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Colonial Anthropology in the Netherlands and Wartime Anthropology in Japan

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Introduction

Anthropology is basically a discourse on the 'other.' The term 'discourse' may be replaced with 'knowledge' or 'science' according to the naming of the intellectual activity. The term 'other,' however, remains intrinsic whatever the definition of the term is. That definition of anthropology sometimes leads to the presupposition that anthropology took shape by encountering 'others,' as was typically represented by the 'discovery of the new world.' Nevertheless, this presupposition is only partly correct for several reasons. In the first place, encounters with others do not automatically result in the shaping of anthropology or its forerunner, and, in the second place, the concept of 'other' is so multi-layered that one should not define it in a uniform way.

That the concept of 'other' takes multi-layered form could best be discussed in relation with the history of Japanese anthropology. Japanese anthropology did not emerge by encountering 'other' but by expanding the collective 'self.'¹⁾ However, this will be discussed in detail at another occasion. The present paper will shed light on the former point, *i.e.* that the encounter with the 'other' does not necessarily mould anthropology. I shall focus my attention on the relationship between the Dutch expansion and the beginning of colonial studies in that country. 'Wartime anthropology' will be the primary topic of the latter half of this paper. Tōichi MABUCHI (馬淵東一), one of the most significant figures in the history of Japanese anthropology, was active in the wartime situation. He intensively read about the Dutch colonial studies and had great sympathy with the theoretical orientation of Dutch anthropology.

I. Dutch contacts with the 'Indies'

As was mentioned above, the essence of anthropology is often paraphrased as 'encounters with the other.' It is also often stated that anthropology has inseparably been associated with colonialism. However, one should be reminded of the fact that the relationship between colonialism and the encounter with others are not directly related to each other. First of all, contact with others does not necessarily bring an interest in the other. Contacted people and objects need to be put in the position of 'other' in such a way that they occupy a certain position in the cognitive map of the 'self.' Although contacts are prerequisite for anthropology to be able to emerge, they are not a sufficient condition.

Colonialism is often explained as the European expansion into the realm of the other. However, the adventurous voyagers did not always have the intention of 'colonizing' the lands they 'discovered.' They were much more motivated by profits which could be gained through trade. This means that the initial period immediately after the first contact in the time of the great voyages was quite different in nature from the nineteenth century. Properly speaking, colonialism should refer to the situation in which the conquerors governed or tried to govern the conquered.

In this sense, it is a nationalistic exaggeration to say that Indonesia suffered from Dutch colonial rule for over three hundred years. This calculation is based on the time of first arrival of the Dutch voyagers led by C. G. Houtman in the Archipelago in 1596. The purpose of their visit was to open and protect commercial goods and trade routes. For the first two centuries after the initial contact, the VOC, the Netherlands East Indies Company, only controlled very restricted areas and the route between them, without any ambition to govern the people of the Indies. The colonial rule, thus, did not start just after the Westerners' arrival. They never thought of ruling the insular world. They sought profit but not the land.

For the sake of eliminating competition between the Dutch traders, of minimizing the risk of voyages, and of overcoming other European traders, Dutch merchants jointly formed a company, the VOC, in 1602. As the competition with other European traders became intense and the VOC became more and more involved in conflicts between local powers, the VOC committed itself to struggles over land. At the same time, there arose a necessity to 'manage' the land and people in order to realize the efficient production of commercial goods. For the first time during the presence of Dutch traders in the Archipelago, coffee was planted in Priangan in the seventeenth century, by mobilizing the local population. Faced with the downfall of the prices of the commodities which were not monopolized by one power any more, cultivation of commercial products was put forward to its extreme in the nineteenth century and people and land needed to be administered for the purpose of effective production and labour control, especially when the planters had to plant new agricultural products. The lust for land and labour only emerged at this stage. After repeated trials and errors, the colonial administration was established. It, however, soon collapsed with the invasion of Japanese military forces.

At the outset, the VOC, one of the oldest joint-stock companies in the world, had not only been indifferent to governing the land and the people, but also had no academic interest in the Indies (Fasseur 1993: 19). Profit was the paramount purpose. Practically, no effort had been made to study the land and people.

Yet this does not mean that nobody wrote anything on the newly contacted land and people. Around 1700, the botanist Rumphius compiled a manuscript on the history, society and political organization in Ambon (de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen 1989: 281). The first comprehensive description of the Indies, François Valentijn's *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, appeared in 1724-26. Valentijn was stationed at different places in the Indies for several years as a clergyman attached to the VOC. At that time, the Christian missionary was not active in the *terra cognita nova*. His task was to serve the employees of the company, and not to propagate Christianity in the Indies.

Even prior to this, the Dutch explorer F. de Houtman wrote a textbook of the Malay

language, while he was in capture in Moslem Aceh for several years. The textbook was published in 1603. It was used for two centuries meaning that there was no effort to revise it or to compile another textbook (Fasseur 1993: 20). The little interest in the Malay language shows that it was not regarded worth studying in the academic world and that only minimum knowledge of the language satisfied the needs for practical matters. The languages for commerce were Malay and Portuguese, which were the *lingua franca* of the coastal trade. There was even no need for preparing textbooks for Javanese, which should have been indispensable for contacting the Javanese kingdoms, the most powerful kingdoms in the Archipelago. In the first centuries, the VOC never tried to penetrate the inland area of Java where Javanese was spoken. The company relied on the language skills of the experienced employees and of the Javano-Europeans (Fasseur 1993: 20).

II. The 'Indies' as the object of academic interest

The academic interest in the East Indies, whatever the term 'academic' means, first emerged in the natural sciences. Botanists and herbalists in Leiden University asked 'the Seventeen Gentlemen,' the Board of Executives of the Netherlands East-Indies Company, to send samples to enrich the Hortus Botanicus, the Botanical Garden in Leiden, in 1619. This was one of the first examples of academic interests in the Malay Archipelago in the early phase. The request was, however, ignored by J. P. Coen, the Governor General at that time (Fasseur 1993: 21). Such efforts in studying 'Indies' never ceased, however sporadic.

The enlightenment that prevailed in Europe in the eighteenth century stimulated academic interests in the colonies so much that the Europeans in the Indies founded the Batavian Society for Art and Science in 1778, the first European academy outside Europe. Although the Society soon fell into apathy just after its aspirated beginning, it was awaked by Raffles during the British interregnum (1811-1816). Raffles supported the Batavian Society and encouraged his colleagues such as Crawford, Marsden and Leyden to study the East Indies. The writings from Raffles, Crawford and Marsden show their encyclopaedic nature, covering various elements of culture of the Indies.

After Raffles took his leave, the Batavian Society was supported by Governor van der Cappelen, who had been influenced by the thought of the enlightenment. He dispatched German, C. G. C. Reinwardt, to conduct research on agriculture, fine arts and other scientific topics. All the while, toiling to establish a botanical garden in Bogor. Reinwardt also made an effort in creating the first European school. After he left the Indies, he was appointed as a professor of chemistry, botany and mineralogy in Leiden. The artefacts he brought from the Indies formed the basic collection of the Ethnological Museum, together with von Siebolt's Japanese collection. Another German, who was assigned a similar task by van der Capellen, contributed to the establishment of a botanical garden in Brussels and became a professor of botany after the botanical garden was moved to Leiden (Fasseur 1993: 22). The Batavian Society developed after 1843, and a museum was attached in 1868 to house the collection and the books of the society, which is now known as the National Museum in Jakarta.

Leiden University is eminent for its Indonesian studies as well as for Oriental studies. The university itself was established in 1575, the oldest in the Netherlands. The predecessor

of the later Indonesian studies was a training course for colonial civil officers, the course attached to the university in the nineteenth century.

Another basis for Indonesian studies in Leiden, i.e. Oriental studies, had initially nothing to do with the East Indies. 'Oriental' strictly meant Semitic languages. Whatever it was at the outset, the Oriental studies in Leiden became one of the primary sources for colonial studies by supplying their philologists for the studies of Indonesian languages. The figures in Leiden in the second half of the nineteenth century, such as Roorda, Veth, Keyzer, Pijnappel and Meinsma, were in fact all graduates of Hebrew or Arabic language studies (Fasseur 1993: 19).²⁾

Until the first half of the nineteenth century, there was no specialist in the Malay language in Leiden. Fasseur presents an episode of this. When the Dutch Indies' Government planned to issue billets in 1814, none among the Government's personnel could translate the words and sentences into Malay. Finally, the Dutch original had to be sent to France for translation (Fasseur 1993: 19).

The language was particularly neglected as an object of academic research and study. Compared with the Semitic languages, probably, Malay was regarded not worth studying, being a vulgar Creole, 'a miserable mixture' and 'total nonsense.' These are Veth's words, cited by Fasseur, showing contempt of the Malay language, which perhaps reflected their academic career; they were educated as philologists in Semitic languages, i.e. the language of the Scriptures.

This attitude was maintained for a long time. There was a division of labour between ethnology and philology not only in terms of the domain of academic activities but also in terms of the nature of the societies they studied. As will be discussed later, anthropology, or more correctly ethnology, had long been the study of non-literate societies, while the literate societies such as Java and Bali were mainly studied by philologists. What was studied first was not the spoken languages but the written texts such as poems, chronicles and decrees, which were highly valued particularly from the historical and literary points of view. From the 'academic' point of view, Malay was not worth studying. Even the richness of Javanese and Balinese literature was not introduced to metropolitan academics until the first half of the nineteenth century.

III. Colonial administration

The VOC had a number of privileges that should otherwise have exclusively belonged to the state. The company signed treaties with foreign sovereignties, conducted wars, issued its own currency and appointed local administrators. These were the privileges, however, allowed as far as the company accomplished its task as a trading agency. Administration was not the first task to accomplish for the company. They intervened in native conflicts, sometimes with their military forces, and imposed their own government as far as these activities were regarded effective for profit making of the company. Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century, the company gained its own territory, given in compensation for the loss caused by interventions in struggles between native powers. The territory was then exploited for commercial production. The company itself, however, suffered from fraud,

inefficient management and gigantic expenditures for warfare and maintenance of the territory. It was finally dissolved in 1798. The Netherlands Government then took over the territory.

The need for administration began to be felt in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Severe competition for commercial agricultural products between the colonial powers pressed the Netherlands to introduce more effective management of land and people. Frequent rebellions against their presence and their native collaborators also forced them to establish political control over the land on which they exerted their influence.

This transfer of power inevitably brought a great change. The East Indies was put under colonial rule. In 1811, Governor General Janssens planned to start a facility where European children and royal descendants of the Javanese kings could gather. The purpose was to make the Europeans acquainted with the Javanese language and customs. The plan was never realized because of the British interregnum. Based on the same idea, however, a Javanese language school was opened in Surakarta in 1832. Introduction of the notorious cultivation system also urged the establishment of an effective administration for the purpose of managing the people and the land (de Josselin de Jong and Vermeulen 1989: 283).³⁾

The beginning of such training was, thus, closely related with the cultivation system (1830-1916) on the one hand and was coincident with the revival of academic interests on the part of the Batavian Society on the other. It took two centuries for the East Indies to be recognized as the target of 'colonial rule,' requiring serious efforts of administration, and equally serious efforts to become a field of academic research.

In the Netherlands, on the other hand, a course named 'Malay Language and East Indies Geography and Ethnology' was first put in effect in the Military Academy in Breda in 1836. This course was transferred to the Royal Delft Academy for Technology in 1842. Meanwhile, the Javanese language school in Surakarta was closed down. Then, a school with two different purposes, for final examination of the colonial officers and for teaching academic specialists of the colony, was opened in 1864 in Leiden. This school became a part of Leiden University in 1876. In 1902, the Academy in Delft also merged with the university. The course in the university first began as a two-year diploma course, which was later extended to three years. Finally in 1922, the course was elevated to a full-degree course of the university with a five-year curriculum. The graduates of this course were, thus, the elite of the country just as the graduates in other departments, having a social position different from their predecessors who only had rather *ad hoc* or on-site training for getting acquainted with the colony in a practical way. With this establishment of the training course of the colonial civil officers, the Netherlands East Indies was fully recognized as a part of the Netherlands. The training course of colonial civil servants also included anthropology.⁴⁾

IV. Study of customary law in the Netherlands

Part and parcel of the training course, a subject of practical value, was the study of customary laws. As is easily understood, the colonial rule could seldom exert overwhelming physical power to control the people. It was, and still is, more efficient to rely on the existing rules, whether written or unwritten, and officers in power. This necessitated the study of

customary laws and political systems.

In the Netherlands Indies, customary law were generically termed *adatrecht*, a combination of the Dutch word for 'law' and a Malay word of Arabic origin, *adat*, which means 'tradition, convention, or custom.' In the Islamic context, *adat* means local customs in contrast to dogma.

The Netherlands East Indies had a remarkable accumulation of studies concerning land rights. As MABUCHI pointed out, the studies contributed to the protection of land rights of the indigenous people by displaying various types of communal possession of land and by prohibiting the transfer of lands from the indigenous people to Europeans and other outsiders. According to him, the studies aspired a policy that effectively prevented the monopolization of lands, which had tended to be monopolized either by the foreigners or the indigenous chiefs as the result of the so-called 'liberalization' of the land ownership and legalism (MABUCHI 1974: 46).

Nevertheless, the beginning of customary law studies was not so easy. Here again, Raffles played a crucial and controversial role. During the British rule (1811-1816), which occurred as a result of Napoleon's rule of the Netherlands, Raffles tried to introduce the land-rent system following the measure taken in Bengal at that time. According to that theory, land was once owned by the king, while the colonial government now took the position of the king, therefore people should pay rent to the colonial government. The logic was very clear, at least for Europeans, yet he did not understand how complicated it was to distinguish possession rights, usufruct rights and so on, which were caused by diverse relationships between persons and land.

Raffles' influence was clear in two aspects: he stimulated the discussion on relationships concerning land and people on the one hand, and also encouraged the academic activities of the Batavian Society on the other. The change was not totally caused by his personality, but it reflected the general tendencies in Europe.

Around 1800, the payment of tax began to be based on cash rather than kind, reflecting the transition to a monetary economy. On the other hand, the introduction of forced cultivation in the 1830s caused great changes in village communities in Java. Especially, as van Dam (1937) pointed out, the communal aspects of villages were strengthened. Although forced cultivation was officially maintained until the beginning of the twentieth century, it already gained notoriety in the middle of the nineteenth century, because of the destructive impact on the existing socio-economic system. In 1854, the Administration Act (*Regeeringsreglement*) was instituted for the purpose of protecting existing social customs. Clause 71 of this act endorsed 'native communities' (*inlandsche gemeenschap*), though it only defined the chiefs and property of such communities and did not refer to the customs concerning land (MABUCHI 1974: 47).

The customary laws concerning land in various areas in the Netherlands East Indies were surveyed and summarized in the three volumes of *Eindresumé van het onderzoek naar de rechten van den inlander op den grond op Java en Madoera* which were published in 1876, 1880, and 1890. The publication should be regarded as another starting point, rather than a consummation, of the studies on customary laws in the Netherlands East Indies. Studies on customary laws were carried out until the international recognition of Indonesian

independence, except for the years when the Netherlands was occupied by Germany and the Netherlands East Indies was occupied by Japanese. The results of the customary law studies were published in the forms of dissertations as well as articles in *Adatrechtbundels* (the bulletin for *Adat* laws). The necessity for establishing legal order in the colony created a chair of customary law studies in Leiden University in 1877. Systematic study of customary laws began with van Vollenhoven, who occupied the chair in 1901. Then, data from diverse areas of the colony were already available. In the same year, the home country adopted the so-called 'ethical policy' for the sake of the colony.

There was a dispute in the Netherlands on how to place the customary laws in the administration of the colony. Some insisted on a total adoption of the legal system from the metropolitan Netherlands, while others tried to maintain the customary laws. Van Vollenhoven, representing the latter position, was often critical of the government's policy. He advocated a typology of 'legal communities' to cover the variety of socio-political units in the East Indies. Based on such standards as administrative function, property and judiciary, in combination with consanguineal or territorial groupings and political units, he divided the territory of the Netherlands East Indies into nineteen 'legal domains.'

Based on the studies of the customary laws, the government began to endorse the 'legal communities' in the Netherlands East Indies. Following the first enactment in Java in 1906, a series of Native Communities Acts (*Inlandsche Gemeenschapsreglement*) were issued between 1914-1931 for the societies in the other islands (MABUCHI 1974: 53).

One of the significant aspects of the customary law studies, especially in relation to anthropology, was the 'discovery' of the religious nature of the legal communities. The customary law studies in the Netherlands East Indies recognized the cosmological order that lies at the basis of any customary law system. Generally speaking, every law is based on some cosmological order in the sense that it represents the idealized order, although such order is often invisible in the ramified and complicated law system of modern societies.

V. Emergence of anthropology in the Netherlands

The term ethnology or ethnography appeared in the 1830s in a Dutch educational institution, first in unpublished lectures in The Hague and then in Leiden (de Josselin de Jong 1989: 282). This means that anthropology in the Netherlands emerged roughly at the same time as the onset of the cultivation system and the growing interest in the training of colonial officers. It therefore betrays a close relationship between anthropology and colonialism, particularly colonialism, which includes an administrative system. The colonial regime, thus, was administrative as well as academic. The will to administer the people of the colony was in line with the intellectual interest in the people.

Although the professors named their subjects differently, a combination of geography and ethnology (*land- en volkenkunde*), sometimes with linguistics in addition, was popular. Anthropology in this initial phase was encyclopaedic and was expected to provide practical knowledge on the colony, even if some professors had never visited it. 'Practical knowledge' basically consisted of languages, customary and Islamic laws. In this context, *land- en volkenkunde* might have been a residual category, 'left-overs,' of practical knowledge. The

content of *land- en volkenkunde* varied from one professor to other.

Whether the chair advocated a certain theory or just ignored any theoretical inclinations, was totally dependent upon the title holder. Among the theory-oriented anthropologists, we find Wilken, who was an evolutionist and for the first time adopted the term 'comparative' in the name of the chair, which he occupied at Leiden University (1885-91).

The so-called structural approach emerged with J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, who started teaching in 1922 and was appointed full professor in 1935. In his inaugural address, 'The Malay Archipelago as an ethnological field of study' (1935), he presented a theoretical framework based on a comparison with a limited scope of those peoples and cultures belonging to a same linguistic phylum or stock. He had a background in linguistics, holding a degree in that discipline; his doctoral thesis was on living things and non-living things in Algonquin languages. Although his chair was attached with the training course of colonial officers, he was more interested in anthropology in general, keeping touch with anthropologists in Europe and the USA, than in keeping himself busy with colonial matters.

The founder of Dutch structural anthropology himself did not write much. To know his way of thinking, one should refer to books and articles written by his friends and students. To name a few, van Wouden's study on the alliance system in Eastern Indonesia, and Rassers's analysis of Javanese myths. Structural anthropology in Leiden was strongly influenced by Durkheim and Mauss's *Primitive classification* (1963). It was van Ossenbruggen, however, a jurist who introduced this important work of French sociology to Leiden. He wrote articles on the correspondence of cosmological representation and social organization, referring not only to the French sociologists but also to the works of British and American anthropologists. It is an ex-post-facto interpretation to label J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong and his colleagues as structuralists. His students recalled that their mentor used the term 'system' more often than 'structure.' This does not mean that the Leiden anthropology did not deserve to be called structural anthropology. It is most probable, however, that J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong did not call himself a 'structuralist.'

Anyhow, although the use of the label 'ethnology' in the Netherlands can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century, the anthropology familiar to us only started with J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong. Probably, there was no clear identity as anthropologists in the Netherlands before J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, with the exception of Wilken, even if the term 'ethnology' did appear much earlier. Leiden University housed an institute for training colonial officers. One can easily imagine that within this institute and among the practitioners of colonial services, an area-based identity was stronger than a discipline-based one. This perhaps explains van Ossenbruggen's somewhat deviating interest in anthropology. As we see in the list of papers published in the anthology of structural anthropology in the Netherlands (de Josselin de Jong 1977), some important articles were written by non-professional anthropologists.

The colonial studies in the Netherlands, thus, existed in an inter-disciplinary atmosphere, if we may use a contemporary term. This reminds us of the fact that colonial studies were the predecessor of the post-war 'area studies,' which are the legitimate children of the former.

After the bitter experience of having been neglected by Lévi-Strauss, Dutch anthropologists launched advertisements for themselves in the 1970s by translating important

articles written in Dutch into English, including articles of non-professional anthropologists (de Josselin de Jong 1977). These non-professional anthropologists were not so 'naïve' or unaffected by any theoretical inclination as was insisted by P. E. de Josselin de Jong in his response to H. Geertz's comment (de Josselin de Jong 1977: 15). According to the latter, all the works done by Dutch anthropologists were too much guided by the theoretical framework laid by the mentor, J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong (Geertz 1965: 295). Although Leiden did not form any definite 'school' of anthropology as P. E. de Josselin de Jong explains, those non-professional 'anthropologists' must have known the theory of Durkheim and Mauss in the interdisciplinary atmosphere of the colonial study, even if they did not refer to it.

Another source of Dutch structural anthropology should be sought in the 'field' itself. No matter whether they had actually been guided by a supposed mentor or not, they might have in any case 'discovered' the structural patterns such as 'general exchange' and their cosmological representations in Indonesia. This is simply because the local people described their society in a structural way. In this sense, structural anthropology in the Netherlands was formed in collaboration with, or *inter loqui*, the people they studied. One might say that the Indonesian people had great influence on shaping the Leiden forum of colonial anthropology, even though they were invisible and not present in the foreground.

VI. MABUCHI, Customary Law Studies, and Dutch Anthropology

MABUCHI, who passed away in 1988, is the most important figure when we discuss Japanese wartime anthropology. He was a pioneer not only in the studies in Taiwan and Indonesia but also in anthropology in Japan. He was the first and the only student who majored in anthropology in pre-war Japan when the only department of anthropology was opened in Taihoku (Taipei) Imperial University (臺北帝國大學). He also linked Dutch anthropology, which he encountered in an unusual and unfortunate manner during the wartime, to Japanese anthropology.⁵⁾

His commitment to Indonesia was two-fold: customary laws and structural anthropology. He covered almost all available literature of the customary law studies in the Netherlands. His summaries of these studies are still essential for those who start a study in this domain. He did not add new findings, however, as he practically carried out no field research in Indonesia. This shows a sharp contrast with his studies in Taiwan, which were based on his own fieldwork over many years. On the other hand, he showed great interest in the theoretical aspects of Leiden anthropology. His scepticism led him to a negation of grand theories and made him feel close to Leiden anthropology, which was based on field research rather than theories. He absorbed much from Dutch colonial studies and fed the younger generation with what he digested. He had more sympathy with Dutch anthropology and Durkheim than with Lévi-Strauss, even when structuralism was in fashion in the 1960s and 70s. Perhaps his field experience in Taiwan and linguistic interests made him feel close to J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's style. His relative indifference to Java and Bali also reflected the Leiden style.

The starting point of MABUCHI's Indonesian study was customary law. It was also

MABUCHI's life-long concern. At first sight, MABUCHI's concern with customary laws in Indonesia seems to have been a natural development of his studies in Formosa. This is not correct for two reasons. First, his initial concern with Indonesia, or more correctly the Netherlands East Indies, was not from his own will, at least. He was assigned a study of the Netherlands East Indies, when he joined the research section of the Manchurian Railway Company (南満洲鐵道株式會社), a strategic institute for gathering information for the purpose of Japanese expansion. He published a summary of his study in *Nampo nenkan* (the Almanac of Southern Areas) (MABUCHI 1941). Secondly, his interest in customary law did not automatically emerge when he conducted field research among the aboriginal groups in Taiwan. There are two factors concerning this point. On the one hand, as was the case in his Indonesian studies, he was assigned the task of compiling data on customary laws, as part of the project initiated by International Academy Union, of which the Japanese Imperial Academy was a member. On the other hand, matters such as social organization, its cultural manifestations and the relationship between land and people had already attracted him long before he became involved in the research projects. He became interested in socio-economic history as early as in his high-school days, according to his retrospective. It was not unusual, even among high school students in the 1920s, to discuss topics raised by Marxism.⁶⁾ Although MABUCHI was not exceptional, his inherent scepticism led him to survey books concerning socio-economic history and ethnology, hoping to find a more solid basis for refuting the popular Marxian grand theory. He recalled he read books written by Morgan, Wundt and many others (MABUCHI 1988: 11).

When the Nanpo Jinbun Kenkyusho (南方人文研究所, Institute of South Sea Cultures), which was doomed to be short-lived, was established at Taihoku Imperial University in 1943, MABUCHI was appointed as the only permanent staff. He was soon mobilized to the Makassar Institute of the Imperial Navy (海軍マカッサル研究所) at present-day Ujung Pandang. Having been based at this institute, he had an opportunity to visit the Toraja (also known as Toradja) and other areas in South Sulawesi. This was for him the first time to be in Indonesia and he did not have an opportunity to revisit Indonesia until the 1970s, when he conducted field research in Sumba. Although he told some people that he made a totally solitary trip to the inland of Sulawesi, he did not write anything about this 'field trip.' He probably submitted at least a brief report to the Institute, though nothing is left today.

He did not write much on the Makassar Institute in his essay. He only mentioned the library of Kruyt, a missionary who published the first detailed ethnographic accounts of the Toraja. It is not sure whether he had met with Dutch scholars interned in the military camps. He must have been familiar with the studies of Dutch scholars, as he had studied them when he was in the Manchurian Railway Company.

There is no sign that MABUCHI's report was used by the Japanese Naval Government for their rule in Sulawesi. This was possibly because of the short-lived rule by the Japanese military forces in Indonesia. If the military rule endured much longer and advanced to a next step that might be called colonization, the story must have been a little different. The anthropologist's reports might have been systematically utilized for the purpose of administration. Nevertheless, this was not the case. In Sumatra and Java, which were controlled by the Army during the Japanese occupation, the military force itself carried out a

few but detailed research projects on native communities, not relying upon scholars but ordering their own staff, presumably with some academic background. Their reports were submitted to the military headquarters, although it is not sure how the latter read and used them.⁷⁾

Once World War II ended, Japanese anthropologists faced severe difficulties. MABUCHI, too, like everybody else, had great difficulty in finding a job. The Naval Institute and Taihoku University were abolished following the Japanese withdrawal from all occupied areas. After teaching in several universities he finally found a post in social anthropology at Tokyo Metropolitan University (東京都立大学) in 1953. His senior fellow anthropologists Kiyoto FURUNO (古野清人) and Masao OKA (岡正雄) also joined the university. Another difficulty lay in academic activities. It was by no means imaginable for a scholar of the defeated imperialist country to carry out research abroad both for financial reasons and anti-Japanese sentiment. MABUCHI submitted a paper to a most authoritative academic journal on Indonesian studies, but it was rejected by the Dutch editors and was directed to another journal with a German title.

In the 1950s, he often joined informal meetings held at Kunio YANAGITA's (柳田國男) private house. YANAGITA, the founder of Japanese folklore studies and an influential figure in Japanese anthropology as well, advised him to visit Okinawa, an area that he had never visited. YANAGITA had already written a book on Okinawa and argued that Okinawa still retained the ancient form of Japanese culture. MABUCHI was financed by YANAGITA's private fund and visited Okinawa. There he discovered what he had been handling, using the data from Indonesia and Polynesia, i.e. 'complimentary filiation' according to the terminology of British functionalist anthropology. However, having been acquainted with Dutch structural anthropology, MABUCHI analysed those phenomena in terms of marital ties and cosmological representations. MABUCHI's viewpoint towards Okinawa stimulated graduate students of Tokyo Metropolitan University. In the peak years in the 1970s, most of the graduate students carried out their fieldwork in Okinawa and the adjacent Amami islands. The focus of their studies was the cosmological and social orders, which were characterized by various principles of descent.

While stimulating Okinawan studies, MABUCHI also took up structural anthropology in his lectures. He examined Lévi-Strauss's *Structures élémentaires* (1949) with his students, using J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's commentary as a side reader. Although MABUCHI himself did not write anything but a few introductory articles with a structural orientation, he had a great impact on the students through his lectures.

Besides the lectures at the Tokyo Metropolitan University, MABUCHI joined the research team on Indonesian socio-economic studies organized by Kōichi KISHI (岸幸一). As his contribution, he reviewed Dutch studies on customary laws, which he read during the days in Manchuria. Younger generations of Japanese anthropologists absorbed much from MABUCHI, but they were interested more in socio-cultural aspects by means of the socio-economic aspects being less popular among them. MABUCHI's review of the Dutch studies on the land system and customary laws was entrusted to historians. Although MABUCHI showed an antipathy to historians, he himself was interested in and never neglected historical studies.

Although the wartime anthropology in Japan has often been neglected, perhaps from

ideological viewpoints, it apparently contributed to lay a basis for post-war anthropology, as MABUCHI's case shows. If MABUCHI had not been involved in wartime anthropology, Indonesian studies conducted by Japanese anthropologists after the war might have been a little different from their present shape. Without MABUCHI and the situation of the war, Japanese anthropologists might have been stimulated less by Dutch structural anthropology, although the impact it actually had was not made explicit and only a few noticed the thin thread tying Japanese and Dutch anthropologies via MABUCHI in wartime. It is not yet clear to what extent Japanese wartime anthropologists contributed to the military expansion and rule in Southeast Asia. It is apparent, however, that present Japanese anthropology is a legitimate successor to wartime anthropology, regardless of taking this positively or negatively.

Conclusion

The colonial studies in the Netherlands were gradually formed through time after a relatively long period of indifference to the East Indies. In this sense, Japan's wartime anthropology in Southeast Asia cannot be compared with the Dutch colonial studies, because of the former's lack of long-term experience and accumulation of data and knowledge. If we discuss the characteristics of colonial studies, Dutch studies on the Netherlands East Indies should be more properly compared with the Japanese studies on Taiwan and Korea.

A number of anthropologists and ethnologists were incorporated into the research section of the Manchurian Railway Company. Its research section was apparently established as a 'think tank' for Japanese military expansion. Nevertheless, so far as Southeast Asia is concerned, I wonder if this think tank ever played a practical role. As MABUCHI did, the think tank collected preceding studies on the areas, especially in the fields of customary laws and social organization. It is, however, not certain to what extent these summaries and reports were distributed within the military factions. It is well known, on the other hand, that the Japanese military forces gathered information on the targeted areas through their own intelligence services before the outbreak of the war.⁸⁾ It seems that the military forces relied more on their own intelligence services than the think tank staff, most members of which were civilian scholars. It should be added that the army and the navy were quite distinct units and had little contact with each other. It is imaginable that the navy's reports on its occupied areas were never distributed to the army or vice versa. Thus the policy to rule the militarily occupied areas was by no means systematic. MABUCHI said in a cynical way typical of him, 'Japan was not at all imperialistic as far as the studies on the South was concerned.' He wrote, and said also, that there was a fever-like Southern boom, which produced a number of 'instant specialists' in Southern studies.

In the wartime, Japanese anthropologists were recruited for the purpose of preparing for colonial administration in the future rather than for urgent military missions. If the military occupation had lasted longer and eventually led to some civilian governments, the works by Japanese anthropologists could have had certain influences on administration. Fortunately or unfortunately, this was not the case and the Japanese anthropologists who worked for military forces were not blamed much for their wartime activities. Eventually they had kept a

distance from the policy-making process.

This still holds true of anthropology in present-day Japan. Japanese anthropologists tend to direct themselves to the academic world more than to practical matters. Should this 'habitus' be praised for its 'value-free' stance? Or is it just reflecting the negative evaluation by the policy-makers and administrators who regard anthropology as a useless discipline?

Notes

- 1) Since the beginning of anthropology in Japan till this day, the roots and the descent of the 'Japanese' people and culture has been one of the most popular topics.
- 2) Roorda and Meisma were specialists of the Javanese language, while Pijnappel taught Malay. Keyzer was a linguist and Veth was a geographer who wrote an encyclopaedic book on Java.
- 3) The cultivation system was first introduced in 1830 and was officially maintained until 1916. Under this system, Javanese peasants were exploited to the extent that their communities were transformed into a state of shared poverty.
- 4) The disciplines such as administration, jurisprudence, language, and culture were still separated. Yet they never lost mutual interaction.
- 5) NAKAO (in this volume) describes the facts concerning his whereabouts and activities before and during the war.
- 6) High schools in Japan before 1945 were totally different from the post-war ones. As is apparent from the fact that almost all high school graduates entered universities, pre-war high schools roughly correspond with 'colleges of liberal arts' in the present universities.
- 7) The report on Sumatra includes research items such as religions, native social systems, dress, favourite music and so on. The report must have been useful for the intelligence services, if it was ever used. I owe this information to Katsumi NAKAO. In Java, reports were more specialized in socio-economic aspects. One of the reports on West Java offers information on the household size, income, acreage, religious affiliation of the inhabitants and so on. The author of the report, Fukuo UENO (上野福男), later taught geography at Komazawa University (駒沢大学).
- 8) Not only casual Japanese travellers but Japanese merchants who had settled in many cities in the Netherlands East Indies and British Malaya turned out to have conducted espionage when the Japanese forces invaded.

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