Japanese Army that started the Imphal Action with a successful surprise attack adopted a style of pacification activity entirely different from that of the British Army in its counterattack. Recently, the Japanese Army's classified documents confiscated by the British Army and kept by the National Archives and Records Administration in the USA have been made available for public scrutiny. YAMAMOTO Taketoshi has been studying those documents specifically in reference to the intelligence war in the Imphal Action. He reports about a British record that stated in a tone of astonishment that, while the British Army had its agents stationed in the target areas on a long-term plan, Japanese agents visited local areas only briefly (YAMAMOTO, 1998: 204). There is no doubt that Leach was among the British agents. In *The Political Systems of Highland Burma*, Leach adopted a unique style of ethnography and presented a dynamic theory of social change. His theory interpreted how Katchin societies change their structure alternately between an egalitarian and a hierarchical system. The typical style of ethnography of those days was to do fieldwork in a very narrow area and, from that perspective, depict society as organically integrated and static. Leach travelled throughout the Katchin Hills Area for the sake of military service. He obtained a comprehensive knowledge about the area, at the expense of collecting ethnographic data in the classic sense. This motivated him to develop a dynamic theory of social change in a long historical perspective.

It should be noted here that it was not Leach alone who perceived the pattern of alternate social change among Katchin societies; some Japanese agents who carried out intelligence work in the same area reported on a discourse of Katchin people that describes the same pattern of social change in their societies. One of the Japanese agents who was engaged in the operations among the Katchin wrote in his memoir published after the war that, according to their oral tradition, the Katchin, who are now divided into a number of small groups, sometimes became self-conscious of their ethnicity and united into independent nations under ruling kings (SEO 1957).<sup>1)</sup>

To prepare military topographies designed to help the war effort in a strategic area, it was essential to collect information on the local situation, particularly about the social organizations and political forms of the local peoples. The content of the necessary

information for military topographies was largely the same as of ethnography. This is why ethnology was regarded as an important basic science useful in compiling military topographies. In Japan, too, the military authorities claimed the necessity of promoting ethnic studies. The Ministry of Education supported the idea and, as a result, the Minzoku Kenkyūjo (民族研究所, the Institute of Ethnology) and the Seihoku Kenkyūjo (西北研究所, the Northwest Institute) were established. With the outbreak of the Pacific War, comprehensive investigations were conducted for the sake of the administration of the areas in South East Asia that Japan occupied, and ethnic research was encouraged as 'a useful science' in direct relation to military operations. These were sufficient reasons for ethnology to be directly linked to warfare (NAKAO 1997, 1999).

## II. The Years at Taihoku Imperial University

In this section, I should like to concentrate my attention on the work of MABUCHI Tōichi in the years when he worked for the Makassar Institute that was founded in Makassar,<sup>2)</sup> Indonesia, under Japanese military rule. MABUCHI began his Indonesian studies while he took a temporary post at the South Manchurian Railway Company to translate the *adat* law of the Dutch colonial era into Japanese. His work on Indonesia was contained in *The social structure of Indonesia* (1969), which he co-edited with KISHI Kōichi and published from the Institute of Developing Economies (アジア経済研究所) after the war. To this book, MABUCHI contributed a comprehensive overview of the Dutch studies of *adat* law, the major part of which had already been published before the war. MABUCHI was one of the rare anthropologists who without delay gave their attention to *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* by Lévi-Strauss. He published articles in English in which he analysed the field data that he collected while he was at Taihoku Imperial University, from the point of view that cosmology reflects social structure. His papers were very well received overseas. Thus, he collected the raw material from fieldwork while in Taiwan and built up his theory while he was with the South Manchurian Railway Company and the Makassar Institute. From the next section on, I will investigate the organization and research activities of the Makassar Institute and consider the relationship of ethnology with the war.

MABUCHI Tōichi was born in Chiba Prefecture in 1909, but his family registration was at Hirado, Nagasaki Prefecture. His father, an army soldier, was often transferred from place to place. He was a pupil at Daigo (Number Five) High School (第五高等學校, one of the national high schools in the pre-war education system that were incorporated into national universities after the war) in Kumamoto from 1925 to 1928. When World War I was fought, he was an elementary and middle school student, who took an interest in Islam, which later developed into an interest in anthropology (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 14). Initially, he planned to study economics at Tokyo Imperial University. He actually passed the examination for admission to that university. But he happened to read in the magazine *Shinseinen* (新青年) that UTSUSHIKAWA Nenoō (移川子之藏, who also spelled his name as UTSURIKAWA Nenoō), who had earned his PhD degree in cultural anthropology at Harvard University, was to teach in Taihoku Imperial University, a new university just scheduled to be established in May 1928. He changed his mind and went to Taihoku Imperial University.

Taihoku Imperial University had an Institute of Dozoku-jinshugaku (土俗・人種學), which was named the Institute of Ethnology in English, in the Department of History. *Dozoku-jinshugaku* literally meant 'native customs and race studies.' This Japanese name was chosen as a compromise on the part of the university. Although the Japanese word *minzokugaku* (民族学) had already been accepted broadly as the translation of 'ethnology,' the Government General of Taiwan liked to avoid it because it connoted *minzoku undō* (民族運動, nationalist movements). The Government General ordered the university to find an alternative name and the university eventually settled for *dozoku-jinshugaku* (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 17). The institute, however, did not make up an independent department but was incorporated in the History Department, which consisted of three major courses: National History, Oriental History, and the History of the South. MABUCHI took the Oriental History course that was set up earlier than the other two courses.

UTSUSHIKAWA majored in ethnology under R. B. Dixon at Harvard and was strongly influenced by the school of American cultural history. He also had studied Oriental history, the history of Oriental art, and Oriental historical archaeology while in the USA. He was well read not only in Western literature but also in Japanese and Chinese classic literature. His doctoral dissertation was entitled 'Some aspects of the decorative art of Indonesia: A study in ethnographic relations,' which he continued revising up until his later years. He used Frazer's *Golden bough* (abridged edition) as the textbook for his seminar. He also recommended the following ethnographic works to his students:

W. H. R. Rivers, *The Tobas*, 1906.

A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *The Andaman Islands: A study in social anthropology*, 1922.

R. Firth, *Primitive economics of the New Zealand Maori*, 1929.

UTSUSHIKAWA did not appear to MABUCHI to be interested in the school of social functionalism but often mentioned the arguments of the Vienna school (MABUCHI 1974b: 471-4).<sup>3)</sup>

MABUCHI's favourite books were Lowie's *Primitive society* and Rivers's *Social history of Melanesia* while he was studying at the University. He also read works by Malinowski and Firth and, though partially, *Völker und Kulturen (Peoples and cultures)* by Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers. The list of MABUCHI's favourite books shows the influence of UTSUSHIKAWA. During the spring vacation at the end of his freshman year in the university, MABUCHI went to do fieldwork among the Yami in Botel Tobago (蘭嶼島) for a month, which he said left him completely hooked on field research (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 23-4). He wrote a graduation thesis entitled 'Unilineal and bilineal modes of descent in Ancient China' (MABUCHI 1931a). He also discussed the ethno-history of the Ami in East side Taiwan in the term paper 'Division of family hearths' that he submitted to the Institute of Ethnology (MABUCHI 1931b).

In 1931, when MABUCHI was in his third year at the university, research on the aboriginal tribes of Taiwan started with a fund granted by the UYAMA Foundation (1931). The foundation was set up with the donation that Governor-General UYAMA Mannoshin (上山満之進) made on retiring from his post. The donation was given to Taihoku Imperial University

for the sake of Aboriginal studies. When he was in the national Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, UEYAMA was YANAGITA Kunio's (柳田國男) superior and very supportive of the latter's academic activities (KOKUBU 1995: 368). The fund was allocated to UTSUSHIKAWA's Institute of *Dozoku-jinshugakus* and OGAWA's Institute of Linguistics. MABUCHI worked for UTSUSHIKAWA's project as a temporary assistant on a five-year contract and conducted field research. The project was completed with the voluminous publication of *Formosan native tribes: A genealogical and classificatory study* (1935), eighty-eight pages of which were written by UTSUSHIKAWA, one hundred twenty-one pages by MIYAMOTO Nobuto (宮本延人), and four hundred thirty-five pages, nearly eighty percent of the text, by MABUCHI.

MABUCHI continued working as a temporal assistant, this time for a six-month term, since there was an amount of money left unspent after the project was over including the above-mentioned publication. He conducted further research of the aboriginal tribes under the theme of 'Initiation, marriage, funerals and other festivals, food, clothing and houses' (冠婚葬祭衣食住). After this research was over, he was out of a job for about a year. At the beginning of 1937, he was employed by the Imperial Academy (帝國學士院) as a temporary researcher and joined the research team editing the *Dictionary of terms of customary law of Formosan Aborigines* (Imperial Academy 1941) (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 24). It was FURUNO Kiyoto (古野清人) who acted as a go-between for MABUCHI's employment. His work at the Imperial Academy later induced him to study Indonesian customs. MABUCHI talked about how the project started, as follows:

The second conference of the International Academic Congress, held in 1921, adopted a resolution, by which the Academies of the countries having native peoples speaking Indonesian languages in their territories should cooperate with each other to compile dictionaries of terms of customary law of those native peoples. However, because of difficulties in communication, the Amsterdam Academy alone took charge of compiling the *Dictionnaire de termes de droit contumier Indonésien*' (completed in 1934). The dictionary included items not only from the former Dutch Indies but also from the Philippines, Indochina, Malay, British Borneo and Madagascar. With respect to Taiwan, however, Japanese data were scarcely used. At the tenth conference held in 1929, the Japanese Academy proposed that it would complement the dictionary by compiling the data for the Taiwanese aborigines. The proposal was unanimously approved. The Imperial Academy was to launch the project in the same year. What troubled the Japanese researchers was that up until then the languages of the Taiwanese aborigines were transcribed only in *kana* (the Japanese syllabary). The rare records of aboriginal words in the Roman alphabet were inaccurate and useless. It was extremely challenging to accurately transcribe the native words in the Roman alphabet or in other phonograms. So I think UNO Enkū (宇野圓空) and FURUNO Kiyoto, who had been involved in this project since its inception, must have worked very hard. (MABUCHI 1974a: 478-80)

When FURUNO visited Taiwan as part of this project, MABUCHI helped him as a guide. FURUNO devised to collect information other than the linguistic data of customary law and contributed a couple of articles to the *Japanese journal of ethnology*, the *Annual of ethnology*, and the *Journal of sociology*. He later compiled those articles and published *Ritual life of Taiwanese Aborigines* (FURUNO 1945). While working for the Imperial Academy as a temporary researcher, MABUCHI travelled to Taiwan three times and stayed

there for nine months altogether. With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, the Imperial Academy abandoned the initial plan of publishing the *Dictionary of terms of customary law of Formosan Aborigines* in French and published only the Japanese version (Imperial Academy 1941).

### III. The Years at the East-Asiatic Economics Investigation Bureau (EAEIB), South Manchurian Railway Company

At about the end of his term of service at the Imperial Academy, MABUCHI was employed as a temporary researcher by the East-Asiatic Economics Investigation Bureau (EAEIB) within the South Manchurian Railway Company. The Bureau was planning a research project on the Indonesian *adat* or customary law. He worked on the project together with Raden Sudjono, a secret exile from Indonesia (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 25-6). The Department of History of the School of Literature and Political Science (文政學部史學科), Taihoku Imperial University, had a course on the history of the South, where there were classes in Dutch and classes in Dutch literature. MABUCHI read German. While serving in Taihoku Imperial University as a temporary researcher, he wrote reviews on German work. Perhaps he had some knowledge of Dutch. When it came to specialise Dutch literature on the *adat* law, he could not handle it by himself. He learned about the Indonesian *adat* law with the assistance of Raden Sudjono, who had graduated from the Department of Law in Leiden University.<sup>4)</sup> They communicated with each other in English. Thus, MABUCHI started the assigned work of writing a report for the EAEIB. Soon after the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1941, Sudjono was conscripted by the Army and left for Java. Then, MABUCHI was assigned to a post at the newly founded Institute of Southern Human Studies in Taihoku Imperial University. Arriving at Taihoku, he was transferred to Celebes to work for the Custom Research Section of the Navy's Makassar Institute (海軍マカッサル研究所慣行調査部). Thus, according to MABUCHI, 'The project I started at the East-Asiatic Economics Investigation Bureau was left unfinished, hanging in the air' (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 26). Listed below is MABUCHI's work (all in Japanese) published after he completed his service as a temporary researcher of Taihoku Imperial University and before he left for the Makassar Institute.

- 1939 Peoples of the South. *Peoples and history*, part 2 (Lectures on Asian Affairs, 8). Tokyo: Sōgensha.
- 1940a The Bunun Way of distribution and presentation of animal Meat. *Annual of ethnology* 2.
- 1940b The Polynesian peoples. *Shin-ajia* 2(1).
- 1940c Agrarian peoples and land in Indonesia. *Shin-ajia* 2(1).
- 1941a Geological knowledge and socio-political structure of Highland Aborigines in Taiwan. *Annual of ethnology* 3.
- 1941b *Dictionary of terms of customary law of Formosan Aborigines* (ed) The Imperial Academy. Tokyo: Herarudo-sha. Most parts except forward were written by MABUCHI.
- 1942a Religious and political movements of primitive peoples in Indonesia. *Religious studies* 3(4).
- 1942b Food culture in Indonesia. *Tōamondai* 4(1).

- 1942c    Origin of the name 'Java.' *Shin-ajia* 5(3).
- 1943a    Material culture in Indonesia seen from the viewpoint of language, part 1. *Shin-ajia* 5(2).
- 1943b    Food culture in Indonesia seen from the viewpoint of language, part 2. *Shin-ajia* 5(3).
- 1943c    Several forms of political alliance among the primitive peoples in Indonesia. *Japanese journal of ethnology* 9(2).
- 1943c    Societies in the South. *Nan'yō yearbook* (ed.) Nan'yō Yearbook Publishing Group.

I will consider in more detail the EAEIB of the South Manchurian Railway Company for which MABUCHI worked as a temporary researcher. The EAEIB was founded in September 1908 by NAKAMURA Korekimi (中村是公), the second President of the South Manchurian Railway Company, who succeeded GOTŌ Shinpei (後藤新平). GOTŌ believed it necessary to establish a research institute to precisely understand and appropriately deal with the global situation concerning Manchuria. The institute should search for information throughout the world, sort out the collected data in a scientifically systematized way and ensure effective use of such data (HARA 1984: 425-6). The history of the EAEIB can be divided into three periods in accordance with three consecutive directors, MATSUOKA Kinpei (松岡均平, 1908-21), ŌKAWA Shūmei (大川周明, 1921-38) and NAKAJIMA Sōichirō (中島宗一郎, 1939-45) (HARA 1984: 435). In the period of ŌKAWA, MABUCHI became a temporary researcher of the EAEIB. FURUNO had been working under ŌKAWA as a temporary researcher of the EAEIB. The two persons created the situation in which MABUCHI got involved in the project of the Indonesian *adat* law. ŌKAWA was an ideological leader of the Nationalist-'Asianist' movement who was arrested and detained on charges of being involved in the May 15 coup of 1932. He was the only civilian who was tried and accused of war crimes at the Tokyo Tribunal.

ŌKAWA was FURUNO's senior in reading religious studies at the Department of Religion, Tokyo Imperial University. In 1938, ŌKAWA founded an Attached Institute in the EAEIB. The South Manchurian Railway Company, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Army contributed funds for the Institute. It was a boarding school for training specialists of South Asian affairs and actually a two-year program was conducted for twenty young men, who were selected from among those who had graduated from high school (a five-year secondary education system) in four years (ŌTSUKA 1995: 170). The majority of classes at the institute were dedicated to foreign languages. Students learned either English or French as the first foreign language. As second foreign languages, there were classes in Thai, Malay, Hindi, Turkish, Persian and Arabic languages, though the available languages varied from term to term. Besides languages, students attended classes in ethnology, area studies on the South and international affairs, as well as international politics, economics, Japanese history, Oriental history, and the Japanese Spirit (ŌTSUKA 1995: 171-2). ŌKAWA himself gave lectures on colonial history and nationalist movements in Asia (HARA 1984: 460). Graduates from the attached institute were employed by such government-backed companies as Shōwa Trading Company (昭和通商) and Dainan Company (大南公司). They were also recruited by the Japanese Military's Special Service Agencies (ŌTSUKA 1995: 174). It was no coincidence that MABUCHI learned Dutch and the Indonesian *adat* law from Raden Sudjono. Both had

fully been incorporated within ŌKAWA's network.

Sudjono taught Indonesian at the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages (東京外国語學校) for three years from April 1938. In those years, he was an influential leader in the Indonesian community in Japan. He served as the second chairman of the association of Indonesian students. When Japan was in a critical situation just before the war, he co-operated with the Japanese policies on Indonesia. He wrote in retrospect after the war that he, as a foreign student, tried to stay away from political affairs but under the circumstances of those days, he had no option but to become directly involved in politics (GOTŌ 1986: 368, 506).<sup>5)</sup> Sudjono also had a connection with the Kōa Association (興亞協會) established in November 1940 to train special agents for the South (GOTŌ 1986: 257). All this indicates that he was not simply an Indonesian teacher but played an important role in Japan's actions towards Indonesia.

Sudjono at the same time served the EAEIB as a temporary researcher. By learning from Sudjono, MABUCHI absorbed the knowledge of the Indonesian *adat* law accumulated by the Leiden school, particularly by Cornelis van Vollenhoven. He recalls how enthusiastic he was at that time because, as he says, before he started this project, he 'had already learned, little by little, the ethnology of the Leiden school, which developed Durkheimian sociology towards structuralism. So it was very exciting for me to learn about Leiden studies of the Indonesian *adat* law conducted in close collaboration with Leiden ethnology' (MABUCHI 1974c: 342).

UNO Enkū acted as a go-between for MABUCHI's employment with the EAEIB as a temporary researcher (NAKAMURA 1986: 208). According to MABUCHI he, together with FURUNO, moved to the REAE in the autumn of 1940, getting permission from the EAEIB to complete the *Dictionary of terms of customary law of Formosan aborigines* for publication by the Imperial Academy (MABUCHI 1988: 342). With the completion of that project, UNO introduced FURUNO and MABUCHI to ŌKAWA and at the end of 1940 both of them were assigned to the post of temporary researcher of the EAEIB. *Shokutaku* (囑託) or 'temporary researcher,' as used in those days, was a very broad category. FURUNO was paid three hundred yen a month as a temporary researcher of the EAEIB while the monthly salary of an associate professor of Tokyo Imperial University was seventy yen. He was not required to come to the office regularly. He was also allowed to purchase foreign books as much as he found necessary. In this sense, his position was just like a 'senior advisor.' MABUCHI was treated well, if not to the same extent as FURUNO. FURUNO at the same time served the Ministry of Education as an advisor on religious affairs. He also had personal connections with the Navy (SUZUKI Jirō 鈴木二郎, personal communication). Among MABUCHI's colleagues at the EAEIB were NAKAMURA Takashi (中村孝志), a famous historian of the South who happened to be MABUCHI's classmate at Taihoku Imperial University, and MAEJIMA Shinji (前嶋信次), a well-known scholar in Islamic studies who at one time served Taihoku Imperial University as a research assistant. ŌI Tadashi (大井正)<sup>6)</sup> and NISHIMURA Asahitarō (西村朝日太郎) also served the EAEIB as his colleagues.

While ŌKAWA directed the EAEIB, it planned and published *The series on the South* in five volumes, *The series on Overseas Chinese in the South* in six volumes and *General view of India*. *The series on the South* contained articles on natural geography, demography,

history, political systems, finances, industries, labour, transportation and communication, external trade, domestic commerce, currency and monetary systems, society, peoples, and major laws. The series dedicated one volume to the Dutch Indies, French Indochina, British Malaysia, Siam and the Philippines, respectively. *The series on Overseas Chinese in the South* consisted of five volumes, each outlining the Chinese in Thailand, Vietnam and the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Burma, and Australia, respectively. The remaining volume was a Japanese translation of *Emigrant communities in South China* by CHEN Ta (陳達). *General view of India*, published in 1943, contained articles written by MAEJIMA and FURUNO.

While MABUCHI worked for the EAEIB, the EAEIB actively published the monthly magazine *Shin-ajia* (literally meaning 'New Asia,' created in August 1939) in order to disseminate a deeper knowledge of contemporary Asia. As Japan expanded its military actions to French Indochina and subsequently opened the Pacific War, general interest in the South heightened and the demand for the magazine increased (HARA 1984: 465). In response to the growing demands, the EAEIB compiled articles that had already appeared in *Shin-ajia* and published *The series on New Asia* with Yamato-shoten. The series consisted of:

- Vol. 1 *Resources and management in Great East Asia* (345 pages, 1942)
- Vol. 2 *Peoples and societies in South Asia* (296 pages, 1942)
- Vol. 3 *National movements in South Asia* (304 pages, 1943)
- Vol. 4 *Cultures of South Asia* (302 pages, 1942)
- Vol. 5 *History and cultures of Southwest Asia* (272 pages, 1943)

Volume two was wholly dedicated to ethnology, and contained the following articles:

- Foreword to *The series on New Asia* (by ŌKAWA Shūmei)
  - ŌKAWA Shūmei Peoples and societies in South Asia
- Part 1 Ethnic migration in South Asia
  - UTSUSHIKAWA Nenzō Ethnic migration in the South Sea
- Part 2 Peoples and societies of French Indochina
  - MATSUMOTO Nobuhiro (松本信廣) Rise and fall of peoples in Indochina
  - IWAO Seiichi (岩生成一) The history of Japanese emigrants in French Indochina
  - YAMAKAWA Hisashi (山川壽) Annamese villages and their guardian deities
  - KORENAGA Ken (惟永健) Life and customs of the Annamese
- Part 3 Peoples and societies of Indonesia
  - KOYAMA Eizō (小川榮三) Peoples and cultures of Indonesia
  - MABUCHI Tōichi Land and farmers in Indonesia
  - KAWADA Tomihisa (川田富久) Rural society and economy in Java
  - SAITŌ Masao (斎藤正雄) Houses and villages in East Indonesia
  - NISHIMURA Shinji (西村眞次) Peoples and cultures of Sumatra
  - SUZUKI Chōei (鈴木朝英) Muslims in the East Indies
- Chapter 4 Peoples and societies of Thailand
  - MIYAHARA Yoshito (宮原義登) Married life of Thai women
  - FUJIOKA Michio (藤岡道夫) Types of residential houses in Thailand

Along with MABUCHI, MATSUMOTO Nobuhiro and NISHIMURA Shinji were among the contributors. As mentioned before, MABUCHI said, 'The project I participated in at the EAEIB

was left unfinished, hanging in the air.' Nevertheless, he contributed an article, 'Societies in the South' (『南方圏の社會』), to the *Nan'yō yearbook* (『南洋年鑑』, 1943c), which was published right before he was dispatched to Makassar. The article presented an overview on the ethnography of Southeast Asia, Polynesia, Melanesia and Australia. I will later come back to this work.

#### IV. The Institute of Humanity Studies of the South at Taihoku

MABUCHI resigned from the EAEIB as he was assigned a post at the Institute of Humanity Studies of the South (南方人文研究所), an institute newly established in Taihoku Imperial University. He was dispatched to the Makassar Institute in 1944, when Japan's defeat in the war had turned out to be unavoidable. He was dispatched from the Institute of Human Studies of the South to the Custom Research Section (慣行調査部) of the Makassar Institute.

An official document (National Archives 2A/12/Eco2708 in the *Official document collection* (公文書聚), Book 67, 1943, Vol. 40) records the Institute of Human Studies as follows: In March 13, 1943, the Japanese Government officially approved the establishment of the Institute of Humanity Studies of the South at Taihoku Imperial University. UTSUSHIKAWA Nenozō was the director. The stated role of the institute was to conduct 'research on the politics, economy and culture of the Southern Area.' The prospectus of the institute defined the purpose of the institute as 'to conduct research on thoughts and ideas, politics, peoples, history, economies and legal systems of the 'South.' The institute consisted of two departments. The First Department was in charge of politics, legal systems, economies, overseas Chinese residents etc. As an initial step, three researchers and three assistants were to be assigned to study the overseas Chinese. The Second Department was responsible for cultural and ethnic subjects such as religion, education, languages, customs and folklore of 'peoples in the South.' As the initial staff, a researcher and an assistant were to be employed to conduct research on religion, customs and folklore. MABUCHI occupied the post of initial assistant in the Second Department. The official document specifies the role of the Second Department as follows:

##### Research subjects of the Second Department

1. Religions in the South: The Second Department shall study the religious situation in the South, because religions have a very strong influence in the South and because the local peoples are very much devoted to the religion they believe in: Buddhism in Thailand and Burma, Islam in the Southern maritime areas, Christianity in the Philippines. It is, therefore, essential to understand religious situations correctly and lead them appropriately.
2. Customs and folklore of local peoples in the South: It is needless to point out that customs and folklore are indispensable for correctly understanding the societies of the local peoples in the South. Therefore, the Second Department shall study the customs and folklore of the local peoples in the South in order to contribute to Japan's policy on the South.

MABUCHI was appointed associate professor in the Institute of Human Studies of the South, Taihoku Imperial University, in June 1943. While maintaining his position in Taihoku, he was transferred to the Makassar Institute by the end of the year. He stayed there as an unpaid

temporary researcher up to the end of the war (MABUCHI 1988: 344).<sup>7)</sup> As he stayed at Taihoku Imperial University as short as half a year, he only could guess about the Institute after he left it: ‘Of the four staff members [including me], two were killed in unpredictable accidents; another went out to Celebes and Java and was forced to stay there. In the final stages of the war, due to its increasingly devastating severity, the institute seemed to be driven into the suspension of operations (MABUCHI 1974c: 474).’

Despite those difficulties, the Institute of Human Studies of the South published *Food of peoples in the Southern Pacific* in mimeograph form on December 20, 1944. In this book, ethnographic writings, from both Japanese and Western sources, on food and food customs among the peoples east of the New Wallace’s Line were put together. The preface states that the volume surveys the subject in the Philippines, Celebes, the islands off Celebes, the Moluccas, the Lesser Sunda Islands, New Guinea, Northern Australia, the Solomons, the New Britain (Bismarck) Islands and the Japanese Mandated South Sea Islands. The subject of research included the names of the major indigenous peoples, the names of their foods and drinks, ways of producing foods and drinks, the seasons of production, places of production, supply and demand, storage and preservation, ways of cooking, and taboos. Only those topics directly related to food and food customs were selected at the expense of religious rituals and other indirectly related socio-cultural matters. It is also stated that the book was an outcome of joint research conducted by Director UTSUSHIKAWA, the full-time researchers SONOBE Satoshi (園部敏), ASAI Eirin (浅井恵倫), and KOHATA Seikin (木幡清金), the assistants NIHEI Shigenao (二瓶重直), EMOTO Den (江本伝), NIHIRA Yoshirō (仁平芳郎), and KATŌ Tadashi (加藤正), and the temporary researchers WU Shou-li (吳守禮), YAMANAKA Shōji (山中彰二), NAGAOKA Shinjirō (長岡新二郎, in military service), TANAKA Norio (田中則雄, in military service) and KODAMA Tachio (児玉太刀男). A wide variety of ethnographies, both Japanese and Western, were listed in the bibliography. It is inferred that the large collection of the Nanpō Museum (南方資料館) which was established at Taihoku in 1940 was used in the joint research.

MABUCHI was not listed as a contributor to this publication. However, he had published three papers on the topic of food and material culture in Indonesia (1942b, 1943a, 1943b) before he moved to the Institute of Humanity Studies at Taihoku. His work on Indonesian food culture (1942a), in particular, was written in a very similar style to UTSUSHIKAWA’s publication. UTSUSHIKAWA’s presents information directly related to food culture in a simple format. It is as if it were designed to be used as a lexicon that contains only the essential information about the subject matter. On the other hand, MABUCHI’s paper was written in a more academic style, referring to phonemics, distribution of linguistic materials and preceding literature on the same topic. It is only at this period of his life that MABUCHI wrote about food culture in this style. If one synthesises these features, one could assume that UTSUSHIKAWA had a plan of joint research on food culture in the South, to which MABUCHI was supposed to contribute to the Indonesian part. UTSUSHIKAWA had seen MABUCHI working on Indonesia at the EAEIB when he was soon to take the post of assistant at the Institute of Humanity Studies of the South. UTSUSHIKAWA might have initially planned to complete a more academic report on food culture like MABUCHI’s paper. However, due to the aggravation of the war, he may have hastily changed those plans and made a more practical

manual for obtaining foodstuffs available in the areas where the Japanese military was fighting the war. One can also assume that MABUCHI, after it was confirmed that he would be assigned to concurrently work for the Makassar Institute and be withdrawn from the project of the Institute of Humanity Studies of the South, contributed the articles he had already written on the basis of the materials he had collected for a journal issued by the EAEIB.

MABUCHI's paper, 'Explanation for distribution map of the terms related to rice cultivation: Insular Southeast Asia' (1957) overlaps with *Food of peoples in Southern Pacific* in areas of research, except that the former includes the interior region of Southeast Asia but excludes the area west of New Guinea and Australia. The map attached to the former paper overlaps more closely with the area studied in the *Nan'yō yearbook*. In any case, one can say that the map indicating the distribution of word stocks related to rice cultivation is an article that evolved from his paper on food culture in Indonesia published during the war.

## V. The Makassar Institute

MABUCHI arrived at Makassar on January 1, 1944 (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 237). It is necessary here to outline what the Makassar Institute (マカッサル研究所) was. KURASHIGE Yoshio (倉茂好雄), who worked for the Section of Tropical Hygiene in the Makassar Institute, described the organisation of the institute as follows:

Since the outbreak of the war, the Army founded the Kuala Lumpur Research Institute in Malaysia and the Malaria Research Institute in Java. Both were located in the occupied areas governed by the Army. Since the Navy had no comparable research institute in the occupied area it governed, it established the Makassar Institute for comprehensive scientific research in May 1943. Its mission was to conduct research on basic matters necessary for governing and developing the South. The institute consisted of six departments: General Affairs; Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery; Geology and Mineral Resources; Tropical Hygiene; Environmental Sciences; Custom Research. Dr. SONOBE Ichirō (蘭部一郎), formerly a professor in the Department of Agriculture, Tokyo University, was appointed as the director of the institute. The institute was housed in buildings already in use. The Departments of General Affairs, Agriculture/Forestry/Fishery, and Geology/Mineral Resources were located inside the famous Rotterdam Fort near the coast. The fort was built by a king of the Goa in the nineteenth century but was later captured by the Dutch forces and converted into barracks. (KURASHIGE 1988: 40)

The Makassar Institute was officially established on July 7, 1943, and lasted until May 25, 1945 (ŌTA, 1991: 63). Makassar was occupied by the Navy's Marines on February 9, 1942, whence under the Navy's administration. With the increase of civil officers (temporary officers of the Navy's ad hoc unit) who engaged in the administration of the areas under the Navy's authority in the South, the Institute was entirely re-structured (ŌTA, 1977: 51). It was placed under the direct control of the Civil Administration Headquarters within the Southeast Pacific Fleet (南西方面艦隊民政府本部).<sup>8)</sup>

ŌTA Hiroki, an expert in the history of military administration, remarks that the Makassar Institute, as a research institute located in a tropical area, naturally had departments for scientific research with the view of obtaining mineral resources. At the same time, he interprets that the Department for Custom Research implies the Navy's long-term

**Chart 1. Organization of the Makassar Institute**

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**General Affairs**

Secretary, Documents, General Affairs, Planning, Filing, Storage, Budgeting,  
Account Settlement, Salary, Contracts, Supplies

**Geology**

Building maintenance and repairs  
General affairs, training technical staff  
Metals, non-metals, fuel minerals, public works and geology  
Physics, prospecting, digging tunnels  
Surveying, drafting  
Analyses, tests for application, workshop and specimen room  
General affairs, training technical staff, research on agricultural management

**Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery**

Improvement and increase of agro-aqua-cultural produce; processing; exploitation  
and improvement of highlands; agriculture and irrigation implements  
Forestation; exploitation of natural forests; development of forest products; botanical  
garden  
Improvement of livestock and poultry; breeding; development of livestock products;  
livestock diseases (both prevention and cure); manufacturing preventive medicines  
against livestock diseases

**Tropical Hygiene**

Preventive medical research at the laboratory (internal medicine, herbal medicine, and  
parasites)  
Prevention of malaria  
Maintenance of clinics  
Training of doctors, clinic assistants and technical officers specialized in malaria

**Environmental Sciences**

Geopolitical research  
General scientific research  
Natural geography

**Custom Research**

Research on human affairs in general  
Collection and preparation of materials

(ŌTA, 1991: 66-7)

**Chart 2. Administrative system of the Navy (as of August 1, 1944)**

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**Second Fleet Dispatched to the South**

Civil Government of the Southwest Pacific, located at Makassar  
Civil Government of Borneo  
Civil Government of Celebes  
Civil Government of the Lesser Sunda Islands  
Makassar Institute

**The 24th Base Unit**

The 24th Construction Unit  
Waingapu Branch  
Kupan Branch

(ŌTA, K. 1991: 68)

perspective for maintaining amicable relationships with the local peoples by investigating their folkways, customs and religions (ŌTA, K. 1977: 53; 1991: 67).

Why did the Makassar Institute have the Custom Research Department for humanity studies? The institute was probably founded according to Paragraph Two of the 'Specified guidelines for the administration of the occupied areas in the South' (南方占領行政實施要領), decided at the joint conference of the General Headquarters and the Government (大本營政府聯絡會議) held right before the outbreak of the Pacific War (November 20, 1941). The paragraph reads, 'The military administration should make use of the surviving local systems of government as far as possible; the native organisations and customs should be respected' (National Institute for Defence Studies 1985: 91). As a matter of fact, the military administration in Indonesia after its occupation followed this guideline. The military policy towards Islam was a typical case. When Japan occupied Indonesia, documents and records held by the Native Affairs Office had all been discarded. The Department of Religious Affairs of the Military Government (軍政部宗務部) first recruited former Indonesian staff members and, according to their memory, tried to resume the activities of the Native Affairs Office. The Department also interviewed Dr. G. F. Pijper, the director of the Native Affairs Office who was interned in the Bandung prison, several times to collect information on Dutch religious policies in Indonesia. The Japanese military government thus attempted to retain the Dutch colonial policies (NAKAMURA 1991: 17).

In spite of the stated intention of the military government, MABUCHI arrived at Makassar to find only ignorant laymen in the Custom Research Department. MABUCHI left no systematic accounts of his days in Makassar. He made only brief, fragmentary remarks in interviews and essays,<sup>9)</sup> in one of which he made a rare, important statement on the Makassar Institute and his life therein.

**MABUCHI:** I came to Indonesia on January 1, 1944. It was Makassar, Celebes. By that time, it looked almost inevitable that Japan would lose the war. I found a lot of people who had been there earlier, many of them with no background knowledge.

**WATANABE:** You mean they were just there, doing nothing?

**MABUCHI:** Right. Many of them were just there. There were a few hardworking people, Some of them conducted field research in Javanese villages and worked out fairly good reports, though I haven't heard of them doing good work after the war. Perhaps most of them went missing. What I mean is if you keep on doing the same thing for as long as ten years, you can teach yourself and do something on your own without the need for advising scholars. When I joined the Custom Research Department of the Makassar Institute, I found only two staff members; an elementary school teacher from Nagano Prefecture, and a police officer or something from Tokyo. There was nobody else. Most of the staff members had been recruited by personal connections of the personnel department manager or the like. One day, I was asked to accompany them up to a mountain in the Toradja area. So I went with them to the foot of the mountain. Then I insisted that from there I would go on by myself. They were worried about me but I said to them, 'Don't worry. I always go on my own. You can go back now.' Actually I always went into the mountains alone. Japanese staff members, when they got together, surely ended up drinking and quarrelling with each other, without doing any research. So I avoided Japanese colleagues. Meanwhile, even in the middle of the war, some well-qualified scholars also joined us: a professor of the Tokyo University of Foreign Languages and a scholar who had majored in the history of the South. [The university of] Taiwan had a course in the history

of the South. The course actually specialized in the history of Europeans in the South with such topics as Francisco de Xavier, affairs concerning the Spanish, and the like. Graduates of the course had surely mastered either Dutch or Spanish or Portuguese. The ability to read historical manuscripts in one of those languages was one of the minimum requirements for graduation.

(MABUCHI et al. 1988: 237-8)

Several questions arise from the above citation and MABUCHI's brief remarks on the Makassar Institute. First, what did MABUCHI mean when he praised the 'report on Javanese villages'? Secondly, who were the staff members of the Custom Research Department? Thirdly, how did MABUCHI conduct field research among the Toradja? Fourthly, who were the professor from the Tokyo University of Foreign Languages and the graduate of history of the South at Taihoku?

So far no information confirms the existence of the report that impressed MABUCHI. KISHI Kōichi (岸幸一), who after the war conducted research on Indonesia in collaboration with MABUCHI, reprinted the following reports on Javanese villages as internal references of the Institute of Developing Economies.

UENO Fukuo (上野福男), *Research report of village: Cimahi District, Cisaat Village, Sukabumi County, Bogor Province*. Jakarta: Research Section of the General Affairs Department, Java Military Administration. 1944. (Reprinted by the Institute of Developing Economies, 1967.)

UENO Fukuo, *The tenant system in West Java: Sukabumi County and Cianjur Prefecture in Bogor Province*. Jakarta: Research Section of the General Affairs Department, Java Military Administration. August 1944. (Reprinted by the Institute of Developing Economies, 1967.)

TAMAI Torao (玉井虎雄), *Research report of a village: Kemusuk District, Moyudan Village, Godeyan County, Bantul Prefecture*. Jokjakarta: Research Section of the General Affairs Department, Java Military Administration. February 1944. (Reprinted by the Institute of Developing Economies, 1967.)

TERAUCHI Kiyohiko (寺内清彦), *Research report of a Village: Tasikmadoe District, Karangploso Village, Singosari County, Malang Prefecture, Malang Province*. Jokjakarta: Research Section of the General Affairs Department, Java Military Administration. February 1944. (Reprinted by the Institute of Developing Economies, 1967.)

It may be presumed from the situation of publishing the research reports in those years that there were quite a few publications of ethnographic materials written in Japanese on Indonesia. Since the Makassar Institute was under the direct control of the Southwest Pacific Fleet's Civil Administrative Headquarters, the staff members of the institute were allowed to read *Heiyō-chishi* (兵要地誌, *Military topographies*), a series of reports describing in detail 'folkways and temperament of local people' of the areas where Japan carried out its military operations.<sup>10)</sup>

FUSAYAMA Takao (総山孝雄), who served as an officer of a signal corps in Sumatra during the war, published his wartime records under the title of *The mysterious Batak who live on the shore of the unexplored lake of Toba* (FUSAYAMA 1975). I had an interview with FUSAYAMA about the situation in those days.<sup>11)</sup> FUSAYAMA said that he had no opportunity to make use of his qualification as a dentist and was instead sent to Sumatra in March 1942 as platoon leader of the signal corps of the Imperial Guard Division. At that time, he started studying ethnology as a hobby. He checked out books and documents from the Medan

Museum. He was able to read English and German, but when it came to Dutch, Indonesian and the language of the Batak, he needed the assistance of local intellectuals who translated those languages into English. When his signal corps moved from one place to another, he tried to interview local elders to supplement what he had read and to write ethnography of his own. FUSAYAMA soon became known as the signal corps leader whose hobby was ethnology. He was given *Military topographies* prepared by various units. He also took notes on the materials to which he had access as part of his responsibility. Eventually, he collected about two cardboard-boxes full of such notebooks and materials. When I showed him a copy of an ethnographic document published by a military government branch of the Navy, he impressively responded, 'I have never seen the Navy's reports because I was an Army officer.'

The reports on Javanese villages that MABUCHI esteemed could be among the materials that were later reprinted by KISHI and his team in the Institute of Developing Economies. Still, it is not certain whether MABUCHI actually saw these reports during the war. As FUSAYAMA stated, there seemed to be no exchange of information between the areas governed by the Army and those of the Navy in Indonesia. Perhaps MABUCHI saw the reports on Java for the first time when KISHI showed them to MABUCHI while the two collaborated with each other at the Institute of Developing Economies. MABUCHI might have made the above remarks about those reports, instead of what he actually saw during the war. Moreover, YAMADA Meiko (山田盟子), who worked for the Custom Research Department together with MABUCHI, states that she saw no such reports as the *Military topographies* in their office (YAMADA, personal communication). This implies that they had hardly any access to the *Military topographies* and other reports on villages.

Regarding the second question of the staff members of the Custom Research Section, no written records remain, either. TERADA Kazuo (寺田和夫) writes that a TAKANUSHI, one of the first graduates of the Anthropology course in the Department of Science, Tokyo Imperial University, joined the Makassar Institute, although TERADA did not specify which department he was assigned to. TAKANUSHI was said to have conducted research on the Tradja in Central Celebes, as well as Makassar, the Toala and the Tokea in Makassar Peninsula (TERADA 1981: 266). According to the cumulative index of *The journal of the Anthropological Society of Nippon*, the only TAKANUSHI is TAKANUSHI Takezō (高主武三). He contributed three articles, 'On the inheritance of the palmer and finger patterns and handlines' and 'Studies on some characteristics of faces of Tottori Prefecture,' to vol. 57 (1942), and another, 'Studies on breast nipple in Micronesia,' to vol. 58 (1943), none of which suggests a close relation with the Makassar Institute.<sup>12)</sup> One cannot tell if TAKANUSHI belonged to the Custom Research Department as MABUCHI did. As the organization chart of the institute shows, the Custom Research Department was specialized in humanity studies. TAKANUSHI, a graduate of the Department of Science, Tokyo Imperial University, might have been attached to another section.

YAMADA Meiko, one of the staff members of the Custom Research Department, states that among her colleagues was SHIMAZAKI Keiji (島崎溪次), a son of SHIMAZAKI Tōson (島崎藤村), the famous writer.<sup>13)</sup> He is the 'elementary school teacher' in MABUCHI's remarks. Presumably SHIMAZAKI was engaged in research on Islam, since he worked together with

KOBAYASHI Tetsuo (小林哲夫), who played an important role in intelligence activities concerning Muslims in Indonesia.<sup>14)</sup> After the war, YAMADA authored a novel, *The elegy of Celebes*, based on her experience at the Makassar Institute. In that novel, she writes about the researcher 'TAMAZAKI,' who might be modelled on SHIMAZAKI. TAMAZAKI was engaged in the forced planting of cotton and had a hard time carrying in machinery and securing a labour force (YAMADA 1961: 131). YAMADA's novel also mentions such staff members of the Custom Research Department as 'Professor TABUCHI of Taihoku Imperial University, the second son of the novelist ITOZAKI, YASUDA from Kyoto University, and HOTARI' (YAMADA 1961: 22). Apparently TABUCHI is modelled on MABUCHI and HOTARI on YAMADA herself. Either TAMAZAKI or ITOZAKI may be compared with SHIMAZAKI, but it is not clear on whom the 'YASUDA from Kyoto University' is modelled.<sup>15)</sup>

YAMADA states that there was a man named KATŌ who was a pupil of KAGAWA Toyohiko (賀川豊彦), a well-known Christian social worker engaged in social movements, and particularly as the leading advocate of the cooperative movement in Japan.<sup>16)</sup> I could not confirm, however, whether this KATŌ was the person MABUCHI mentioned as a 'staff member who used to be a police officer in Tokyo.' YAMADA herself conducted research on Muslim folk medicine. She frequently visited the Bugis people with the institute's funds and investigated their magic. In her novel cited above, she writes about what she learned through her research: witch doctors called Dogun; the tools and incantations they used when practicing magic; how Dogun are involved in childbirth, agricultural rites, initiation, marriage, funerals and festivals; the worldview involving evil spirits; herbal medicine, and sacred places for prayer and rituals (YAMADA 1961: 118-228). YAMADA also writes that the military asked her to investigate women's customs. Women in the plains did not join in agricultural work. If the military could force them to work, they would press farmers to plant and harvest rice three times in a year. Hence, the military wanted to find out how to make women work in the fields. (YAMADA 1961: 131). According to YAMADA, other staff members seemed to submit some sort of reports. But she simply received money, went on a trip and, from time to time, orally reported to the director on what she investigated. She had no obligation to write a report on her research (YAMADA, personal communication).

She read with great interest the Japanese translation of Grubauer's *Celebes: Ethnological expedition to South and Central Celebes* kept at the institute (YAMADA 1961: 47). She also writes about mixed feelings when she thought of the study of colonial administration and ethnology or folklore. Once she heard about a Dutch missionary from her assistant Lili. The missionary visited a blacksmith who made traditional Toradja shields and asked him from where he obtained the minerals used for their production. Issuing an order prohibiting the production of weapons the missionary prevented a rebellion of the indigenous people. Lili added, 'Ethnological research results in either suppression or encouragement of people's customs, depending on a particular civil government officer' (YAMADA, 1961: 64-5).

The third question about MABUCHI's account concerns his research into the Toradja people. He said that he always travelled around by himself. He repeated this point at a roundtable discussion organized by the editor of *The Japanese journal of ethnology* immediately after the war. He stated, 'In Celebes, even if unarmed and alone, I frequently quite happily went deep into the mountains where there were virtually no Japanese'

(MIYAMOTO et al. 1953: 189). The situation in Celebes, as described by MABUCHI, appears to have been very different from those in the Philippines and Borneo.

YAMADA Meiko recalls how research was carried out in those days. Shortly after graduating from a women's high school, she was appointed to go to the Makassar Institute. She arrived there at the end of 1943. SONOBE Ichirō, the Director, assigned her to the Custom Research Department. MABUCHI joined the Institute in January 1944. The two spent eleven months together at the Custom Research Department until November 1944 when YAMADA left for Japan. Nevertheless, YAMADA says, she saw him in person only about a week altogether, because staff members of the Department used to spend most of their time away from the Institute to do field research. Only Lili, a young local female assistant worked regularly in the office. Not only MABUCHI but also other staff members were busy doing fieldwork and they rarely saw each other. YAMADA, too, devoted herself to fieldwork. She used to hire an interpreter and interviewed local people. This experience, she recalls, helped in her post-war interviews concerning the so-called 'comfort women.'

In Army-administrated Java, the sentiments of the local people against Japan and the Japanese rapidly worsened towards the end of the war, because of the forced increase of food production and the frequent requisition of labour under the name of 'labour service' (KURASAWA 1992: 193-241). In contrast, sparsely populated Celebes depended on Java for the supply of labour. Labourers were sent to Makassar, a Navy-ruled territory, from Army-ruled Java, in accordance with the Labour Supply Agreement sealed by the Navy and the Army in July 1943 (KURASAWA, 1992: 181). In Celebes, the Navy did not conduct forced requisition of labour. Thus the Navy adopted a different policy for governing Celebes from the Army in Java, so that presumably local people, even if in the middle of the war, did not have the same negative sentiments towards Japan as in Java. In this context, MABUCHI was able to travel around Celebes on his own. He was free from regular work in the office. He was sufficiently funded to do research at will in the mountains in Celebes. Despite the severe situation of the wartime, MABUCHI was extremely lucky in being able to find such rare opportunities as 'even unarmed and alone, I frequently and quite happily went deep into the mountains where there were virtually no Japanese.'

MABUCHI wrote no treatises based on the materials he collected on the Toradja in those days. ITŌ Makoto (伊藤眞), one of MABUCHI's students, was told that MABUCHI once went to Malili near the boundary with the province of Southeast Sulawesi (about 500 kilometres away from Makassar), riding on a horse. At that time, MABUCHI was accompanied by Tandi Rangi, a guide who was a young Toradja nobleman. He came to Japan after the war to study or receive vocational training. Returning to Indonesia, he joined the Goa Paper Manufacturing Company founded with Japan's reparations. He was well versed in the Toradja culture and, as a leading member of *Bungkisan*, a magazine issued by the South Sulawesi Cultural Association, contributed several essays to the magazine. ITŌ heard about MABUCHI's trip to Malili both from MABUCHI himself and Tandi Rangi. ITŌ recalls a postcard he received from MABUCHI, on which MABUCHI had drawn a rough route map of their trip.

It is not clear for what purposes MABUCHI and other staff members conducted research. By the time MABUCHI arrived at Makassar in 1944, bombings were going on day and night. Finally, KURASHIGE Yoshio writes, part of the Makassar Institute was moved to

Banjarmashin, Borneo at the end of October 1944 (KURASHIGE 1988: 125). The departments that were relocated at that time were; Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery; Geology and Mineral Resources; and Tropical Hygiene (KURASHIGE 1988: 142). In other words, the Custom Research Department to which MABUCHI belonged was left in the heavily bombarded city of Makassar.

What is notable in KURASHIGE's recollections is that, with the aggravation of the war, the institute shifted the focus of its activities from basic studies of malaria to research and prevention of the disease and finally, anticipating the landing of U.S. Forces and Japan's defeat, to providing medical care. Staff members, regardless of whether they owned licenses or not, went inland to placate local peoples, and for that purpose providing simple medicines and medical treatment was an effective means (KURASHIGE, 1988: 170-5).

ŌMURO Masae (大室政右) worked for the civil government of Makassar from September 1943 to June 1944, and was later appointed as the governor of Tarakan Province under the civil government of Borneo. When he was put to rout through inland Borneo, escaping from the U.S. attack, he occasionally met Dayaks. He recalls that they were very well informed of the whereabouts of the Japanese military. The Allied Forces forestalled the Japanese military in their placation activities (ŌMURO 1966: 201-2). At the same period, KANO Tadao (鹿野忠雄) went to Borneo as a civil administrative officer (司政官); his assigned role was to compile *Military topographies* concerning the local peoples; he died an accidental death while carrying out placation activities (YAMASAKI 1992). As a preparation for retreating military forces deep inland and as a measure to fight back the advancing U.S. troops, the simple collection of information on local peoples was entirely insufficient; prior placation was necessary in order to 'get their trust' and secure shelter from them. There is no way to find out to what extent MABUCHI was aware of those military and strategic meanings of the placation activities. However, it is very likely that he was allowed to go inland and do research since he was assigned the mission of either placating local peoples or collecting information for *Military topographies*.

Probably his fieldwork helped him to check his knowledge of the Indonesian *adat* law that he studied while working for the EAEIB. YAMASHITA Shinji (山下晋司), who conducted research on the Toradja after the war, told me that he met a person named Tandi Rangi who was able to show his genealogy with the kinship signs ○ and △. Asked how he learned those anthropological signs, he said, to YAMASHITA's surprise, 'a man named MABUCHI taught me this in wartime.'<sup>17)</sup> When YAMASHITA departed for Sulawesi, MABUCHI presented him with a genealogy of the Toradja people. He did not hear from MABUCHI about whether MABUCHI himself drew the genealogy or extracted it from certain Dutch sources. YAMASHITA says that the genealogy was useful in his research since it contained Tandi Rangi's ancestors and their relatives until the generation of his grandfather. The genealogy, however, was drawn with the kinship signs in the opposite senses as they are used today: man with the sign ○ and woman with △. This accorded with the usage in the anthropological literature in the 1930s. Hence, YAMASHITA infers that the genealogy was extracted from Dutch literature, although he has not yet traced its particular source.

As for the fourth question, Itō Masanori (伊東定典), professor emeritus of the Department of Indonesian Language in the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, states that

he was in Makassar during the war.<sup>18)</sup> KISHI Kōichi was also in Makassar. I will consider him in the next section, since the personal network that KISHI made during the war played an important part in promoting the post-war Indonesian studies in Japan.

## VI. Post-war Indonesian studies

After the war, MABUCHI's Indonesian studies were published in *The Social structure of Indonesia* (KISHI and MABUCHI 1969). He also talked about how he resumed and developed his Indonesian studies after the war.

Since I joined Tokyo Metropolitan University (東京都立大学), I had two to three hours of extracurricular seminar on Indonesian studies every week besides my regular classes. I continued this seminar for six years, namely from 1953 to the summer of 1960. Many students came from other colleges and of course graduate students of our university attended the seminar. We read texts in three languages, Dutch, Indonesian and English. English texts were for beginners. We were able to obtain Dutch literature by providing Japanese literature in exchange to Dutch scholars who wanted to study Japanese folklore. But I was away to Okinawa to do fieldwork from the summer of 1960 through to the yearend. Then, for about one and a half years from the spring of 1961, I stayed in the U.S. On that occasion, I met American and British scholars who specialized in Indonesian studies. I also visited the Netherlands on my way home. I used to be anxious about the academic level in Japan and my sojourn to America and Holland eventually deepened my despair in continuing Indonesian studies at home and meeting international standards. I could no longer maintain my will to resume my seminar on Indonesia as before. Even after that, I kept on collecting Dutch literature little by little, in the hope to restart a desk work of Indonesian studies some day.

(MABUCHI et al. 1988: 31-2)

What MABUCHI meant by the Indonesian studies in the U.S.A. comprised the Modjokuto project including Clifford Geertz's *Religion of Java*. He also mentioned a large-scale project Cornell University was conducting on continental South-east Asia. While universities in the U.S.A. enjoyed large-scaled joint projects of research, the Japanese academic community appeared to him to be beset by internal conflicts and inadequate systems. All these discouraged MABUCHI from continuing Indonesian studies from an international perspective. Instead, he decided to continue Indonesian studies by referring to published materials only (MABUCHI 1988: 172). In fact, in *The social structure of Indonesia*, MABUCHI did no more than summarise and analyse the Dutch literature on Indonesian *adat* law. It was, however, an augmented re-edition of what he had already published before the war.

KISHI, a department head in the Institute of Developing Economies, at one time served in the Navy's civil administration office.<sup>19)</sup> When MABUCHI started his voluntary seminar on Indonesia using Dutch texts, KISHI attended the seminar. Specialists on Indonesia, such as TANAKA Norio (田中則雄), TADA Yoshio (多田芳雄), SHIBUSAWA Motonori (渋沢元則), and ITŌ Masanori, also attended the seminar. They later joined KISHI's project and contributed to *The social structure of Indonesia* (ITŌ 1991: 546).

The chapters that MABUCHI wrote in *The social structure of Indonesia* largely overlap with his article, 'Society of the South,' that appeared in the *Nan'yō yearbook 1943*. Listed

below is the content of MABUCHI's contribution to *The social structure of Indonesia* (KISHI and MABUCHI 1969).

- Chapter 1. Toward the understanding of folk society in Indonesia
  - 1. Ethnicities, tribes, races and nations
  - 2. The Indonesian Area and cultural homogeneity
  - 3. Management and administration of the colonies and the system of *adat* law
- Chapter 2. Aspects of Indonesian *adat* communities
  - 1. A historical review of studies on *adat* communities
  - 2. *Adat* communities and land right
  - 3. The composition of *adat* communities based on locality and kinship
    - (1) Kinship and kin groups
    - (2) Intersection of kin and locality
    - (3) Local relations and local groups
  - 4. Continuity and change of social tradition
  - 5. Ideal background of the Composition of *adat* Communities
    - (1) Cosmology and social view
    - (2) The pattern of composition of kingdoms
  - 6. Religious changes and the expansion of political and social worlds

NOTE: The underlined sections overlap with MABUCHI's paper, 'Society of the South' in *Nan'yō yearbook 1943*.

What follows is the contents of MABUCHI's paper, 'Society of the South,' that appeared in *Nan'yō yearbook 1943*.

- Chapter 1. Societies of hunter-gatherers
  - 1. Societies of foraging peoples in Southeast Asia
  - 2. Aboriginal societies in Australia and Tasmania
- Chapter 2. Societies in Polynesia
- Chapter 3. Societies in Melanesia
- Chapter 4. Agrarian societies in Southeast Asia
  - 1. Land and social organization
  - 2. Kinship and kin groups
  - 3. Intersection of kinship and locality
  - 4. Local relations and local groups

After the war ended, MABUCHI returned from Indonesia in 1946. He worked as a high school teacher in Hirado, Nagasaki Prefecture, for a while. He then moved to Tokyo, and was recruited to the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE), an organization under the GHQ (General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), as a temporary translator. At the same time, he joined the editorial board of the *Japanese journal of ethnology*. In those days, he absorbed new anthropological theories from Western journals. MABUCHI recalls the days when he resumed anthropological studies and began to have contact with overseas academia.

The seventh conference of the Pacific Science Congress took place in New Zealand in 1949. The Faculty of Science of Tokyo University received a message, saying that, although Japanese were not allowed to attend the conference, they could submit papers. So I submitted a

short paper entitled 'The importance of maternal clans under the patriliney among the Central Tribes of Formosa.' In the same year 1949 that I issued this paper, Murdock's *Social structure* and Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* appeared. After that, in 1951, the International Congress for the History of Religions was held in Amsterdam and I submitted a paper through FURUNO. The paper later appeared in a Dutch journal. Murdock happened to come to Japan about that time. So, I asked him about the latest work of Lévi-Strauss. He said, 'I'd rather reserve a comment on that.' Anyway, it was about that time that I started to develop contact with foreign scholars and academic societies. (MABUCHI et al. 1988: 236)

Asked about the work of Lévi-Strauss, the frontrunner in French anthropology, by an anthropologist from Japan, a defeated nation, Murdock must have been very amazed. MABUCHI began to take an interest in the work of Lévi-Strauss from the beginning. It was partly because he wanted to study the leading edge of Western anthropological theories but also because the geographical areas that *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* covers overlap with the areas that MABUCHI had been studying since the pre-war years. In fact, Lévi-Strauss studied kinship in the areas covered by MABUCHI. Moreover, MABUCHI recognised a close correspondence between the Dutch structural anthropology that he became familiar with when he was reading literature on the Indonesian *adat* law, on the one hand, and Lévi-Strauss, on the other. MABUCHI states on this point, mentioning the Japanese translation of Lévi-Strauss's book, the following:

I was one of the supervisors of the translation of Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* (second edition). In volume two of that translation, you find a chapter on India, in which, he extensively cites from 'The Mahabharata: An ethnological study,' the PhD thesis of the Dutch anthropologist Gerrit Jan Held who submitted it to Leiden University in 1935. I suppose that Lévi-Strauss highly evaluated Held's study in which he successfully extracted the essence from the complex collection of ancient Indian literature and ethnographies. Held later stayed in New Guinea and left a relatively few but excellent works. He passed away at the rather young age of 50, shortly after the war. His writings on New Guinea are generally descriptive. Professor Jan van Baal, a famous Dutch anthropologist who wrote, as one of his main works, *The Papua cultural improvisaneter* and who at one time was the governor-general of post-war Dutch New Guinea, commented on Held's work that it was not *ethnografische beschrijving* (ethnographic descriptions) but *ethnologische beschrijving* (ethnological descriptions). (MABUCHI, et al. 1988: 29)

One of the early reactions to Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté* came from the Netherlands. It is widely known today that Dutch structuralism greatly contributed to the later development of Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, a leading figure in the Leiden school, wrote *Lévi-Strauss's theory on kinship and marriage* (1952) that favourably commented from the point of view of Dutch anthropology on Indonesia.

MABUCHI first drew international attention with his paper, 'Social organization of the Central Tribes of Formosa,' published in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, in 1952. MABUCHI completed this paper in 1950, and referring to Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, which was just published in 1949, he described and analysed the spiritual superiority of one's maternal patri-lineage over one's own patri-clan among the

Tsou and the Bunun in Central Taiwan. He found among those two peoples double unilineal systems reminiscent of Indonesian cases. The source of his data was his own fieldwork in Taiwan and he based his argument upon what he learned from Dutch structuralism. MABUCHI was already well informed about the two peoples when he conducted research among them for *Formosan native tribes: A genealogical and classificatory study* (Institute of Ethnology 1935). He happened to hear of the spiritual power, such as curses and purification, vested in members of the maternal clan when he made his final visit to, and immediately before he left, a Tsou village in 1932. In 1934, MABUCHI read Margaret Mead's *Kinship in the Admiralty Islands* (1934) and noted that the patterns of spiritual superiority and kinship terminology in the Admiralty Islands are the reverse of those in Central Taiwan. But at that time, because of a shortage of data, he could not develop his own argument any further. The spiritual superiority of maternal kin in a patrilineal society was once again discussed in his paper, 'The role of maternal clans under the patriliney among the Central Tribes of Formosa' (1938). To obtain more detailed information on this topic, MABUCHI conducted follow-up research when he was dispatched to Central Taiwan in 1939 and 1940 in connection with the Imperial Academy's project to compile the *Dictionary of terms of customary law of Formosan Aborigines*. Afterwards, when he was still working for the Imperial Academy, he learned from B. A. G. Vroklage's *Die sozialen Verhältnisse Indonesiens* (1936) and F. A. E. van Wouden's *Sociale structuurtypen in de Groote Oost* (1935) that Eastern Indonesia has parallel cases to Central Taiwan (MABUCHI 1974c: 194-5). MABUCHI's first paper that he wrote in English after the war well reflects his experience in Taiwan and his extensive structural anthropological knowledge on Indonesian ethnography.

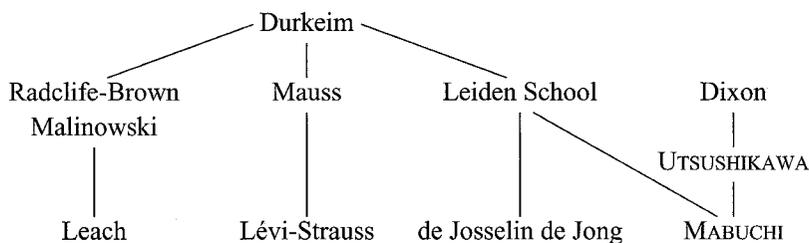
In his 'Postscript' to the Japanese translation of *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, which he supervised, MABUCHI wrote that he found this book of Lévi-Strauss in the bookstore Maruzen's announcement of new imports and ordered it, believing that it would help him to learn about a new academic trend in Europe. What attracted his attention in the book was the spiritual and ritual superiority of the wife giver as well as matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. At the same time, MABUCHI realized that the author just described that phenomenon and failed to pay due attention to Indonesian studies, particularly those on general exchange, by Dutch anthropologists. Therefore, MABUCHI wrote his paper and pointed out the spiritual superiority of maternal clans in patrilineal societies, actual cases in Taiwan, parallel cases in Indonesia reported in Dutch ethnography and opposite cases (paternal superiority in matrilineal societies) in Oceania, as a critical comment on Lévi-Strauss's work. Having read this paper, Edmund Leach sent MABUCHI a reprint of his paper, 'The structural implications of cross-cousin marriage' (1951) (MABUCHI 1988: 147-9).

## Conclusion

The first landmarks of the post-war anthropology were Murdock's *Social structure* and Lévi-Strauss's *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, both published in 1949. Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology, in particular, has had a great influence not only on anthropology but also on other disciplines and philosophical thought. Lévi-Strauss provided a grand theoretical hypothesis, upon which post-war anthropology developed through adding empirical data and

analytical discussions. MABUCHI was one of those anthropologists who made pioneer contributions to the post-war development of anthropology. What lies in the background of his study are no doubt his field experiences in Taiwan and Celebes on the one hand, and intensive study of Dutch structuralism, on the other, both of which he conducted before and during the war. It is a historical irony that Leach, MABUCHI's counterpart in criticising Lévi-Strauss, was also engaged in placation activities in Highland Burma during the war, and developed his war experience into an anthropological theory critical of Lévi-Strauss. The ethnographic data that MABUCHI used to criticize Lévi-Strauss are about the Bunun, whose kinship terminology is of the Omaha type. MABUCHI revised his 1951 paper and contributed 'A trend to the Omaha type in the Bunun kinship terminology' to the Festschrift dedicated to Lévi-Strauss (Pouillon and Maranda 1970). At that time, he consulted Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas* (1967) and found there that only the Kachin and the Naga have kinship terminology of the Omaha type (MABUCHI 1988: 86). The Bunun and the Kachin, the societies upon which MABUCHI and Leach criticised Lévi-Strauss, happen to be among the rare cases of the Omaha type kinship terminology.

But this concurrence is in no way mere chance. One can draw this theoretical genealogy of anthropologists including MABUCHI and Leach.



The chart reflects MABUCHI's way of living that he described as, 'if I cannot go straight, I will go diagonally.' I would like to stress in conclusion that the 'diagonal line' had a great deal to do with the 'war situation' in Japan.

## Notes

- 1) ISHIKAWA Noboru suggests that Leach's model itself may not have developed from his field observation in Highland Burma because in the short paper 'The social and economic organization of the Rowandus Kurds' that Leach wrote in 1940, he presented a perspective similar to the dynamic theory which he later formulated specifically referring to the Kachin. Moreover, it is likely that he saw a society distinctly contrastive to the Kachin society in his post-war research in Sarawak and that might have strengthened his dynamic theory (ISHIKAWA 1992: 50). In this paper, while I would refrain from assessing this hypothetical interpretation, I will try to consider Leach's description and analysis of the Kachin society in the historical context of his research on that society.
- 2) The city of Makassar once changed its name to Ujung Pandang in 1971, but returned to the original name Makassar in October 1999.

- 3) KOKUBU Naoichi (國分直一) recalls that MABUCHI was poor in English as an undergraduate and once in a while he was very worried if he had passed English exams (KOKUBU, personal communication). It is hard to imagine MABUCHI as a poor linguist for he was later called a polyglot. One can presume that MABUCHI improved his English greatly in Taipei, thanks to an American-style English teaching method adopted by Taihoku Imperial University.
- 4) According to Jan Bremen of Leiden University, there is no student named Raden Sudjono on the roll of the graduates from the Law School of Leiden University. It is not certain whether Raden Sudjono was enrolled as a full-time student and/or in a Dutch name. He might be just an auditor. However, a story of an Indonesian who boasts of his title as graduate from Leiden University repeatedly appears in *Folklore in Sumatra*, a volume of *Military topography*, which is to be mentioned later in Note 9. I will leave it to future research and investigation to find out in what status Indonesian students were enrolled in Leiden University.
- 5) After the war, Raden Sudjono served as head of the Republic of Indonesia's Representative Office in Japan and later as the Indonesian ambassador to Sweden. After that, he lived in comfortable retirement in a mountain villa on the outskirts of Bogor. However, he was detained for a brief period of time in connection with his involvement in the Sawito incident, an anti-Suharto movement led by the Java mystic Sawito (GOTŌ, 1986: 534). For Sudjono's autobiographies, see Sudjono 1970a and 1970b. Also, GOTŌ (1986) cites I. N. Soebagijo, *Mr. Sudjono Mendarat dengan Pasukan Djepang di Banten 1942*, Gunung Agung, 1983 as the most detailed biography of Sudjono.
- 6) Ōi Tadashi (大井正) studied primitive religions in Indonesia, a subject close to MABUCHI's interest. Ōi wrote a report on agricultural rituals by referring to Jac. Woensdregt, *De Landbouw bij de To Bada' in Midden Celebes*, and Kruyt, *De West-Toradjas in Midden Celebes* (Ōi 1978, 1991). After the war, Ōi wrote a treatise in collaboration with MABUCHI (Ōi 1952)
- 7) When MABUCHI was dispatched to Indonesia, UTSUSHIKAWA Nenzō accompanied him on an inspection tour. At that time, UTSUSHIKAWA suggested to use the help of the Dutch scholars detained in the prison camp in Java. According to MABUCHI, however, UTSUSHIKAWA's idea was not put into action (MABUCHI 1974c: 544). In the Philippines, Dr. Beyer's ethnological and archaeological collections were preserved thanks to the efforts of KANŌ Tadao. Also, the project of the 'Report of the research commission on the Philippines' was underway, mobilizing American scholars in the prison camps. This implies that UTSUSHIKAWA's suggestion was very eccentric in the contemporary circumstances.
- 8) Itō Makoto told me the following facts about the Makassar Institute. Before the occupation by the Japanese Military, the Makassar Institute was called Institute of Matthes. 'Matthes' is the name of a Dutch missionary and linguist who came to South Celebes in the mid-nineteenth century. He is well known as a compiler of a Bugis-Makassar dictionary and as a collector of massive archives. The Institute of Matthes was named after him. Today, however, the institute is not conducting any activities, though the provincial-government-run South Celebes Cultural Association was housed in it between the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s. At the Cultural Association, local historians took leadership in issuing a journal about the local history. Old documents written in Bugis script were kept there. In the back of the office of the South Celebes Cultural Association was a library in which worm-eaten valuable books were stored in classic glass bookshelves. Itō had one of them opened and took out a book with a seal of Japan's Naval Office. The building that housed the

South Celebes Cultural Association was inside the fort built by the Dutch in the late seventeenth century. This is originally where the fort of the Kingdom of Goa was situated. After the Makassar War in 1669, the trading house of the Dutch East Indian Company was built there and the place was renamed Fort Rotterdam. Since the independence of Indonesia, the place has been called 'Benteng Ujung Pandang' ('Benteng' means 'fort'). Housed inside the fort were the South Celebes Cultural Association, La Galigo Museum, and offices of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Local History Compilation Office, Linguistic Laboratory, and Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology). In recent years, these offices have been relocated to the suburbs and, as of 1999, only the museum remained. See ITŌ's account about the Museum (ITŌ 1993: 14).

- 9) The only incident that MABUCHI wrote about concerning his days at the Makassar Institute is that a Southern Toradja, with whom he got well acquainted, asked him if there were two types of Japanese. That Toradja man asked this question because he found some Japanese mixed up the sound 'n' with 'ng' when pronouncing Indonesian words and others didn't (MABUCHI 1988: 262).
- 10) One of the *Military topographies* I have at hand is entitled *Folklore in Sumatra* written by the Research Section of Guards of East Area, which I have already referred to in another paper (NAKAO 1999b).
- 11) This interview was held in the professor emeritus' office in Tokyo Medical and Dental College on August 21, 1995.
- 12) I had no chance to ask TAKANUSHI Takezō what things were like in those days before he passed away in February 1999. According to his family, he went to Makassar with anthropometric instruments but lost all materials and documents in the devastation of war, which made it impossible for him, after the war, to put together the results of the research he did in his days in Makassar.
- 13) YAMADA Meiko published many works about the wartime comfort women (YAMADA 1991). I had an interview with her over the telephone on April 11, 2000.
- 14) In Celebes, the Celebes Islamic Association, a different group from the Java Islamic Association, was set up. The Association in Celebes had contact with 'Hana Agency,' an intelligence agency led by Major General HANADA Yukitake (花田行武) who was under the direct control of the Naval General Staff in Tokyo. The organization consisted of naval officers, many of whom had had a career as journalists (KOMURA 1988: 377-8). KOBAYASHI Tetsuo, the leading member of the Celebes Islamic Association, studied at Azhar University, Cairo. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina twice and was well versed in Arabic and Islamic theology. He published *Islam in Indonesia* (1942) (KOMURA 1988: 253-68).
- 15) According to MORIKURI Shigekazu (森栗茂一), TORIGOE Kenzaburō (鳥越憲三郎) was also working for the Makassar Institute. In 1944, however, he conducted research on Okinawan religion as a temporary staff member of the Okinawa Prefecture Government. One can presume, therefore, that he left the Makassar Institute right before MABUCHI was dispatched there. I could not establish if MABUCHI was TORIGOE's successor.
- 16) According to KAKU Yasuzō (郭安三), there was a pastor named 'KATŌ' at a United Church of Christ in Japan church in Ikebukuro, Tokyo. With this information, I made an inquiry to the United Church of Christ in Japan and found that the pastor was KATŌ Ryōichi (加藤良一). He served as pastor at Tokyo Ikebukuro Church until 1988. KATŌ was born in 1910 and died in 1991. A clerk of the church said that KATŌ went to Indonesia as a war pastor. After the war, he took care

of Japanese orphans left behind in Indonesia. He was also engaged in a campaign to build an overseas students' centre to help Indonesian students studying in Japan.

- 17) The author also met an old man who helped MABUCHI as an informant in his fieldwork on the Yami in Botel Tobago in Taiwan. He told me about the same tradition that MABUCHI wrote in his treatises. This man's talks seemed to indicate a 'bilaterality which has tendency toward patrilineality,' which made me suspect that MABUCHI had a habit of teaching anthropological theories to his informants while doing fieldwork. MABUCHI later invited the old Yami man to Tokyo. He showed me a picture of him standing in front of the Imperial Palace.
- 18) Information provided by ITŌ Makoto
- 19) KISHI Kōichi was sent to the Naval Office in Makassar by the Tōa Kenkyūjo (TSUGE 1979: 200).

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