

# DEFINING GENIUS LOCI AND QUALIFYING CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

OF THE MINAHASA ETHNIC COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA

Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang

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## THESIS SUMMARY

*Cultural and geographical landscapes are of major importance in Minahasan life. Minahasa, similar to other regions in Indonesia, has a rich and diverse suite of bio-ecosystems, cultures and ethnic communities. Increasing population growth and development in the Minahasa region in recent decades have, however, resulted in the disappearance of much of the natural landscape as well as deterioration of the distinct culture and traditions of its resident ethnic groups. In order to maintain these socio-cultural and environmental systems, conserving and protecting the natural environment and the culture become important agendas at both regional and national levels. Minahasa has key environmental features and characteristic; hence to overcome this problem requires comprehension of the socio-cultural systems of their society and the development of a holistic environmental-conservation strategy to assist the maintenance of their ethno-ecological relationships. This thesis documents and analyzes the concept of genius loci as it relates to the land occupied by the ethnic groups of Minahasa. The thesis seeks to qualify the contribution of genius loci to better inform landscape and environmental planning systems in the region with the potential of implementation in the Indonesian context. Accordingly, this thesis seeks to examine a different interpretation of genius loci and develop new frameworks to conceptualizing genius loci. The ethnographic research methodology applied in this research seeks to identify, characterize, and compare genius loci and test it through ethnoecology and landscape knowledge systems using selected locations in the Minahasa Region as case studies. The analysis unpacks different ethnoecological information. A range of interview strategies were used in order to gain a deep understanding of the Minahasan cultural landscape components, both tangible and intangible. This thesis interrogated the existence of genius loci and its connection to folklore, memory, sense of place and the identity of the Minahasa and their land. Further, "ethnospecific" ecological-landscape knowledge is documented, and the interactions between the Minahasa and their landscape are compiled and documented. The thesis demonstrates the important role genius loci has in shaping the identity of a community and this region that presently hosts a multi-cultural and multi-religious society, as well as providing an avenue to determine the validity of genius loci as a component of cultural landscape systems. The novelty of approaches in this study can be applied in future analyses of people-place-environment relations using culture as an analysis instrument. It is hoped that the genius loci findings of this research can provide an efficient, innovative and responsive tool to inform ethnic-relevant environmental planning and development in the region and Indonesia.*

**Key Words:** *Genius Loci, Cultural landscape, Minahasa region, Minahasan, Indonesia, Indigenous culture, Traditional knowledge, Conservation, Sustainability.*



## DECLARATION

NAME : CYNTHIA ERLITA VIRGIN WUISANG  
PROGRAM : PHD IN ARCHITECTURE (LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE)

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by other person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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SIGNATURE

DATE: 14 FEBRUARY 2014



## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my family; my loving husband Min Jefry Purnama who is always beside me when I experience distress and patiently supporting me to finish this thesis writing, and to my two precious sons Kevind Timothy Purnama and Ken Phillip Purnama for their love and companionship, and becoming “my reminder” to boost this thesis to the end.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research Background

Over the past century, cultural aspects have become very important to people's being. In most countries, notably Indonesia, people are justly proud of their dignity and commitment in respecting diversity and multi-cultural aspects. Culture reflects and portrays deep meaning to people in actualizing their lives through their interaction processes with other people and nature. Actualization is mirrored in civilization processes and thus creates different kind of cultures. Cultural aspects are identified in various forms: livelihoods, belief systems and religions, languages, technologies, settlement patterns, artefacts, architecture, cultural practices and societal norms (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Nature complements and shapes culture creating strong inter-relationships. Strong inter-relationships occur between people and their environment, especially in places or lands where nature and people meet. Hence, culture binds people and place.

Landscape and culture, two different realms bundled together, are often called a cultural landscape. This construct is a result of the impact of human activities on the natural environment. Cultural landscape is defined as a geographic area which includes culture and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with persons or communities, a historic event, activity and/or exhibit, cultural and/or aesthetic values (Riesenweber, in Longstreth, 2008, p. 23). Sauer, in his seminal work *The Morphology of Landscape*, defines landscape as an area made up of distinct associations of physical and cultural forms, whereas the cultural landscape is the engagement of a cultural group in the natural landscape (Sauer, 1925, in Longstreth, 2008). Some scientists view cultural landscapes as the translation of social and cultural beliefs and values into a visible form, with the landscape communicating naturally. Culture can be seen as implicitly and explicitly expressed in landscape, with humans holding a key position in its formation and continuity.

This research aims to define and qualify the *genius loci* and cultural landscape of the Minahasa ethnic community and document significant and relevant cultural components related to their interaction with the environment in the region in sustainable ways. The findings of this research recommend the potential of *genius loci* as an environmental tool to help shape the identity of the

community and to guide local and regional governments in planning, designing and managing the city and regions in sustainable ways.

Cultural landscape thoughts and concepts have evolved over past several decades. This is a new phenomenon or concept in the field of "conservation", cultural landscape is expressed in Australian and British literature (ICOMOS Australia, 1999) and in USA literature in the field of historic conservation. This research project is therefore significant to landscape protection strategies. Both UNESCO and ICOMOS, as international organizations, firmly support the cultural landscape approach which is embedded in their policies and charters. New approaches to heritage management were raised back in the mid-1980s and into the early 1990s with the interest focusing on the cultural landscape paradigm, particularly ancient monuments and sites approach. The world interest in modern cultural heritage conservation is a post World War II innovation.

In Western thought landscape began to rise in sixteenth century in various context; *landschaft*, which is derived from a compact territory of a population in towns and villages (Jackson, 1965 in Stilgoe, 1980) in a fully design of paths, fields, gardens, parks, and the like as well as landscaping or manipulating the topography, land surface and plant material. This archetypal landscape persisted into the nineteenth century across Europe and the United States (Stilgoe, 1980).

Western countries through UNESCO and ICOMOS have pioneered the role of landscape preservation since the early 1980s. Their notion of cultural landscapes involves evaluating and analysing the physical entity that involves natural and human-made components in the environment. Cultural landscape also entails natural settings by endowing it with special meanings for people. Recent cultural site heritage perspectives and works have flourished cultural landscape planning and management (Taylor, 2012; 2011; 2009). In the developing world cultural landscape preservation or conservation is only starting to be acknowledged (Longstreth, 2008).

An important theory in cultural landscape is *genius loci*. *Genius loci* in this research context will be identified as "spiritual landscape" and a "sense of place" which illustrates ethics and values towards the land, and reflects patterns of settlement and development over time (Boyle, in Longstreth, 2008, p. 150). However, little research about *genius loci* in Indonesian landscape knowledge has been undertaken. Hence, it is still unclear as to how to determine the existence, essential qualities and role of *genius loci* as an intangible cultural place in this context.

The definition of place and cultural significance according to Australia ICOMOS' Burra Charter is "*an area, land, landscape, building or other work, and may include components, contents, spaces and views*" (ICOMOS Australia, 1999, p. 2). Thus, cultural significance in relationship to aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations is embodied in the place as fabric, use, and setting as well as in associations and meanings. However, global changes to the multi-dimensional aspects of place worldwide have however had a radical bearing on the appearance of landscapes. On one hand, local people are keen to maintain the existing patterns of their land to signal their sense of possession, on the other hand there is a desire to introduce new systems informed by new technologies, economic conditions, and enlarged knowledge bases. For local people, traditional and all cultural properties are strongly connected with land patterns and also their dominant settlement places. However, pressures and demands of globalization are influencing people's paradigms to change their customs and habituality. For inhabitants to achieve this change may involve a significant modification to their existing patterns of their land use, enforcing a change in life cycle. What this demonstrates is that life, soul, beings and experiences are central to this construct; hence, these socio-cultural changes are essential in building a sense of possession. In other words, the relationship between sense, experience, belief and spirits of place is well integrated. Spirits of place or *genius loci* are connected to people's spiritual systems. They are interpreted as the particular structure of mind of each individual endowed by nature. In lexicography, *genius loci* is translated as the guardian spirit of place, including the special atmosphere of a place. The concept of *genius loci* will be discussed in greater detail later in this thesis drawing upon a range of literature.

This research on *genius loci* will focus upon a particular location in the researcher's home country, Indonesia. Indonesia is the largest archipelago country in the world with approximately 17,508 tropical islands encompassing 1,919,440 km<sup>2</sup> of land which is inhabited by almost 231 million people with more than 300 regional languages, consisting of 360 ethnic communities (Adishakti, 2003; Suartika, 2002; UNESCO, 2003<sup>b</sup>). Most of these inhabited islands are comprised of collections of cultural heritage in different historical places. These historical places present unique traditional living cultures, traditional practices and events, craft industries, artefacts, and community's cultural resources across the archipelago. Thus, all the cultural properties associated with *genius loci* are embedded.

Scholars from Indonesia and other countries in various disciplines have conducted research on cultural places including using *genius loci* as methodological theory. Particularly interesting places and sites on various islands in Indonesia were chosen as case studies. Research exemplars

therefore can be cited as significant examples in revealing the existence of local culture, and therefore the definition of local identity (Santosa, 2001; Sasongko, 2003; Amirrol, 2010; Irawan & Mulyadi, 2010; Patana, 2001; Ong, 2010). However, these precedents also demonstrate different patterns and viewpoints in defining and determining *genius loci*.

As described in these precedents, *genius loci* is akin to the philosophy of 'dwelling' and emphasizes the "inside" meaning of space and place to occupation, involving the deeper relationship with architecture, settlement and urban structures. In 1974, Tuan, through his seminal book "Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes and values", also studied *genius loci* which contributed to revealing environmental characters and related sense of place from dialectical perspective.

However, in terms of landscape, *genius loci* is translated as whole processes that involve land uses and activities, records, related places and related objects to different individuals or groups (ICOMOS Australia, 1999, p. 2). This has not been explored in previous studies.

## 1.2 Research Questions

The researcher begins the *genius loci* research on Minahasan society in their region, thoroughly re-identifying their cultural traditions, the physical environmental characteristics and the embedded indigenous perspectives of life in their worldview toward the land. Minahasan culture has been recorded in their archives since first encountering the Europeans in the 15th century; this culture then experienced a period of drastic alteration during the Dutch colonization in the 19th century. The feeling of lost identity and traditions encouraged the Minahasans to discover and renew their ancient customs and traditions. The Minahasans' genuine cultural identity can be found by delving into their ancient philosophical values. This can be traced through past and contemporary Minahasan local wisdoms and traditions.

The following main research questions will be addressed in this thesis:

- How is the essence of *genius loci* in Minahasa region, Sulawesi Island defined, described and differentiated?
- How does the landscape link and communicate with the Minahasa ethnic community?



- How does the spatial phenomenon of *genius loci* evolve over time and affect the Minahasa ethnic community's spirit, psyche, behaviour and social interaction?

These research questions are further divided into sub-questions:

*Genius loci interpretation and issues in the Minahasan Landscape:*

- What are the essences, attributes and roles of *genius loci*?
- Where and when do *genius loci* occur in landscape?
- Can various *genius loci* be described and differentiated amongst different landscapes?

*Genius loci and Minahasan landscape history and meanings:*

- What are the landscape language-codes in communities and how do communities interpret landscape meaning?
- How does the phenomenon of *genius loci* and "sense of place" evolve over time and affect one's spirit, psyche, behaviour and social interaction?
- Can *genius loci* shape local identity?

*Genius loci and environmental planning:*

- What is the best way to translate the knowledge of *genius loci* to inform better environmental planning for the Minahasa Region and Indonesia?
- What is the best way to document and conserve *genius loci* and develop new strategies for landscape relevant heritage conservation?

### 1.3 Research Aims and Objectives

The aims of this thesis are to document and analyse the *genius loci* of the land or region occupied by the Minahasa ethnic community, in the Sulawesi Island of Indonesia towards validating the contribution of *genius loci* in landscape and environmental planning systems in the region with the potential for implementation in Indonesia as a whole.

The following research objectives have been adopted:

- to investigate the existence, the essence and the role of *genius loci* in nature and environment through their relationship with 'landscape';

- to explore how *genius loci* embraces landscape and community and therefore can act as a tool for sustainability;
- to seek links between landscape and community occupancy, enabling the unrevealing of *genius loci* from the fabric of landscape, and therefore creating a sense of possession and a stronger communal identity;
- to examine how *genius loci* can be translated as a vehicle to enhance local knowledge and culture to better inform environmental planning agendas; and
- to analyse the documentation and conservation of *genius loci* in Indonesia, and develop a new strategy for heritage conservation in the future.

#### 1.4 Significance of Research Thesis

The idea of sustainable development is generally considered as distinct from the notion of restoring or preserving nature; to this end Indonesia and several other countries were signatories to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development in 1992. Sustainable development seeks to interlace humans and nature, while restoration (especially on a large scale) often allows nature to be addressed separately, sometimes out of remorse for the damage caused by humans (Nadenicek et al., 2000 in Conan, 2000). In terms of attaining sustainable natural resource development, the opportunities of *genius loci* and traditional ecological knowledge documentation may help to achieve sustainability. This is evident if we consider that most Indigenous and/or local communities are situated in areas where the vast majority of the world's genetic plant resources are found and where historically many species have been sustainably cultivated for thousands of years. The skills and techniques of these Indigenous communities provide valuable information to the global community and can be a useful model for environmental policies (Berkes, 1993; Mohamad, 2009). The international community has recognized this close and traditional dependence of Indigenous communities on biological resource, as stated in the Rio Declaration's curatorship preamble.

Indonesia has been implementing an Environmental Plan (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup, 1997*) towards Indonesian Agenda 21. Agenda 21 is a voluntary action plan for those who were signatories to the Rio Declaration. The Indonesian Agenda 21 aims to integrate economic, social and environment developments in one strategy towards creating sustainable development. The Agenda addresses four main areas including land and natural resource management aspects, and operates as a medium to long-term plan for the period 2003-2020. The Indonesian Agenda 21 (1997) is facing

major challenges such as the conversion of agricultural land to non-agricultural land, the development of urban socio-economic activity and population increase generally (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup, 1997*). The Action Plan, however, has not taken into account the topics of *genius loci* and Indigenous ecological knowledge into its environmental and land use planning expectations and processes. This deficiency may lead to threats to local people, culture, landscape and the built environment as a whole in the long-term future.

Previous *genius loci* research in general mostly dealt with the concerns towards preserving and reconstructing distinctive areas that contains tangible phenomenon, such as traditional houses and buildings and areas that possess the essentials and unique built or semi-natural environment which give values to the community (refer to Table 2.1 on page 25). Further, there have been numerous studies undertaken throughout the world which investigate traditional and Indigenous knowledge to ethnic or Indigenous communities.

This thesis is not only concerned with the local traditional environmental knowledge, but also about re-searching the Indigenous culture and the *genius loci*, toward appreciating how local people interact, use and apply their wisdom and knowledge in their landscape and environmental plan and management.

By looking at the gap in numerous literatures, this thesis will consider the connection between *genius loci* and cultural landscape and re-planning and management at rural and regional levels. *Genius loci* and the associated cultural landscape can be used as an instrument to better acknowledge and understand local ethnic communities, their identities, behaviours and interactions by re-planning and managing significant places. Cultural attributes, traditional ethnoecology and local wisdoms are significant in informing land and environmental issues and in concerning the existence of ethnic community.

This research defines the *genius loci* of an ethnic community and their land environmental association. To meet the research strategy, current regional and national planning framework and guidelines for an assessment are viewed to choose potential sites to be included in the case study.

The Minahasans, one of ethnic communities in Indonesia who have been living in the tip of Sulawesi peninsula for several *years* are chosen. This community has been part of 'masyarakat adat' in Indonesia since the declaration in Jakarta 1998 (Sirait et al. 1999). The *Minahasans* who live inland

in the region are heavily dependent upon their available land and natural resources which sustain their traditional living culture. This thesis explores and defines the *genius loci* of the *Minahasans* and their cultural landscape that might re-shape and re-develop the community's living environments. Hence, this research endeavors evidences and argues that *genius loci* can be used for a sustainable landscape and environment in the region.

Thus, *genius loci* can be used in highlighting the cultural landscape importance, particularly the local Indigenous perspectives in relationship with their adaptations for the critical place planning and development for the community. This research argues that it is essential to value their association to the holistic regional re-development.

This research also argues that it is important for the *Minahasans* to continuously sustain and conserve their Indigenous knowledge using relevant research methods to search and unpack their Indigenous culture and associated *genius loci*, particularly their traditional ways in managing their land and environment and their remaining cultural landscape components, which determine their identity. The *genius loci* information is of the utmost importance in contributing to sustainable cultural landscape development. This thesis will reveal the occurrence of the *Minahasans'* cultural knowledge which can be better applied in environmental planning applications in the future. Using applied ethnographic methods this thesis establishes relevant cultural information from the community perspectives into the researcher's background knowledge and the common empirical methods to deeply grasp their cultural realm and the current conditions.

The basic *genius loci* theories and conceptual frameworks that the researcher has aimed are to give a new paradigm in dealing with socio-cultural issues in an ethnic community particularly when they are facing the changing global civilization which may jeopardize their indigenous cultural possessions.

Part of this research is also an opportunity for the researcher to apply different perspectives of landscape architecture and related disciplines into the discussion and argument based on the *Minahasans'* cultural thoughts and to build a framework to maintain their remaining cultural landscape and associated *genius loci* for a sustainable way of living. This research seeks to evaluate the *genius loci* of the *Minahasans* and their Indigenous cultural knowledge as a vehicle to permit its integration into landscape planning and management for the future place planning and development in the region and in Indonesia.

## 1.5 Research Scope

Based upon a review of previous literature, the research was conducted in Indonesia in a region where research on *genius loci* has not previously been undertaken. In this case, the Minahasa Region, in the North Sulawesi Province was selected. The Minahasa is a region on the north-eastern peninsula of the Sulawesi Island (formerly called Celebes Island) in Indonesia (as shown in Figure 1.1).

The inhabitants of this region are called '*Suku Minahasa*' or Minahasa Ethnic group (Graafland, 1869; Wahr, 2004; Wenas, 2007). The Minahasa has significant archaeological megalithic inheritance being currently researched for scientific and educational purposes. However, little research on cultural landscape, landscapes or Indigenous architecture has been undertaken in the Minahasa Region. This research focuses on sixteen villages in this region. The selection process of these villages will be discussed in Chapter 5.



Figure 1.1  
Map of Indonesia and the 36 provinces  
(Source: The Government of Minahasa 2005)

## 1.6 Research Methodology

In brief, this research employed a qualitative approach was used in conducting fieldwork in multiple locations and analysing the data.

The first stage of the research involved obtaining primary data using a range of interview strategies including: interviews with local communities, artefact interviews, focus group discussion, and researcher and participant phenomenology-observations. In addition, the collection of primary and secondary data through library research was undertaken. Most interviews were conducted in “*Bahasa Indonesia*”, but in certain communities the local language was used to avoid misunderstanding of the questions. From the fieldwork and interviews, the existence of *genius loci* and its connection to the story, memory, sense of place, and spirit of The Minahasa and their land were examined and qualified. Further, the “ethno specific” ecological-landscape knowledge is documented. Details of the methodology and research methods and tools will be analysed in Chapter 4.

## 1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured in Four Parts which include General Overview, Cultural Description, The *Genius Loci* Research and Field Study and Findings.

Part One of this thesis provides a general overview of the thesis, described in the Introduction chapter. This chapter covers the research background, including issues and problems, which led to formulation of significant research questions.

The Second chapter is the cultural overview, which provides understanding of *genius loci* including definitions, concepts, philosophy and theories of *genius loci*, which are used as a main analysis tool for the research. As part of the *genius loci* research, the general understanding of cultural context in the perspective of multi-disciplines including architectural, landscape, anthropology, and environment and their roles in shaping identity of an ethnic community are also included in the discussion.

Chapter 3 discusses the *genius loci* research in Minahasa Region, which introduces the Minahasa Region and its landscape and environment, and the history of the ethnic community who reside there. Chapter 3 also provides an insight of the past and current development, planning and policy in Indonesia and in the Minahasa Region.

Chapter 4 discusses the research methodology. This chapter provides the research strategy, design, tools and instruments in undertaking the fieldwork. This chapter also explains justification of the

research data, the ethnographic methods and the selection of the case study location and participants. In part four, the field study and findings are discussed.

The study location settings are discussed in Chapter 5. This includes the background of selected case study locations such as demographic, land and environment, and the participants' backgrounds in three environment settings: settlements locate near the lake, near the catchment area and near mountains.

Chapter 6 discusses the analysis of *genius loci* and the cultural landscape of Minahasa, including the tangible and intangible components. This chapter offers analysis of each *genius loci* category in the three landscape settings and is presented in the main text and appendices.

Chapter 7 presents discussions of the findings and recommendations as well as highlighting the relevant local wisdoms and traditional knowledge of the community. It then discusses the role of *genius loci* as a conceptual framework and tool that can be used for future landscape and environmental planning and design which might be done sustainably to support the lives of the Minahasan community; it also examines potential implementation in Indonesia in general.

Lastly, Chapter 8 concludes the thesis by summarizing the whole research context, processes and results as well as suggesting areas for future research.

## 1.8 Research Timeline

The research fieldwork was carried out according to the proposed time frame. Two surveys were carried out: the first one was from 3<sup>rd</sup> of April to 4<sup>th</sup> of July 2011 while the second took place from 5<sup>th</sup> to 24<sup>th</sup> of July 2012. The actual research timeline is provided in Table 1 in Appendix 1.

## 1.9 Research Theoretical Framework

The thesis flow of thought is described in the diagram below (Figure 1.2):

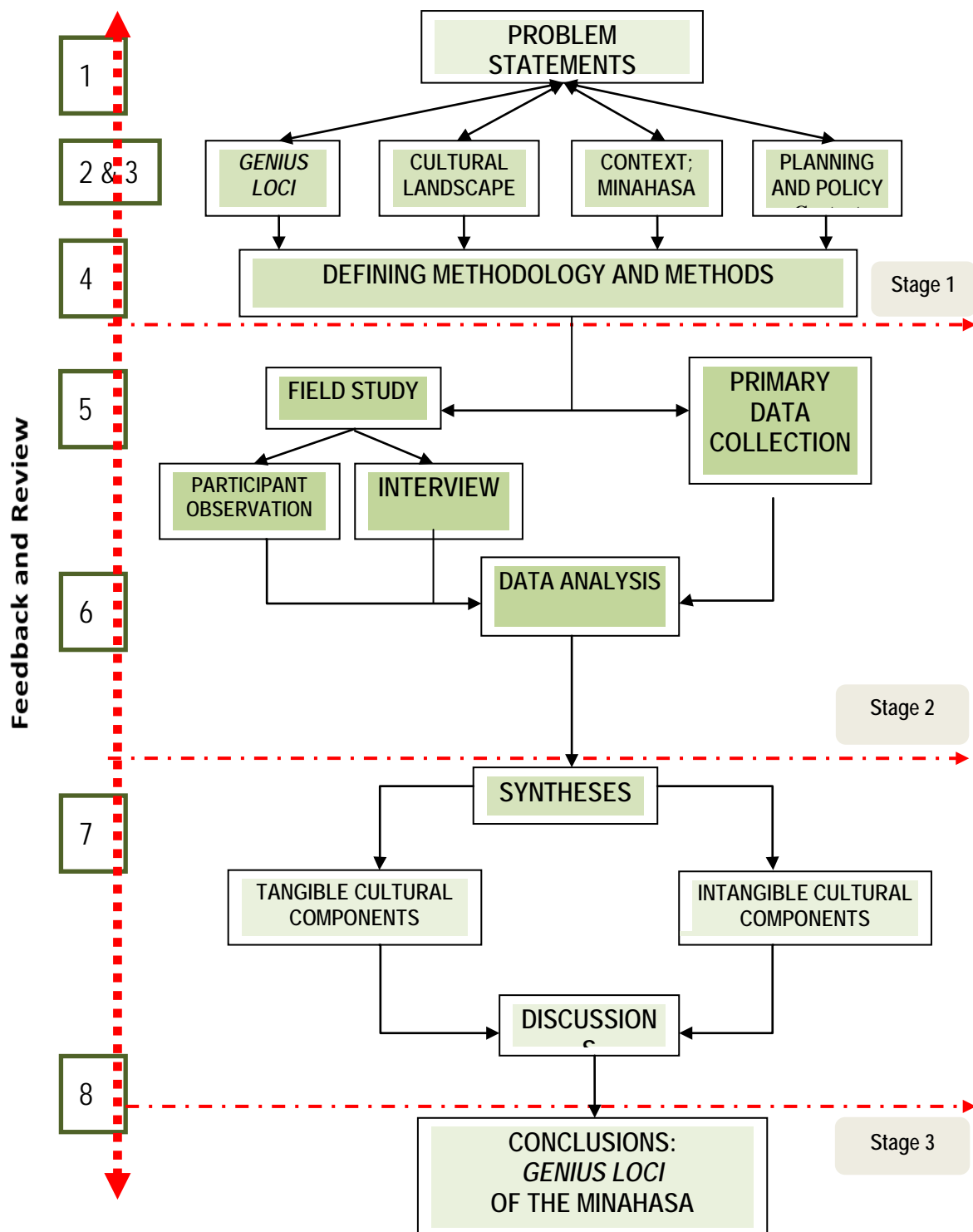


Figure 1.2  
The Thesis Flow of Thought



## CHAPTER 2

# GENIUS LOCI AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INSIGHTS

### 2.1 Introduction

This research seeks to explore the importance of finding comprehensive ways to understand the multiple meanings and values of *genius loci* from different points of view including architecture, landscape architecture and other disciplines, which may be used as a means of comparison to formulate *genius loci* of the Minahasa ethnic community in Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is necessary to define the theoretical premise on which this research is based. Cultural sites, places and artefacts are labelled as cultural properties, archaeological data or cultural heritage; however, such cultural properties give tangible reality to the evanescent intangible emotions and understandings of the past. Cultural properties describe physical representations of people's sense of self, community and belonging, and eventually their sense of identity (Russell-Smith et al., 1997 cited in Cotter et al., 2001). In this research, an argument is posited that the concept of landscape as a field of study is essential to research on the expression of cultural identity. This argument will be demonstrated through the analysis of the range of values given to the landscape of Minahasa in the southern peninsula of Sulawesi Island, Indonesia, by the Minahasa Ethnic community.

This chapter analyses the existence and meaning of *genius loci* and develops a conceptual framework about cultural landscape systems. It begins with a brief discussion of landscape and meaning in order to understand the link between people, nature and landscape. Anthropological sciences are important here in outlining the processes to determine or define *genius loci*. The discussion continues to look at lessons learnt from developed and developing countries through various case studies that seek to define and express *genius loci* more precisely in scientific literature. The section continues to review empirical studies in Indonesia and examine the reasons to conduct research on *genius loci*. This is done firstly by tracing the meaning, existence and essence of *genius loci* as well as the connections between landscape and community towards *genius loci*. Secondly, ethnoecological systems in the subject region are discussed. Finally, the last section discusses the applicability of *genius loci* for sustainability planning in Indonesia.

## 2.2 *Genius Loci*: Definition and Understanding

To gather a range of different interpretations of *genius loci*, the researcher began with exploring the definition contained in lexicon documents. In Merriam-Webster's *Online Dictionary* (2010), *genius loci* is the genius or presiding divinity of a place, hence, the pervading spirit of a place, which also translates as the guardian 'spirit of place' and the 'special atmosphere of a place' (*Wikipedia Encyclopedia*, 2012). These connotations imply contemporary usage. In Roman mythology, *genius loci* is associated with the protective spirit of place and was often depicted symbolically as a snake. *Genius loci* in the environmental context can be understood as 'environmental energies' (Vogler et al., 2006, p. 2). The unseen environmental energy is an intrinsic part of life support systems in the atmosphere of habitats, and in particular the human habitat.

In modern architecture, the concept of *genius loci* has been extensively debated (Vogler et al., 2006, p. 2). The first concept of *genius loci* is interpreted through the work of Christian Norberg-Schulz, who returned to the ancient notion of *genius loci* or 'spirit of place' in architecture. In the context of architectural theory, Norberg-Schulz describes *genius loci* as having a fundamental use in place-making, working with the philosophical idea of phenomenology. Norberg-Schulz began to postulate experiential and psychic notions of "being" to "foothold" and "space" in 1971 and continued in 1979 to use the notion of *genius loci* towards a phenomenology of architecture (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). This idea outlines *genius loci* in architecture as being the way 'sense of place' occurs through the concept of dwelling. Norberg-Schulz used the concept of 'dwelling' from Heidegger's essay 'Building Dwelling Thinking' (1971). Further, Norberg-Schulz (1980, p. 5) defined the concept of *genius loci* as follows:

*"Man dwells when he can orientate himself within and identify himself with an environment, or, when he experiences the environment as meaningful".*

Dwelling in this interpretation connotes "space and place" that has particular characteristics. People perceive the characteristics of their environment as a kind of 'environmental image' which provides them with an orientation and a sense of security. Norberg-Schulz argues that "all cultures have developed systems of orientation, which facilitate the development of a good environmental image" (1980, p. 19). Thus, 'orientation' and 'identification' establish a kind of a meaningful relationship between people and the place and space which they inhabit. A review of Norberg-Schulz's writings indicates a structure of place, which becomes a starting point to distinguish between natural phenomena and human-made phenomena or, in a tangible sense, of between landscape and settlement. Only through the 'space character' can *genius loci* be embraced. Landscape, as a part of

natural place, comprises of 'structure' and 'meaning' which engenders mythology both as cosmology and cosmogony.

### 2.3 The Concept and Theory of *Genius Loci*

The concept of *genius loci* in anthropological literature is hampered by the dearth of reference about it; however, scholars across the world have been involved in an intense search for the true nature of *genius loci*. Research conducted on the Umeda in New Guinea (Gell, 1995), the Sammanist in the Mongolian landscape (Humphrey, 1995), and the Hammar in Southern Ethiopia (Lydall & Strecker, 1979) are examples found in current anthropology literature which come close to the concept of *genius loci* in the areas of phonology, sound and linguistics. In all cultures, space as a dwelling place, such as in a house, a settlement or a town and/or a landscape may have a deep mythological meaning. Place also has religious associations, which are still relevant today (Eliade, 1961 in Volger & Aturo, 2006). Architecture, landscape and natural environment play important roles in creating place and therefore the importance of *genius loci* is revealed.

As outlined in this review, the purpose was to show how *the* theory of *genius loci* may be helpful in studying regional variations of culture, and to emphasize that cultural comparison and the analysis of contact phenomena should be anchored in the specifics of localities. The literature referenced above also has an implicit interpretation to *genius loci*: 'Cohesiveness of Structure' and 'meaningful' meaning are existential concepts comprised of values in experiences.

#### 2.3.1 Theoretical Spirit of Place and Sense of Place

In trying to understand a place, academics are attempting to unpack the concepts of space, place, place-identity, place-attachment, sense of belonging, spirit of place, imageability, mapping, iconography and other concepts (Marshall, 2010). Tuan (1977, p.17) postulates that place and objects define space and give it personality. Humans can therefore distinguish themselves in nature and then abstractly create these spaces in their mind.

In seeking the link between people, place and their world view, Tuan (1974) studied the values of individual, communities and species to the place and landscape. The place values were being examined through the perceptions on particular cultural elements, which reflect sense and character

of place. Furthermore, Tuan's conceptual theory of sense of place gave contribution to the landscape realm (Tuan, 1979; 1980).

Places have the ability to direct and stabilise people, to memorialise and identify people, and tell them who and where they are through phenomenological factors such as location, landscape and personal involvement (Relph, 1976, p. 29; Casey, 1993, p. vx).

When an individual has a sense of physical being and feeling in place or feel at home, this is a sign of an establishment of emotional tie or psychological bond to a place. Emotional bond is a factor that needs to be comprehended when establishing an intimate relationship with place (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 75).

A sense of place can be authentic and genuine or inauthentic and artificial (Relph, 1976). The term authentic in sense of place insinuates a fundamental lasting truth of a place to be known and in which go beyond transient of the constant modern works, and tapping into *genius loci* or unique spirit of place (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 76).

"Spirit of place" is a translation of the Latin *genius loci*, pertaining to the ancient Roman's association with specific places. Each house, town, grove, and mountain or other landscape feature was possessed by its own spirit that gave identity to that place by presence and actions; elements of a belief in the sacred spirits of place persist today.

In this "profane" meaning, spirit of place is understood as an inherent quality, though subject to change. When a place has lack of attention or is abandoned, the spirit of place fades. Alternatively, as new things build up and are lived in, spirit of place grows. In this way, even an initially 'placeless' location gradually acquires its own identity, at least for the people who live there.

"Sense of place" is used to refer to a "spirit of place" that express the unique environmental ambience and character of a landscape or place (Relph, 1976). Hence it is clear that sense of place and spirit of place are closely connected. Relph opined that sense of place is the faculty by which people grasp spirit of place and which allows them to appreciate differences and similarities among places. Spirit of place exists primarily outside a person or people (but is experienced through memory and intention), while sense of place lies primarily inside of people but is aroused by the landscapes they encounter (Casey, 1993). From this perspective, it is possible to consider planning,

design, and management of environments as factors that enhance or diminish spirit of place. To build a place that has a sense of place means to design it such that it evokes past memories.

Relph (2008, pp. 24-31) argued that sense of place is a combination of sight, hearing, smell, movement, touch, imagination, purpose, and anticipation of an individual, as well as the intersubjective attribute, and is closely connected to community as well as to the personal memory and self. This can vary, as some people are not much interested in their surroundings, thus the place is only a background to them; or conversely they may be very attracted to the environment around them. However, people generally attend closely to the character of the places they encounter.

A strong sense of place appears to be partly instinctive but can also be learned and enhanced through the careful practice of comparative observation and appreciation for what makes places distinctive (Hay, in Cameron, 2009, p. 272). The deepest sense of place seems to be associated with being at home, being somewhere people know and which is known by others, where people are familiar with the landscape and daily routines, and feel responsible for how well the place works (Ibid, p. 274).

Relph (2009) postulated two crucial qualifications regarding responsibility for place. Firstly, while it is mostly a positive attitude that contributes to social and environmental responsibility, sense of place can turn unpleasant when it becomes insular and exclusionary. However, it can be deliberately countered through the self-conscious development of an urban perspective that grasps similarities and respects differences among places. Secondly, sense of place varies over time. Thomas et al. note that people in previous eras who lived in rural areas met and communicated by speech and walking, and rarely travelled more than a few miles from their birthplace. In the next century, the rural conditions still applied to many elders in the region, who lived most of their life in a village where they established a living place and stayed (Homer-Dixon 2000, p. 25). In a geographically-focused life, people must have had profound place associations, where each component of person, house, field, road, and custom was familiar and known by name. In some remote areas and in ancient beliefs, this intimate familiarity lingers in the present with a pre-modern experience.

In contrast, spirit of place at the start of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is spread across the world. In less than a century, both direct and vicarious place experiences have been enormously expanded. For large numbers of people today, it is normal to visit hundreds of places and meet thousands of people in a lifetime. The geographer Paul Adams uses the term "extensibility" to depict the unexceptional fact

that lives now extend easily among many places across scales from the local to global (Adams, 2005).

Modernization has undermined these local practices, partly through the use of placeless natural earth resources like iron, concrete, metal, and glass. The outcome has been the development of office buildings and multi-family housing which have emerged in rural or countryside areas. In recent times, the more dominant approach is that the diversity of communities and remote places should be empathised with in planning and design. How this may be done is important to consider in the holistic approach, although heritage preservation, ecosystem planning, and a critical reinterpretation of earlier regional traditions are some of the range of concepts and schemes offered (Adams, 2005).

Although the 21<sup>st</sup> century will present social and environmental challenges on a global scale, the individual and combined effects will be locally diverse. A practical sense of place will need to be an essential aspect of any strategy to alleviate global challenges. This practical sense of place must reflect the extensibility of postmodern life and grasp the broader, global aspects of the challenges it confronts. Hence, what is needed is a "pragmatic sense of place" that integrates an appreciation of place identity with an understanding of extensibility. A central aim would be to seek appropriate local actions to deal with emerging, larger-scale social and environmental challenges (Relph, in Hanson, 1997).

William James wrote that pragmatism is "the attitude of looking away from first things, principles, 'categories', and supposed necessities; and of looking towards last things, fruits, consequences, facts" (James, 1967). He also added that pragmatism is an attitude which acknowledges change and variety: "The world we live in exists diffused and distributed in the form of an indefinitely numerous lot of 'eaches', coherent in all sorts of ways and degrees" (Ibid, p.114).

To see whether there is a relevance of practical applications to a concept of spirit of place is another point to consider. In modern society, acknowledgment of diversity in all its forms and places varies in everyday life. New developments and natural places are always a challenge. It is nevertheless essential to respond to challenges like climate change and cultural conflict that will undermine the quality of life. As Relph (2008) posits:

"A pragmatic approach may be to accomplish this task through careful assessment of facts and consequences, engaging people in discussions of the place, and reaching imperfect but workable agreements in regard to which strategies are most appropriate for dealing with the challenges as they impact particular places."

It is a challenge that place has been de-valued in modern social science due to the conflation of ideas of the community, as it progresses to become nation-based, as in traditional societies. This is a familiar reference to the pre-modern, place-bound, traditional community awaiting the inevitabilities of this social evolution (Oakes, 1997, p. 509).

In finding sustainability in local, regional and global contexts, a spirit of place can be a combination of appreciation to the locality's uniqueness and its relationship to spatial contexts in the form of place-focused and geographically extended that exist over time. Spatial aspects have always been a part of place experience. A sense of place has often been dealt with designations and the restoration of heritage sites, locally inspired artworks and festivals that awaken sense of place. In general, everyday life involves concerns of other factors related to personal and social needs, as well as environmental issues pollution, and new urban development that are part of place familiarity and affection. In short, a sense of place involves experience of place and background of contemporary everyday life that engage together with the past experiences (Relph, 2008).

### 2.3.2 *Genius Loci* and Architecture

In architectural works, designs always correspond with a place and or landscape. In 1976, Relph used place in a contextual study about an environment and Norberg-Schultz used place in researching the identity of a group of people, of which both studies sought to examine the connection between human and environment. Through an understanding of a place and people's interaction, the theory of *genius loci* subsequently emerged. Place is not just an abstract position or setting (Langer, 1998). It is a totality made up of materials and components that determine an environmental character, which is the essence of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 8). In general, place is a "psychical function, which depends on identification, and implies a sense of belonging. Therefore, it constitutes the basis of dwelling (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p.166). Place should be defined by culture in a particular position under a precise of graphic meaning (Barker, 2003). When people settle and live in a space, they are also exposing an environmental character as a result of the sense of identification of place.

*Genius loci* contains the perceptions of and conceptions among the four elements - sky, earth, mortals, and divinities (Heidegger, 1971), all of which are evident in the natural environment and human cultural environment. In terms of *genius loci* concepts, culture in architectural views has already been fully demonstrated in an abundance of historical architecture and space, in particular in

the connection between Heidegger's four elements with the value and the meaning of a traditional culture.

*Genius loci* creates environmental characters in the place that embraces the atmosphere and thus leads to the co-relationship between these characters and people through tangible or intangible means (Barbalet, 1998). "Place itself is the present expression of past experience and events and of hopes for the future" (Relph, 1976, p. 33). Places could be regarded as various experience phenomena of the characters of different places that have connections to particular locations, festivities or events, and time, and may involve human and overall environmental relationships in a setting. Human experiences and perceptions of places apply to this principle, which could be helpful to explore the nature and meaning of a place.

In expressing *genius loci's* characteristics that are significant to people living in a place, John Ruskin wrote in his book *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849):

*"For, indeed the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have been long washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through the lapse of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations: it is in that golden stain of time, that we are to look for the real light, and colour, and preciousness of architecture; and it is not until a building has assumed this character, till it has been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of the natural objects of the world around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess, of language and of life."*

Thus, *genius loci* generates a special relationship between people and heritage sites, as Max Dvorak (1918) noted:

*"...less people are able to travel far and look for works of ancient art; therefore, many people lose everything that ancient art could have given to them when the relicts of art in their homeland are destroyed. When the places where these people live are impoverished, their life is impoverished as well – thus, the closest links connecting the people with their native land are disrupted"*.

Hence, it is *genius loci* that invokes love in people for a place and draws them to return and engage with the built-in piece as if it was a date with a live person.



'Sense of place' is a much used expression, chiefly by architects, but also by urban planners and interior decorators, as opined by Jackson (1994, p. 157-158). Jackson pointed out that 'sense of place' is an awkward and ambiguous translation of the Latin term *genius loci*. In classical times it means not so much the place itself as the guardian divinity of that place; in the 18th century the Latin phrase was usually translated as 'the genius of a place', meaning its influence. Therefore, the current use of the term describes the ambience of a place and the quality of its environment. Nevertheless, certain localities are recognized as having an attraction which gives people a certain indefinable sense of well-being and to which they want to return time and again (Jackson 1994, pp. 157–158). The concept of character is attached to the atmosphere of place both implicitly and explicitly using the term of "spirit of place" or *genius loci* (Jiven & Larkham, 2003, pp. 67-81).

Other scholars discuss *genius loci* emphasising the individual and subjective nature of place through the senses (Jakle, 1987, p. 8), the expression of the quality and intelligibility of places through memory, senses, and imagination (Walter, 1988), or the embodiment of feeling, image and thoughts when experiencing a space (Tuan, 2001).

### 2.3.3 The *Genius Loci* Components

In elucidating the concept of *genius loci*, Christian Norberg-Schulz is a key theorist; for him, *genius loci* represents the physical and all senses and symbolic values in nature and the human environment. In Norberg-Schulz's concept and description of *genius loci*, there are four thematic levels which can be acknowledged:

- the topography of the landscape's surface;
- the cosmological light conditions and the sky as natural conditions;
- objects and buildings; and
- symbolic and existential meaning in the cultural landscape.

The *genius loci* of a place in nature can be interpreted when a change in the form of a built environment has occurred. Norberg-Schulz pays particular attention to the natural conditions of landscape through three basic but different viewpoints: cosmic, romantic and classical (Norberg-Schulz, 1985, p. 48). Thus, both objects or buildings and the symbolic meaning of a settlement are essential to the *genius loci* concept to express a community's cultural interpretation. Norberg-Schulz also postulates the concepts of "image", "space", "character" and "*genius loci*" to illustrate peoples'

experience in the physical environment to achieve the atmosphere and sense-related experiences of *genius loci*. The nature conditions are the people's basis interpretation to the objects and places, which then the meaning is occurred.

In this study context, *genius loci* is divided into:

- tangible landscape, which involves traditional cultural patterns and components
- intangible landscape, which includes the values of spirit and sense of place, beliefs and spiritual system and traditional environmental knowledge.

The essential components of *genius loci* are as follows:

- intangible components including sacredness of sites, dwelling space and place, the trail of names and ancient historical tracks, myth folk arts (songs and dances), ritual and ceremonies, language.
- tangible components consisting of traditional housing (vernacular architecture), topography and orientation, vegetation, water and gardens, totemic animals.

## 2.4 *Genius Loci*: History and Precedent

In order to deeply examine and thus learn more about the exact meaning and interpretation of *genius loci*, it is important to study historical records and lessons learned from both from developed and developing countries. Scholars around the world have been researching these fields in various studies, as outlined below.

### 2.4.1 *Genius Loci* in Developed Nations

The Western cultural movements of Romanticism and Neo-romanticism are deeply concerned with creating cultural forms that re-enchant the land to establish or re-establish a *genius loci* of place or spirit of place.

Research on *genius loci* has been conducted in a few countries, offering some good exemplars that demonstrate its translation as 'spirit of place'. In the Roman context, which is the origin of the term *genius loci*, the cult of Augustus in certain temple and chapels in Rome is an example of its

application to the spirit of a monument or site. The Lares statues, which were like protective spirits in temples and the household, are also a symbol of *genius man* (Petzet, 2008). Moreover, in Rome, “places of natural landscape were attributed to a genius, such as the genius of the valley, the spring, the river, the mountain or certain part of mountain, which is presented as a sacrificing man or personified as a snake (Petzet, 2008). In Roman houses, a living snake was kept as a guardian and its death was considered a bad omen. In many regions of the world in different periods, there have been ideas comparable to genii, which originate with the animistic or totemistic phenomena associated with the mythical place of origin of a clan (Ibid).

Hunt and Willis (1975) demonstrate the genius of places and landscape gardens in England between the early sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries. Other examples in Australia describe landscape stories and meanings in Victoria (Jones, 1993), sense of places (Marshall, 2010) and the *genius loci* of landscape (Seddon, 1979) and also involve anthropological dimensions of Indigenous peoples and local communities. Lessons from North America and Europe (Lippard, 1997; Spirn, 1998; Loukaki, 1997; Krauss, 2005) have shown significant contributions in developing new paradigms in protecting culture, landscape and nature as evidenced also in Waterson’s work for South-East Asia (Waterson, 1990). Such research will provide useful comparisons to conduct more rigorous enquires about *genius loci* to the landscape or region that has been chosen.

Scholars have attempted to discuss *genius loci* actively in global conferences and organise and carry out multi-branch international research; many detailed monographs on the subject have been published. The protection of the ‘spirit of place’ is becoming an increasingly greater concern, particularly in the field of monument and site protection. UNESCO, the Council of Europe and EU institutions, have adopted special legal regulations around this. In October 2008, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) organized a global scientific symposium “Finding the Spirit of Place – Between the Tangible and the Intangible” and adopted the Quebec Declaration on the Preservation of the Spirit of Place.

#### 2.4.2 *Genius Loci* in Developing Countries

In many Indigenous and tribal cultures in Asian and Pacific islands, people are deeply concerned with *genius loci*, spirits of place in their homeland. A large number of places are suffused with extant *genius loci* namely: old towns, strip villages, significant mounds, churchyards and their environs, ancient trees, places of worship, and in locations where there used to be sacrificial sites; or any

places which are particularly interconnected with the customs, traditions and whole environment of villages and towns. Waterson argued the pulse of the ancient *genius loci* is still alive in most of the ethnographic villages (Waterson, 1990).

In recent times, places worldwide are threatened by innovative developments related to modern technologies which may alter a region. The disappearance of ancient places attracts scientists to examine the phenomenon of *genius loci* thoroughly, particularly the impact on local communities. Research on *genius loci* is sought to determine specific places, the presence of the 'spirit', the phenomenon of its appearance and disappearance, and also to consider protection in order to preserve these places and their tangible and intangible aspects for human psychological need.

As part of human connection, the spirit of place is an invaluable legacy of the past that has not been influenced by time; however, it can influence the lives of many generations. *Genius loci* can be preserved to furnish people and local communities' spiritual needs, even though it can easily disappear due to changing the ancient environment without continual care and attention (Waterson 1990). For example, wooden cultural materials are some of the most vulnerable artefacts of past culture. Therefore, it is critical to observe and determine locations that contain spirit of place in any outstanding places; hence well-planned and managed places and locations with *genius loci* contents would continue to give benefit holistically.

In the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars conducted an annual Spirit of Place Symposium in Japan, seeking to explore the relationship between ancient wisdom of the importance of *genius loci*, or sense of place, and modern science and design. The symposium, held in Tenri, Japan in 1992, considered the power of place and dialogues with the living earth (Swan et al., 1996). Such symposia will continue to raise awareness of the importance of ongoing preservation of *genius loci*.

To summarise the above literatures review, the overall concepts, theories and perspectives on *genius loci* are sought as relevant and fruitful insights in formulating a new conceptual paradigm applied to a particular region proposed in this thesis in addressing a *genius loci* research.

### 2.4.3 *Genius Loci* in the Indonesian Context

As mentioned earlier, empirical study on *genius loci* in Indonesia is rare. Past research conducted by some scholars has been in the field of architecture related to traditional culture, vernacular

architecture, and Indigenous local knowledge (Budiharjo, 1997; Prijotomo, 1998; Roesmanto, 2007; Waworoentoe, 1986; Waterson, 1990). On the island of Bali, *genius loci* is clearly associated with a unique blend of culture influenced by Hinduism, which has had roots for several decades. In East Java, *genius loci* has been investigated through the Hindu community in Sawun Village in the Wagir-Malang Regency (Irawan et al., 2010), and this study is the most recent Indonesian-based research in this field. The researcher has identified several successful research projects relevant to *genius loci* across Indonesia undertaken in the 20th century and reviews their research focus and findings in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Research Exemplars on *Genius Loci* in Indonesia

| Researchers        | Object/ Location  | Year of Research       | Focus/ Recommendation   | Publication (year)  |
|--------------------|---|------------------------|---|---|
| Johanes I. Ong.    | Kesawan Area , Medan City, West Sumatera                  | 2009                   | Phenomenon on <i>Genius Loci</i> in urban area<br>Future direction to Kesawan Architecture          | Digital Library of USU ( <i>Universitas Sumatera Utara</i> ), Medan, 2010   |
| Hafiz Amirrol*     | Nias House, North Sumatera                                | 2010                   | Documented Structural of <i>Genius Loci</i> of Indigenous Nias House                                | Digital Library of ITB (Bandung Institute of Technology) 2000   |
| Pindi Patana       | Ecosystem in Leuser Mountain, Aceh                        | 2000                   | Sustainability issue<br>Empowering local genius through human resource in the surrounding ecosystem | Digital Library of USU ( <i>Universitas Sumatera Utara</i> ), Medan, 2001   |
| Ibnu Sasongko      | Traditional Settlement of Puyung Village in Lombok Island | 2002                   | Sustain <i>genius loci</i> of the traditional settlement of Sasak People                            | Proceeding 1 <sup>st</sup> Scottish Conference for PROBE, 2003  |
| Michael Jacobsen   | Minahasa, North Sulawesi province                         | 1999                   | Development and the changes in the Contemporary Minahasa Identity                                   | Kring der Leidse Urbanisten (KLU) in Leiden, 2000   |
| Kathleen Adams     | Toraja Village, South Sulawesi Province                   | 1993                   | The Discourse of Souls in Tana Toraja, Indonesia: Indigenous Notions and Christian Conceptions      | Ethnology Vol. 32(1):55-68. 1993  |
| Sri Handayani      | <i>Kampung Naga</i> , West Java province                  | 2009                   | Sustainability of the <i>genius loci</i> of traditional settlement                                  | Digital Library of Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI) 2009  |
| Ety Saringendyanti | <i>Kampung Naga</i> , West Java province                  | 2008                   | Cosmology and mythology of <i>Kampung Naga</i>  | Digital Library of Pajajaran University, Indonesia 2009   |
| Gunawan Tjahjono   | Traditional Architectures, settlements around Indonesia   | 2003, 1999, 1994, 1992 | Traditional House/Dwellings and traditional settlement  | Digital Library of Universitas Indonesia  |
| Joseph Prijotomo   | Architecture in Indonesia, Urban Conservation             | 2004, 1998             | Trends and Development of Indonesian traditional architecture<br>Urban heritage and conservation    | Book: <i>Pasang Surut Arsitektur di Indonesia, jambatan Jakarta</i> 1998<br>Proceeding, 1 <sup>st</sup> International Urban Conference 2004 |

Sources: Author 2010

Note: \* Thesis Research

The above research references are pertinent to the *genius loci* proposed in this thesis. The work of Ong, Amirrol, Sasongko, Handayani, Tjahjono and Prijotomo's particularly emphasized and examined specific architectural buildings, traditional houses, traditional settlement and urban spaces; merit to the tangible component of *genius loci*. In contrast, Patana, Jacobsen, Adams and

Saringendyanti focused on people and environment interactions, which can be used as comparison works in analysing the intangible component of *genius loci*.

This scientific review demonstrates that there have been significant studies seeking to define landscape, cultural landscape as well as other interdisciplinary studies in anthropology and architecture and ethno ecology referring to the concept of *genius loci* and its associations. An extensive number of studies have been conducted around the world to determine the meaning of interaction, symbolization and spiritual blending with culture and the land (landscape). However, while most of these studies use different case studies in various regions around the world, they use the same methodology and approach associated with Indigenous people and Indigenous landscape. In the Indonesian case studies, most of the research is focused on tangible culture, cultural attributes and Indigenous architecture, thus strengthening the case for this research project in addressing a deficiency; moreover, none of these studies address the tangible cultural landscape.

This review also demonstrates the necessity of understanding and utilising *genius loci* to try to achieve sustainability, mainly due to a lack of knowledge, awareness and insufficient information on the concept. Currently, there is no scientific evidence of *genius loci* in the region being assessed, identified and documented. As a result, it is clear that research on *genius loci* is needed, not only for enabling its scientific contribution to the landscape and architectural knowledge, but also as a valid analytical tool for environmental planning and land use management, particularly in a country that has a multitude of cultures, societies and languages.

## 2.5 Understanding Cultural Landscape

### 2.5.1 Culture and Environment

In comprehending cultural landscape context, the term 'culture' is particularly important. The term 'culture' is mostly used in the social sciences and has been applied to many different units and levels of society in the world. From the anthropological view, culture is the 'man-made' part of the human environment. Altman and Chemers (1980) postulated several key components in understanding culture in connection to the environment: firstly, culture refers to "*a beliefs and perceptions, value and norms, customs and behaviours of a group or society*" (Altman & Chemers, 1980, p. 3). From this point of view, what people believe to be 'truth' in their realm also lives in their environment, as well as in their values of good and bad, acceptable and unacceptable as integral parts of this culture.

This set of rules and beliefs are linked to the cognition, perceptions, values and modes of acceptable behaviour, which comprise a cluster of characteristics that connotes the cultural concept.

The second component is "*the feelings, cognitions and behaviours that are shared among a group of people in a consensual way*" (Altman & Chemers, 1980, p. 3). Thus, for a culture to exist, agreement among the people is needed, without verbalizing it, in order to construct common principles of how to view their world and how to act. People share only a common core of principles; hence consensus has become a basic characteristic of the concept of culture.

The third component is the shared beliefs, values and styles of behaviour that are passed on to others, which includes the socialization and education of new members of that culture to help maintain consensus for the next generation. Thus, cultures conserve themselves even though the culture might produce some alteration through the socialization process.

The last component of culture is the objects and physical environment which are a result of the society's values, beliefs and practices that are incorporated into their behavioural processes. To summarise, Altman and Chemer's concept of culture in connection to the environment is one which is a reflection of a multi-faceted set of things, from the tangible principles of the way to view the environment and the world, to more tangible actions, such as behavioural ones.

To define *genius loci* in a group in society involves the study of the relationships amongst the people, environment and culture, even though this is not a new approach by scholars. The question is *how* the physical environment or landscape affects and is affected by all different aspects of culture. In this argument, the researcher will examine a cross-cultural perspective from a different group of society that relates to their physical landscape and environment in a region. A comparative and cross-cultural analysis provides a conveyance in learning one's cultural possessions through the window of other cultures.

The culture of a group in society is manifested in their physical environment through various psychological processes. The physical environment has several dimensions: it is divided into natural environment, which refers to places, geographical features and other environmental factors, and built environment, which is man-made. The scale of natural environments varies from small places, for instance a particular village or forest, into large places such as regions or continents.

Physical processes that link people and environment include people's mental activities, referring to things that occur in the mind of people in relation to their senses and interpretations of the physical environment. This also includes people's beliefs and attitudes, and their positive or negative mind-set towards their environment. Hence, people can learn or build different physical structures as a result of their comprehension and feeling, or they may radically change the function of a physical environment because of their particular cultural views. Therefore, culture, environment and psychological processes can be said to function as a holistic interdependent system.

Altman and Chemers offered a conceptual framework of social systems which outlined natural and physical environments, environmental orientation and world views that relate to religions, values and dominant mode of thought, environmental cognitions that involve the perceptions and beliefs and judgment, environmental behaviour and processes. For example: personal spaces, territorial behaviour and social relations, environmental outcomes as products of behaviour, products of the built environment and modifications of the natural environment (1980, p. 10). The conceptual framework is described in Figure 2.2 below.

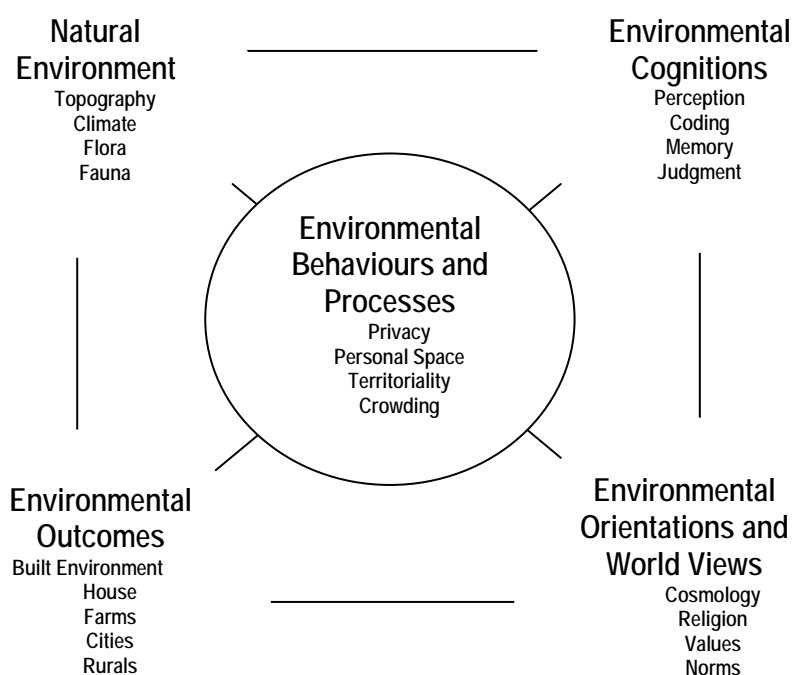


Figure 2.1  
Framework of Culture – Environment relations  
(Adopted in Altman and Chemers, 1980)



This conceptual framework approach emphasizes the cause and effect relationships that can occur with each environmental component. In this social, system-based cultural framework, culture is viewed as an integrated, interdependent system that contributes to the unity and synergies of a group in a society.

### 2.5.2 Landscape Terminology

Exploring understandings of landscape terminology is an important part of *genius loci* research. In the late 16th century, the word 'landscape' was introduced into English language through a technical term used by painters. The origin of 'landscape' originated from the Dutch *landschap* and *landschaft* which in English was known as '*lanskip*'. Kate Thomas has documented the origin of the landscape concept in England through landscape pictures (cited in Hunt & Willis, 1975), additionally articulated in Stilgoe (1980). The concept was then applied to a wider range of domains of social and cultural life. The definition of 'landscape' according to the European Landscape Convention is an area perceived by people that has occurred as a result of actions and interaction between natural and human factors (European Landscape Convention, 2000). From this definition, 'landscape' embraces a relatively bounded area or unit, in which its recognition depends upon spontaneous and instinctive human perceptions in their identification with a coherent tract of land possessing a long legacy of actions and interactions.

Landscape scientist Selman (2006), in his book *Planning at the Landscape Scale*, defines landscape as a combination of natural and human factors that are equal and are purely socially or purely naturally produced; in the latter case there needs be no explicit cultural components. Selman argues that 'landscape' is concerned with the intimate association of people and 'nature' in the production and reproduction of distinctive cultural spaces.

Anthropologists view landscape in two different ways. Firstly, the landscape of a particular people and secondly, the way inhabitants see landscape or refer to it through the meanings imputed by local people to their cultural and physical surrounding (Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995). Numerous studies in anthropological perspectives use landscape interpretation. For example, the work of Peter Gow in the western Amazonian landscape defines landscape through the ecological knowledge experiences of the Indigenous Amazonian peoples as to how they treat this landscape (Gow, 1995, in Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995, p. 43-62). This is also shown in research about the Zafimaniry group in eastern Madagascar, wherein the Zafimaniry people interpret landscape through their central values of clarity

associated with their living condition (Bloch, 1995 in Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995, p. 63-77). Similarity, anthropologist Robert Layton explored the Uluru landscape (Ayers Rock, Australian Western Desert) and summarizes landscape as an object of the subsistence activities of the Indigenous Pitjantjatjara and Yankunytjatjara discourses (Layton, 1995, in Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995, p. 210-231).

Landscape studies often involve interdisciplinary approaches engaging history, cultural geography, landscape architecture and ecology. Study of landscapes can include both the physical senses and construction of ideas about landscape. Cultural geographer Donald Meinig commented about the important, ambiguous, and appealing qualities of landscape (Meinig, 1979; Longstreth, 2008, p. 155). Controversy about the term 'landscape' is explored thoroughly by landscape architect Eugene Palka. Palka identified four emphases: visibility, evolution through the human-land interaction process, recognition in the time dimension and vagueness surrounding the spatial dimension (Palka, 1995). Landscape ecologists mostly support Palka's arguments. A leading landscape ecologist, J.A Wiens, infers that in conducting basic scientific investigations of the landscape, one should consider the anthropogenic forces at play (Longstreth, 2008, p. 151). More recent studies on cultural heritage values and management have been undertaken in various countries to address the need of cultural and landscape identities (Taylor & Lennon, 2012).

### 2.5.3 Cultural Landscape Definition

The notion of cultural landscape has gradually changed, acknowledging that human actions have affected landscapes over time. As previously mentioned, Carl Sauer has ascribed the term cultural landscape. The definition of cultural landscape is originated in the early twentieth century in the work of German geographer Otto Schluter, where Sauer has translated Schluter's term *kulturlandschaft* into English and proposed a concept that cultural landscape is a work-art-medium of natural landscape by a cultural group as an agent (Sauer, 1925, p.46). Taylor and Roe (2014) addressed various definitions of cultural landscape with specific interest in examining ideas and various landscape relationships and practices and their relevance to future landscape planning, design and management application. Thus, landscape is viewed as a process of transformation.

Smith and Jones (2007) gave an understanding of cultural landscapes as a specific type of property defined in Article 1 of the UNESCO *World Heritage Convention* (1972) as representing the "combined works of nature and of man", being: "...illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement

*over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.” (Smith & Jones, 2007)*

To better express to qualify the assertion *genius loci* of the Minahasa, three definitions of cultural landscapes postulated in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (1972) can be taken into consideration. Their definitions of cultural landscape are as follows:

(i) A clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man. This embraces garden and parkland landscapes constructed for aesthetic reasons which are often (but not always) associated with religious or other monumental buildings and ensembles.

(ii) The organically evolved landscape. This results from an initial social, economic, response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub- types:

- A relict (or fossil) landscape is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are however, still visible in material form.

- A continuing landscape is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with the traditional way of life, and in which the evolutionary process is still in progress. At the same time, it exhibits significant material evidence of this evolution over time.

(iii) The associative cultural landscapes are those cultural landscapes where the interaction between people and the landscape is strongly linked to ideas or beliefs.

Associative cultural landscapes explicitly recognise the social and cultural relationships between humans and their environments. Cultural stories, ideas and knowledge are embedded in a place, in individual features and/or across stretches of land or sea. The material cultural evidence of these associations may be minimal or entirely absent.

Given the above definition of associative cultural landscapes, these significant associations are mirrored primarily in the natural landscape. The range of landscape features connected with cosmological, symbolic, sacred and culturally significant landscapes may be very broad and encompass the land and the sea, mountains, caves, stretches of ocean, cliffs, reefs, rivers, lakes, pools, beaches, hillsides, uplands, plains, forests, and trees. All landscapes may have religious, artistic or cultural associations and many associative landscapes are also evolving cultural landscapes.

ICOMOS suggested that large or small contiguous or non-contiguous areas and itineraries, routes, or other linear landscapes can be physical entities or mental images embedded in a people's spirituality, cultural tradition and practice. The attributes of associative cultural landscapes include the intangible, such as the acoustic, the kinetic and the olfactory, as well as the visual (ICOMOS, 1995). This perspective can be traced in a particular ethnic group.

In regard to traditional Indigenous associative cultural landscapes, it is necessary to define boundaries with reference, for example, to spirituality, cultural tradition and practice, language, kinship and social relationships and/or the interactions (including use and care of plant and animal species) that exist between people and their natural environment. Cultural landscape reflects the continuity of living traditions in a region through the identification people have with their environments, through the interconnectedness of the land and sea, living organisms and the people.

#### **2.5.4 Minahasan Landscape Association**

Recognition of Minahasan associative landscapes on the Sulawesi Island was made through analysis of two types of associative landscapes—storied landscapes and traditional knowledge landscapes. Minahasan storied landscapes have connections with their cultural sites that are characterised by an outstanding natural feature, often a landscape feature. Examples such as Uluru-Kata Tjuta ('Ayer's Rock') in Australia, Tana Toraja in Sulawesi, Indonesia, and many others around the world demonstrate cultural and spiritual associations for a particular cultural group. The second type is traditional knowledge of landscapes, which is appropriate to the Minahasa region. The type recognises that traditional knowledge of the environment, its resources and conservation as embodied in stories of origin and mythological ancestral figures, and the traditional cultural knowledge that narrates the land. For the purposes of describing a range of associative cultural landscapes in the Minahasa, the region has a complex landscape system as a whole with many associations. In almost all cases, traditional associations with landscape are manifestations of or are elements of traditional knowledge systems; hence their recording and publication will require consultation with knowledge holders in accordance with cultural property rights.

Landscape links land to people. Like landscapes all over the world, people name features and tell stories of their origin that explain relationships between the elements of landscape and relationships to people. In the Minahasa, stories of origin commonly give history and authority to land tenure and

social status identifying points of initial arrival of ancestors and locations of major events in their lives, all of which continue to inform life and social relationships in the present. In Indonesia, through the process of initial Indigenous colonisation and ongoing interaction, there are common and interconnected stories across the archipelagos that tell of the journeys of heroes and ancestors, a shared pantheon of gods and ancestral figures, some of whose lives and movements can be traced in many sites in different archipelagos across the country. This process is distinct from the subsequent multiple post-Indigenous colonisation events.

All knowledge systems in a region are considered religious or spiritual, and relate to practical daily life or to the law and land tenure, all of which are culturally embedded and have expressions or associations with the landscape and environment. The emergence of cultural landscapes as a recognised sub-category of cultural World Heritage sites has coincided with a general recognition in “natural” heritage management that areas previously identified as pristine wildernesses for their ecological values— “untouched by human activity”—were and are the homelands of Indigenous peoples. Management of these landscapes by Indigenous peoples may have altered the original ecological system, but it has also contributed to scientific discourse in the Western concept of the conservation of biological diversity. The *Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention* makes this relationship explicit by recognizing a spiritual relation to nature, modern techniques of sustainable development and traditional practices for maintaining biological diversity. The importance in understanding the associative values of “natural” landscapes of a region involves traditional customary processes that managed the landscape and resources. Documenting these practices is important to the traditional authority and land tenure systems, and underpinning them is traditional knowledge of ecosystems, resources and the environment, along with the potential impacts of human use, major climatic or geological events and their mitigation. The long-term application of these customary practices has created cultural landscapes for which there is little or no tangible evidence of human activity, but which are nonetheless patterned by culture.

Cultural landscapes are defined as “the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity; they represent a tightly woven net of relationships that are the essence of culture and people’s identity” (Rössler & Cleere, 2001, pp. 38-45). In describing and characterizing cultural landscapes as above, they should be envisaged as wholes rather than discrete sites or buildings, as well as storied sacred or spiritual places to gain an understanding of the cultural meaning of the various tangible and intangible elements of the landscape. It is necessary to divide these into component parts—the features that reflect various elements of the overall culture

and social system. Rössler (2003) described cultural landscapes as often large in scale and as such containing many different kinds of features and evidence. Thus, the recording process is long and complex requiring many different kinds of expertise to identify and understand all the elements of a landscape that contributes to its patterning in the present.

Therefore, in this thesis, a study of the Minahasan communities is applied to identify and record their cultural landscapes and to include these landscapes and their voices in their development planning systems. This study may provide a useful framework or model for the description and categorisation of elements of landscape and the social and cultural system(s) which have created the cultural landscapes of the present. The Minahasa region is recognised as having inseparable connections between the landscapes and rich histories, oral and life traditions of these peoples, including places of origin or mythological origin, archaeological and historical sites of human settlement, and festival places from past to present. This study will contribute to the identification and recognition of their *genius loci* and cultural landscapes by defining the geo-cultural region, reviewing the unique environments, cultures and histories of the region and illustrating through examples.

## 2.6 Landscape in Anthropological Views

Anthropology draws on a similar exploration of the intellectual background of an explicit idea of landscape in connection with picturing, mapping, mirroring and representing nature as the only reliable way of knowing. Anthropologists conceptualize landscape in three analytical concepts, including place and space, inside and outside, and image and presentations (Hirsch & O'Hanlon, 1995). Hence, what is being defined as landscape is the relationship seen to exist between everyday life experiences (place, inside and image representation) and beyond the everyday (space, outside and presentation) in any cultural context. Thus, in anthropological science, landscape emerges as a process.

Landscape provides a way to question culture and its value, and the construction of culture-bound identity. Given the above understanding of landscape, the term 'cultural' invites debate because all landscapes are cultural to some degree. Selman (2006) argues that the cultural landscape has acquired a particular nuance, and refers to those areas whose extant people intuitively grasp the significance of such places, and whose distinctive character derives from centuries of human activity in them. To some extent, cultural landscapes are distinguished by character and are consequently

deemed worthy of protection. In contrast, some others might be relatively nondescript, but may nevertheless command a high level of personal attachment from their inhabitants.

Phillips (1998) has alluded to cultural landscape as comprising nature and people, the past and the present and physical attributes (scenery, nature, historic heritage) as well as associative (social and cultural) values. Piorr (2003) expands upon this by suggesting the consideration of *structures* or landscape *forms*, environmental land use and human-made features, functions associated with biophysical processes and human uses working and recreation and values, or *meanings*; this also includes cognitive qualities such as the intangible and fluid values imputed by society to landscape attributes deemed actually and potentially desirable. Terkenli (2001) defines cultural landscapes as form (the visual), meaning (the cognitive) and function (the biophysical processes and human uses). In addition, Selman (2006) postulates some different points of cultural landscape characteristics such as: time-depth, traces of struggle and occupation, evidence of production, aesthetic qualities of wilderness and the picturesque, natural qualities, and 'customs and practices'.

Similarly, the notion of 'associative landscape' (Gwyn, 2002) has been used to signify the capacity of places to formulate or conjure up intangible acts of memory, imagination, belonging and alienation. Historical landscapes with their heritage values – now broadly referred to as cultural landscapes – have reached centre stage in the field of cultural heritage conservation and planning. The term 'cultural landscape' is now widely accepted internationally (Taylor, 2003).

International organizations, for example the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) are concerned about listing cultural landscapes all over the world according to evaluation criteria that may enable inclusion their World Heritage List. ICOMOS defines 'cultural landscapes' as cultural properties which represent the combined works of nature and humans which illustrate the evolution of human settlement over time through the internal and external influences of natural environmental constraints and opportunities, as well as through succession via social, economic and cultural forces (UNESCO, 2009, p. 19). 'Cultural landscapes' are also defined as reflecting particular sustainable land-use skills with distinct characteristics that engage with the natural environment resulting in specific spiritual relationships to nature. ICOMOS categorizes cultural landscapes into three categories being: intentionally human-made landscapes, organically evolved landscapes and associative cultural landscapes (Ibid, p. 20). Therefore, the importance given to 'cultural landscapes' by international organizations seems to indicate that serious study of *genius loci* is justifiable

through the engagement of human senses to the natural environment, such as through religion, art or cultural associations (which may now be insignificant or even forgotten), and tangible and or intangible aspects.

Overall, landscape and culture are physical entities produced by natural processes and social constructions charged with cultural associations. Landscape has been described as a 'hybrid' nexus of nature and culture in which dualities between people and their host environment dissolve. As a visually comprehended and perhaps relatively self-contained environmental unit, the cultural landscape can be used as a framework for analysis, synthesis, policy development and planning implementation. It is also an area where different groups may demonstrate the meanings and significance of historical associations.

As part of the quest to qualify *genius loci*, the anthropology of architecture is significant. 'Indigenous architecture' or folk architecture, as a dwelling place has become subject to architects and anthropologists studying this "material culture". Architecture involves not only dwellings, but also the creation of social and symbolic spaces which reflect their creators and inhabitants (Waterson, 1990). Studying an inhabitant's space can provide a picture of an entire culture. In her research in South East Asia, anthropologist Roxana Waterson in her book *The Living House* (Ibid) revealed the richness of the house's symbolism in all cultural constructions therein (Ibid, p. xvi). Thus, *genius loci* may be represented as symbolism, and thus will be critical to this research project as it relates to Indigenous architecture.

## 2.7 Landscape and Ethnoecology

Studies on *genius loci* require some understanding of the term 'ethnoecology'. Ethnoecology is defined as Indigenous perceptions of "natural" divisions in the biological world and plant-animal-human relationships within each division (Posey et al., 1984, in Henfrey, 2002). Ethnologists, for example Gerique (cited in Martin, 1995) propose that ethnoecology is contained in all studies that characterize interactions between local people and their natural environment. Davison-Hunt describes ethnoecology as knowledge of the way people understand the interplay between humans, animals, plants and physical elements in the environment (Henfrey, 2002). Both Gerique and Davidson-Hunt emphasize these interactions and the way local people conceive nature.



In recent years, documenting traditional ecological knowledge has become a matter of growing concern. Thus, in an ethnoecology study, the relationship between humans and their environment is a central concept; hence this field can contribute to areas of intellectual curiosity, such as rural development, health care and conservation (Martin, 1995). Research on ethnoecology can also help to understand the dynamic relationships between biodiversity, social and cultural systems. Research on ethnoecology places some emphasis on traditional ecological knowledge, which is also known as Traditional Environmental Knowledge (TEK) (Hunn, 1999, in Nazarea, 1999). Studley (1998) describes TEK in relation to the ecological dimension and traditional systems of knowledge as mostly alluding to medicinal, technical, and ritual uses of plants, animals, and rocks. Studley notes inhabitants bestowing names and occupancy of territory, the spiritual, cosmological, and relational aspects to the various presences in an environment.

Ethnoecological knowledge is linked to a specific place, culture and society, because it is dynamic in nature and belongs to groups of people who live in close contact with natural systems. It demonstrates contrast with “modern” or “Western formal scientific” knowledge (Warren, 1991). Contemporary use of TEK is considered very relevant in traditional resource management and land use planning.



## CHAPTER 3

### THE CASE OF MINAHASA

This chapter provides an account of the extant regional land and environment as an appraisal of sustainable development in Indonesia, with particular reference to the Minahasa region. The flow of discussion in this chapter begins by examining the current issues concerning development in Indonesia, then discussing the Minahasa ethnic communities who inhabit in the Sulawesi Island. The Minahasans possess some uniqueness in their cultural traditions, which has prompted this researcher's interest in a rigorous study of these in the context of *genius loci* and cultural landscape.

#### 3.1 A Brief Indonesian Context

This section gives a brief description of Indonesia, including the islands, people and populations, demographic, ethnicities and their cultural possessions.

The Minahasa region is located on one of the five large islands of the Indonesian archipelago. This archipelago consists of more than 13,508 islands, including the main islands of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan, Papua and Sulawesi; the Minahasa region is located on the latter. Many of these islands are mountainous and host over one hundred active volcanoes. Because of this characteristic, the land affords a rich volcanic soil and, combined with its humid tropical climate, makes for extremely fertile lands. Over 231 million people reside in this archipelago and the nation is listed as the fourth most populous country in the world. The island of Java is one of the most densely populated areas, inhabited by over 107 million people. In contrast, Kalimantan is a large and resource-rich island, yet is sparsely populated (UNESCO, 2003; Adishakti, 2003; Suartika, 2002).

The government of Indonesia documents six dominant religions: Islam; Protestantism, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism and Kong Hu Chu; in some remote areas, spiritualism and animism are still practiced.

Indonesia is a rich agricultural country and has historically been known to its Western colonizers as the "spice islands" because of the wide range of spices that have been exported for centuries. These abundant spices have resulted in Indonesia being fought over and colonized by various European

governments. Since the agricultural revolution in 1980's, Indonesia has also become a net exporter of rice as a staple food.

Indonesia hosts over 300 ethnic groups who inhabit around 6,000 islands, resulting in Indonesia's rich cultural diversity. Indonesian culture, both from its original Indigenous traditions and its multiple foreign influences, has been repeatedly moulded as a result of both interference and assimilation. Historically, Indonesia served as a node for ancient trading routes, which resulted in the dispersion of many cultural practices and an amalgam of many cultures, particularly a multitude of different belief systems and religions. As a result, evidence of overlapping and intertwined cultural practices can be found in many regions, for instance artefacts and archaeological sites, and several of these places have been listed on the UNESCO World Heritage register (Swasono et al., 1997; UNESCO, 2003<sup>a</sup>).

In spite of the influence of foreign colonizers, many Indigenous communities in the archipelago still retain a large portion of their tangible and intangible cultures. Each large island possesses unique cultural diversity, which represents the Indonesian motto of "Unity in Diversity" as a symbol of the co-existence and unification of ethnic cultures. These varied ethnic cultures have given Indonesia a rich diversity of customs and cultural traditions.

Much of Indonesia possesses a rich intangible culture containing both living traditions and expressions inherited from ancestors; for example, performing arts, rituals, oral traditions, and social practices. This is an important attribute in terms of safeguarding these traditions in an increasingly globalized world. Understanding this intangible cultural heritage will help an informed intercultural dialogue and encourage mutual respect for different ways of life. Diversity in culture and its conservation is a significant challenge for any modern country. The concept of nation building in Indonesia involves the formation of national unity and a national cultural identity constructed from the many regional identities that most Indonesians learn from birth. Language is an integral intangible component of this heritage. There are over 300 socio-linguistic groups in Indonesia. While *Bahasa Indonesia*, a form of Malay, has been designated as the national Indonesian language since Independence in 1945, many local Indigenous languages remain and are maintained in order to sustain regional identity.

### 3.2 Indigenous Community in Indonesia

Indonesia is a country where most of the population are Indigenous communities (Swasono, et al., 1997) and the majority of them inhabit inland areas. These communities and their descendants are regarded as the earliest settlers of the Indonesian archipelago (Nusantara). As noted by Koentjaraningrat (1984), some archaeological findings have recorded a number of dwelling places dating from the pre-Hindu era – 5th Century AD to 16th Century AD – and have concluded that these people migrated from the eastern and the western parts of Nusantara. The large numbers of ethnic groups in Indonesia today are considered to be their descendants.

History shows that the Hindu era in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century marked a historical period of literacy in Indonesia; since then people from different parts of the world have continuously migrated to Indonesia, mostly for trade and to spread religious beliefs. For about three and a half centuries – starting in 1596 when they first entered Indonesia at Banten, Java Island – the Dutch were the leading European traders in Nusantara; hence they established their colonial power over Indonesia (Swasono, et al., 1997). The Dutch managed the 'Dutch East Indies' under the Dutch East Indies Companies (VOC or Vereenigde Oost-Indie Copagnie) during the colonial government era between 1602 and 1796. The Dutch East Indies were internationally recognised as the Republic of Indonesia after independence in 1945. Swasono et al. (1997) has observed that during the colonial period the Dutch East Indies government divided the East Indies population into three categories: European/Dutch citizens, the *Vreemde Oosterlingen* (foreign easterners) and the *Inlanders* (Indigenous people).

After Indonesia's independence in 1945, the Indonesian population was categorized between the Indigenous people and the former *Vreemde Oosterlingen* and their descendants who had chosen Indonesian citizenship. Culturally the former were called the *pribumi*, 'natives of the country' while the latter were called *non-pribumi* or *non-Indigenous*, being those whose ancestors came from other races and countries. Although considering themselves *warganegara Indonesia* through Indonesian citizenship, the *non-pribumi* still maintain some of their old cultures, such as kinship systems, some cultural values and norms, and some religious beliefs. However, since independence, a process of acculturation of their culture has occurred.

From the perspective of ethnicity, Indigenous people or Indigenous communities have been defined in the Convention of the International Labour Organization (ILO) 169 in 1989. The ILO Convention is concerned that ethnic groups which occupied an independent country, and which have different economic, social and culture conditions to other community groups and ethnic groups who occupied

a country since colonization, may have imposed their own politic, economic and cultural institutions and structures upon the latter.

In the early 1990s, the Indigenous community in Indonesia was no longer translated as "*masyarakat asli*" but recognized as "*masyarakat adat*". The term "*masyarakat adat*" emerged and was formulated to define a community group "with their ancestor's origin inheritance in certain geographic region, which has its own particular value, ideology, economy, politic, culture" (Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN), 1999). Yet, they are also known as an 'ecosystem community' which can embrace permanent or shifting cultivators, fishers, handicraft makers, hunters, gatherers, all of whom apply multi-use strategies in using nature. Indigenous communities in Indonesia share common languages, religions, moral values, and beliefs in relation to particular territories.

The existence of *Masyarakat adat* in Indonesia has been supported by some policies from the Indonesian National government, such as Law No.5/1979 – Village Government Law. However, this policy is reproached by many non-government organisations (NGOs) and Indigenous rights activists for undermining the nation's rich diversity of local customary governance and resource management regimes (Safa'at, 1996).

Some other rules and laws concerning *Masyarakat adat* that have been implemented in Indonesia include Act No. 22/1999, the Regional Government (Article 93); Act No. 39/1999 on Human Rights (Article 6); Act No. 41/1999 about Forestry (Article 67) and Act No. 25/2000 on National Development (Article 10). These rules have been enacted to achieve national sustainable development and balance relating to many aspects of life within these communities.

The population of Indigenous communities in Indonesia is estimated to be between 60-70 million people out of a total national population of 231 million (AMAN, 1999). Indigenous communities or *Masyarakat adat* find themselves in an ambiguous position in relation to the state and capital. Many Indonesians tend to view the concept of *Masyarakat adat* as a threat implying fragmentation and disintegration of the Indonesian nation, but *Masyarakat adat* is also viewed as an asset that helps to provide some coherence to the nation.

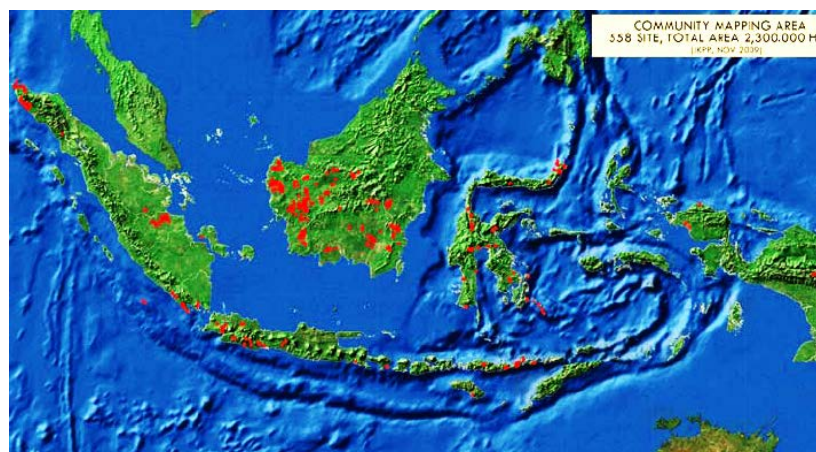


Figure 3.1  
Indigenous communities mapping area in Indonesia, as indicated by red spots.  
(Source; JKPP 2009)

Indigenous communities in Indonesia are facing challenges because of government policies and through licenses to third parties to exploit natural resources. This indiscreet action has occurred in many cases, constraining Indigenous community representatives in different parts of Indonesia from asserting their rights. There is a sign of a growing momentum in the Indigenous movement in Indonesia. For example, an Indigenous delegation of 18 representatives went to Jakarta in 1998 to protest the breach of their basic human rights, including their right of access to and control over their natural resources (AMAN, 1999; Moniaga, 2002).

### 3.3 Indigenous Culture and Development Issues in Indonesia

A prevalence of Indigenous culture is found amongst the Indigenous population in Indonesia. They were previously called the *pribumi*, or native Indonesians, and consist of various ethnic groups spread all over the archipelago. Each group considers their place in the Indonesian archipelago as its land of origin, where it maintains its ancestors' graves and its major cultural heritage (Swasono et al., 1997). Rapid development has increased socio-economic and socio-cultural mobility, and some *pribumi* now live in the metropolitan area in large cities and small towns, while others still remain in the villages, remote places and on islands, leading a variety of life-styles.

A small part of the Indigenous population who live in remote or isolated places (mostly in inland areas) are known by the term, *Masyarakat terasing* or 'isolated people' since they have chosen to live in the deep forest, the mountains, or swampy areas, far from modern life (Dept. of Social Affairs,

1992). The number of *Masyarakat terasing* is relatively small – about 1.5 to 2 million – compared to the whole Indonesian population. The group itself is divided into three categories: nomadic people, semi-nomadic people and permanently isolated people, in terms of their dwelling places as well as economic subsistence (Ibid).

In some countries Indigenous community populations are considered minorities and have become the less privileged. In Indonesia all citizens, both the *pribumi* (including the isolated people) and the *non-pribumi*, have equal rights as articulated in the Indonesian Constitution of 1945. The Constitution recognises human rights and provides special attention to the poor, including the less privileged and isolated populations.

When Indonesia proclaimed its independence in August 1945, the Government of Indonesia endeavoured to restore the dignity of the people and their original cultures through national development plans and efforts. In the 1945 Constitution, Article 32 states: 'The Government shall advance the national culture of Indonesia'. The elucidation of this article is as follows:

*"The ancient and indigenous cultures which are to be found as cultural heights in all the regions throughout Indonesia are part of the nation's culture. Cultural efforts should lead towards advances in civilization, culture and unity without rejecting from foreign cultures new materials which can bring about the development of or enrich the nation's own culture, as well as to raise the height of humanity of the Indonesian nation".*

All Indonesian people have full and equal rights to progress and at the same time conserve and develop their own cultures and regions, as the 1945 Constitution, Article 26 (1) states:

*"Citizens shall be persons who are native-born Indonesians and persons of other nationality who are legalized by statute as being citizens".*

Article 27(1) states:

*"Without any exception, all citizens shall have equal position in Law and Government and shall be obliged to uphold that Law and Government".*

The goal of the national government is to strengthen cultural resilience to overcome helplessness and dependency. The peoples' cultures represent identity and existence, comfort, order, rendering



participation and sharing sources of confidence and security. National development has gradually taken into consideration the needs of diverse peoples, empowering their cultural potentials and overcoming cultural barriers. The development planners, after 25 years' experience, have learnt that development implementation should not necessarily be conducted in uniformity, as that would discourage local acceptability and creativity.

Development programmes in Indonesia have been mediated with local cultures, such as the development of village life in Bali and Sumatra. For example, in the traditional Balinese village, a community's members are united by a common custom called the *banjar*. The *klian banjar* is the head of the community (Sumodiningrat, 1995). This system has been applied in Bali for more than a century. In accordance with Law No.5/1979, a newly formulated system of village administration has been applied throughout the country, where criteria are set by the Government of Indonesia, and the formation of a village has to meet standard requirements based on stated criteria, including its size and population. The *kepala desa*, abbreviated as *kades*, is the administrative head of the village (lowest in the rank of authorities of the national bureaucracy) and is responsible for implementing the government's national development programmes in the village (Mubyarto, 1994).

According to Swasono et al. (1997) development should be based upon local culture. The example of the traditional *banjar* and their existence has been maintained, especially in conserving Balinese culture, whereas the administrative *desa* represents the government's bureaucracy. However, in implementing development programmes, the informal leader of the *banjar* is also given some role, so that the formal and informal leaders of the village can cooperate in many circumstances.

Similarly, Swasono and Sri-Edi (1992) have recorded that the traditional Minangkabau people's village unit of places and their cultural traditions, known as the *nagari*, comprises a community based on customary law and led by a *penghulu* (a Muslim leader). The territories or districts of the *nagari* are embodied in Law No.5/1979, which divides districts into several administrative villages, each led by a *kepala desa*. However, despite this Law the *penghulu* remains as the head of the *nagari*, the informal leader, and continues in a role of interpreting his people's customs and dealing with all aspects of the Minangkabau matrilineal kinship system and its social organisation (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Both the formal (*kepala desa*) and informal (*penghulu*) leaders in Minangkabau often cooperate in executing development programmes in the village.

In trying to achieve sustainable development, the Indonesian national government concerned people living in remote places, including "*Masyarakat terasing*" or Indigenous communities, for example by initiating the re-building of settlement areas and by providing supporting resources.

Another effort from the government is the improvement of places and settlements in accordance with standards that reflect the philosophy of Indigenous communities. Basically, policies in building houses are normally executed in accordance with a development planner's own view. Planners defer to modern and reasonably acceptable house designs that meet certain 'new' standards. However, their efforts have not proved to be sufficiently successful, as Indigenous people often need more time to accept modifications to their house designs and structures (Swasono, Ukke, & Murni, 1994). For example, the Dani people in Irian Jaya have demonstrated that they will not fully accept new house models, whilst they seem able to accept new public facilities such as primary health care and local hospitals, which are built adapting their traditional house styles.

The cultural dimension has not been fully integrated in past national development strategies. Some development failures are due to ignorance of cultural potentials and also barriers of Indigenous peoples (Mubyarto, 1994). Such ignorance has led to the implementation of development projects which have often distorted Indigenous cultural knowledge and also created an attitude of rejection towards further development programs. Notwithstanding these patterns, the implementations of development plans have often and continue to be made on the basis of past experiences. Local cultures and value systems have to be acknowledged as an integral part of development in which the approach to development policy has to become culturally deliberated. An example of this is the implementation of the *Program Inpres Desa Tertinggal* (Presidential Program for Backward Villages), a national program to overcome poverty. Recent examples demonstrate that development planners have been learning from experiences where the community's self-confidence, bottom-up initiatives and motivation are the driving forces behind productivity in poor and economically stagnant villages, and that these factors have to be used as the operating forces to trigger development. Hence, the development planners have to realise the importance of local and Indigenous cultures in selecting and implementing programmes for eradicating poverty (Ibid).

The national government needs to realize that Indigenous communities or ethnic communities and their cultural knowledge can conserve environments. Thus, in development programmes, their position as the "guardians" of their origin places – for instance in the forests and remote areas – can also play an important role in enhancing self-respect amongst other groups of Indonesians. Development planning for conserving Indigenous cultures has been applied to Indigenous

communities. However, it has been concluded that many attempts resulted in failure because of a lack of consultation and engagement with local cultures (Sumodiningrat, 1995).

Development planning should involve all relevant stakeholders to inform development planners in comprehending the cultural potentials and barriers in implementing development programs. National sustainable development will be meaningful for all regions in Indonesia only if it strengthens the unity of the diverse communities' nationwide (Susanto & Sunaryo, 1994).

It is important for the cultural identities of ethnic groups to be mutually respected and the local cultures to be understood to aid the enhancement of national unity and cohesion (Swasono & Sri-Edi, 1992). There have been cases of ignorance of local cultures in the fields of development planning and implementation in Indonesia, such as in the hinterland of East Kalimantan, the highlands of Irian Jaya (Kosasih & Murni, 1994), in the Mentawai case, some of the transmigration settlements in the outer islands, resettlement areas for relocated people and in the Moluccas. These cases have created a gap between outsiders and the Indigenous (Abdillah, 1995).

In the last 40 years, development experiences in Indonesia have met with barriers and sometimes failure. This has been due partly to cultural factors integrally embedded in the development process. Development planners need to acknowledge this fact, as they have found it necessary to strengthen and to give new substance to the study of development planning in related disciplines.

A new development paradigm in Indonesia has been introduced for a 'cultural value-added' change. This paradigm has accepted that local cultures constitute development potential. The recognition has been that neglecting these significant factors may cause development to become more socio-culturally ineffective.

### 3.4 The Minahasa Region and Environment

The greater Minahasa Region is located on the northern tip of Sulawesi Island and includes mountainous features that have been inhabited by the Minahasan people for hundred years. The Minahasa Region is part of a larger Indonesian administrative provincial unit known as Sulawesi Utara or "*Sulut*" (North Sulawesi). This region is bordered by the Sangihe Regency to the north, the Maluku Sea to the east, Bola'ang Mongondow in the south and the Sulawesi Sea to the west.

The Regency unit of the Minahasa Region is additionally divided into four regencies and 3 cities (*kota*): *Kabupaten* Minahasa Utara (North Minahasa Regency), *Kabupaten* Minahasa (Central Minahasa regency), *Kabupaten* Minahasa Selatan (South Minahasa Regency), and *Kabupaten* Minahasa Tenggara (Southeast Minahasa Regency), Kota Manado, Kota Tomohon and Kota Bitung (See Figure 3.2). The Minahasa region overall consists of 492 village units (Minahasa governmental web pages at [www.minahasa.go.id](http://www.minahasa.go.id)).

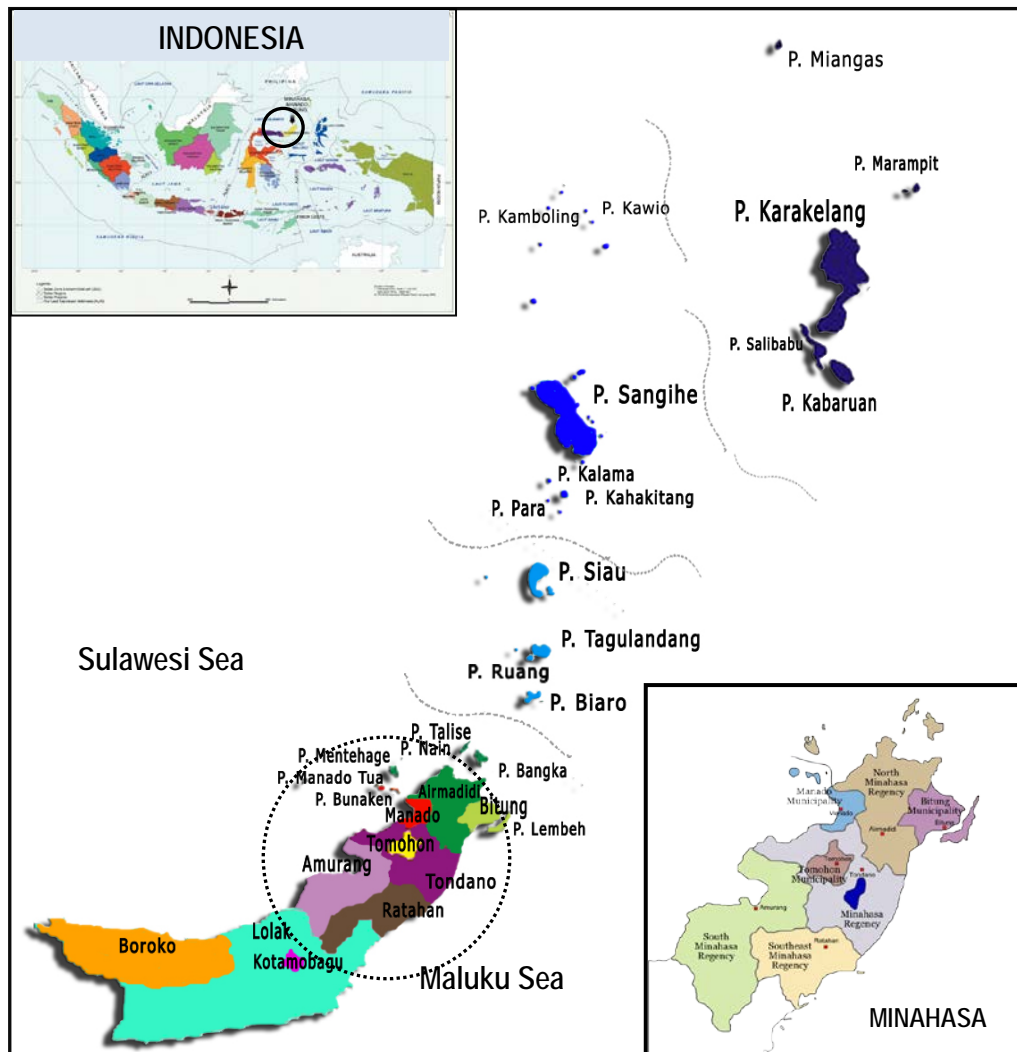


Figure 3.2.

Map indicates the North Sulawesi province, Indonesia and the greater Minahasa Region.  
(Source; The Government of North Sulawesi 2013 - <http://www.sulutprov.go.id>; Author modification)

The name 'Minahasa' is derived from the proto language of Deutro Malay where "esa" means one. Local historians and linguists concur that "Minahasa" etymologically is derived from two words being "mina" and "esa" that has been compounded to one word "minaesa", "maesa" or "maesaan", which means "united" or "unify" (Van Kol cited in Palar, 2009<sup>a</sup>, pp. 147-61) To some, the word also is written and expresses as *maesa*, *maesaan*, *minaesaan*, and *pinaesaan*, according to sub-ethnic

languages. The Dutch called "se Mahasa" means people who assemble. The Spaniards called it "batasiana" (taken from the word "*wata'esa ene*" from the local language, which means "the mount people" or in Dutch the "bovenlanders" (Palar, 2009<sup>a</sup>, pp.148-150). Hence, the meaning of "batasiana" as used by several Spaniard Pastors: Peter Diego Magelhaens in his letter being sent from Manado to Ternate in 1563 used the term "t Eiland Batasiana" to represent Minahasa (Ibid, p.160), P. Pero Mascarenhas in his letter in 1568 mentioned "batachini" for the inland Minahasan people or highlanders, and Pastor Du jarric in 1615 recorded that "La Batachina" or "Botochina" was used by Spaniard and Portuguese, and Palomino concluded Minahasan as "the people bounded and unified that had the same loyalty, solidarity and perspectives (Ibid, pp.160-161). Spaniard Dr. P.J Bouman has observed that "batasiana" was a heterogenous community that practiced individualist collectivism. However, they also had a high council called "wali pakasaan" that contained represent active elected by the people through a democratic process. The Dutch called this council "Radd der Dorpshoofden". Based upon the name conception records, "batasiana" was used to address the character of Minahasans and the administrative and social (leadership) system.

The term Minahasa was first written in the official report of Dutch Resident JD Schierstein on 8th October 1789, when he was discussing the reconciliation between the sub-ethnic communities of the Bantik and Tombulu (Tateli), who occupied the "Malesung Land". Everhardfus C Goode Mohlsbergen, who officiated as the Netherland Indische Governor of Ternate, Maluku between 1675 and 1682, also mentioned the Minahasa in an official historical book drawn from archive collections. Schierstein also quoted the oldest letter that contains the Minahasan name. The report documented the word "*minhasa*" or "*min-ha-sa*" to represent village names in Manado. Schierstein also quoted the name of the Indigenous people who resided in the northern part of Sulawesi Island, referred to as the "Manado people". To distinguish between the people of Manado who lived on the islands and in their surrounds, from the Bolaang Mongondow tribe, the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) applied the term "minhasa" from the tombulu ethnic language. Later the VOC changed this to "minahassa". Accordingly, acknowledging and valuing the historical process of nomenclature identification and evolution of Minahasa is important to the Minahasan people. Hence, Minahasa is a result of the bonds between the sub-ethnic communities of the Minahasan.

### 3.4.1 Landscape Features

The geography of Minahasa is characterized by a complex suite of bio-ecosystems, featuring a sequence of mountains extending from the northern to the southern tip of the northern Sulawesi

Island. The interior of the land includes of several active volcanoes, rocky soils, sulphurous lands and other geological features and deposits in certain areas, such as patchy heterogeneous and green forests, abundant water flows, endemic and exotic vegetation and animals, and of course the Minahasan people who have inhabited and thrived on this land for many years. By its physiognomy form the land exhibits an acknowledgeable living entity.

The landscape is a starting point of a representation of what is seen today as a synopsis picture from time to time. In acknowledging the Minahasan's landscape, and having regard to the definition of landscape, as postulated by Zonneveld (1990, p. 55); Forman and Gordon (1986, p. 11); Kidd (in Benson & Roe, 2007, p. 97), this is clearly a distinguishable landscape that contains a set of dynamic, distinct and measurable spatial units of geomorphology that embraces both natural and built elements. Atkinson et al. (2001, p. xvi), offer broader definitions of landscape, understanding it through the perspectives of: scenery, topography, the 'lie of the land', as nature and environment, habitat, artefact, and as place, location or territory.

The landscape of Minahasa is characterized by its extant natural processes, the disturbance of particular habitats, and the potential location of particular habitats and land covers. The land reflects this interaction in its ecological conditions and human land use. The environmental elements and human's use influences the dynamic identity of the landscape, and thus the land is considered critical to the Minahasa.

The Minahasa land is meaningful for its inhabitants because of their connections to its story, its biogeography and its *genius loci*. Each place has significance, which is important to the locals. Landscape often bears multiple layers and symbols, laden with memories and knowledge, as contended by Vedru (in Schofield & Szymanski, 2011, p. 53). Hence, in examining the persistence of the value of places and landscape to the Minahasa in the past, it is evident that this affects how they value these places and also their wider surroundings. For example, some areas are deemed rich in artefacts as archaeological sites, but also possess a well-maintained natural environment.

Since the arrival of the first Europeans in the late 15th Century, they have sought to record the historiography of the Minahasan. This landscape was first described in the informal letters of Portuguese pastors Diego Magelhaens and Pero Mascarenhas when they visited Manado in July 1563 and Ternate in March 1568. Later Jesuit priests from Italy, Giambattista Scalamonti in 1617, Cosme Pinto in 1619, and Andrea Simi in 1620 (Jacobs, 1984 cited in Palar, 2009<sup>a</sup>, p. 21) also wrote

about the landscape. Other visitors, Blas Palomino and Juan Yranzo from Spain, came to Manado in June 1619 and August 1645 seeking to learn the Minahasans' culture and agricultural practices in the inland highlands. The Minahasa were also written about in the manuscripts of Dominus Jacobus Montanus and Robertus Padtbrugge respectively in 1675, 1677 and 1682 (Montanus, 1675; Padtbrugge, 1866 in Palar, 2009<sup>a</sup>; p. 22) and are described in Graafland's travel notes (in 1869 and 1881 - edited in Montolalu, 1991, p. 4).

In summary, there are many documents that review the Minahasa lands that were written in the VOC era in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century to the end of 19<sup>th</sup> Century, including writing by European missionaries N.P. Wilken (1863), J.G.F Riedel (1872), J.A.T Schwarz (1907), who sought to ascertain the origin of the Minahasans through narratives unearthed from the local people, and by study of the Indigenous people, their traditions and their environment. The inland Minahasa, in particular, and the surrounds of Tondano Lake were also captured through painting and lithography in 18<sup>th</sup> Century during the visits of Dutch artists C.W.M van de Velde and P. Lauters in 1846, and L.H.W.M de Stuers in 1876, as evidenced in Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4.



**Figure 3.3**  
Landscape Painting of Kema village, Minahasa,  
in 1846, by C.W.M. van de Velde, P. Lauter.  
(Source: KITLV, Leiden, Netherland)



**Figure 3.4**  
Landscape Painting of Tondano Lake, in 1876,  
by L.H.W.M. de Stuers [lithograph]  
(Source: KITLV, Leiden, Netherland)

The Minahasan landscape and environment as perceived by these Dutch painters offers their perspectives of the relationship between personal expression and place identities in the past. The landscape paintings in figures 3.3 and 3.4 however, also provide an interesting visual discussion that seeks to analyse the relationship between Minahasan place and identity over time and the environmental patterns and changes over the years.

Knowledge of the landscape characteristics of the inland Minahasa, in particular Tondano Lake and its surroundings, has been documented in Hickson (1889, p. 219) and Buddingh (1846, p. 399-402, cited in Dotulong, 2010). Hickson and Buddingh both write about the ancient geology of the Lake and its formation as a result of eruptions in the west and northwest of the Lake environs, together with the occurrence of natural processes and alterations in the surfaces of volcanoes and their surrounding areas. Past conditions indicate that the Lake was originally of alluvial terrain in the south and a large flat plain in the north. The Tondano Lake today lies at altitude of 690 m above sea level (approximately 2000 feet). The Lake is 11.5 km in length, 4 km in width and covers 4278 ha in total. The deepest part of the Lake is 28 m, located at a point between Romboken Village in the west and Telap Village in the east. In the western part of the Lake near Touliang-Oki village, there are spring waters with water bubbles constantly emanating to the Lake surface. The northern lowland of inland Minahasa stretches from the Ro'ong stream to the Lour-Oki stream, averaging 3.5 to 9 km in width, commencing in the north and ending at the Tounsea-Lama Waterfall and stretching to the Tampusu Hills and the Lembean Mountain ranges. The south western Plain consists of a flat plain stretching from the Kaluntai hot-water stream to the southern part of the Lake or from Paso Village to Kakas Village. The land is bordered by the Sopotan Mountain and averages 18 to 25 km in width. The western plain contains a narrow flat between Welong hot-water stream, near Romboken and Kaima, next to the Paso Mountain, is on average 1.8 km in width and connects with the large southern plain.

### The Mountain Scenery

The Minahasans' landscape and environment possesses a magnificent panorama and rich scenery of hills and dales, plains and distant mountains. The term "tableland" or "highland" was firstly used by Dr P Bleeker to describe the "Toundano tableland" in the interior of the Minahasa region. Bleeker concluded that the land as an amalgam of original volcanoes in the central of the region gave rise to the nomenclature of "*Toundano highland*" (Buddingh, 1846, cited in Dotulong, 2010). Through the plateau of Tondano also flows the Tondano River, which the Toundano/Tolour sub-ethnic community calls *Teberan/Temberan*, meaning large rivers or the "water flows continuously". The plateau is characterized by the Lembean Mountain ranges and a series of mountains: Mt Kaluta (1223 m), Mt Kawatak (1295 m), and Mt Makalonsouw (1100 m). Geologically, the mountain range is a circle of walls from a large crater or old caldera where the western part has disappeared due to natural processes. The Lake was one of the largest craters in Indonesia, with a diameter of 27 km. The eruption processes in the past formed approximately 20 new eruption points, moving the crater



surface and its edges. The mountains of Manimporok-Soputan, Rumengan-Mahawu and Empung-Lokon are today considered the edge of the original shapes of the large volcano described above. Eruptions and explosion occurred in different periods of time. The current form of the landscape in the southwest is distinguished by Mt Masarang (1275 m – measured by Sarasin) and Mt Masarang Timu (1263 m measured by LHG Horsting). Interestingly, The Eruption Watch Board investigated the craters of Mt Masarang in 1922 and found 4 craters, namely; Masarang on the top of Mt Masarang, Linow Masarang, Linow Pali and Titiwo'on. The Masarang Massive shows no volcano activity. However, in its eastern part between Mt Masarang and Mt Kinagogaran, hot ground water containing minerals or sulphurs and basalt white rock in the northern portion can be found.

The physical landscape of the Minahasa region includes a number of mountains and lakes inventoried by the National Land Agency of Sulawesi Utara Province; these are documented in the Government official report *North Sulawesi in Figures 2011* (2011) as detailed in Tables 3.1.

**Table 3.1**  
**Mountains and Lakes in the Minahasa Region**

| Name of Mountains | Height (in m) | Name of Lake | Area (in ha) |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| Klabat            | 1995          | Tondano      | 4278         |
| Soputan           | 1820          | Linau        | 35           |
| Lokon             | 1689          | Wungangaan   | 30           |
| Manimporok        | 1661          | Bulilin      | 22           |
| Rindengan         | 1553          | Kawelan      | 8            |
| Tacui             | 1520          | Mokobang     | 38           |
| Tampusu           | 1500          | Pangolombian | 2            |
| Tatawiran         | 1474          | Sendow       | 2            |
| Lumedon           | 1425          |              |              |
| Lolombulan        | 1402          |              |              |
| Aiseput           | 1400          |              |              |
| Dua Sudara        | 1351          |              |              |
| Kautil            | 1332          |              |              |
| Mahawu            | 1311          |              |              |
| Kawatak           | 1370          |              |              |
| Tangkoko          | 1149          |              |              |

Source: North Sulawesi in Figures 2011, p. 9, 12.



Figure 3.5  
Landscape scenery of inland Minahasa Land, photograph taken from the aircraft (photo by Author 2012)

### 3.4.2 Waterflow Patterns

The Minahasa Region is characterized by abundant water, which flows from the mountains in the highlands to the lowlands. Names of the large rivers, tributary streams and gullies were recorded first by Graafland and Kolff in 1898 (Graafland & Kolff, 1898, p. 7) and re-identified in several local publications (Wenas, 2007, p. 3). Several of these rivers' names have however disappeared, and several of water courses have changed their alignment or experienced drought.

Figure 3.6 shows the riverine character of the Minahasa region, depicting the main river flows and catchment areas.

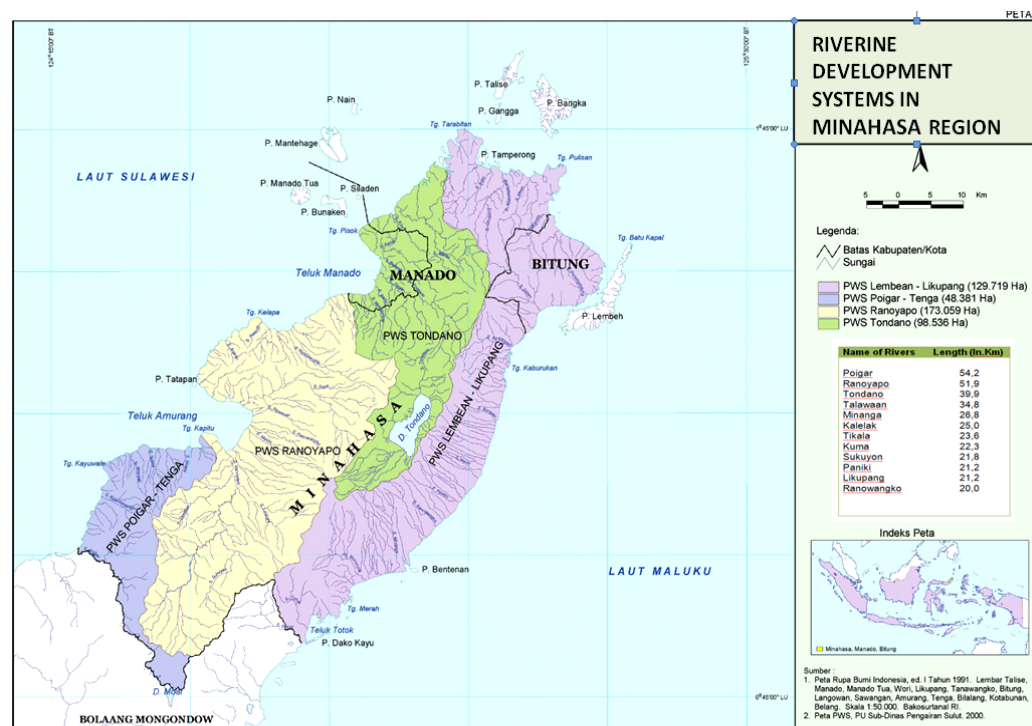


Figure 3.6  
Riverine system in Minahasa Region  
(Source: Bappeda Minahasa 2011; Author modification)

Rivers to the Minahasan people possess various folklore associations in connection to history and traditions. For example, the Ranoyapo River that flows to the west and ends in the Teluk (gulf) Amurang (North Sulawesi in Figures, 2011, p. 11). The name *ranoyapo* is derived from the narratives “rano I apo” the “water from the gods of Toar and Lumimu’ut”, who is an ancestor of the Minahasan people (Rondonuwu, 1984, p. 11; Wenas, 2007, p. 3). This River flows from the upper stream in the Wulurma’atus Mountain, which Minahasan people believe as the original land of the ancestors before the peoples were distributed throughout of Minahasa region. As another example, the

Tondano River that flows from Tondano Lake to Manado City possesses folklore about the arrival of Chinese people in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century of which the Minahasans called them *tounipus*, a “tail man” or people with a long plait hair. One story tells of the *tounipus* people venturing from Manado Bay along the Tondano River before reaching Tanggari village in the hinterland and there upon occupying the edge of Tondano Lake (Van Kol, 1903, p. 129-32; Wenas, 2007, p. 3).

Table 3.2 below documents river nomenclature taken from various sub-ethnic and Manado Malay languages during the research project and drawn from two other sources.

**Table 3.2**  
**River documentation in Minahasan Indigenous Nomenclature**

| Rivers flowing to the East  | Rivers flowing to the North  | Rivers flowing to the West (between Tondano River and Papatungan Cape)                             | Rivers flowing to the West (between Tondano and <i>Tanawangko</i> Rivers)   | Rivers flowing to the West (between Ranowangko and Nimanga Rivers)   | Rivers flowing to the West (between Ranoyapo and Poigar Rivers)                              |
|---|--|--|---|--|--|
| Aer Prang<br>Aer tembaga<br>Girian<br>Sondaken<br>Tasik Oki<br>Kema or<br>Sawangan<br>Lilang<br>Makalisung<br>Tinggian<br>Wulo<br>Tulaun<br>Kawis<br>Ranowangko<br>Kamenti<br>Pakaretan<br>Pinanungean<br>Atep<br>Parentek<br>Tarandi<br>Karor<br>Makali<br>Molompar<br>Basan<br>Totok/Ratatotok<br>Buyat | Madidi<br>Batu<br>Tiwoho<br>Marowuwung<br>Kokole<br>Likupang<br>Maen<br>Pangisang<br>Marinsou<br>Kalinanon<br>Sapiran<br>Araran<br>Walang Itang<br>Tawua<br>Batu Putih | Tandano/Teberan<br>Wangko<br>Mapanget<br>Paniki<br>Kima<br>Talawaan<br>Tinanuman<br>Wale-ne Rumbia | Tikala<br>Sario/Rariwo<br>Sendangn<br>Saluesem<br>Sapa<br>Malalayang<br>Rano-Repet<br>Tateli<br>Mokupa<br>Tambala<br>Paniki<br>Ranowangko | Mengetasi<br>Rano-<br>Tuana/Tumpa<br>Pentu<br>Rano Mea<br>Ranowangko | Ranoyapo<br>Liwason<br>Moinit<br>Tongop<br>Lolowing<br>Molinou<br>Sidate<br>Ongkau<br>Poigar |

Source: The notes of Gerungan Family Tree 1500-1990 cited in Buddingh 1849; Boeng Dotulong 2010; Author modification

Additionally, Indigenous nomenclature of creeks and gullies that flowed towards the Tondano Lake were documented in Gerungan Family's notes (Dotulong, 2010), recording specific names of streams in the region together with their historical associations or the characteristics of the place.

From the Minahasan perspectives, water flows are a core component of landscape that possesses values that inform all aspects of life both individually and socially, and which also contain meanings of local experiences to nature and to events that occurred in connection to the place, including the maintenance of the water holes in the upper streams for environment sustainability reasons. Thus, each place possesses different historical events based upon the interactions of people, place and environment. The streams and gullies that flow to Tondano Lake are detailed in Table 3.3

**Table 3.3**  
**Small Streams and Gullies flowing into the Tondano Lake**

| Location | Name of the Streams  |
|----------|--|
| Eastern  | Linouran, Lour-Oki, Tounsukun, Toulumuten, Serawet, Tounipus-Sela, Tounipus-Oki, Touliang Sela, Touliang Oki, Na'ayamen, Ranomerut, Pakem, Toweng/Towano, Eris   |
| Western  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rawoweleng; with Ranomèa, Touliau, Winewelen and Winiran Gullies</li> <li>• Panasen; with Reirièm, Roweng and Peret Gullies,</li> <li>• Paso-Omel; Rano-Omel and Wulilin Creeks (in Passo)</li> <li>• Parepei, Ro'ong, Tounsaru,</li> <li>• Toumbèkè and Mapatè Pasampilan, and Salu Gullies</li> <li>• Siwolèan</li> <li>• Koya</li> </ul> |
| Northern | • Teberan Wangko (Tondano River); Taler, <i>Sempot-Besar</i> and <i>Sempot Kecil</i> , and Marawas Gullies in the east part  |
| Southern | Sengnit  |

Source: Gerungan Family notes 1500-1990; Boeng Dotulong 2010; Author modification

### 3.4.3 Natural Resources

The Minahasan land is rich and abundant in natural resources, in particular native plants and animals, making this region of interest to outsiders in conducting research about natural history or other scientific topics. Eminent naturalists or ecologists including Van Rosenberg, Wallace, Sydney Hickson, Reinwardt, Bleeker, Meyer, Platin, 'L'Astrolabe' (a naturalist from French who visited Minahasa region (Manado) in the year 1827), Musschenbroek, J. F. Riedel, and Captain Sir. E. Belcher (in 1844 who made scientific notes about fauna of Celebes (Sulawesi) Island) have all made particular reference to the Minahasa and contributed their findings about zoological knowledge (Hickson, 1889, p. 327).

Plants are vital to humans in relation to their social and cultural life. To the Minahasans, plants and animal knowledge is associated with many aspects of their life and culture. Certain plants and

animals in the Minahasa region are classified as “Sulawesi native species” because of their identification by researchers such as Alfred Russel Wallace (1859), J. Hickson (1889), F. Sarasin (1893), N. Graafland (1898), S. Pangemanan (1919), Coomans de Ruiter (1926) and others (Wenas, 2007, p. 154). Both naturalists and locals have identified plants and animals according to botanical and zoological knowledge and have given scientific (Linnaean) names to particular Indigenous species, drawing upon Indigenous Minahasan language names. Some of these plants and animals have significant roles in Minahasan cultural and social values and practices, as outlined below.

Plant production is undoubtedly important. For example, bamboo is one of the most important plants of the tropics and is found in Minahasa region. The plant is commonly used for house construction and in the fabrication of tools. The *saguer* palm (*Arenga sacchariferum*), which is found in the valleys and forests, provides a renowned juice, a sweet, white and pleasant beverage when fresh that turns to a bitter tasting and intoxicating beverage when it has been fermented. Some Minahasans called it the “seho” or “akel” tree, and it is recognized as a ‘sacred plant’, with the sap of the *saguer* being the drink of the gods (Hickson, 1889, p. 829). Coconut palms are widely grown in the Minahasan region, and nearly all parts of the plant are highly valued by the Minahasans. The forests and land of the Minahasans consists of hard woods, tropical fruits, and crop production, including rice paddy and corn, spices and vegetables; hence making Minahasa a promising and blessed land to its inhabitants.

The Minahasa region is a tropical rain forest, similar to other regions in Indonesia, thus having high humidity and enduring heavy rain for most of the year. The weather is influenced by the monsoon wind from the northwest in May to April that brings most of the rain. Rain measurements fluctuate between 2000 – 2400 mm annually. The average temperature is 25.2° C, with a maximum of 30.4° C and a minimum 22.1° C. Humidity is recorded as 73.4°. In some highland areas of North Sulawesi the temperature can vary depending on altitude (BPS Propinsi Sulut, 2011).

### 3.5 The Minahasan People

The Minahasan ethnic community represents one of the oldest regional ethnic groups in Indonesia that was initially identified during occupation by the Dutch and their missionaries. An ethnographic study of South East Asia has identified and listed the Minahasa in 70 ethnic groups that still exist today in the region (Waterson, 1990, p. ix). These ethnic communities are depicted on Figure 3.7.

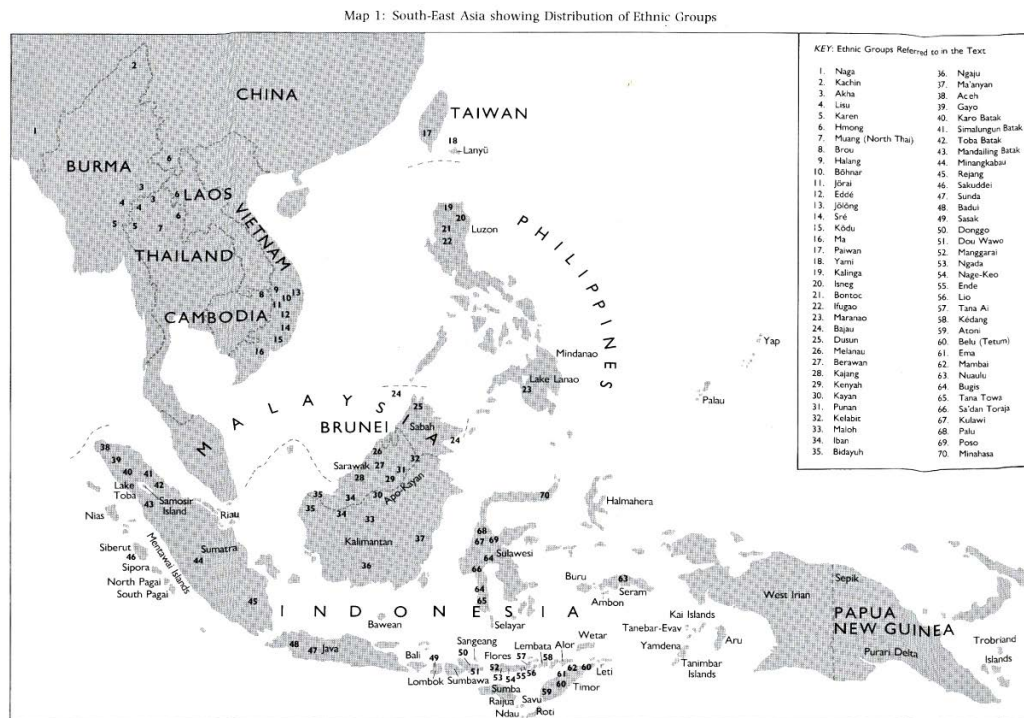


Figure 3.7  
The distribution of ethnic groups in South East Asia  
(Source: Waterson 1990, p. ix)

### 3.5.1 Origins

The exact origin of the Minahasa remains a debatable topic amongst researchers. Scientists began to study their human presence in the islands of Southeast Asia, theorizing that they arrived in the waves of Proto Malays and Deutro given archaeological evidence, in particular the types of axes (Koentjaraningrat, 1971). Ethnologists argue that East India was their place of origin. This opinion is maintained by many authors; however, with more recent archaeological excavations and analysis, and the increasing number of study locations and artefacts being located, scientists are increasingly abandoning this theory. In the Minahasa region, particularly in Paso Village (near Tondano Lake) and in Dahayu Hill, Tonsawang, relics of carion shells have been found in the mounds, proving that they belonged to inhabitants who lived around 8000 BC at this location (Belwood, 1990, p. 24-25; Manoppo, 1986, p. 25; Wenas, 2007, p. 27).

Molsbergen has concluded that the first people came to the Minahasa lands from the north and inhabited the lands discontinuously over several generations (Molsbergen, 1928). Other scientific findings also recorded that that the Minahasans have a brighter skin colour than other Malays, have black and brown eyes, and also have straight black hair (Beekman, 1930). This conclusion is

supported by two anthropologists, the Sarasin brothers, who visited Minahasa from 1893 to 1896 and 1902 to 1903 (Gosal, 2006, p.1). A similar study by Indonesian anthropologist, Koentjaraningrat, has also argued that the Minahasans are descendants of Mongoloid people, who migrated from Japan and East Asia through the Riukyu Islands and then through to the Taiwan, the Philippines, the Sangir Islands before reaching Sulawesi island (Koentjaraningrat, 1984, p. 8).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Watuseke, a local researcher, observed that the Minahasan ethnic group has similarities to Indo-Mongoloid groups in East Tiongkok, in particular the Yunan in East Tibet, whose ancestors are of Thai, Vietnamese and the Philippine descent; this has been ascertained by comparing their physical body characteristics, their traditional houses, their traditional tools (spears, cleaver and shields) and clothes made of wood, and their reverence rites to their ancestors (Watuseke, 1968, p. 6).

In terms of research into languages, linguists of ancient Chinese and Mongolian dialects have studied pictures and script written in the Minahasan "sacred stone" of *Watu Pinawetengan*. Tompasso, in May 1997 concluded that archaic scratches "*min nan tou*" (*min* = king, *nan* = island, and *tou* = human) mean "the people of the *Ming* King from the island"). This finding was supported by C Manoppo, a consulate for Mongolia. Manoppo noted that the belief system and several other cultural attributes of Mongolia were similar to Minahasan; for instance, the clan names Tendean, Sondakh and Sandag exist in Mongolia (Gosal, 2006, p.1). However, a study of Minahasan scripts undertaken by Christopher Miller, documented in *Graphonomic Structure and the Origins of the Sumatra-Sulawesi-Philippina Scripts*, concluded that the origin of the Minahasan script cannot be proved (Miller, 2011).

Western academics, with their modern perspectives, have also sought to trace the origin of the Minahasans through their folklores and oral traditions, despite the lack of writing evidence from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Minahasan narratives are categorized by these authors into three (Supit, 1986, p.15):

- (1). Narrative documents based upon authentic facts, in particular from the linguistic perspectives,
- (2). Narrative documents arising from the dissemination of the Catholic religion; and
- (3). Narrative documents from the *zendeling*, which were written based upon the ancient folklores, and which were also developed by the Minahasans themselves.

Hence, the Minahasans' own myth of origin can be traced through their oral traditions. Supit has concluded that there are several types of oral traditions in Minahasa (Supit, 1986, p.15):



- (1). History, such as the battle between the King of Bolaang Mongondow, the origins of sub-ethnic groups, battles with Europeans;
- (2). Legends: for example the *Pingkan* and *Matindas* story, the evolution of Tondano Lake, both of which contain a combination of history and fairy tales;
- (3). *Neumanen* (fairly tales), including fables (such as *wo'u wo si woley*);
- (4). Stories based upon *Makatana* (traditional Indigenous) knowledge, which tell of Indigenous religious rites, in particular of sacred sites.

Through this typology of oral traditions the Minahasans can recognize their tangible and intangible possessions and the cultural properties bequeathed by their elders and ancestors.

The “pre-colonial” perspectives of Minahasan ethnicity suggests that Minahasans have always represented a recognizable cultural ethnic community, who inhabited a distinct land area before European arrival and colonization. Cohen has theorized “A Mythology of Decent” to describe the unification of the Minahasans as an imagined community even today (Brown, 2002, p. 69). Hence, when referring to Minahasan folklore, all Minahasans can trace their lineage back to the celestial figures of *Toar* and his mother *Lumimu'ut*.

*Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* were the first ancestors of the Minahasans, where *Lumimu'ut* was the mother of *Toar* and later, they were married by a woman called *Karema*. Thus, *Karema*, *Lumimu'ut* and *Toar* are claimed and recognized as the first ancestors of the Minahasans (Graafland, 1869; Montolalu, 1991; Riedel, 1870; Schwarz, 1907).

The native name for the descendents of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* is *Malesung* people – *malesung* is derived from *lesung* = a tool for thresh, made of wood or stone with a cavity in the middle; *Malesung* is also the name of a tree (*Calophillum sp.*, Riedel, 1894, p. 7). *Malesung* people were believed to belong to the first populations who occupied the *Wulurma'atus* Mountains in the southern portion of the Minahasa region before they moved to the *Watu Niutakan* near Tompaso Baru (Renwarin, 2007, p. 60; Riedel, 1870, Supit, 1986; Schwarz, 1907; Watuseke, 1968; Wenas, 2007, p. 10).

In the beginning of the 19th century, Schwarz, a zendeling (missionary) from Germany, visited and stayed in the inland of Minahasa for a period of time. Schwarz rigorously documented the legend of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* in the Tombulu sub-ethnic language drawing upon the folklore gained from the *alfur/alifuru* (native) people (Schwarz, 1907 in Wenas, 2007, p. 82-83). Schwarz concluded;

...the effort to explain the natural phenomenon include the highest science knowledge in primordial era, include astronomy, which the narrative of Toar and Lumimu'ut as a sacred story was to illustrate the natural signs...

... Toar, origin from *tou arii* or "prime pillar," or *tu'ur* = stick, which became a god of sun. Lumimu'ut (from *lu'ut* = "sweat") means "transpired earth" that produced morning dew. Lumimu'ut became a god of earth. In the morning the sun (Toar) appeared from the womb of the earth (Lumimu'ut) in the east. Hence, it was symbolized that Lumimu'ut gave birth to Toar and became a child of Lumimu'ut (Earth). Later, in the evening, the sun (Toar) disappeared again to the earth (Lumimu'ut), which symbolized as Toar copulated with Lumimu'ut, thus Toar has changed to a husband for Lumimu'ut... (Schwarz, 1907, p. 374, Indonesian translation by Jessy Wenas).

In the above quoted myth, the goddess *Karema* had a significant role in articulating the story. *Karema*, as a name derives from '*karerema*', *rerema*' meaning "star". *Karema* also represents "all stars" or a specific star like *kaendoan* – the morning star (Venus). The phenomenon that "when the sun rises, the star still appeared and on the other hand, when the sun sank in the evening the star appeared early" was epitomized by *Karema* (the star) who witnessed the delivery of *Toar* as a "son", and that *Toar* changed to a "husband". The symbol of *Karema* as *Bintang Sosapu* or "comet" is pictured in the *Watu Pinawetengan* (*Pinawetengan* stone) at Tompaso. This comet is today known as Halley's Comet, which appears in the sky once every 76 years. Schwarz also mentioned *Lumambot*, the brother of *Karema* (Schwarz, 1907, p. 378); *lumambot* means "long" and symbolizes the long tail of Halley's Comet or another comet that shines brightly. Hence, nomenclature functions in the narratives of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* in identifying natural signs. Thus, understanding these narratives is to understand natural phenomena, but also documents the astrological knowledge of the primordial Minahasans and its use in religious rites.

Even though the origin of the narrative of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* as Minahasan ancestors remains unclear, contemporary Minahasans treat the story as a factual historical story. The precolonial Minahasans consider the myth of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* as a sacred narrative that is carefully narrated to their community. Thus, this Indigenous story was originally used in a sacred song embodied in the Indigenous rite *rumages* (taken from "*reges*" = wind) or in the *mangorai* rite. However, both rites present in different story lines (Wenas, 2007, p. 76). One version of the complete myth of *Toar-Lumimu'ut* was written in H. Van Kol's book "*Uit Onze Kolonien*" (1903, p. 160-165). The song title is "*De Zang van Karema*" (The Song of the god *Karema*) or "*Zazanian ni Karema*" (in the Tombulu language). This ancient and sacred Minahasan song has 37 sections in 13 rounds, of which round 3 in the last lyric describes the marriage of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* and their descendants (Van Kol, cited in Wenas 2007, p. 76) as follows:

Section - 13:  
Yah niséra sana-awu, sé minakasuzu-mé:  
Sé Makazua-Siouw, sé oki'  
Wo Makatelu-Pitu, sé puyun

Karia né Pasiouwan-Telu, sé tou lakez  
Sé kinasuzuan pé' né ka'sa puyun-impuyun.

And those husband and wife [Toar dan Lumimu'ut], got progeny:  
the 2 x 9, were children,  
and the 3 x 7, were grandchildren  
and together the 9 x 3, were others,  
They also got many great-grandchildren (Wenas, 2007; p.76).

The old woman leading the *mangorai* rite – “*walian mangorai*” – had a performance role as the god *Karema*. In every section of the song, the dancer “*Maengket Katuakan*” would be greeted “*Eeeeh Rambi-rambian*” at the end of each section meaning “sounding the bronze gong” (*Rambi* = bronze gong). By tracing the song lyrics of *De Zang van Karema*, the Indigenous religion and belief system, art, culture and customs of the Minahasa are revealed after *ampuhan* or *dimenew* (a great flood) occurred in the past which made the entire Minahasa land sink, with only the top of Mt Wulurma'atus unsubmerged (Wenas, 2007, p. 75).

The above rite song also reflects the distribution of the descendants of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* throughout the Minahasa land. These descendants were divided into three groups:

- (1). *Makarua Siouw*, or the group of 2 x 9, was called *tona'as* and *walian* (religious leaders);
- (2). *Makatelu Pitu*, or the group of 3 x 7, was called *tu'ur Wanua um, patu'an, paedon tu'a, um Wanua ulu*, who governed *wanua* (villages, settlements) including the *waraney* (soldiers) and *teterusan*; and
- (3). *Pasiouwan Telu*, or the group of 9 x 3, was the common people, including farmers, fishermen and hunters (Jellesma & Waworuntu, 1894; Renwarin, 2007, p. 60; Riedel, 1870, p. 10; Worotikan, 1931).

In addition, Wilken (1849) has added a group of 5 x 5 and Jasper (1916) has mentioned *se makarua lima*, or the group of 2 x 5 who settled in the surrounds of Tondano Lake (Renwarin, 2007, p. 60).

The myth of *Toar* dan *Lumimu'ut* is a traditional genre derived from *makatana* (traditional Indigenous) knowledge, as opined in Supit (1986, p.15) observing that it is a semi-legend or *neumanen*. It can be argued that the commonality of the *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* legend has experienced anthropomorphism as a result of its understanding broadly amongst Minahasan's themselves. However, the evolution of this myth of the origin of the *Tou* (people) called Minahasa has occurred and has resulted in many variations amongst the Minahasans today.

The myth of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* was used by the Dutch as a tool to achieve their colonial interests in Minahasa through “hidden feudalism”, where this practice was implemented in deference to the philosophy of the ancient administrative system of the Minahasans. This political regime sought to

eradicate the "*walak*" (head of district) election system after 1881 (Supit, 1986, p.16). Supit has observed that "*as long as a person is a descendent of Toar and Lumimu'ut, he can become a head in any walak/district.*" (Ibid), Eventually, the Dutch created a "noble clan" in the Minahasa and sought to destroy the historical democratic tradition to achieve their own objectives. The ancient Minahasan administrative system elected leaders using three criteria – *pa'eren telu* (Ibid, p. 60):

- (1) *Ngaäsan* - person with the ability to manage *taranak* (clan) or *ro'ong* (village);
- (2) *niatéan* - person who had inner-self, brave, preseverance and persistence; and
- (3) *mawai* - person who was physically strong and able to overcome the difficulty of *taranak* or *ro'ong*, lead the battle and revere the dignity and value of *taranak* or *ro'ong* that he led. A person also ought to be a *walian* who possesses certain knowledge.

Amongst contemporary Minahasans, the position and leadership of Minahasan people has been a topic of debate. The Minahasa are an ethnically conceived community or people derived from two different perspectives that often complement, but sometimes contradict each other. These divergent standpoints, on the one hand have emerged from an ethnic "pre-colonial" perspective, and on the other offer a more "academic" perspective in understanding the concept of their ethnicity. Social and cultural scientists and locals often confront this duality in meaning when trying to classify groups based on inconsistencies and conflicting information. Despite recognized problems with the "ethnic" label, ethnicity continues to serve as a legitimate way to categorize, mobilize and define groups of people around the world. True to the inherent problems of ethnic categorization, the meaning of "Minahasan" can also be contested on several different levels and continues to change through time. However, the identity of *Lumimu'ut* as "*Opo' en Tana*" and *Toar* as "*Opo' en Endo*" has a direct reference to the Minahasan traditional religion around which the Minahasan people believe that they possess the same ancestors.

### 3.5.2 Classifications and Distributions

Geographically, the Minahasa land is encompassed by *Poigar* River adjacent to the Bolaang Mongondow regency in the south. Riedel (1870) and Jasper (1916) have previously mentioned that *malesung* or *makalesung* is the ancient Minahasan name of this territory in Minahasa, of which the *Wulur mahatus* mountains was a natural boundary to the Bolaang Mongondow region. Riedel (1870, in Wenas, 2007, p. 8) has written:

...Minahasans primeval occupied in a place called "mahawatu" in *wulur-mahatus* and consists of small group of family, afterward they distributed throughout the region and established *wanua/hegeri* or villages. In the past, natural disasters like eruptions of Mahawu, led to the movement of Mahasans into hiding places in caves called *tu'ur in tana* (center of the land). Previously the territory of Minahasa consists of three *pakasa'an* (community in a region that has same language and traditions), respectively *toumbuluk* taken from *tou'un*=people and *wuluk*=bamboo; *tountewoh*, from the origin name *tou'un* = people and *tewoh*=*jelagalkano-kano* or a kind of wild grasses, and *toungkimbut*, from *tou'un*=people and *kimbut*=*cidako/waist-cloth*...

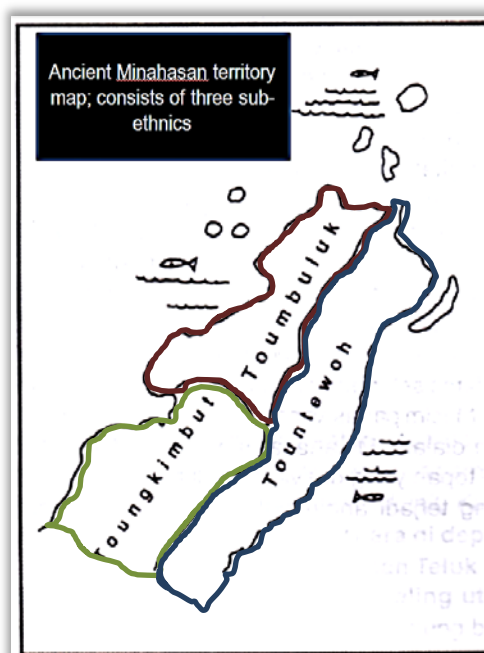


Figure 3.8  
Primeval territory of Minahasa Region  
(Source; Riedel, 1870 in Wenas, 2007, p .8, Author modification)

From these mythological beings, all Minahasans are said to have descended. According to the mythology, *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* were quite a prolific couple and within a few generations of their initial union the Minahasan land was populated by their fecundity. After an undisclosed amount of time, *Lumimu'ut* called her children together for a meeting at Tonderukan Hill, near Tompasso.

The myth describes a group of *pasiouwan telu* which led the *Malesung* community at a period of time and the population beginning to spread throughout the land. Competition amongst family groups could not be avoided and resulted in disputes with one another. Therefore, the *pasiouwan telu* group initiated a meeting and invited all families (*puak/taranaki*) that had formed settlements (*wanua*) in the other parts of *malesung* land. The meeting took place on the northern slopes of Tonderukan Hill, a place called *awuan* (Schwarz, 1907; Supit, 1986; Wenas, 2007). Cosmologically, precolonial

Minahasans believed that their ancestors resided at this place. Therefore, they claimed knowledge of it, and continue to know as a “sacred place” calling it “*tu’ur in tana*” (the centre of the land). At *tu’ur in tana*, each group met to conduct important meetings. The meeting place is today well-recognized as *Watu Pinawetengan* (A Division Stone). At the meeting, the *malesung* community (*pakasa’an*) was divided according to language traditions (*pahawetengan nuwu*) and the venerate tradition (*pahawetengan posan*). Riedel argued that last significant meeting occurred some 1200 years from the time he investigated the stone in 1825, or assumed it had occurred in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, or around 670 AD. This meeting occurred to resolve a dispute about territorial boundaries and the customary law that delineated the territory of the Minahasa land. The aim of the last meeting was to repulse an attack upon the King of Bolaang Mongondow resulting in a battle with the Dutch in 1908 (Riedel, 1869 cited in Palar, 2009<sup>a</sup>, p. 36).

Riedel, in his book *A’asaran wo Raranian ne Touw un Buluh*, records the narratives and songs of the Tombulu people. The Tombulu described a rite “*peposanan Sanagio-gio*” (meaning one face, one heart, one opinion) at *Watu Pinawetengan*, recording that four houses were erected at *Watu Pinawetengan* to represent four sub-groups: the Tombulu occupied the north west house, the Tonsea the north east, the Toutuma-atas (Tondano) the south east and lastly the Tontemboan the south west house. The three groups and the host group Tountumaratas were represented in the rite. Thus, Riedel concluded that this meeting at *Watu Pinawetengan* designated the Minahasa ethnic community into three larger sub-ethnic groups:

- (1) *Mayesu* or *Meiesu*, the origin of the Tombulu ethnic (*Simuruh se Touw um Buluh*);
- (2) *Niyaranan*, the origin of the Tonsea ethnic (*Simuruh se Touw Tewoh*); and
- (3) *Tumaratas*, the origin of the Tontemboan ethnic (*Simuruh se Touw un Kimbut*) (Riedel, 1870, p. 14; 1869, p. 31 in Wenas, 2010, p. 11).

Missionary Graafland has also concluded that *Lumimu’ut* divided the territory of Minahasa into four regions in which her family would live. Graafland made reference to eight distinct sub-ethnic groups of Minahasa, based upon linguistic evidence.

Discontinuously, the meeting instigated by *Lumimu’ut* is lacking stories about *Watu Pinawetengan*. Another story version holds that it was the leaders of three original groups (previously divided by *Lumimu’ut*) that held the meeting at *Watu Pinawetengan*. Apparently, conflict was evident between the three groups and a meeting was held to discuss possible solutions. It was the act of the symbolic meeting that the “*Pinawetengan u-nuwu*” (dividing of the language) was made official and the land

was divided amongst the three major linguistic groups. Later, the people now known as “Tondano” established residence around Lake Tondano which bears their name, making four Minahasan groups in total (Wigboldus, 1987, p. 64). These four groups represent the “original” descendants of *Toar* and *Lumimu’ut* and are differentiated from each other according to linguistic and some cultural differences. In spite of their differences, all four groups are considered to be part of an inter-related cultural group that has become known as “Minahasan”.

At *Tu’ur in Tana’* (generally thought to be *Watu Pinawetengan*) the newly formed Tontemboan, Tombulu and Tonsea groups were each assigned slightly different rules for the practice of their rituals or *poso*. The differences were understood as complimentary and necessary in cosmological perspectives (Henley, 1993, p. 87). Henceforth, other minor ethnics - *Tou Lour* or *Tou Dano*, *Tou un Sawah* (Tonsawang - Tombatu) (Riedel, 1825, pp. 553-7 and 556-36), *Pasan Bangko-Ratahan* (Wawuruntu, 1902, p. 91), *Ponosakan*, *Bantik* (Riedel, 1870, p. 39), and *Siauw - Babontehu* (Wenas, 2007, p. 22) were formed as a result of the influence of other tribes in Minahasa.

The four “original” ethnic groups that are considered “Minahasan” today, and several “new” groups to the region that have been included as part of the extended “Minahasan” family; they are partially legitimatised by the fact that these groups have had a long presence in the area promoting strong kinship ties.

Brown (2002) has noted the number of the groups that are today considered Minahasan varies, which reveals the evolutionary nature of ethnic terms and labels. Brown has also concluded that “Minahasa” represents the inclusion of between seven to nine sub-groupings into a single cultural unit (Ibid, p. 76).

Several oral informants and many written sources state that the Minahasa emerged before the arrival of the Spanish or any colonial presence. In these histories, the leaders of the seven ethnic groups residing in the Minahasa area came together in an effort to fight the Sultan in neighbouring *Bolaang Mongondow*, who is known to have raided and fought with these groups.

The people that became part of “Minahasa” in this version of history were the Tombulu, Tonsea, Tolour (Tondano), Tontemboan, Tonsawang, *Ponosakan* and *Ratahan*. But whether the *Bantik* and *Babontehu* ethnic groups are included in the “Minahasan family” is a topic for contemporary debate among local historians and intellectuals in Minahasa. The inclusion of these two groups would bring

the total number of sub-groups that fall within the bounds of Minahasan identity to nine. The territory of the nine sub-ethnics in Minahasa is depicted in the Figure 3.9.

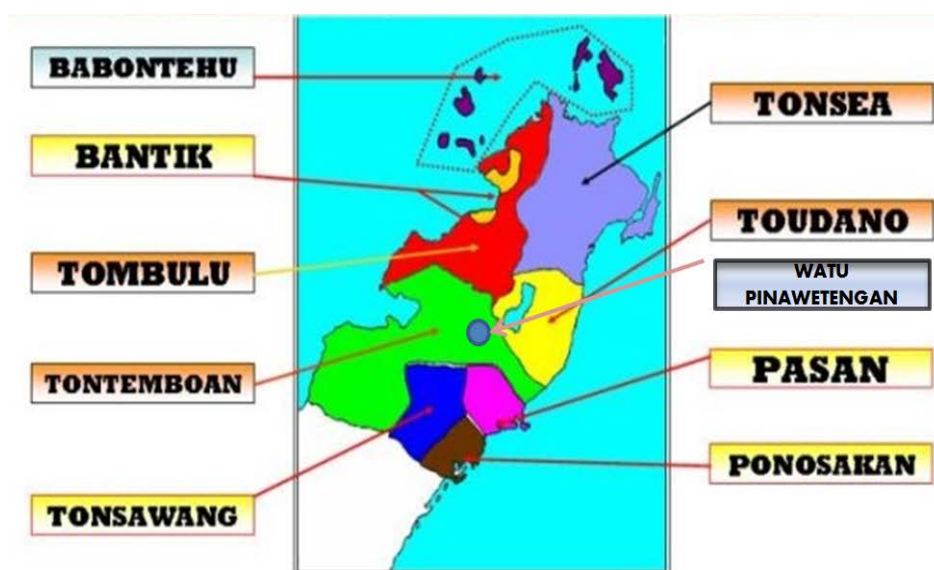


Figure 3.9  
The territory division in Minahasa Land in 19th Century  
(Source: A.Z.R Wenas Library, Tomohon, North Sulawesi; Author modification)

### 3.6 Minahasa History and Evolution

The history of the Minahasa from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the 7<sup>th</sup> century is unknown, given that there is no archaeological evidence from this period.

Alfred Russel Wallace, a naturalist and anthropologist, visited Minahasa in 1859, and described the Minahasan people and the inland of Minahasa (Tondano) as quoted:

"... The inhabitants differ much from those of all the rest of the island, and in fact from any other people in the Archipelago. They are of a light-brown or yellow tint, often approaching the fairness of a European; of a rather short stature, stout and well-made; of an open and pleasing countenance, more or less disfigured as age increases by projecting cheek-bones; ... in some villages where they may be supposed to be of the purest race, both men and women are remarkably handsome ..."

"... In mental and moral characteristics they are also highly peculiar. They are remarkably quiet and gentle in disposition, submissive to the authority of those they consider their superiors, and easily induced to learn and adopt the habits of civilized people. They are clever mechanics, and seem capable of acquiring a considerable amount of intellectual education. ... There are persons who remember a state of things identical with that described by the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The inhabitants of the several villages were distinct tribes, each under its own chief, speaking languages unintelligible to each other, and almost always at war..." (Wallace, 1890, pp.185 – 186).



The above description was written after the subjugation of the land by Dutch East India Company (1679), the British (1810) and the colonial Dutch (1817) for a period spanning over 180 years. With this extensive colonization Wallace and his 19<sup>th</sup> century travellers found the culture of Minahasa had been imbued with many “western” traits and features.

Minahasa and its people experienced a cataclysmic change in their culture and society over a period of 300 years with the advent of Europeans. Some western scholars have argued that “Minahasan Culture” contains no or only a few traditional elements due to the influence of 300 years of colonial power and the subsequent centralistic and bureaucratic “Indonesian Culture” (Brown, 2002).

### 3.6.1 Minahasa during the European Occupation

Historians and other ethnographers have written that during the European occupation of Minahasa in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, the history of Minahasa was documented in various reports. However, Minahasan history was hidden in their narratives and legends until it was studied and officially documented. The first significant recorded era change of commenced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the advent of the first “white people” – Spaniards and Portuguese – when their existence in Minahasa was documented. The advent of the “white people” was only for trade purposes; however they eventually recorded success in introducing “western culture” through the religious missions. It was also documented that battles occurred between Minahasa and Spanish; this is an important narrative in Minahasan history (Palar, 2009; Renwarin, 2007; Riedel, 1870; Taulu, 1971; Wenas, 2007).

The English colonialists also ventured into Minahasa in the period from 1811 to 1815, occupying an inland part the region (Tondano), following the Dutch to achieve trading aspirations (Molsbergen, 1928, p.170, cited in Palar, 2009<sup>b</sup>, p. 2). An example of English influence was the design of the Tondano City “master plan”.

These arrivals made radical changes to the Minahasan socio-cultural customs and traditions. The primordial version of Minahasan ethnicity defines the Minahasan as a community who may ultimately trace their lineage to the mythical characters of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut*. Conversely, western historical narratives show that it was probably a combination of western influences and administrative styles that helped to solidify the social and geographical boundaries between the “Minahasans” and others. Notwithstanding these two viewpoints, it is evident that a distinct Minahasan community evolved

along the same lines with western influence. Further, common culture and linguistic links between the major Minahasan sub-groups gave initial form to Minahasa (Henley, 1996, p. 23-31).

The processes that made Minahasa an identifiable, solidified social, political, ethnic and geographic phenomenon were determined by their historical relationship with the Dutch. Historians have demonstrated that the territory of "Minahasa" (as defined on modern maps), can be traced back to an agreement between the chief of Manado and the neighbouring Bolaang king in 1694, which was brokered by the VOC. A more detailed contract was signed by the VOC and Bolaang in 1756 that established the boundary between the kingdom of Bolaang Mongondow and the *Landstreek van Manado* (later becoming known as the Minahasa) (Henley, 1996, p. 33-34 cited in Brown, 2002). Hence, "Minahasa" became a bounded or defined land territory, recognizable on VOC maps and subject to the Company's control (Brown, 2002; Henley, 2000).

The word "Minahasa" was used for the first time in written Dutch accounts in 1789; the reference refers to the *landraad* or council of chiefs convened to receive Dutch instructions and resolve internal disputes. Not until 1822 was there any formal evidence that the term was used in a geographic or ethnic sense (Henley, 1996, p. 36 & 40; Schouten, 1976, p. 50).

The Dutch government took control over the region in 1817, subjecting the population to a more intensive control regime administered through village chiefs. From this point, the Dutch colonial government played an integral part in the region's cultural, economic, political, and social transformation. Schouten has argued that "no other part of the archipelago was ever subjected to such heavy measures applied simultaneously on all fronts – political, social, economic and cultural" (Schouten, 1976, p. 50).

However, because of this regime imposition, the Minahasan community gained considerable advantage in obtaining colonial government jobs in the civil service and military, while education and Christianity were also instilled into Minahasan society, leading to transformative processes upon a group that has become 'synonymous' with Christianity. However, it is important to understand Minahasan statistical data of the mid-1800s. Henley has noted that in 1880 some 80,000 Minahasans, or more than three quarters of the population, were "baptized" (Henley, 1996, p. 53). It is argued that at least two cultural characteristics may have contributed to this transformation processes. The first, postulated by Henley, is that *"traditional culture and religion, for instance, involved an admiration for strength and power – hence, in part, the ritual significance of headhunting.*

*Precolonial religion was very concerned with social prestige, reflected in the dual function of foso as feasts of merit as well as religious ceremonies” (Henley, 1996, p. 53). The second, postulated by Buchholt, is that “western education and religion became associated with higher status among members of Minahasan society, making the attainment of both a highly popular endeavour. Dutch style clothing, language, household furnishings and mannerisms had become important markers of prestige and identification by 1850s, and it was these “westernized” attributes that would help shape Minahasan identity into the next century” (Buchholt, 1994, p. 21).*

Within a few decades of the arrival of the Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap - NZG) it was claimed that almost 57% of the Minahasan had been converted to Christianity (Schouten, 1976, p.108). Since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch language surpassed Malay as the language of the educated Minahasan elite and many of those were employed as civil servants. Buchholt has concluded that the Minahasan identity became more closely tied with ‘the Dutch’ and their church because of their embrace of the Dutch colonial system, and that the missionaries themselves became “semi-government officials”.

The Dutch assimilated more into the Minahasan social system by giving advantageous positions to Minahasans in their colonial administration as civil servants or as favoured members of the Royal Army of the Netherlands East Indies (Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger, KNIL), as well as substantial educational opportunities. Throughout the early 1900s, the Minahasans would become more closely associated with the Dutch colonial government and its administration (Brown, 2002). Minahasans, along with the Ambonese, were sent to various areas and islands in the Dutch East Indies as missionaries, officials, and soldiers in order to promote Christianity and western education. Through these travels the Minahasans became increasingly aware of their distinctly “Minahasan” identity. Dutch influence in the Minahasa districts has been profound, resulting in nearly complete ‘Christianisation’ and the growth of a sizable Eurasian population, along with the disappearance of much Indigenous culture (Lebar, 1972, p. 26).

In summary, the cultural evolution and transformation of Minahasa occurred over several decades. With European influence customs and traditions gradually changed to more modern or western values. Buchholt concludes that “all efforts to reactivate faked or real aspects of ‘traditional Minahasan life’ in contemporary Minahasa (traditional art and dances or traditional religious ceremonies) will fail and have only symbolic meaning” (Buchholt, 1994). However, this argument seems not to represent Minahasan today, as this research will reveal that Minahasans in

contemporary society clearly maintain their cultural and social values, which are highly valued as a part of their life and wellbeing.

### 3.6.2 Minahasa during Japanese Occupation to Post Independence

The arrival of the Japanese to Minahasa on 10 January 1942 brought a new paradigm to Minahasan socio-cultural traditions and customs. The Japanese landed in Manado and Kema and infiltrated inland. During their occupation for three-and-a-half years, the Japanese encouraged and activated schools, churches and other public facilities while introducing a new administrative system. The positive values that the Japanese contributed to the Minahasan community were in teaching good attitudes and a high level of discipline, education, and also knowledge of the Japanese language.

The Japanese “gave” independence to North Sulawesi on 21 August 1945 after the proclamation of Indonesian independence in Jakarta on 17 August 1945, and vacated the Minahasa region (Wenas, 2007, p. 58).

The Dutch returned to Minahasa in the same year (in October 1945) and re-established their power in their political system and military. Many Minahasans were involved in the recruitment of the KNIL Army. The return of the Dutch also brought other effects to the community, in particular to the political and social paradigms, until 19 May 1950 when the Minahasan political practices were abolished with Indonesian independence, and its formation as “*Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia*” (NKRI) or The United Country of Indonesia.

Another important event in Minahasa that contributed to the cultural and social process was until 1959, when the Minahasans were facing a fractious situation with the Central Government of Indonesia in Java (Jakarta) due to the power centralization and political interests under the ‘New Order’. Many Minahasans were involved in a battle between the Central Army (Indonesian National Army – TNI) with many Minahasans forming the Permesta military force (*Perjuangan Rakyat Minahasa Semesta*). As a result of Permesta actions the Minahasan community became very apprehensive of centralized Indonesia. People sought refuge in secure places including hidden caves and the inland forests, residing and living there until the situation shifted to back a normal context.

### 3.7 Indigenous Community, Indigenous Culture and Current Development in Minahasa

#### 3.7.1 The Indigenous Community

Like other ethnicities, the Minahasan are identified as an Indigenous community. To some extent, the Indigenous community in Minahasa labelled themselves as *Masyarakat adat*. (*Masyarakat Adat Tontemboan*, 2011). The Minahasan ethnic community and their ancestors have lived for generations embracing distinctive values and ideologies, together with distinct economic, political, cultural and social systems (Kullit, 1987; Supit, 1986; Wenas, 2007; Wigboldus, 1987).

One of Indonesia's non-government organizations (NGOs), *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN), has been actively seeking to conserve *Masyarakat adat* in Indonesia, along with their cultural and traditional values; this NGO has extended their activities to the North Sulawesi province. AMAN, in North Sulawesi, has attempted to conserve the existence of each Minahasan sub-ethnic group's values, ideologies, economy, politics and culture. The local communities (or *Masyarakat adat*) in Minahasa have a specific conception of their realm or 'territory' that comprises custodial and non-materialist attitudes to land and natural resources, based upon symbolic associations to nature which are subjugated by a dominant culture and society; hence they subjectively consider themselves to be Indigenous. The pictures below show one *Masyarakat adat* in Minahasa.

**NOTE:**  
This figure/table/image has been removed  
to comply with copyright regulations.  
It is included in the print copy of the thesis  
held by the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 3.10  
*Masyarakat Adat* sub-ethnic Tontemboan, Minahasa at Pinabetengan annual festival  
(Photos by the Author, 2011)

Van Vollenhoven acknowledged the existence of Indigenous community areas before Indonesian independence and identified 19 areas in Indonesia administered under customary law, including the Minahasa (Sirait, Fay, & Kusworo, 1999). The Minahasa, along with their Indigenous culture and traditional knowledge, need continual attention from local, regional and national governments. Recent laws that strongly support the existence of *Masyarakat adat* in Indonesia relevant to the Minahasa include Act No. 22/2000 on "National Development" (*Propenas*). Article 10 states that

“regulations on resource use must include access of adat-communities and (other) local communities” (Noertjahyo & Safitri, 2000). Other laws that have been implemented in the community are Act No. 39/1999 about “Human Rights” (*Hak Asasi Manusia*), which declares local rights over resources as being part of basic human rights, and emphasizes governmental responsibilities to local people that include community land rights which are articulated as natural rights (Art.6 & 1, 2) and Act No. 10/1992 concerning the “Population Development and Family Welfare” (*Perkembangan Kependudukan Pembangunan Keluarga Sejahtera*) (Sirait, Fay, & Kusworo, 1999). Act No. 10/1992 (Art. 6) proclaims the right to the beneficial use of territory that constitutes a “traditional customary inheritance” (*wilayah warisan adat*) and fits perfectly with the Minahasan situation where claims to natural resources are unavoidable, but where the recognition of “customary land” inside of the National Parks seems almost impossible to achieve. The notion of a “traditional customary inheritance” is much more inclusive for other parties than the rather narrow-minded and limited notions of *tanah adat*. With these laws and rules, the Minahasa ethnic community have a chance to continue to conserve their cultural existence and cultural identity for a sustainable future.

### 3.7.2 Indigenous Culture

The Indigenous culture of the Minahasa can be traced through their existence and relationship to the meaning of *genius loci* and its contribution to their cultural landscape systems. *Genius loci* – the spirit of place – and Indigenous culture are embraced by the Minahasan community through interactions between the people, nature and land. Cultural attributes and values are also recognized as being contained within Minahasan local wisdom. In the Minahasan context, these values and beliefs can be traced in their myths and belief systems (Kullit, 1987; Supit, 1986; Siwu, 2002; Wenas, 2007). These systems include folklores, arts and crafts, and idioms or expressions, as well as traditional environmental knowledge, religious values, and other value systems and practices (Kullit, 1987; Siwu, 2002; Wenas, 2007).

The Minahasans are continually facing the challenges of displacement and deterioration of their socio-cultural values to more modern values. Past antecedents of the Dutch colonial government and Christianity have had a major influence in unifying and homogenising processes in creating a ‘new’ identity for the Minahasa. Moreover, immigrants from overseas also have contributed to assimilation processes in this community.

Anthropological sciences, in particular *symbolic anthropology* research – a newly emerged discipline – are important in outlining processes to determine or define *genius loci* through ethnoecological systems in the Minahasan region. These include meaning, existence and essence, as well as connections between landscape and community which may inform the applicability of *genius loci* for a sustainable environmental planning system, not just for the Minahasa regionally, but for the whole of Indonesia nationally.

### 3.8 Development and Environment Planning Issues

The Minahasan community as it is today has been experiencing cultural and social change processes since the colonial era. Changes that support cultural values from outside can make for better and stronger cultural systems. Development in Minahasa, influenced by major changes from colonialism, has had a major impact on the community's socio-cultural values. Since Indonesian independence, the displacement and disappearance issues of socio-cultural values have continually occurred in all regions across the archipelago (Buchholt & Mai, 1994).

The process of unifying and homogenising Minahasan culture in creating identity has continued with recent immigrants from overseas; for example, the Filipinos and Chinese, or those from other parts of Indonesia (Weichart, 2004). With this recent phenomenon, developments of all types during the last few years have had major impacts on socio-demographic and environmental conditions, and relations between different ethnic and religious groups.

Further, new land use administrative divisions, as well as environmental exploitation in the Minahasa region have also forced the Minahasa communities to alter their way of living which could pose a threat to local cultures and values. Thus, there is an urgent need to document and conserve local cultures and values in order to maintain the Minahasan identity by maintaining their cultural landscape and practising sustainable development.

Towards the goal of achieving sustainable development in Indonesia, an environmental planning policy framework named Indonesian Agenda 21 (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup, 1997*) has been implemented as a 10 year plan. Agenda 21 aims to integrate all aspects of development into one strategy towards creating sustainable ways. The Agenda addresses four main areas of development, including land and natural resource management section, and operates as a medium to long-term

plan for the period 2003-2020. However, on a regional level, the policy is not parallel to the regional environmental planning system.

Major issues, such as land conversion from cultivation to settlement or for other purposes, the development of urban socio-economic activity and population growth continuously occur (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup 2011). The implementation of Agenda 21, however, has not considered in detail the issues of *genius loci* and Indigenous ecological knowledge in the context of environmental and land use planning expectations and processes. This deficiency may potentially threaten local people, culture, landscapes and the built environment as a whole in the long-term.

Development of all kinds in the Minahasa region during the last 20 years has gradually impacted the Minahasans' society and culture. Application of new land use administrative divisions, as well as environmental exploitation in the region, may have influenced traditional customs relating to the land. Some policies have had an impact on customary lands, such as the Ministry of National Land Agency decision No. 5/1999 on "The Guidelines to resolve Customary Communal Right Conflicts", which accepts community and land rights as intrinsic and non-transferable. Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) No. 5/1960 offers local communities two ways of obtaining rights over land: the recognition of customary rights and the conferring of rights over land formerly controlled by the state are granted to the local community and *Masyarakat adat* (Harsono, 2003, p. 59); also The North Sulawesi Development Plan (Bappeda Sulut, 2009), which is reviewed and revised every five years.

Minahasan Indigenous land use and planning philosophies and systems are being utilised through Minahasa Regional Spatial Planning, as opposed to the top-down, generic land use and environmental policies and plans which are written in Jakarta for generic application across the Indonesian archipelago. This is one of the regional policies being reviewed every five years, both in local and regional governments. The land use and spatial planning solutions are provided to protect traditional culture, community welfare, as well as land and environment. However, the priority given to cultural landscape conservation strategies is still far from what is required. In addition, the Indonesian environmental agenda does not address the regional requirements of the protection of local wisdoms and cultural values, as well as the needs of each locality which have potentially significant cultural attributes that need to be protected from being lost or subject to deterioration. The North Sulawesi development plan (Ibid) considers all aspects of development, including cultural aspects; however, it does not have a clear planning agenda for cultural landscape property.



The contribution of this research is towards enriching local and regional land use and environmental planning in the Minahasan region so that it embraces cultural values and *genius loci*. The Indigenous culture of the Minahasa has been traced from its evolution with an emphasis upon its relationship to *genius loci* and its contribution to Minahasan cultural landscape systems.

### 3.9 Sustainable Cultural Landscape in Minahasa

The Minahasa's cultural-landscape values are relevant and important to keep alive and be continued by generations today and in future because cultural values of the Minahasa, for example ethic and attitude, have been gradually changed since European influences, and continued through Indonesian integration in 19<sup>th</sup> century and civil war that happened in the region in 1957 (Masinambow, Paat, & Sondakh, 1991). Over this period the Minahasa have faced numerous global issues, which has also influenced their social behaviour (Masinambow, 1991; Siwu, 2000).

The Minahasa ethnic group has a unique tangible and intangible culture. For example, a number of cultural values can be discerned from the symbols and memories both oral and written sources. Cultural attributes and values are also recognized as being contained within Minahasa local wisdom. In the Minahasan context, these values and beliefs can be traced in their myths and belief systems. These systems include legends and lore, art and crafts as well as idioms or expressions in both current and past, as well as in environmental knowledge practices, religious values, other values systems and practices (Kullit, 1987; Supit, 1986; Siwu, 2000). There is still a question that *genius loci* may be found amongst cultural attributes of the Minahasa. Indeed, there is a need for the Minahasa to have their cultural attributes and associations (such as *genius loci*) acknowledged, nationally and internationally.

Changes are an inevitable process of life. However, changes that support cultural values and balance with outside values make better, stronger and directed cultural systems. Development in Minahasa has had major changes from colonialism, to the community's socio-cultural values. Since Indonesian independence, displacement and disappearance issues of socio-cultural values has continually happened in all regions across the archipelago.

Governments, both local and regional, have attempted to protect traditional culture, community welfare and landscape and environment through land use and spatial planning. However, regrettably,

this planning is not focused upon cultural landscape conservation strategies. In addition, the Indonesian environmental agenda does not address the regional requirements of the protection of local wisdoms and cultural values, as well as the needs of each locality that have potentially significant cultural attributes needing protection from being lost or subject to deterioration. The North Sulawesi 'development plan' considers all aspects of development, including cultural aspects. However, it does not have a clear planning agenda for cultural landscape property. This research project therefore seeks to contribute to enriching local and regional land use and environmental planning so that it embraces cultural values and *genius loci*.

## CHAPTER 4

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Methodological background

This research uses methods from many disciplines including architectural, landscape and anthropological approaches. However, as a novice in the academic research community, the researcher considered that she should master her field of study, supported by theories from other disciplines. This is common in the discipline of science, but also in planning, design and anthropology. Accordingly, the researcher in this project has considered the importance of an anthropological approach to the fields of architecture and landscape architecture.

An anthropological approach in this research context encompasses three domains of science: the natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities. In terms of cultural approaches, a culture as an instrument of analysis helps broaden the examination of data to construct a theoretical framework through the qualitative inductive method. A dissertation is of less value if it only proves other founded theories, even though it can be a valid theory. Anthropological theories and methods since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century have “borrowed” and supported the inter-disciplines of sciences. Research results in any field of knowledge are a cultural product. In this way, anthropological theories, with their cultural approach to research analysis are used to support architectural or landscape studies (Ashmore, 2004; Bender, 1993).

In distinguishing concepts and propositions, the last stage of the qualitative inductive research is to formulate a theoretical framework and then conclusion, and to present this as schema of the research results. In the theoretical schema content, using the perspectives of architecture, landscape architecture, and/or anthropology, the methods and variables employed embody a holistic perspective that have a functional relationship. In qualitative research methods, Wallace (cited in Malonda, 2007) has proposed a diagram to understand approaches (as shown in Figure 4.1).

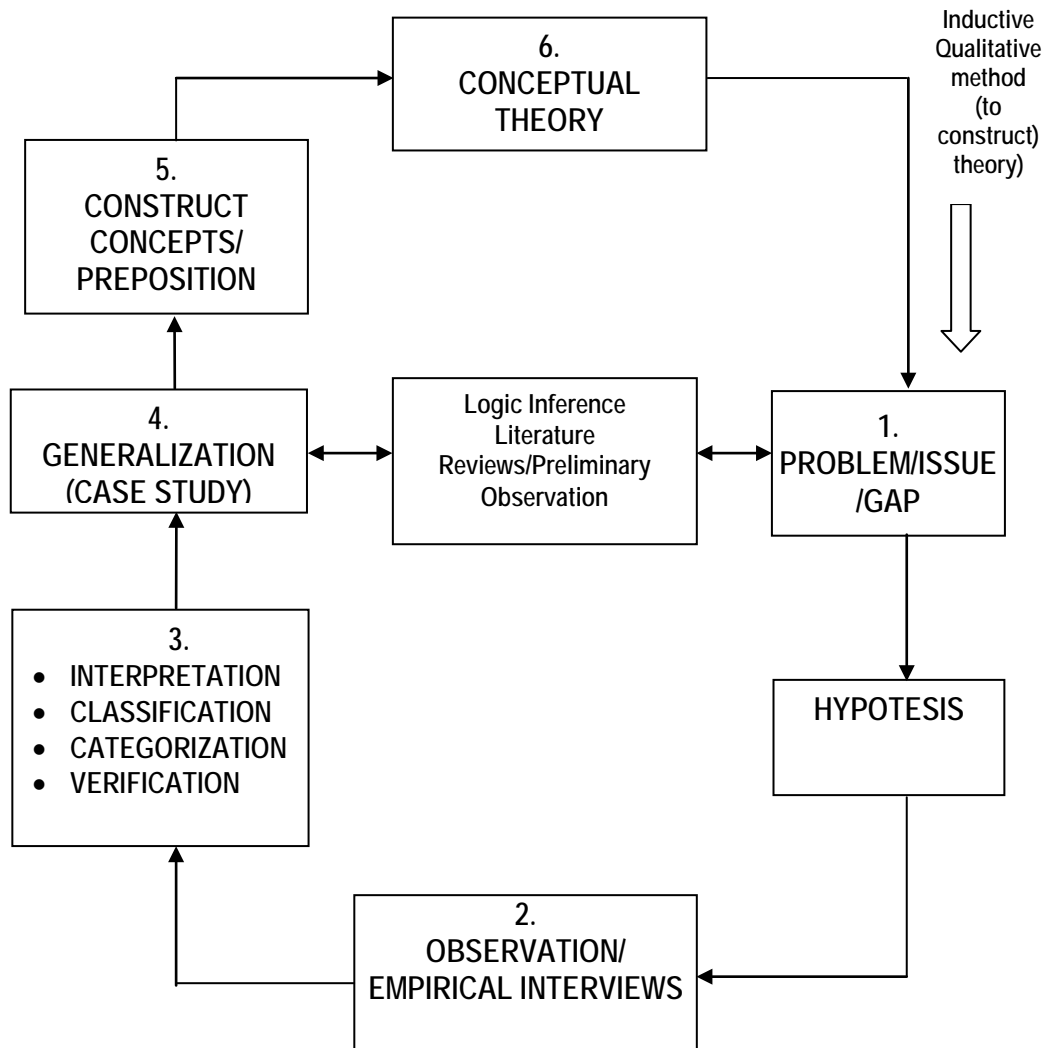


Figure 4.1  
Qualitative Research methods  
(Source: Wallace 1976, in Malonda 2007, Author modification)

Notwithstanding that the diagram emphasizes a combined research method proposed by Wallace and Malonda, it has been modified to a qualitative research method in order to construct a theory. This step is established first by formulating the problems or issues relating to the logic inferred through literature review, which permits the spectre of preliminary observations on the phenomenon found, whether deliberate or not. The second step is to conduct a fieldwork program for observation and to gain empirical interview. The third stage is to undertake information categorization, classification, interpretation and verification. At the fourth stage of the research a generalization can be drawn based on the research questions.

In comprehending a holistic approach using the anthropological context, assessing culture can be seen through all aspects or sub-systems that integrate with functional connections. Examples of phenomenon occur in a place or landscape, which can be accessed from different related functional

aspects for example: cosmology, religion, myth, vernacular architecture, popular knowledge and the impact of tradition on landscape, traditional and modern health, Indigenous and modern knowledge in forestry management – the list goes on.

The inductive method enables a generalization of data, which synthesises most subjects into a prevalent one. The inductive qualitative method can successfully address the stages mentioned figure 4.1 above.

In an anthropological approach, field data is unearthed according to the qualitative (anthropological) method. There are four types of qualitative methods: case study, phenomenology study, ethnography study and grounded study. All methods consider the phenomenon of human thoughts (cognitive) as part of culture in the research location that are signified as ideas which cannot be disconnected from activities and tools. In anthropology, analysis conducted in these three aspects of culture permits data collection that will produce qualitative anthropological research. A holistic approach can examine these three aspects by coding them through an analysis data process. The concept of an idea is a significant component of *genius loci* and local wisdom; hence, the qualitative inductive analysis in anthropology involves a process of coding ideas, activities and tools by categorization, classification, and interpretation. The key point for this research is an analysis of the “ideas” aspect (of *genius loci*), as well as the use of tools in this context.

In order to obtain indepth information about *genius loci* of the Minahasan, interviews were conducted. Interviews can be categorized into three types: descriptive, comparative and structural. For example, the description of a participant’s knowledge about the landscape is called descriptive. Differentiated knowledge, for instance, between women and men up to the age of 70 years about landscape is described as comparative. Whereas different perspectives of landscape, that can be categorized across a negative-positive scale based on the type of responses given would be described as structural interviews.

This dissertation involves anthropological inductive analysis with architectural related perspectives. Hence through the analytical processes, it is coded into three cultural aspects through the process of categorization, clarification and interpretation. This analysis may assist with theories such as functionalism, which explains the functional connectedness-condition between aspects that are integrated in a cultural landscape system, which is examined by defining *genius loci* theory. However, if the theory applied and the methodology used in this research are acceptable to the

scholarly community in architecture or in other related disciplines, it becomes a generalization in the universal context. Thus, the dissemination of the dissertation theory into the scientific community is appropriated as a generalized theory.

An anthropological approach is used in this research context because anthropology in general consists of Biological Anthropology and Social and Cultural Anthropology. In this context, *genius loci* research is related and included in cognitive anthropology as a branch of these two aspects of anthropology. Cognitive anthropology is an approach within cultural anthropology which explores in depth an individual as part of their social community in the way she/he envisages and perceives objects, phenomena, events and the meaning from his/her realm, based upon their criterion of the world, not based upon the outsiders or researcher's perspectives (Colby, 1996; D'Andrade, 1995; Syam, 2007). Syam postulates that anthropology has a close-connectedness to the perspective that culture contains ideas, moods, and feelings, believes, and the values (Syam, 2007, p. 202). Colby and D'Andrade have investigated and synthesized this field and concluded that cultural knowledge is embedded in words, stories and in artifacts, learned from and shared amongst the community. This perspective is called the phenomenology perspective and is seen as an analysing culture with an emphasis upon the thoughts and senses rather than behaviour; it is based upon the notion that only the individual possesses a culture. Cognitive anthropology is identical to the examination of culture because of its similar assumptions in comprehensively examining people's thoughts as a cultural subject of what is behind their understanding of objects, events or phenomena in their life.

Cognitive anthropology emerged in the 1950s as a result of a basic understanding of anthropological research objects as phenomena of human mentality. The meaning of human culture according to Ward Goodenough consists of anything that should be known or believed to be reasonably well-functioning in a community (Goodenough, 1968). In this sense, culture is not just a material phenomenon which comprises of objects, behaviours and emotions but rather the setting by which these things in the human mind include the formation of objects, models and events to perceive, connect and interpret their activities and objects. Hence, cognitive anthropology is strongly related to and strongly focuses on looking thoroughly through human thoughts and ideas (Gell, 1998). In comparison, structural anthropology examines the logic structure of human culture as well as symbolic-interpretive anthropology, which includes symbols that link between cognitive areas with social symbols. In fact, all symbols can be used together in human ideas and thoughts in this research and offer tools and activities in qualitatively investigating landscape and environment. Indeed, the main essence of this research is on human ideas and thoughts, the theoretical results in

this dissertation are not functionally disconnected from activities and tools as factors in which humans ideas contain *genius loci* being the 'manager' of all factors of activities or events and tools.

## 4.2 Research Strategy and Design

This section expounds the background of the researcher's thoughts in building and planning the research design. In identifying the research strategy in this study it is important to understand what research design is. Yin (2006, p. 20) defines research design as "*a logical sequence that links the empirical data to a study's initial research questions, and ultimately, to its conclusions*". Hence, a logical plan for getting from here to there is starting with a set of research questions to be answered. Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p. 77-78, in Yin, 2006) also summarized research design as "*guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analyzing, and interpreting observation. It is a logical model of a proof that allows the researcher to draw inferences concerning causal relations among the variables under investigation*". Philliber, Schwab and Sloss (1980) provide another definition of research design as a 'blue print' of research, dealing with what questions to study, what data is relevant, what data to collect and how to analyse the results.

Given that this research uses a case study approach, it is necessary to ponder what should be included in the research design. The five components that Yin (2006; p. 21) proposes are: (1) a study's questions; (2) propositions, if any; (3) unit(s) of analysis; (4) the logic of the data to the propositions; and (5) the criteria for interpreting the findings. The case study strategy is most likely to be suited for "how and "why" questions; with this, it is important to clarify the study questions exactly.

Table 4.1  
Six Structures of Research Design and their application to different purposes of case study  
(Source; Yin 2003)

|                 | Explanatory | Descriptive | Exploratory |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Linear-analytic | X           | X           | X           |
| Comparative     | X           | X           | X           |
| Chronological   | X           | X           | X           |
| Theory Building | X           |             | X           |
| "Suspense"      | X           |             |             |
| Unsequence      |             | X           |             |

In using Yin's five research design components (in Table 4.1), this study applies a "suspense" structure to rigorously define the *locus* in the Minahasa region through explanatory as well as comparative structure to investigate the *genius loci*.

### 4.3 Research Methods

Creswell (2003) and Malonda (2007) propose several qualitative research methods based upon the perspectives of humanity and social science. This research tradition includes the type of methodological data that involves collection, analysis, report and an overall research design that involves all aspects in the research process. Examples of research processes discussed by Jacob (1987) include humanity, ecology-psychology, holistic ethnography, cognitive anthropology, communication-ethnography, and symbolic-interaction dimensions. Smith (1983) categorizes qualitative research as: interpretive approach, artistic approach, systematic approach, and an approach based upon theory. Tesch (1990) identified 20 types in his summative categorization: language characteristic, regularity inventory, expand meaning and reflection. Lancy (1993) categorizes qualitative research into a few types: anthropological perspectives, biological perspectives, case study, personal reports, cognitive examination and historical research.

Creswell (2003) quotes the four designs as models in qualitative research methods, namely: grounded theory, case study, phenomenology research and ethnography.

#### *Grounded Theory*

In the *Grounded Theory* method, the researcher conceptualizes theoretical frameworks by using multiple hierarchies in gathering data and filtering the relationship in category information (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). By this method, two design approaches have been used in this thesis to compare data and to discriminate categories and theoretical samples from different groups, in order to maximize equations and to inform differences in information.

#### *Case Study*

In the qualitative research method, the researcher explores the phenomenon in a case study having regard to time limitation and the nature of the activity (a program, event, process, institution and social group) by gathering detailed information in a period of time (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2006).



### *Phenomenology research*

This qualitative method examines people's experiences through detailed descriptions. The understanding of "live experiences" designates phenomenology as a philosophy based upon research by philosophers including Husserl, Heidegger, Schuler, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty (Nieswiadomy, cited in Berg, 2001). The methodological procedure involves an extensive analysis of subjects over a long-term period to develop and identify patterns and interconnections of meaning (Munhall & Oiler, 1986). Through these processes the researcher collects experiences to seek understandings from the participants (Berg, 2001).

### *Ethnography*

In the ethnography method the researcher examines holistically a cultural group in their natural background or setting over a long period, gathering data and observations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). This research process is flexible and typically is developed in the context based upon the responses to life having regard to the participants' relationship with the place under consideration. (Locke, 2001; Spradley, 1979). In ethnography, there is a sub-approach called *critical ethnography*, that involves an analysis model of discourse based upon conventional ethnography. The *critical ethnography* approach enables the choice of alternative concepts and considerations based upon changing values in research, policy, and other types of human activities (Thomas, 1993). *Critical ethnography* in particular seeks to ensure the emancipation of participants by: eliminating the effects of repressive contents, supporting a growing awareness and helping to invoke in people actions that potentially inform and aid deep social change.

#### **4.3.1 Assumption in Designing Qualitative Research Method.**

By selecting some proven and effective methods discussed above, a few considerations are needed in designing the qualitative method. These include:

- The researcher will deal with processes, more than outcomes and/or product.
- The researcher is interested in meanings – about how people value their life through their experiences and the life structures in their realm of occupancy/residency.
- The researcher plays a role as the main instrument in gathering and analysing data. Data is mediated through humans as research subjects by using various gathering information strategies, questionnaires and tools.

- The qualitative research method is always connected to field research. This necessitates that the researcher visits and meets people directly, enters the research environment and its institutions to observe and record the behaviour of participants within their natural environments.
- Research involving qualitative methods is descriptive, in that the researcher seeks to document processes, meanings and understandings gained from words and pictures.
- The process in qualitative research method is inductive, through which the researcher develops abstractions, concepts, hypotheses and theories in detail.

#### 4.3.2 Description of Qualitative Research Methods

To assist with obtaining a deep understanding of qualitative methods, the researcher gathered some definitions and perspectives from other social and anthropological scholars, as summarised below:

*Clifford Geertz (2000)*

Geertz defines qualitative research methods as techniques of studying a community and culture by listening to people explaining their life and their life's activities according to their customs and traditions, in which theory is viewed as a manifestation of interpreting situations in research settings by placing the cultural-social context as the central description.

*Jerome Kirk dan Marc L. Miller (1986)*

According to Kirk dan Miller, qualitative research methods are a distinctive tradition in the social sciences, which fundamentally rely upon how to observe communities in their region and how to interact with them in their local language and terminologies. This qualitative research approach is viewed as *naturalistic* rather than *participatory*.

Kirk dan Miller added that technical observations in qualitative research methods are related to identifying the existence and non-existence of things that contradict the quantitative observations. This concept stresses the unique character(s) that is different to the quantity of things. Hence, qualitative research is termed such by researchers by because of its absence of formal calculations (as opposed to quantitative), though it can and does result in statistical data depending upon the variables and the number of participants.

*John W. Creswell (2003)*

Scientist John W. Creswell explains that the qualitative research method is a research process of understanding individual or community problems, based upon the complexity, and holistic illustration, in the form of words, participant's detailed opinions, which are examined naturally. Creswell emphasized that research design was a qualitative paradigm, which is the reverse of the quantitative paradigm. However, Creswell recommended a combined qualitative and quantitative research approach.

*Benny F. Malonda (2007)*

Benny Ferdly Malonda notes that the qualitative research method is based on several components: (1) the researcher as primary instrument (both soft and hard instrument) that has the ability to collect data and to undertake in-depth interviews, as well as undertaking participant observations; (2) acceptance of the researcher in a community in a good or close relationship informally, as a requirement of continuity and validity in collecting data; (3) etic and emic data collection. Etic knowledge alludes to generalizations about human behaviour that are considered universally true, and commonly links cultural practices to factors of interest to the researcher, such as economic or ecological conditions, that cultural insiders may not consider very relevant (Morris et al., 1999). Emic knowledge and interpretations are those existing within a culture, that are 'determined by local custom, meaning, and belief' (Ager & Loughry, 2004) and best described by a 'native' of the culture; (4) emphasizing data collection of socio-cultural material as a field theory or elemental theory established from a relatively moderate sample, and analysed without calculation; however, whenever needed it can be calculated to enable statistical data validation of the socio-cultural descriptions and inferences as a combination of etic and emic research (Malonda, 2007, p.120).

However, when applying a qualitative methodology, quantitative information may also be included as a pathway to reaching qualitative data. In this sense, raw data obtained from historical documents and interview becomes an important source. In qualitative research, the methods of gathering and analysing data have no standard, but can be unique as it utilizes methods according to the complexity of the research problem. In qualitative research, data gathering includes informal techniques and approaches such as participant observations, open interviews using formal techniques and structured interviews which include "protocol analysis" and "pile" categorization interviews.

Therefore a qualitative approach may involve: (1) textual analysis, including the content analysis with quantification of words with a qualitative focus upon a document; and (2) conceptual graphic in two main forms based upon the existence of nodes (signs); for example, mental and physical, which may also include graphics or sets of objects with attributes of various types which possess causal connectedness. The use of interpretation is psychologically about semantic webs in cultural models, recording the events and the classification of 'folk ethnoscience'. The use of physical interpretation about symbols is undertaken in particular in the analysis of social inter-connectedness.

#### 4.4 Research Tools and Instruments

This research uses a case study of the Minahasa ethnic community. The research instruments are ethnographic field work and phenomenology observation. The researcher investigated the phenomenon in the case study of the Minahasa and gathered the details over a period of time.

The researcher looked at people's experiences and knowledge endeavouring to understand their "live experiences" designating phenomena that occurred in certain places. The methodology and procedure that have been designed involve an extensive analysis of the subjects over a period of time to develop and identify patterns and interconnections of meaning (Oiler, 1986). Through these processes the researcher collected experiences to seek understandings from the participant (Nieswiadomy, 1993).

In using the ethnography method the researcher holistically examines the Minahasans' culture in their natural background or setting to gain data and observations (Yin, 2003).

In this research, the researcher used qualitative interviews that had been designed to be applied to these participants. The qualitative data were about *genius loci* and its association with people, place and objects, and the phenomena of activities or events. The qualitative data were obtained through in-depth interviews, where the participants' ideas, concepts, knowledge and experiences were later translated into the analysis. The analysis was undertaken on an un-structured and semi-structured interview, which is a representation or generalisation of what a cultural group has and what their cultural identity is and, more importantly here, the existence of the *genius loci*.

The researcher also obtained data such as general demographics and also the specific demographic background of participants including their age, education, job and ethnic origins.

It is important to the researcher to consider important tools in ethnographic research. Through fieldwork, the primary data were gathered from observation, survey and interview, with the benefit of two assistants in the field. The research assistants have undergraduate qualifications in anthropology and environmental sciences; the assistant also participated in a training workshop administered by the researcher about research protocol and procedures and how to execute the surveys and interviews with the researcher in the communities.

In conducting field work, some important electronic tools such as a voice recorder, video camera and digital camera were used in collecting data. The researcher also used field notes, pictures, sketches and maps to record detailed data. Documents relating to the interview, such as the interview questionnaire, were prepared and brought into the field. However, the research questionnaire guidelines were not applied to participants according to the order of questions, but rather depending on the flow and expression between interviewer and participants in conversation, a participant led method.

Before undertaking the interview, the researcher and assistants had a short practice session to determine the duration the interview may take for each participant. The length of interview varied between 45 minutes to 2.5 hours, depending on the number of questions, and the source of knowledge or contents of participant's answers.

#### **4.5 Justifying the Research Data**

This research has limitations due to several constraints on the fieldwork, mainly in case study location. The main constraint was time, since 16 selected villages in rural and remote areas in the Minahasa Region – required more than one visit and observation to adequately carry out fieldwork. However, the researcher only had three months to conduct her first fieldwork and a month for the second (in the year after), in order to maintain candidature status.

Another constraint was accessibility of important data held by village government officers, in particular the village profiles, maps and other related data due to their time availability and schedules. The researcher also faced problems in understanding the local language.

However, having two assistants – male and female, both with relevant qualifications, some understanding of certain local languages and who had previous experiences dealing with communities – was of great benefit to the researcher. The support from the locals in each village also helped to assist and guide during surveys and visits to important places that had connections with the researcher's aims and objectives. In gaining data and information, the critical thing is to understand the locals' culture and perspectives. Although the researcher has the same cultural background, it is still crucial to understand the locals to minimize any biased interpretations.

In analysing any massive amount of interview data, Baker (1997) and Carlin (2006) stress two points about the interview and respondent. First is the relation between the interviewees' accounts and the world they describe, and second is the understanding of relations between interviewer and interviewee, which may be governed by standardized interview techniques or knowledge of interpersonal relations. Silverman (1993) divided interview data into two versions – positivism and interactionism. Positivism suggests that the interview data provides access to a reality of the world, which can be gained through random selection of respondents using standardized questions with multiple-choice answers. Thus, the status of data is the facts about behaviour and attitudes. On the other hand, interactionism views interviewees as experiencing subjects, who construct their social realm. This research applies the interactionist perspective.

## CHAPTER 5

### STUDY LOCATION SETTINGS

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the analysis of findings commences by expounding upon and hence disentangling the environmental settings of each study location. The study locations in the greater Minahasa region have been selected, with regard to the community background, including the demographic and socio-cultural variables as well as the physical environment and landscape features. The description of each research study location is drawn from empirical data collection in the field, through direct observation and through an analysis of any report documents obtained from the local government.

To inform this investigation, considerable fieldwork has been undertaken to comprehensively document ways of understanding the multiple meanings and values of *genius loci* of the Minahasa. The cultural attributes of the Minahasa give tangible reality to the evanescent intangible emotions and understandings of their past. The research was conducted in the Minahasa highlands, situated inland on Sulawesi Island on a plateau 700 m above sea level on the north-eastern side. The region consists of hilly mountainous terrain, with some active and extinct volcanoes, ranging from 1,500 to 2000 m above sea level, accommodating numerous human settlements. Three field study locations were selected to represent the diverse environmental settings including lakeside, riverside, and hillside and mountainside areas (See Figure 5.1).

The demographic and socio-cultural attributes describe the physical representations of Minahasans' sense of self and belonging, but importantly their sense of identity (Russel-Smith, Lucas, & Gapindi, 1997 cited in Cotter, Boyd, & Gardiner, 2001). An argument is launched that the concept of landscape as a unit of study is essential to research on the expression of cultural identity. This argument will be demonstrated through the values given to the landscape of Minahasa regencies and the community.

Minahasan traditional society consists of village communities that are responsive to their homeland and their attitude toward nature, environment and life as described in this chapter. In Minahasan society, a unit of social interaction is called "*wanua*" (Dodika, 1980), "*ro'ong*" (Siwu, 2002), "*negeri*" (Wenas, 2007), or "*kampung*" (Dodika, 1980); the term "*desa*" is used for villages in rural areas and

the “*kelurahan*” for the villages in urban areas. A *desa* is administered by a person called *hukum tua* or *kepala desa* (meaning ‘village head’). A *desa* that is located in an urban area is referred to by administrators as *kelurahan* (neighbourhood).

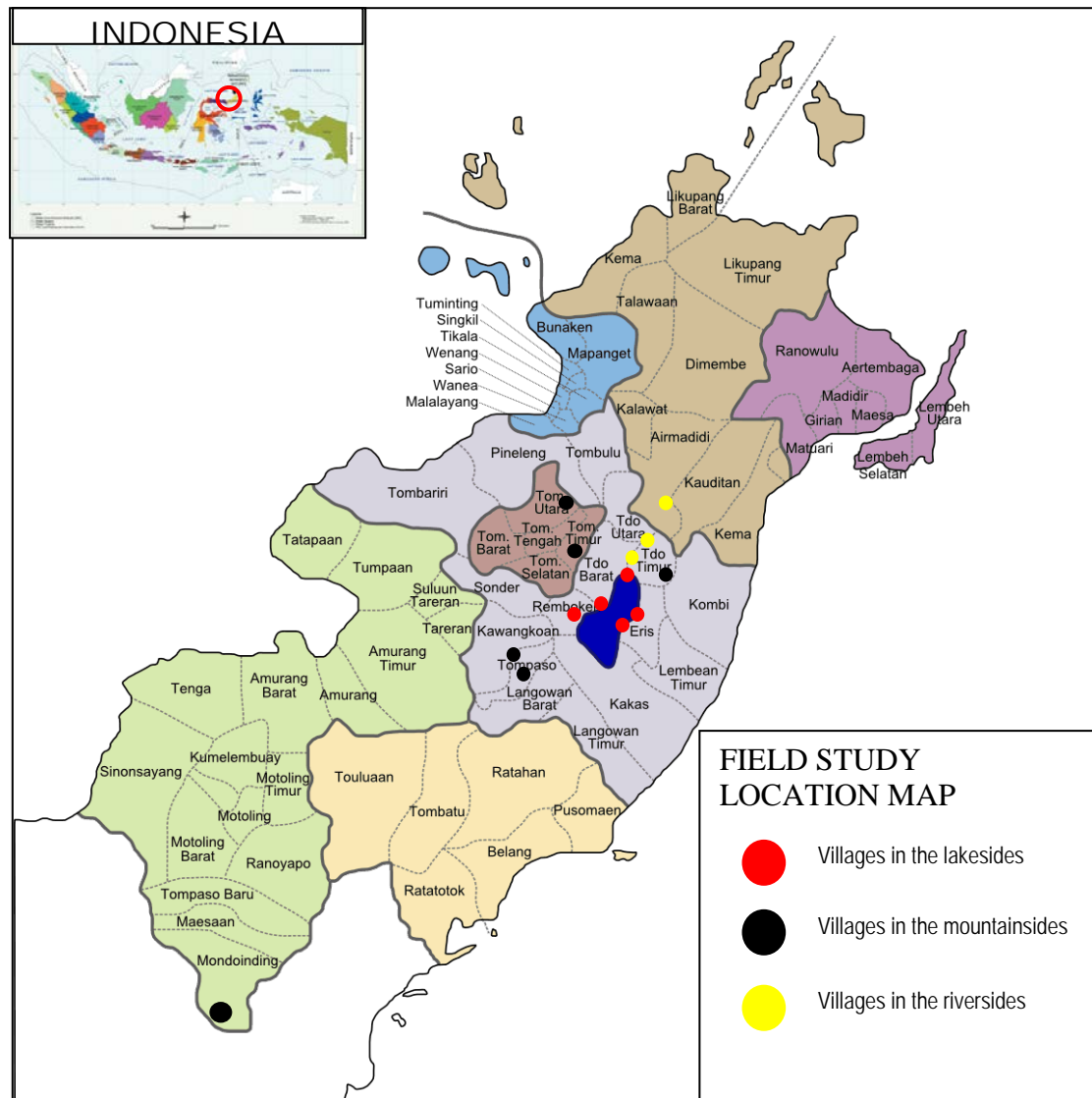


Figure 5.1  
Administrative Map of Greater Minahasa Region:  
Consists of 4 regencies or “*kabupaten*” and 3 cities), the districts division (“*kecamatan*”) and the field study location (Source: [www.minahasa.net](http://www.minahasa.net); Author modification)

## 5.2 The Ethnographic Field Study

Field study research was conducted from 3<sup>rd</sup> of April to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July 2011, and 5<sup>th</sup> of July 2012 to the 23<sup>rd</sup> July 2012. The research used an ethnographic approach to investigate the *genius loci* of the Minahasan ethnic community, a phenomenology approach to investigate the interpretations and



experience of the Minahasans with their land, and, field research through participant observation using coding and memoing (Trochim 2006; Malonda 2007). When using the participant observation method, the researcher directly observed the current landscape in the Minahasa Region including:

- a. Identifying the landscape structure (patches, edges and corridors) including:
  - Landscape boundary (edge): territorial boundaries of the ancient Minahasa;
  - Landscape pathways (corridor): tracing the spread of tribal and pathways through the landscape story; and,
  - Sites/places (patches): the sacred sites and ceremonial sites.
  
- b. Identifying the existence of *genius Loci* both tangible and intangible. *Genius Loci* components were identified through the Minahasa ethnic community's spiritual connection to country, origin and lore, the community's social connection to country, identity of landscape, individuals, families and clans, biodiversity and totemic identity, and traditional environmental and landscape knowledge.

The components of *genius Loci* observational research in the field included:

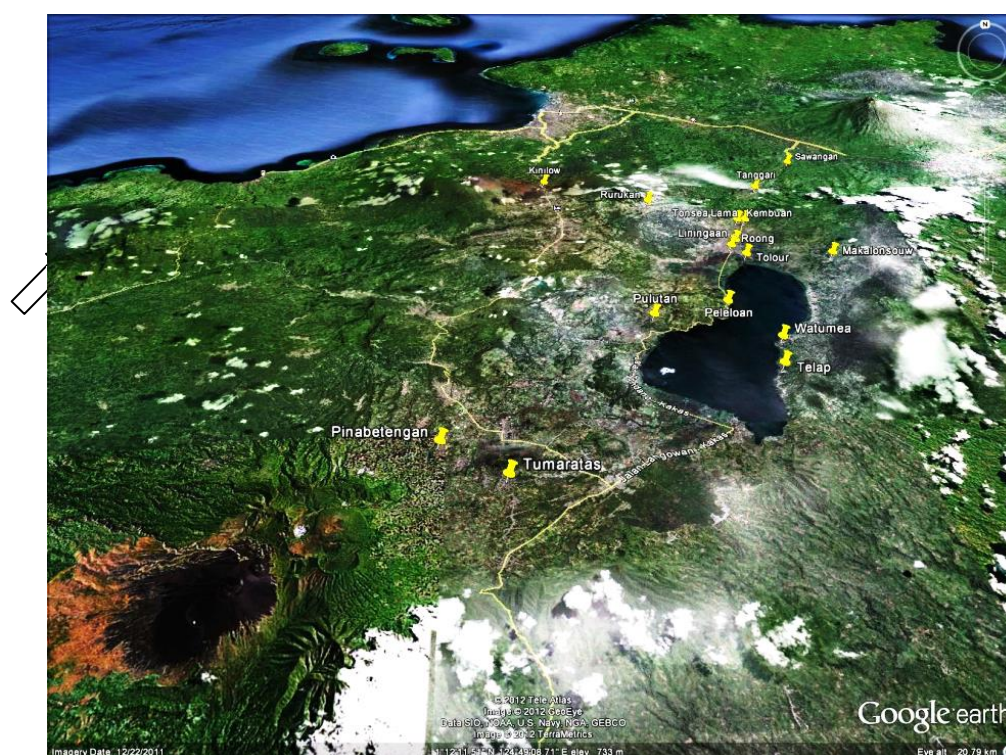
1. Traditional boundaries:
  - natural boundaries
  - language boundaries
  - invented boundaries (which were created through myths and stories).
2. Pathways: in relation to food, water and shelter linking origins and destinations.
3. Ceremonial areas: place where Minahasans traditional events occur.
4. Biodiversity: interpretations of seasonality and changes in the nature and the presence of totemic species and their habitats.
5. Battlefields sites (between the locals and the Europeans and or between tribes) and other sites associated with battles.
6. Spiritual landscapes: including cultural lore, sense of belonging, history and connection to country.

### 5.3 Site and Participant Selection Process

Surveys were conducted in 16 units of settlement selected from approximately 201 villages in 19 Districts ("*kecamatan*") in the greater Minahasa Region, together with 2 villages in Tomohon highland city (BPS Kabupaten Minahasa, 2009; BPS Kota Tomohon, 2009) based on a selection criteria of

cultural landscape components. In the selection process, 6 settlements chosen were administratively termed as “kelurahan” and while 10 settlements maintained the administrative status of “desa”.

The selected villages and communities were based upon evidence of possessing uniqueness and richness in their specific local culture and traditional knowledge. Figure 5.2 shows a map of selected research locations for the study, marked with yellow pins.



**Figure 5.2**  
The research location in Minahasa region, North Sulawesi and the 16 selected sample villages  
(Source: Google Earth 2012)

From summary information obtained from village profiles, the villages were selected through short listing (as shown in Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1**  
**Selected Villages in the Minahasa Region based upon**  
**Criteria of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Landscape Components**

| Landscape Settings               | Name of Village | Regency /Kabupaten | Selection Criteria |              |                  |                    |                   |                     |              |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------|
|                                  |                 |                    | Battlefield Sites  | Sacred Sites | Ceremonial Areas | Natural Landscapes | Religious Pathway | Cultural Attributes | Biodiversity |
| Surrounding of the Lake          | Ro'ong          | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  | •                 | •                   |              |
|                                  | Tolour          | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  |                   | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Telap           | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  |                   | •                   |              |
|                                  | Watumea         | Central Minahasa   |                    | •            |                  | •                  | •                 | •                   |              |
|                                  | Pélélo'an       | Central Minahasa   |                    | •            | •                |                    |                   | •                   |              |
|                                  | Pulutan         | Central Minahasa   |                    | •            |                  | •                  |                   |                     |              |
| Mountains, hilly and Forestsides | Wulurma'atus    | South Minahasa     | •                  | •            |                  | •                  |                   | •                   |              |
|                                  | Kakenturan      | South Minahasa     | •                  |              |                  | •                  |                   | •                   |              |
|                                  | Kinilow         | Tomohon            | •                  | •            |                  | •                  | •                 | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Rurukan         | Tomohon            |                    | •            |                  | •                  |                   | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Pinabéténgan    | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  | •                 | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Makalonsouw     | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  |                   | •                   | •            |
| Catchment Area (riversides)      | Tumaratas       | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            |                  | •                  | •                 | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Lininga'an      | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            | •                | •                  | •                 | •                   |              |
|                                  | Kembuan         | Central Minahasa   | •                  | •            |                  | •                  | •                 | •                   | •            |
|                                  | Tanggari        | North Minahasa     |                    | •            |                  | •                  | •                 | •                   | •            |

In defining and examining *genius loci* in Minahasan culture more closely, data in this research project were obtained from these 16 locations, and interviews with 282 respondents, consisting of several groups as indicated in Table 5.2.

**Table 5.2**  
**Categorization of the Interview respondents**

| Villages                    | Total Respondent | Elders     | Farmers    | Cultural subjects | Youth    | Head of Villages |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------------|------------|-------------------|----------|------------------|
| Ro'ong and Tolour           | 24               | 11         | 7          | 2                 |          | 1                |
| Makalonsouw                 | 18               | 10         | 9          | 2                 |          | n.a              |
| Kembuan-Tonsealama          | 16               | 10         | 9          | 4                 |          | 1                |
| Watumea                     | 19               | 11         | 11         |                   |          | 1                |
| Telap                       | 20               | 10         | 10         |                   | 2        | 1                |
| Pélélo'an                   | 23               | 12         | 12         | 1                 |          | n.a              |
| Lininga'an                  | 23               | 14         | 8          | 8                 |          | 1                |
| Rurukan                     | 18               | 10         | 8          | 1                 |          | 1                |
| Kinilow                     | 20               | 9          | 8          | 2                 | 1        | 1                |
| Pulutan                     | 18               | 8          | 11         |                   |          | 1                |
| Tanggari                    | 23               | 12         | 8          |                   |          | 1                |
| Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan | 17               | 9          | 8          | 1                 |          | 2                |
| Tumaratas                   | 14               | 6          | 4          | 2                 | 1        | 2                |
| Pinabéténgan                | 29               | 9          | 11         | 6                 | 4        | 1                |
| <b>TOTAL</b>                | <b>282</b>       | <b>141</b> | <b>124</b> | <b>29</b>         | <b>8</b> | <b>14</b>        |

The researcher sought to interview Minahasan people based upon their different roles in the community; for instance, elders, farmers, village leaders, cultural activists and young people. Respondents in all villages were selected randomly and to some extent were suggested by the head of village, and also by using the 'snowball' technique. The researcher simply walked door to door or met respondents in the field. The purpose of the interview sessions was to obtain their knowledge and perceptions about their occupied place, which the *genius loci* embraces, and to 'read' their connectedness to their homeland, Minahasa, and to find out the reasons why. The interviews also sought to gather a better understanding of the cultural atmosphere of the community and participant's perceptions of their current landscape environment. The participants were extremely informative and generous with their time. Not only did all of them have an interest in the cultural development of their community but also they were keen to involve with the possibility of participating in better cultural planning and mapping of the Minahasa region. Thus, not only did they show a strong willingness to participate in the research project but also demonstrated concern about the necessity and importance to document and record this information.

Extensive fieldwork in 16 selected rural and urban settlements located in the interior part of the Minahasa region were used as case studies to compile ethnographic data and to highlight the significance that *genius loci* may have. The fieldwork covered all six sources of data as specified by Yin (2003, p. 83): 1. documents, 2. archival records, 3. interviews, 4. direct observations, 5. participant observations and, 6. physical artefacts, as shown in Table 5.3

The data were analysed using the following processes: examination, categorization, tabulation, testing and recombination of evidences to generate qualitative and quantitative expositions. The analysis process included formulating the interpretive text content obtained from direct and participant observations, un-structured and semi-structured interviews and sighting physical artefacts during the fieldwork by extracting and interpreting themes designed prior the commencement of first fieldwork. Research from all fieldwork included over 325 sound recordings gained from the 282 respondents, 245 transcriptions, as well as field notes and over 500 photos.

In presenting and analysing interview data, all respondents have no objection for their name to be included in thesis writing when the researcher asked for their concordance.

**Table 5.3**  
**Six Sources of Evidence: Strength and Weakness (Adopted from: Yin 2003 p. 83)**

| Source of Evidence      | Strength  | Weakness   |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| Documentation           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stable – can be reviewed repeatedly</li> <li>• Unobtrusive – not created as a result of the case study</li> <li>• Exact – contains exact names, references, and details of an event</li> <li>• Broad coverage – long span of time, many events, and many settings</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Retrievability – can be low</li> <li>• Biased selectivity, if collection is incomplete</li> <li>• Reporting bias – reflects (unknown) bias of author</li> <li>• Access – may be deliberately blocked</li> </ul> |
| Archival Records        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>(Same as above for documentation)</i></li> <li>• Precise and quantitative</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>(same as above for documentation)</i></li> <li>• Accessibility due to privacy reasons</li> </ul>   |
| Interview               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Targeted – focuses directly on case study topic</li> <li>• Insightful – provides perceived causal inferences</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bias due to poorly constructed questions</li> <li>• Response bias</li> <li>• Inaccuracies due to poor recall</li> <li>• Reflexivity – interviewee gives what interviewer wants to hear</li> </ul>               |
| Direct Observations     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• reality – covers events in real time</li> <li>• Contextual – covers context of event</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• time- consuming</li> <li>• selectivity – unless broad coverage</li> <li>• reflexivity – event may proceed differently because it is being observed</li> <li>• cost – hours needed by human observer</li> </ul>  |
| Participant Observation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>(same as above for direct observations)</i></li> <li>• Insightful into interpersonal behaviour and motives</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>(same as above for direct observations)</i></li> <li>• Bias due to investigator's manipulation of events</li> </ul>  |
| Physical Artefacts      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insightful into cultural features</li> <li>• Insightful into technical operations</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selectivity</li> <li>• availability</li> </ul>  |

#### 5.4 Settlements in the Lakeside settings

Intensive field trips of three to five days were undertaken to each of five sites located in the lakesides of the Tondano Lake – Ro'ong and Tolour Villages, Watumea Village, Telap Village, Pelelo'an Village and Pulutan Village to study the environmental, economic and socio-cultural contexts of these villages. The following briefly summarizes the village history, the geographical environmental and socio-cultural settings and their economic milieu.

### 5.4.1 Ro'ong Village (*Kelurahan Ro'ong*)

Ro'ong village is one of 9 urban-rural settlements (*kelurahan*) in the Tondano *Barat* (west Tondano) district of the Tondano City of the Minahasa Regency. It is located approximately 45 km from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi province, at latitude  $1^{\circ}17'42.91''$  north, longitude  $124^{\circ}54'35.30''$  east. The village consists of 51 households (BPS Kabupaten Minahasa, 2009) and is administered by "*lurah*". The village boundaries are: to the north by Tuutu Village, to the east by the Tondano River, to the south by Tolour and Urongo villages, and to the west by Rinegetan Village (See Figure 5.3)

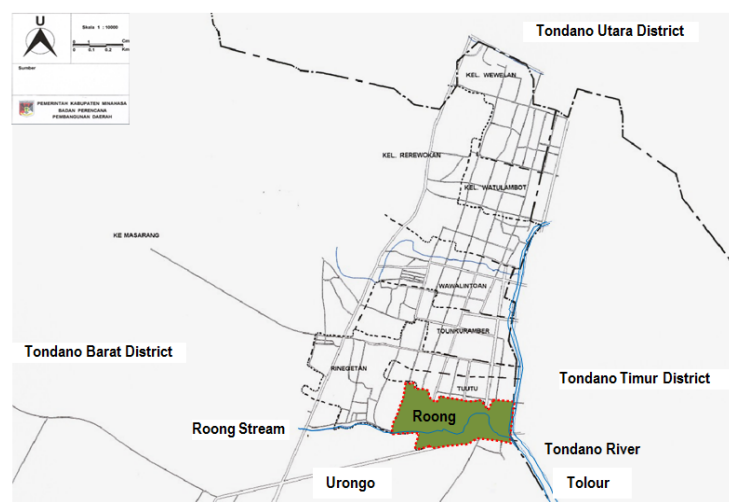


Figure 5.3  
Map of Ro'ong Village, Tondano Barat District, Minahasa Regency  
(Source: Bappeda Kabupaten Minahasa)

This village covers a unit of settlement, which is divided into several *jaga/lingkungan* or circles of small community led by *kepala jaga/kepala lingkungan* (head of small community). Ro'ong stream passes through the village from west to south and exits into the Tondano River. Far distant from the village can be seen Mt Masarang and Tampusu Hill. The *paddy* areas (*sawah*) and the Tondano Lake area are adjacent to the village (see Figure 5.4).



Figure 5.4  
Environmental setting of Ro'ong Village, Tondano Barat District, Minahasa  
(Photographs taken in 15 April 2011 by the Author)

The fieldwork in this village was conducted over 3 days, observing the village and its surroundings and interviewing 9 respondents: 4 elders and 5 farmers. Most of the respondents were interviewed while cultivating the land through dry cultivation (*kobong kering*) and muddy cultivation (*kobong pece*). Almost every family had a tract of land for cultivation and the main crops are *paddy* or rice, corn, and water spinach (*kangkung*). In addition to cultivation there were some other social activities for supporting the traditional economy, such as fishing or fish capture (*karamba*) and hunting.

#### 5.4.2 Tolour Village (Kelurahan Tolour)

Tolour is an urban village area located on the Shore of Tondano Lake, at coordinates of latitude 1°17'14.68" north and longitude 124°54'52.22" east. Administratively, the village is bordered by the Tounsukun, Serawet and Tounipus cultivation areas, to the north, to the east is Tounipus, to the south is Tondano Lake and to the west is Kiniar and Ro'ong Villages (see Figure 5.5)

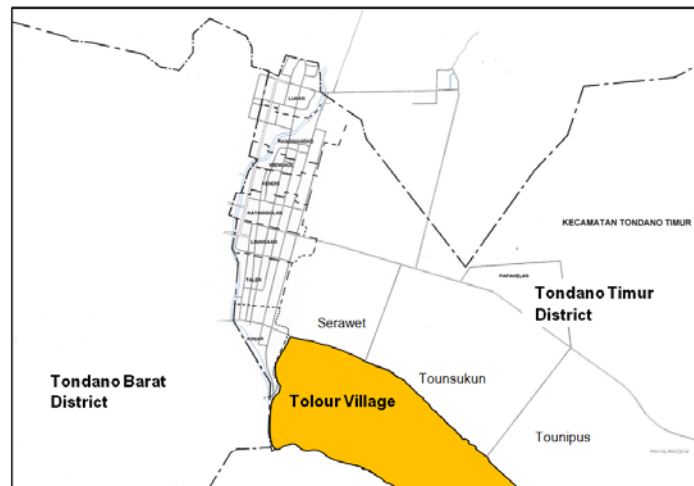


Figure 5.5  
The location of Tolour village in Tondano Timur District, Tondano City, Minahasa  
(Source; Bappeda Kabupaten Minahasa 2011; Author modification)

For this location, interview data were collected using a snowball technique with 10 respondents consisting of 5 elders and 5 farmers. The researcher also conducted direct observations of the village and the surrounding area. Prior to exploring the village, the researcher met the *lurah*, the village leader, and conveyed the purpose of the researcher's activities in the area. The inhabitants in the village consist of 60 households (Bappeda Minahasa, 2011).

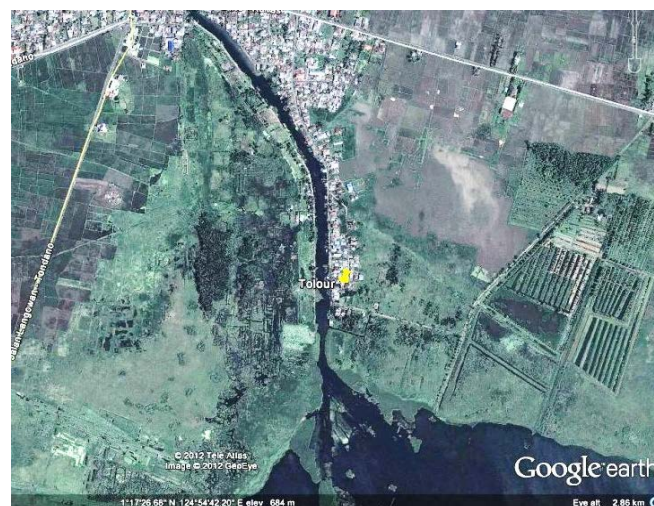


Figure 5.6  
Aerial view of Tolour village in Tondano Timur District, Tondano City, Minahasa  
(Source; Google Earth 2012)



Direct observation of the village, and the surrounding area, indicates the dependence of the local community on the Lake for daily living. The majority of the local people use and rely on the Lake for their daily needs. Other livelihoods include subsistence farming and livestock.



Figure 5.7  
Environmental setting in Tolour Village, Tondano Timur District, Tondano City, Minahasa  
(Photographs; Author, April 2011)

To summarize the respondents in Ro'ong and Tolour villages: around 78% were male and 22% were female; 61% of respondents were over 60 years of age and 39% of respondent ages were between 27 and 59. Almost all the respondents (or 83%) had lived in Ro'ong and Tolour since they were born, except 3 respondents (or 17%) who were born in other villages. All respondents recognized the significant cultural and historical sites in their villages. The details of the demographic background of these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.1.

#### 5.4.3 Watumea Village (*Desa Watumea*)

Watumea is a rural village (*desa*) located in the Eris District of the Central Minahasa Regency. Watumea village is located on the eastern part of the Lake, at latitude 1°13'29.75" north, longitude 124°54'44.92" east (as shown in Figure 5.8).

Site visitation to this village was undertaken over four days. The researcher conducted direct and participant observations of the entire village, and directly participated with the community in their activities around the Lake. Interviews involved 22 respondents consisting of 11 elders and 11 farmers.



Figure 5.8  
Environment setting in Watumea Village, Eris District, Minahasa  
(Photographs taken from the hill in the village, in April 2011 by the Author)

Watumea Village area is bordered by Eris village to the north and east, Telap Village to the south and the Tondano Lake to the west. The environmental setting of Watumea Village is characterized by a linear pattern of settlement houses on both sides along the main road and neighbourhood streets and includes social facilities such as 5 church buildings, a primary and secondary school, and a cemetery in the hill area.

The village possesses natural landscape areas, namely *sawah* or paddy areas, and a hill area called *serabing* that hosts a spring, and a natural cave possessing historical values. The prominent cultural components are that it has the oldest church building in Minahasa, and the tomb of *Dotu* Telis Supit the first leader of the village in the 17th century. Socially, the local community is divided into 2 groups of neighbourhoods: *amian* and *timu* divisions (as shown in Figure 5.9).

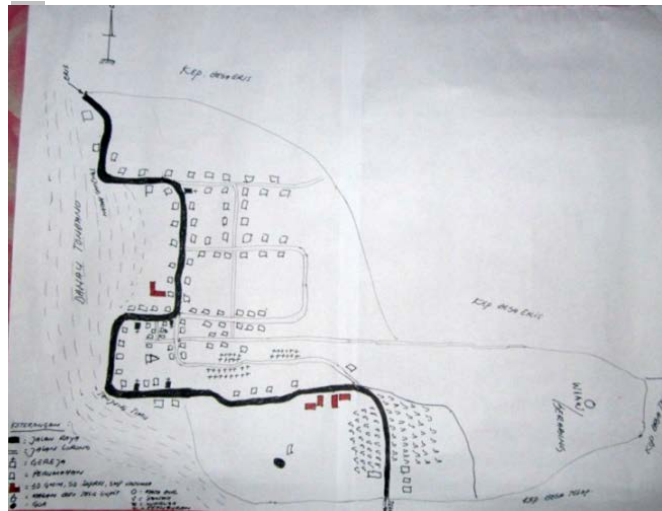


Figure 5.9  
Social setting of Watumea Village, Eris District  
(Source; courtesy sketched by Harry Pandelaki, 9 May 2012)

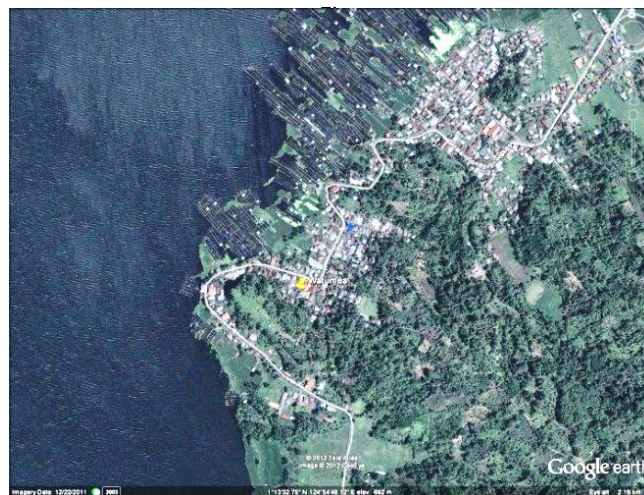


Figure 5.10  
Aerial view of Watumea Rural Village  
(Taken from Google Earth 2012)

This local community relies on natural resources in the surrounding region for its subsistence. The Lake is essential of the livelihood to the community. The community's major income is derived from fish capture, fish breeding, and farming.

The demographic profile of respondents in Watumea village is characterised as 74% male and 26% female; 79% of respondents were over 60 years of age, and 21% were aged between 40 and 86 years. The majority of the respondents (or 95%) had lived in Watumea village since they were born. All respondents recognized the environment in their village, in particular the socio-cultural

possessions and historical artefacts and sites in their village. The detail of demographic background of these respondents are provided in Appendix 2.2.

#### 5.4.4 Telap Village (*Desa Telap*)

Telap Village (*Desa Telap*) was selected because of its significant cultural components and the village's past story (see section 5.3 on Table 2.1). The village is inhabited by 11,771 inhabitants in the Eris district (Bappeda Minahasa 2011). The village is located on the eastern shores of Tondano Lake at the coordinates of latitude 1°12'29.77" north and longitude 124°54'29.88" east (see Figure 5.11). Fieldwork in this village was conducted over 4 days and involved observing and interviewing the local inhabitants, using random and snowball techniques for over 20 respondents, comprising 10 elders and 10 farmers.



Figure 5.11  
Aerial view of Telap village, Eris District, in Central Minahasa Regency  
(Source; Google Earth 2012)

The boundaries of Telap Village comprise Watumea village to the north, Toulimembet Village to the south, Eris plantation areas to the east, and Tondano Lake to the west. The environmental setting in Telap Village involves a settlement pattern that is linear and grid-like with community houses scattered along both sides of the streets. Socially, the village includes 6 neighbourhoods called *jaga*, with approximately 87 households inhabiting the village (Pemerintah Kabupaten Minahasa in Figure 2009). The village has social facilities including a village office building (*balai desa*), 3 church

buildings, 2 primary schools and one kindergarten school, a community medical centre, a community library, and a cemetery located on the hill. The social map can be seen in the Figure 5.12.



Figure 5.12  
Social setting of Telap Village, Eris District, Central Minahasa Regency  
(Source; Telap Village office, 9 May 2012)

Generally, the natural landscape of Telap village is characterised by hills, which demark the community's agricultural land properties and the community forest, *sawah* or paddy areas and the open Lake area. Based upon observations, there were several culturally significant artefacts in this village, comprising ancestors' historical meeting places including a table stone and two other cultural objects known as *Watu Pinatik* and *Watu Kekoan*, and ancient waruga stones.

The Figure 5.13 descriptively shows the environmental setting of Telap Village.



Figure 5.13  
Environmental setting in Telap Village  
(Photographs taken 9 May 2011, by the Author)

The demographic background of the respondents of Telap village was 60% male and 40% female; about 70% of the respondents were over 60 years of aged and 30% of respondents were aged between 22 and 59 years (the detail of respondents are provided in Appendix 2.3). The majority of the respondents (or 95%) have lived in Telap since childhood. Most of the respondents have their own private lands, which are used for dry and wet cultivation. The local inhabitants continued to possess cultural knowledge about their village, in particular the importance and significance of their socio-cultural possessions and the historical artefacts and sites in the village.

#### 5.4.5 Pelelo'an Village (*Kelurahan Pelelo'an*)

Pelelo'an Village (*Kelurahan Pelelo'an*) is located on the western shores of Lake Tondano at the coordinates of latitude 1°15'0.37" north, longitude 124°53'51.46" east, in the District of Tondano *Selatan*, Minahasa (See Figure 5.14). The village was selected because of its cultural landscape features (see section 5.3 on Table 2.1). The settlement was developed on hilly areas facing the Tondano Lake. The village is inhabited by 99 households (Bappeda Minahasa, 2011) within the Tondano *Selatan* District that is home to 5540 inhabitants (Ibid). Fieldwork was conducted over 5

days and the researcher both observed and interviewed the local community of 24 respondents comprising of 12 elders and 12 farmers.



Figure 5.14  
Aerial view of Pelelo'an Village, Tondano Selatan District,  
Central Minahasa Regency (Source; Google Earth 2012)

Pelelo'an Village is administratively bordered by plantation areas to the west and north, Urongo village to the south, and the Tondano Lake to the east. The village setting can be described as being situated on a flat plain and sloping area. Houses have been erected and are scattered along both sides of the streets. The village comprises several community units called *jaga* (neighbourhood).

Socially, Pelelo'an village has a village office building, a church, 2 primary schools, a kindergarten school, a community health centre (*puskesmas*), community sport building, a cemetery, and a Minahasa cultural and festival centre precinct. The social map can be seen in the Figure 5.15.

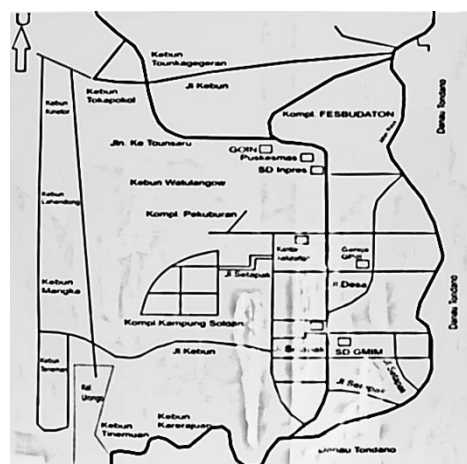


Figure 5.15  
Social map of Pelelo'an Village, Tondano Selatan District, Central Minahasa Regency  
(Source; Pélélo'an Village office, 12 May 2012)

Generally, the landscape environment of Pelelo'an village is characterized by agricultural land. The community of the village recognizes several cultural landscape components, namely ancestor's historical meeting places, and a cultural object.



Figure 5.16  
Environment setting in Pelelo'an Village  
(Photographs taken 12 May 2011 by the Author)

The demographic background of the respondents in Pelelo'an Village is summarized as 61% male and 39% female; approximately 14 respondents (61%) of were between 60 and 90 years of age, and 39% were aged between 35 and 59 years as detailed in Table 5.8. All respondents (or 100%) were born in the village and are originally Minahasan. Generally, respondents own tracts of land, which are used for dry and wet cultivation. The local inhabitants, in particular have knowledge of their possessions and historical artefacts and sites. The demographic background of these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.4.

#### 5.4.6 Pulutan Village (*Desa Pulutan*)

Selection criteria for this village were based on its embedded tangible cultural landscapes and the community's known local wisdom. Fieldwork was conducted over 5 days in *Kelurahan* (village) Pulutan and the researcher undertook observations of the village environment and interviewed the local community over this period. *Desa Pulutan* is a rural village, located in the surrounding of Tondano Lake at latitude 1°14'30.83" north, longitude °52'1.04" east in the Romboken District of Minahasa (Figure 5.17).



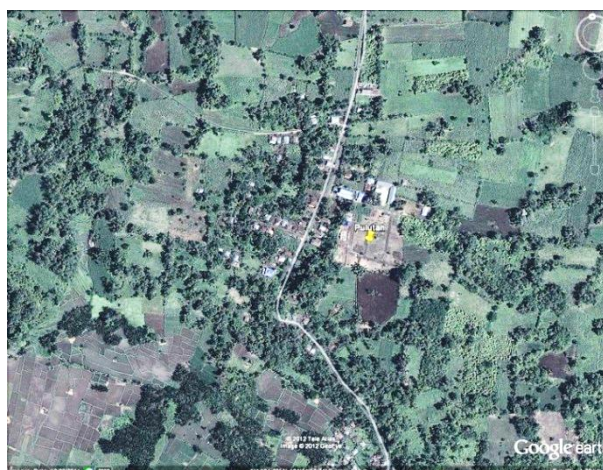


Figure 5.17  
Aerial view of Pulutan Village, Romboken District, in Minahasa Regency  
(Source; Google Earth 2012)

Actual data indicated that Pulutan village was occupied by 267 family units or 1011 people (Pemerintah Kelurahan Pulutan, 2010). The village is administratively bordered with *Desa* (village) Parepei in the north, *Desa* Tondegesan and *Desa* Tolok in the south, *Desa* Passo in the east, *Desa* Tondegesan and *Desa* Kasuratan in the west.

The Pulutan village profile comprises a settlement situated on a flat plain between two hills with 60% being a sloping area. The houses have been established linearly along both sides of the streets. It was recorded there are 65 units of *rumah panggung* (wooden house with stairs) and other types of houses (13 units of permanent brick houses, 37 units of semi-permanent houses, 55 units of houses with wooden walls, and 25 units of houses with bamboo walls).

The village comprises three community units called *jaga*. The land use in the village includes approximately 50 ha of paddy areas, 108.5 ha plantation areas and 4.4 ha of land for general facilities. Pulutan village has a variety of social institutions and supporting facilities including, *balai desa* (village communal building) which includes community spaces, three churches, a primary school, a kindergarten school, a community health centre (*polindes*), ceramic training centre, a mill (for grinding *paddy*), a cemetery, a brick factory and associated infrastructure. The social map can be seen in Figure 5.18.

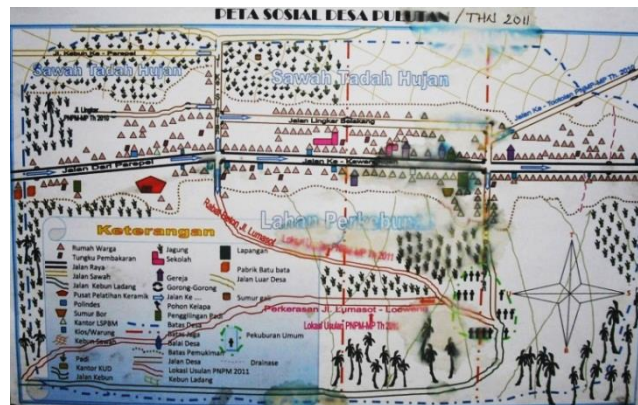


Figure 5.18  
Social map of Pulutan Village, Romboken District, Central Minahasa  
(Source; Pulutan Village office, 27 May 2011)



Figure 5.19  
Environment setting in Pulutan Village  
(Photographs taken 27 May 2011 by the Author)

Interviews were applied to 18 respondents comprising of 8 elders, 7 crafters and 3 farmers. The demographic background of these respondents is summarized as follows: around 61% of respondents were male and 39% were female; approximately 8 respondents (or 44.4%) were between 67 and 77 years of age, and 45.6% of respondents were aged between 30 and 58 years. All respondents (or 100%) are Minahasan. In general, respondents own tracts of land, which they use for planting. The demographic background of these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.5.

## 5.5 Settlements in the Riverside settings

### 5.5.1 Lininga'an Village (*Kelurahan Lininga'an*)

*Kelurahan* Lininga'an is an urban-rural village located in the Tondano *Timur* District of Tondano Town located at latitude 1°17'59.83" north, longitude 124°54'45.65" east. The Lininga'an Map can be seen in Figure 5.20.

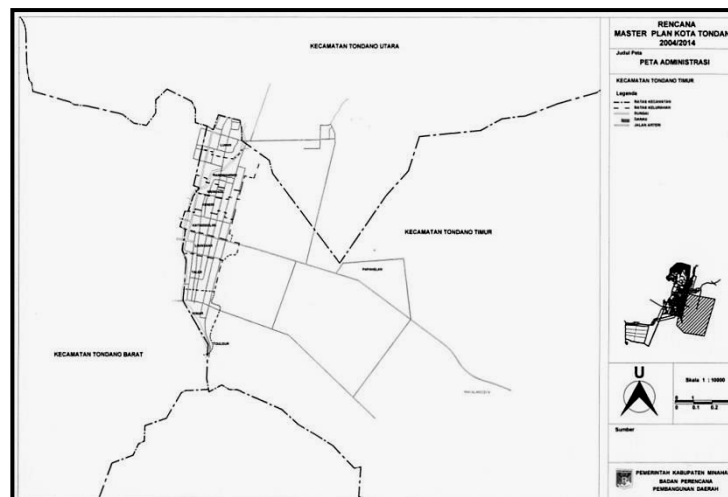


Figure 5.20  
Map of Lininga'an Village, Tondano Timur District  
(Source; Bappeda, Kabupaten Minahasa 2011)

Fieldwork was conducted over 5 days in Lininga'an Village (*kelurahan*) and included observations of the village environment and interviews of the local community. This village was selected based upon its archival collections and the known importance of its tangible and intangible cultural properties.

Lininga'an's urban village profile is characterized by settlement situated on a flat plain of which the Tondano River is passes through the village. The community settlement is divided into three *jaga* (neighbourhood), occupied by 1260 inhabitants in 359 units of households (Pemerintah Kelurahan Lininga'an, 2011). The Village is administratively bordered by *Kelurahan* Katinggolan to the north, *Kelurahan* Taler to the south, *Kelurahan* Tounkuramber and *Kelurahan* Wawalintoan to the west, and *Kelurahan* Papakelan to the east.

The village's houses are built along both sides of the road. Data records indicate that there are 272 units of buildings, comprising housing and community facilities. The village covers a total land area of 16.5 ha. The village environment and land use patterns is dominated by 110 ha of *sawah* or *paddy*

areas with some 225 ha under plantation. Lininga'an also has several socio-cultural institutions and supporting facilities such as, *Kantor kelurahan* (village office building), two churches, 2 primary schools, a secondary school, and a historical open space infrastructure. The environment setting can be seen in the figure 5.21.



Figure 5.21  
Environment setting in Lininga'an Village  
(Photographs taken 17 May 2011 by the Author)

Interviews on *genius loci* and traditional environmental knowledge about the Lininga'an urban village were conducted with to 22 respondents, comprising 14 elders and 8 farmers.

The respondents' demographic background is summarized as follows: about 91% of respondents (or 20) were male and 9% (or 2) were female; 14 respondents (or 63.6%) were age between 60 and 84 years, and 36.4% of respondents were aged between 43 and 55. About 15 respondents (or 64%) were originally born in the village and 7 respondents were born in other places in Minahasa. The demographic background of those respondents is provided in Appendix 2.6.

### 5.5.2 Kembuan Village (*Desa Kembuan*)

*Desa Kembuan* is an urban-rural village located in Tondano *Barat* District of Tondano city at latitude 1°19'8.29" north, longitude 124°55'5.45" east (Figure 5.22). The village is approximately 46 km in distance from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province.

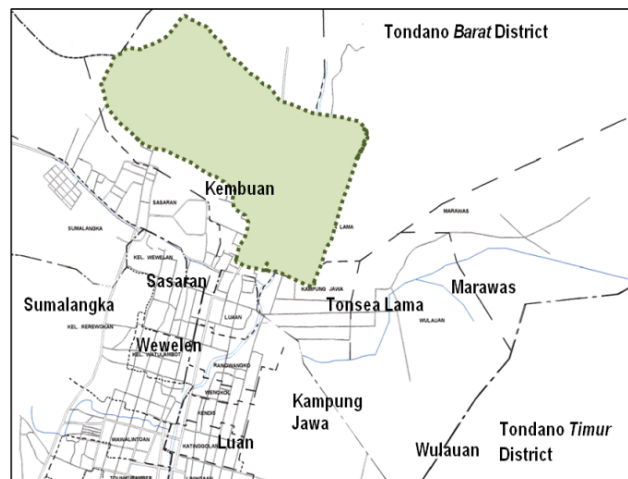


Figure 5.22  
Map of *Desa* (village) Kembuan, Tondano Utara District, Central Minahasa Regency  
(Source; Bappeda Kabupaten Minahasa 2011; Author modification)

Previously, the village was united with Tonsea Lama and was recognized as *Desa Kembuan*. Administratively, Tonsea Lama was part of Minahasa *Utara* Regency but the Minahasa government divided the village into 2 areas -- Kembuan and Tonsea Lama – with the latter included into the Tondano City regional plan.

This village was selected based upon its archival resources and the identification of embedded cultural properties. Fieldwork was conducted over 5 days observing the village environment and interviewing the local community. Kembuan-urban village profile is described as being bordered by *Kelurahan* Lu'aan, *Kelurahan* Wewelen and *Kelurahan* Sasaran in the south, *Kelurahan* Tonsea Lama and Tondano Catchment in the east, the border of Tombulu District and Tomohon City in the west, and *Desa* Tanggari in the north.

The settlement is situated on a flat plain and the Tondano River passes through the village. *Desa* Kembuan is 5 km from the centre of Tondano City and about 50 km distance from Manado, the capital city of North Sulawesi Province. The settlement comprises both housing and community

facilities. The community is divided into 5 *jaga* (neighbourhood) occupied by 2064 inhabitants comprising 1064 males and 982 females in 567 units of household (Pemerintah Kelurahan Kembuan, 2010). The village covers 1039 ha. The village environment and land use are dominated by *sawah* or *paddy* areas, with plantations in the hilly areas. Kembuan-urban village has also several socio-cultural institutions and supporting facilities such as, *Kantor desa* (village office building), two churches, a primary school, and historical open space infrastructure. The settlement pattern and environment setting of Kembuan Village can be seen in the Figure 5.23 and 5.24.



Figure 5.23  
Settlement pattern in *Desa* (village) Kembuan, Tondano Utara District,  
Central Minahasa Regency (Source; Google Earth 2012)



Figure 5.24  
Environment setting in Kembuan Village  
(Photographs taken 17 May 2011 by the Author)

In Kembuan village, interview data was obtained from 15 respondents comprising 10 elders and 5 farmers. Around 73% of respondents (or 11) were male and 27% (or 4) were female; 12 respondents (or 80%) were aged between 60 and 85 years, and 40% of respondents were aged between 32 and

44 years. About 13 respondents (or 64%) were originally born in the village and 2 respondents were born in other nearby villages. Demographic background of those respondents is provided in Appendix 2.7.

### 5.5.3 Tanggari Village (*Desa Tanggari*)

*Desa Tanggari* is a rural village located in the Airmadidi District of Minahasa *Utara* Regency at latitude 1°17'59.83" north, longitude 124°54'45.65" east. The village is approximately 55 km from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province.



Figure 5.25  
Aerial view of Tanggari Village, Airmadidi District, Minahasa Utara Regency  
(Source; Google Earth 2012)

Fieldwork was conducted over 4 days by observations of the village environment and its surrounds and interviewing the local people.

Tanggari's village profile can be described as being situated in the flat plain, with sloping areas adjacent to the Lake Tondano catchment area. The village is administratively bordered by *Desa Sawangan* and *Sampirin* the north, *Desa Tonsea Lama* in the south, *Desa Suluan* and *Rumengkor* in the west, and *Desa Tumuluntung* in the east. The community settlement is divided into 7 neighbourhoods known as *jaga*. The village has a total of 1.678 ha land use, comprises of 16.8 ha of settlement area, 87.2 ha of plantation areas, 86 ha of forest, 82 ha of sloping area, 68 ha of water flows and 553.2 ha of vacant lands (Pemerintah Desa Tanggari, 2011). The village is occupied by 1629 inhabitants in 453 family units (Ibid).

The houses are built along both sides of the main road and in the sloping areas. Tanggari village has various socio-cultural systems and supporting facilities, such as, *Balai Desa* (village office building), churches, primary schools, and a cemetery. The social map can be seen in the Figure 5.26 and the environment setting is depicted in figure 5.27.

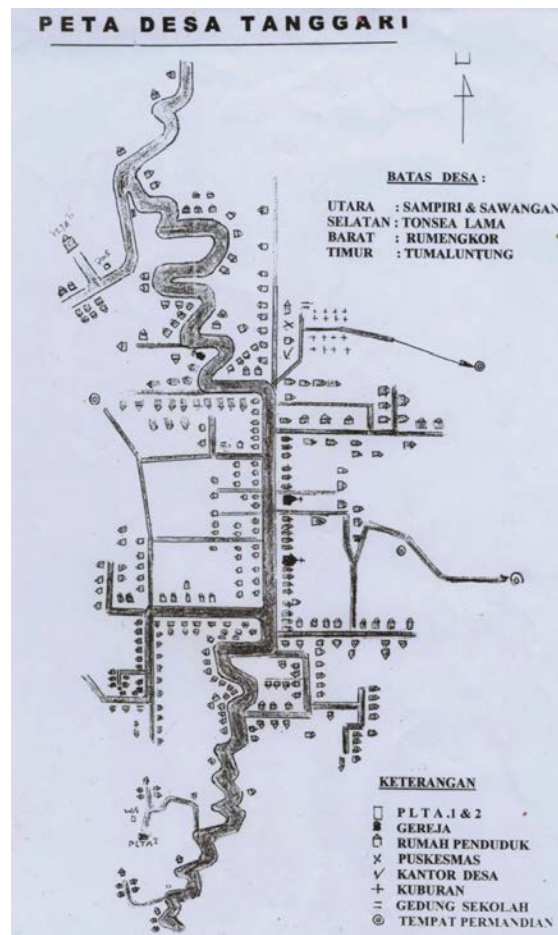


Figure 5.26  
 Social map of Desa (village) Tanggari, Airmadidi District, Minahasa Utara Regency  
 (Source; Tanggari Village office, 31 May 2011)





**Figure 5.27**  
**Environment setting in Tanggari Village**  
 (Photographs taken 31 May 2011 by the Author)

Interview data was gained from 23 respondents, comprising 12 elders, 10 farmers and 1 craftsman. Prior to conducting these interviews, the researcher obtained information through a Focus Group Discussion with the village leader and officers on the first day of arrival.

The demographic background of respondents is summarized as follows: around 62% of respondents (or 13) were male and 38% (or 8) were female; 17 respondents (or 81%) were aged between 60 and 87 years, and 19% of respondents were aged between 40 and 51 years. About 19 respondents (or 91%) were originally born in the village and 2 respondents were born in nearby villages. More detail about these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.8.

An overview of the villages in lakeside and riverside settings would show that the landscape characteristics, features and environment for each village are unique and different. A brief identification of socio-cultural systems of the local communities residing in the villages gives representation to the Minahasan cultural landscape surrounding Lake Tondano and Tondano River, further, it seeks exploration of *genius loci* in these locations to be analysed in chapter 6.

## 5.6 Settlements in Mountainside Settings

### 5.6.1 Makalonsouw Village (*Kelurahan Makalonsouw*)

Makalonsouw Village (*Kelurahan Makalonsouw*) is located adjacent to the slopes of the Tokalabo Mountain range, in particular Mt Makalonsouw, Mt Pulutan and Mt Kaluta, on coordinates of 1°17'2.43" north latitude, 124°57'2.72" east longitude. Makalonsouw is approximately 47 km distance from Manado the capital of North Sulawesi Province (See Figure 5.28). Fieldwork was conducted over 4 days by observing the village environment and its surrounds and interviewing the local inhabitants.



Figure 5.28  
Map showing Makalonsouw Village location  
(Source; Bakosurtanal 1991; Author modification)

Makalonsouw's village profile can be described as administratively bordered by *Kelurahan* Papakelan in the west, Mt Makalonsouw in the north, forest and plantations in the south, and the Tokalabo Mountains in the east. The settlement has been established on a flat plain, in between hilly mountains, with two creeks flowing from Tokalabo through the village, which become united into larger stream in the western part of the village. The community settlement is divided into 3 *jaga*. The village is occupied by 580 inhabitants in 116 households (Pemerintah Kelurahan Makalonsouw 2011). The village has several socio-cultural systems and supporting facilities such as, *Balai Desa* (village office building), three churches, a primary school, and a cemetery. The environmental setting and social map of the village can be seen in Figures 5.29, 5.30 and 5.31.



Figure 5.29  
Environment setting in Makalonsouw Village, Tondano Timur District,  
Minahasa (Photograph by the author 2011)



Figure 5.30. Aerial View of Makalonsouw, and Figure 5.31. Social Map of Makalonsouw Village  
(Source; Google Earth and Makalonsouw Village office, 26 April 2011)

Interview data at Makalonsouw Village was obtained from 18 respondents comprising a range of elders, farmers and a craftsman, using random and snowball methods. The demographic background of interviewed respondents is summarized as follows: around 72% of respondents (or 13) were male and 28% (or 5) were female; 13 respondents or 72% were aged between 60 and 86 years, and 28% of respondents were aged between 43 and 58. About 16 respondents (or 89%) are originally born in the village and 2 respondents were born in other villages (the detail of these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.9.

### 5.6.2 Ruruan Village (*Desa Ruruan*)

Ruruan Village (*Desa Ruruan*) is located in between the mountainsides of Mt Mahawu and Mt Masarang at the coordinates of latitude 1°20'20.37" north, longitude 124°52'46.93" east. Ruruan is approximately 35 km distance from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province (see Figure 5.32).

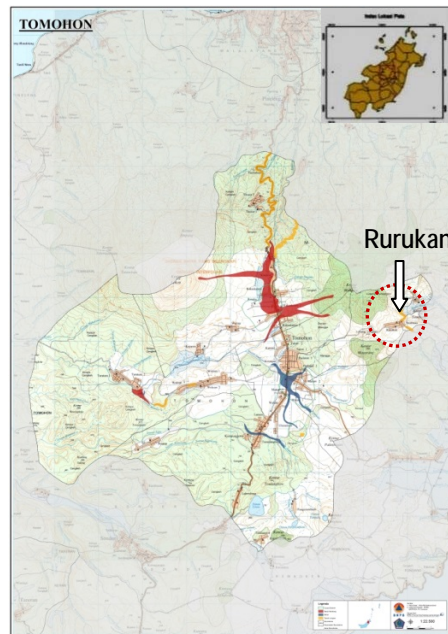


Figure 5.32  
The location of Ruruan Village, Tomohon Tengah District, in Tomohon City  
(Source; BPBD - Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah - Sulawesi Utara; Author modification)

Fieldwork in this village was conducted over 5 days including observations of the village environment and its surrounds and selecting randomly local inhabitants to be interviewed.

*Desa Ruruan's* profile can be described as being located at 1100 m above sea level, administratively bordered by agricultural lands in the west, *Desa Kumelembuai* and the Mt Mahawu in the north, forest and plantations at Mt Masarang in the south, and *Desa Sulu'un* in the east. The settlement is established in the flat plain, in between the two mountains, from which flows several creeks through the village.

The village was established around 1759. The community settlement is divided into 2 administrative areas. The village is occupied by 1809 inhabitants in 459 units of family (Pemerintah Desa Ruruan, 2011).

The village has several socio-cultural systems and supporting facilities such as, *Balai Desa* (village office building), three churches building, four school buildings, including a primary school, a kindergarten school, a secondary school and a high school. The village also has a health clinic, and a cemetery. The settlement pattern showing in aerial view and the environmental setting of the village can be seen in the Figure 5.33 and 5.34 below.



Figure 5.33  
Aerial View of Rurukan Village, Tomohon Timur District, Tomohon City  
(Source; Google Earth 2012)



Figures 5.34  
Environmental setting of Rurukan Village  
(Photographs taken 21 May 2011 by the Author)

Interviews in Rurukan Village were obtained from 17 respondents. The demographic background of those interviewed respondents is summarized as follows: around 65% of respondents (or 11) were male and 35% (or 6) were female; 13 respondents or 71% were aged between 60 and 87 years, and

29% of respondents were aged between 35 and 55 years. All respondents were originally born in the village (the details of these respondents are provided in Appendix 2.10).

### 5.6.3 Kinilow Village (*Kelurahan Kinilow*)

Kinilow village was established around 1759. The village is located on the flat plain between Mt Lokon and Mt Mahawu at the coordinates of latitude 1°21'50.97" north, longitude 124°49'53.90" east. Kinilow is approximately 30 km in distance from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province.

Kinilow's urban village profile can be described as being located at 1000 m above sea level, administratively bordered by *Kelurahan Kinilow Satu* in the south, Mt Lokon in the west, forest and plantations in the north, and Mt Mahawu and plantations in the east. The settlement has been established on a flat plain in between hilly mountains from which several creeks flow through the village. The community settlement is divided into seven *jaga* (neighbourhoods). The village is occupied by 1992 inhabitants in 546 households (Pemerintah Kelurahan Kinilow, 2011), as can be seen in Figure 5.35.

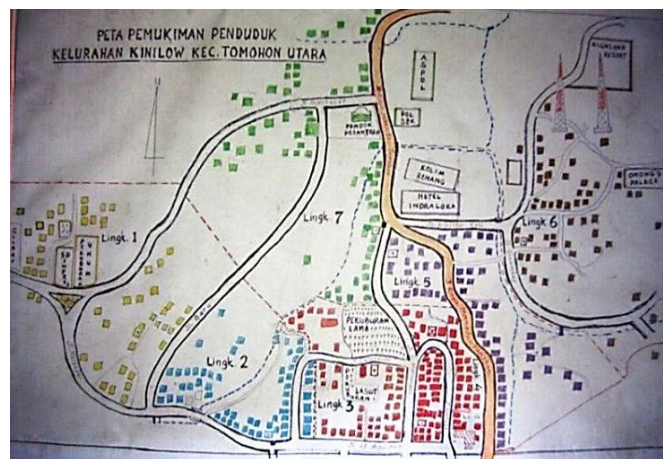


Figure 5.35  
Map of Kinilow urban village, Tomohon Utara District, Tomohon City  
(Source: Kinilow Village office, 24 May 2011)

Fieldwork in this village was conducted over 4 days. Observations of the village environment and its surrounds were documented and interview selections of local inhabitants were undertaken using triangulation and snowball methods.

The village has several socio-cultural systems and supporting facilities such as, a village office building, 3 churches and 1 mosque, a primary school, a private hotel and cottage, a highland resort, and a dormitory for the army. The village also has a health clinic, and three cemeteries. The environmental setting of the village can be seen in the Figures 5.36.



Figure 5.36  
Environment setting of Kinilow village  
(Photographs taken 25 May 2011 by the Author)

Interviews for determining *genius loci* in Kinilow Village were obtained from 17 respondents. The demographic background of these respondents is summarized as follows: 77% (or 13) were male and 23% (or 4) were female; 11 respondents (or 65%) were aged between 60 and 84 years, while 45% of respondents were aged between 20 and 56. Fourteen respondents were born in the village and three other respondents were born elsewhere (the detail of respondents' demographic backgrounds is provided in Appendix 2.11).

#### 5.6.4 Wulurma'atus Village (*Desa Wulurma'atus*)

*Desa Wulurma'atus* - previously known as *Desa Fak A* - is one of 8 rural villages in the Modinding District of the Minahasa *Selatan* Regency. Geographically, the Modinding District (66.40 km wide) is located in the southern part of the greater Minahasa land. Modinding is bordered by Tompaso Baru District in the north, Modayang and Kotabunan Districts of Bolaang Mongondow Regency in the south, with *Sungai Poigar* serving as a natural border with Bolaang Mongondow Regency, which encompasses 50.4 km to the west by the Kotabunan District and Bolaang Mongondow in the east. Wulurma'atus village is located on a highland plain at the co-ordinates latitude 1°21'50.97" north, longitude 124°49'53.90" east. Wulurma'atus' village profile can be described as being located at 1000 m above sea level, administratively bordered by *Desa Mokobang* in the north, *Desa Palelon* in

the south, with plantation and hill areas to the west, and plantation and hill areas to the east (as seen in Figure 5.37).



**Figure 5.37**  
Aerial view of Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan villages, Modinding District, Minahasa Selatan Regency (Source; Google Earth 2012: Author modification)

The settlement was established on a flat plain, and surrounded by the Wulurma'atus Mountain ranges. The village was established around 1932, and comprises some 416 ha. The settlement is occupied by 360 households (Pemerintah Desa Wulurma'atus, 2011).



**Figure 5.38**  
Environmental setting of Wulurma'atus village, South Minahasa  
(Photographs taken 3 June 2011 by the Author)

Fieldwork in this village was conducted over 3 days, observing the village and its environment. Interviews were applied to local inhabitants using triangulation and snowball methods.

Interview data in Wulurma'atus Village was obtained from 10 respondents. From the data, 9 respondents were male and only one was female; 8 respondents (or 80%) were aged between 60



and 87 years, and 20% of respondents were aged between 33 and 52. Four respondents were originally born in Wulurma'atus, whilst 5 respondents were born in Kakas and Langowan, Tondano (birthplace of one respondent unknown). The demographic detail of these respondents is provided in Appendix 2.12.

### 5.6.5 Kakenturan Village (*Desa Kakenturan*)

Kakenturan Village which was previously known as *Desa Fak G* is one of 8 rural villages in the Modinding District, of the Minahasa Selatan Regency. Kakenturan village is the highest village in North Sulawesi, located on a highland plain at latitude 0°47'22.84" north longitude 124°27'51.12" east, 1260 m above sea level (see Figure 5.39).



Figure 5.39  
Land use and environment of Kakenturan Village  
(Source: Uber. Kairupan, 2010)

The Kakenturan village profile can be described as administratively bordered by *Desa Linelean* in the north, *Desa Linelean* and *Sinisir* in the west, Moat Lake and Doluong Hill in the south, and with a hilly area in the east. The settlement was established on a flat plain, and is surrounded by mountains. The village was established around 1932, and is occupied by 494 households (Pemerintah Desa Kakenturan, 2011).

Kakenturan village has several socio-cultural systems and supporting facilities such as, *Balai desa* (village office building), 5 churches, a primary school, a secondary school, a highland resort at Doluong Hill, 2 Seedling Houses, and 2 cemeteries. The social and environment setting of the village can be seen in the photos at Figure 5.40.



Figure 5.40  
Environment setting of Kakenturan village, South Minahasa  
(Photographs taken 4 June 2011 by the Author)

Interviews were conducted in Kakenturan Village by randomly selecting 5 respondents. The demographic background of the respondents is summarized as follows: 3 respondents (or 60%) were male and 2 (or 40%) were female; all respondents were aged between 60 and 75 years. Two respondents were originally born in Kakenturan and three respondents were born in Langowan, Tondano (see Appendix 2.13 for the detail of respondents' demographic background).

#### 5.6.6 Tumaratas Village (*Desa Tumaratas*)

Fieldwork was conducted over 5 days in *Desa* (village) Tumaratas, involving direct observation of the village environment and interviews with the local inhabitants. *Desa Tumaratas* is a rural village, located adjacent to mountainsides at latitude 1° 9'21.44" north, longitude 124°48'30.18" east, in the Tompaso District of Minahasa (Figure 5.41). Selection criteria for this village were based upon the embedded tangible cultural landscapes and demonstrable evidence of the community's local wisdom.

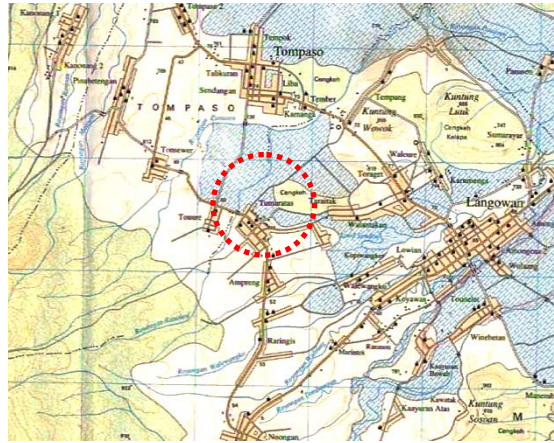


Figure 5.41

Map of Tumaratas Village location, Tompaso, District, Central Minahasa Regency  
(Source: Bakosurtanal 2010; Author modification)

The data shows that Tumaratas village was occupied by 2892 inhabitants (Pemerintah Desa Tumaratas, 2010). The village is administratively bordered with *Desa* (village) Toure and plantation areas in the north, with *Desa* Ampreng and Tumaratas in the south, *Desa* Taraitak in the east and the forest and plantation areas of Tobasian, Amurang and Tombatu in the west.

Tumaratas' village profile can be described as being situated on a flat plain with 40% of land being on sloping areas. Houses were established along both sides of the streets (Figure 5.42). The village covers 22 ha land and comprises 8 *jaga* (neighborhoods). Land use in the village covers around 45 ha of paddy areas, 293 ha plantation areas and 925 ha being protected areas (forest) (as seen in Figure 5.43).



Figure 5.42 Aerial View of Tumaratas, and Figure 5.43 Land Use Map of Tumaratas Village  
(Sources: Google Earth; Tumaratas Village office 2011)

Tumaratas village has a variety of social institutions and supporting facilities for instance, *Balai desa* (village communal building), churches, a primary school, a kindergarten, a community health centre

(*polindesa*), a cemetery, and associated infrastructure. The environment setting is illustrated in photos at Figure 5.43 below.



Figure 5.44  
Environmental setting of Tumaratas village  
(Photographs taken 3rd June 2011 by the Author)

Interviews were applied to 12 respondents comprising 6 elders and 6 farmers. Demographic background of respondents in Tumaratas Village is summarized as follows: around 9 respondents (or 75%) were male and 3 respondents (or 25%) were female; approximately 9 respondents (or 75%) were between 60 and 80 years of age, and 25% of respondents were aged between 22 and 53. All respondents (or 100%) were born in the village as Indigenous Minahasans (the detail of respondents' demographic background can be seen in Appendix 2.14).

### 5.6.7 Pinabéténgan Village (*Desa Pinabéténgan*)

Pinabéténgan Village is located contiguous to Mt Soputan and other hilly mountains, in Tompaso District of the Minahasa Regency at co-ordinates 1°10'19.49" north latitude and 124°47'12.79" east longitude.

Pinabéténgan village profile can be described as consisting of 7 *jaga* (neighbourhood) with houses established along both sides of the streets. The land use of the village covers 560 ha consisting of 34 ha of yards, 480 ha of cultivation areas, paddy areas of approximately 30 ha, infrastructure of 9 ha, escarpment or slope areas of 8 ha, and streams of 1 ha (as shown in Figure 5.45 below).



Figure 5.45  
Land use map of Pinabétengan Village  
(Source; Pinabétengan Village office, 17th June 2011)

The Village is administratively bordered with *Desa* (village) Tompaso II and plantation areas in the north, forest and plantations in the south, with *Desa* Tonsewer in the east and *Desa* Kanonang to the west (see Figure 5.46 below)

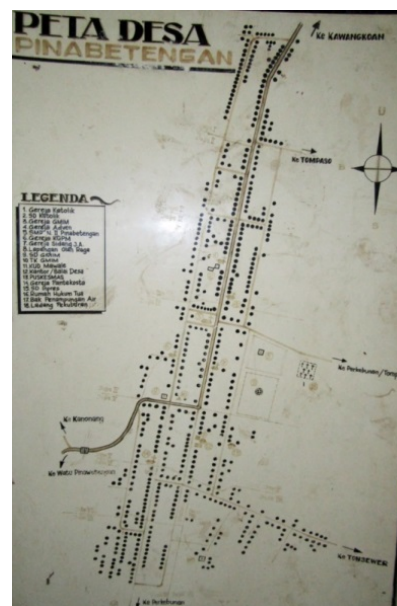


Figure 5.46  
Map of Pinabétengan Village, Tompaso District, Central Minahasa Regency  
(Photo taken at Pinabétengan Village Office, 17th June 2011)

Fieldwork was conducted over 21 days in *Desa* (village) Pinabétengan. Data were obtained during direct and participant observations of the village environment and included interviews of the local inhabitants. Selection criteria of this village were based upon its embedded tangible and intangible cultural landscapes and significant evidence of the community's local wisdoms.

Pinabéténgan village is occupied by 2988 inhabitants (Pemerintah Kabupaten Minahasa, 2011). The village has various social institutions and supporting facilities for instance, *Balai desa* (village communal building), 6 churches, a kindergarten school (TK), 3 primary schools (SD), a kindergarten school, a secondary School (SMP), a community health centre (*puskesmas*), a cemetery, open space for sports and events, as well as water tanks and associated infrastructure.



Figure 5.47  
Environment setting of Pinabéténgan village  
(Photographs taken 3rd June 2011 by the Author)

Interviews were conducted with 27 respondents. Demographic background of respondents in Pinabéténgan Village is summarized as follows: around 21 respondents (or 78%) were male and 6 respondents (or 22%) were female; approximately 14 respondents (or 52%) were aged between 60 and 83 years, and 48% of respondents were aged between 14 and 59. All respondents (or 100%) were born in the village as Indigenous Minahasans (the detail of respondents' demographic background is provided in Appendix 1.15).

In summary, this chapter gives overview as well as details of the case studies undertaken in selected villages in the Minahasa Region, and provides a general description of the potential cultural landscape to be considered, including the landscape characteristics and conditions, the live beings and associated socio-cultural aspects. The demographic background details of participants presented in this chapter have been agreed by the respondents to be published. Hereafter, the details of the demographic background of respondents are also included to give an introduction to the analysis of *genius loci* and the tangible and intangible cultural landscape analysis in Chapter 6.

## CHAPTER 6

# FIELD SURVEY RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the field survey results and analysis of *genius loci* and the cultural landscape of the Minahasan people in North Sulawesi. Using the qualitative inquiries employed, this research sought a Minahasan's worldview, their interactions to landscape and environment and in particular their knowledge of the use of land and natural resources. The researcher employed ethnographic and cultural anthropological approaches as research tools; these were rigorously utilised to explore evidence of *genius loci*, which was manifest in findings from a multitude of narrative inquiries conducted within this community.

The researcher recognizes that such analysis of evidence is arduous, and that strategies and techniques for such an undertaking are not well-defined. It was mainly the question of how to qualify the meaning of the content of responses to questions in questionnaires, interview transcripts and/or focus-group notes that challenged the researcher. Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003, p. 68) highlight that in research strategies, analysis can be extremely wide, covering both quantitative and qualitative approaches. However, it can be used as a powerful research tool to systematically analyse the data, and hence draw conclusions.

Initially, the researcher needed to comprehend the process of analyzing the qualitative data. The analysis was based upon the supposition that the use of language can disclose meanings and understanding, as well as ways of managing and seeing the Minahasan realm.

This exploratory research aimed to introduce a unified cultural resources framework for capturing Minahasan perspectives on culture and tradition. Referring to the three main research questions introduced in the Introduction Chapter, the researcher addressed those inquiries through qualitative methods. The outputs from the research resulted in the production of a cultural inventory, re-documentation of a number of digital maps, various tables, and a set of flow diagrams to encapsulate perceived cultural assets.

## 6.2 Defining *Genius Loci* in Minahasan Worldview

Questions of “what and which of the Minahasan Indigenous culture” has been expressed by various authors since 1970 (Renwarin 2007, p. 1; Siwu 2002; Wenas 2007), positing the notion that the Minahasan people do not know their own culture. Scientist Palm has strongly expressed that no other region in the Indonesian archipelago which retains its original culture is at risk of rapid disappearance as the Minahasa (Palm, 1958, p. 7). Indeed, the fact that Minahasan history has experienced rapid alterations over time due to encounters with Europeans since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the Dutch in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, has been motivating the Minahasan people to discover and enhance their customs, traditions and identity. Lundstrom-Burghoom (1981, p. 6) has suggested Minahasa as “a most fruitful region for anyone who studies the conditions of changing traditions”. However, such dynamic changes require that the researcher should more rigorously study the *genius loci* of the Indigenous Minahasan people who occupied this region to re-identify and document their Indigenous culture.

This research employs the second view point because the main issue in developing data is that it can give a genuine insight into people’s experiences. This was achieved by unstructured, open-ended and in-depth interviews. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p. 1-17) and Silverman (1993, p. 48) propose seven methodological principles related to respondent interactions, which the researcher has merged into five (as described in Table 6.1) and used them to observe people’s lives, as well as to discover their symbolic realm.

**Table 6.1**  
Interactionism’s methodological principles

| Principle   | Implication  | Example  |
|---|--|--|
| 1. Relating symbols and interaction                 | Showing how meanings arise in the context of behaviour                                       | Observation on rituals tradition   |
| 2. Taking the actors’ point of view                 | Learning everyday conceptions of reality; interpreting them through sociological perspective | Observations on a traditional agricultural practice                                      |
| 3. Studying the ‘situated’ character of interaction | Gathering data in naturally-occurring situations   | Observation of people in their living environment  |
| 4. Studying process as well as stability            | Examining how symbols and behaviour vary over time and setting                               | Observation on traditional resource management   |
| 5. Generalizing from descriptions to theories       | Attempting to establish universal interactive propositions                                   | Defining the locus of significant places (existing and potential of <i>genius loci</i> ) |

Source; Silverman 1993, p. 48, Author modification



This chapter summarizes the data obtained from respondents' perceptions and expressions about the phenomenon of place, connections to place, and their interactions and perceptions of significant cultural attributes that occur in the place. Comparative analysis was used to compare the results from selected case studies. Some 25 themes and topics in the interview question design were applied to the questionnaires (Refer to Appendix 1.3).

In analysing and synthesizing such massive and complex data sets, the researcher applied Miles and Huberman's (in Silverman, 2000, p. 142) suggestion of three concurrent flows in analyzing data: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification. Data reduction helped with the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting and transforming raw data as well as selecting data that provided initial focus. Data display entailed assembling the data into presentations of tables, matrices, graphs, networks and charts. Data display clarified the main points (and missing links) in the analysis. Verification enabled testing of the provisional conclusions for validity.

The data was extracted through coding. In qualitative research, coding, according to Strauss (1990), is divided into three kinds: open coding, axial coding and selective coding. Open coding examines the data to condense them into preliminary analytic categories. Axial coding is the next stage after open coding, which is focused upon the actual data, and selective coding is examining previous codes to identify and select data in supporting conceptual coding categories that were developed (Neuman, 2000, pp. 461-464).

### 6.3 The micro-analysis of *Genius Loci*

What follows is an outline of the findings derived from 16 selected settlements in the Minahasa region, which focuses upon addressing the three research questions mentioned in an earlier chapter. In seeking the *genius loci* information, the researcher looked at places and their cultural significance, which is defined as "area, land, landscape, building, or other work, and may include components, contents, spaces and views" (ICOMOS, 1999, p. 2).

The data obtained from the interviews are in the form of text, written words, phrases, or symbols that represent people, actions and events in social life. In establishing the interview question design the researcher grouped the interview questions into themes of *genius loci*, including cultural landscape, possessions (both tangible and intangible), human-made and natural components.

The questions asked for topics relating to behaviours – what respondents have done or are doing:

- Opinions/values – what a person thinks about the topic;
- Feelings – what a person feels rather than what a person thinks;
- Knowledge – to get facts about the topic;
- Sensory – what people have seen, touched, heard; and,
- Respondent's background/demographics – standard background questions, such as age, education, etc.

The responses of respondents are detailed in transcription records and a summary of the transcriptions is provided in Appendix-3. The interview results, the discussions and responses of individuals participating in the research demonstrated a common impulse for building a community character and place character.

The micro-analysis of *genius loci* was unpacked into three landscape and environmental settings as presented in Figure 6.0.

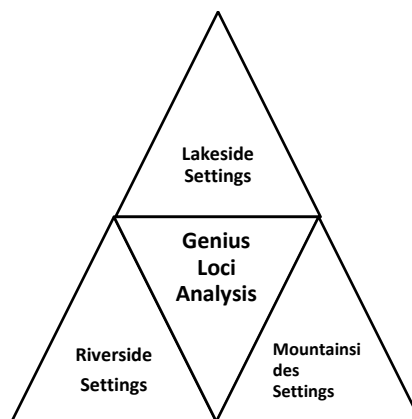


Figure 6.0  
*Genius Loci and the Landscape Settings*

Landscape characters are subject to change in Minahasan's perspectives of life and use of nature. They produce cultural possessions as well as characteristics of cultural elements over time. This analysis compared the methods of data including similarities, differences, and explanations and qualitative data.

### 6.3.1 Tracing the *Genius Loci* in the Lakeside settings

Significance of *genius loci* to the Minahasan is examined through the traditional Minahasan cultural identity in the Lake Tondano landscape and environment. Generically, ordinary landscapes, ordinary

Minahasan people and their everyday life can be found within the layers of landscape in the surrounding basin of Tondano Lake.

The landscape structure of the lakeside is dominated by several types: (1) built environment, namely urban-rural settlements, (2) semi-natural environment, for instance agriculture lands, horticulture lands and forest garden, and (3) natural environment, such as hills covered by heterogeneous forest, grassland and uncultivated land. As a representation of identity, the lake and its environment play an essential role in contributing to narratives of Minahasa. The narratives of this multi-layered landscape give meaning as representations of symbolic dimensions to place and space and of the cultural landscape, both tangible and intangible. From the pre-colonial era to the colonial era, and from the colonial to post-colonial eras, it has particular dimensions of landscape possession significance.

Evidence of *genius loci* is identified in 6 selected places as case studies, based upon the cultural landscape components, respectively: Ro'ong Village, Tolour Village, Watumea Village, Telap Village, Pelelo'an Village and Pulutan Village, as described in the following discussion. The six village locations as sub-case studies can be seen in Figure 6.1.

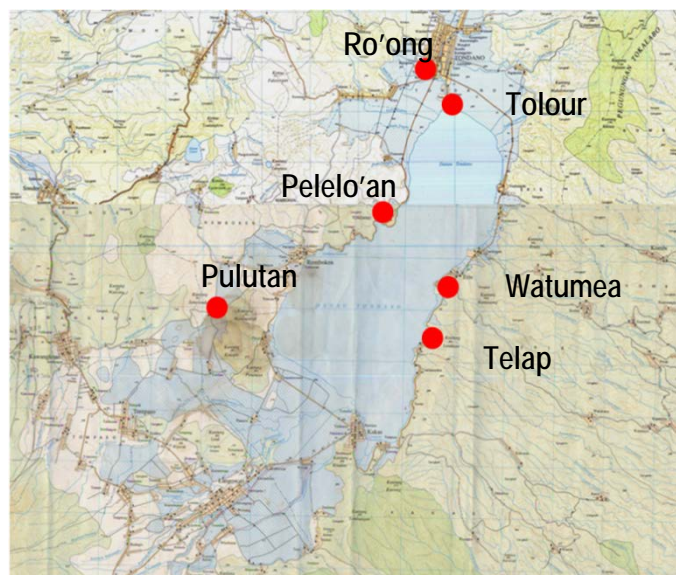


Figure 6.1  
Selected villages in the Lakeside landscape setting  
(Source of Map: Bakosurtanal Indonesia, 1991)

### 6.3.2 Tracing *Genius Loci* in Riverside Settings

The emphasis on river as a biographical unit of landscape has been described in aspects of Minahasan knowledge connected to the river and associated landforms, in which rivers mould their mindset and framework. The intention was to demonstrate the way Minahasans code ecological information in naming places and lands, and to illustrate consistencies between history, genealogy, physical landscape, and individual and community identities.

The significance of encoding the river and its associated elements derives from the Minahasan cultural landscape, proving its role as a pulse and a responsive landscape unit of their physical needs as well as spiritual life. Hence, *genius loci* may be present in both the cosmology and psychology between people and the river as an element of landscape. Minahasans appropriate part of the river and its surroundings for communicating their living places and code it into their landscape language, for example “dembet” and “lewet” (opposite - the river) are language codes of river to distinguish the two different settlement areas.

*Genius loci* are defined in Minahasan's interactions with the riverside landscape and environment in the 3 villages – Lininga'an Village, Kembuan Village, and Tanggari Village -- that are located near to Tondano River. The 3 selected villages are shown in the Figure 6.2. *Genius loci* is examined through its powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations with natural elements. Assessing the associative cultural landscapes in this setting includes large or small areas, contiguous or non-contiguous places and itineraries or other linear ways, which can possess mental images or physical aspects that are adhered to through Minahasan customs.

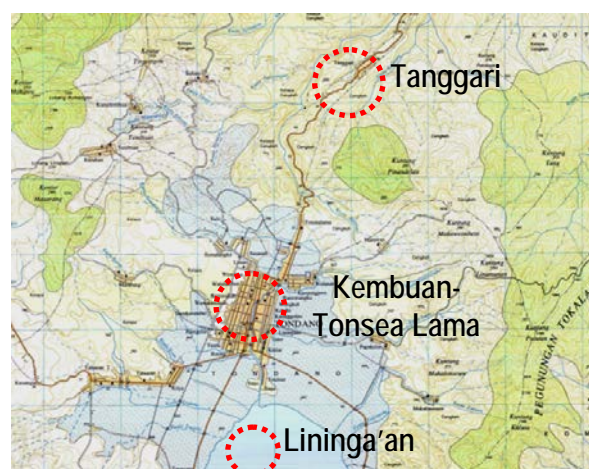


Figure 6.2  
Selected villages in the Riverside Landscape setting  
(Source of Map: Bakosurtanal Indonesia, 1991)

### 6.3.3 Tracing the *Genius Loci* in the Mountainside Settings

The other landscape settings acknowledged as places imbued with *genius loci* to Minahasans are the mountainside landscapes. The Minahasa region also includes tropical rainforests offering a living catalogue of vegetation; much of the vegetation, in particular highland and lowland, has been cleared for modified cultivation areas and settlement. These in turn are disclosed to the wave of agriculture and horticulture ventures and also land subdivision.

In contrast, the Minahasans perceive that mountains have associative values through symbolic meanings given to them. In the past, mountains were used in mythology and cosmology and therefore possessed religious meaning.

The *genius loci* evidence found in the mountainside and hillside landscapes and environments in 6 rural villages -- Makalonsouw, Rurukan, Kinilow, Tumaratas, Kakenturan, Wulurma'atus and Pinabétengan -- are shown in Figure 6.3.

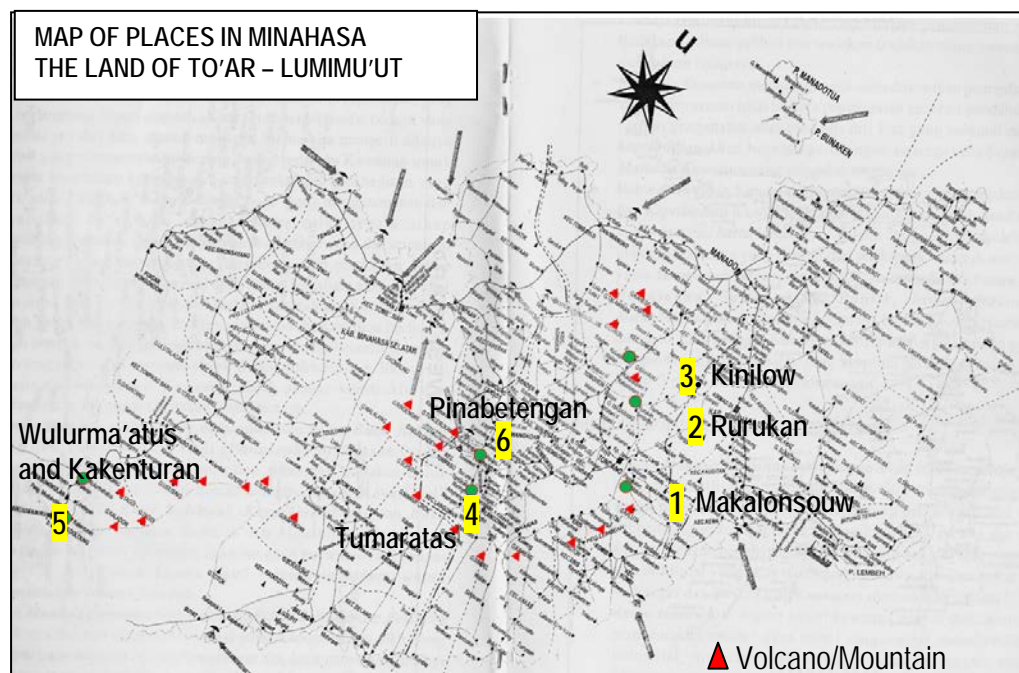


Figure 6.3  
Selected villages in the Mountainsides landscape setting  
(Source of Map: *Kerukunan Keluarga Kawanua* 2004)

Analysis of these places aims to recognise the *locus* components in the mountainside areas to testing the prevalence about their existence and continuity.

The analyses of *genius loci* upon the three landscapes and environmental settings are divided into category, sub-category and unit analysis as detailed in Table 6.2

**Table 6.2 *Genius Loci* Category and Units of analysis**

| Classification                                    | Sub-classification   | Unit of Analysis   |
|---|----------------------|--|
| The Tangible Cultural Landscape Components        | Human-made component | Place Identity   |
|   | Human-made component | Settlement Patterns  |
|   | Human-made component | Sacred Space and Place: Communal Space                     |
|   | Human-made component | Sacred Space and Place: Dwelling Space                     |
|   | Human-made component | Sacred Space and Place: Traditional Houses                 |
|   |                      | Sacred Natural places                                      |
|   | Human-made component | Artefacts  |
|   | Human-made component | Archaeological Sites                                       |
|   | Human-made component | Traditional Folkarts                                       |
|   | Human-made component | Language Territory and Boundary                            |
| Traditional Environmental Knowledge and Practices | Human made component | Ethnoecology Study: Local Traditional Knowledge            |
|   | Human-made component | Ethnoecology Study: Ethnobotanical knowledge               |
|   | Human-made component | Ethnoecology Study: Hunting and Gathering Tradition        |
|   | Natural Component    | Ethnoecology Study: Ecology and Sustainability             |
|   | Natural Component    | Ethnoecology Study: Water Resources-Water Holes            |
| The Intangible Cultural Landscape Component       | Human-made component | Believe and Spiritual System: Ancient Belief               |
|   |                      | Believe and Spiritual System: Contemporary Rites           |
|   | Human-made component | Believe and Spiritual System: Sacred Narratives            |
|   | Natural component    | Totemic Animals  |
|   | Human-Made component | Life Cycle, Kinship and Social Tradition                   |
|   | Human-made component | Spatial hierarchy relating to Kinship and Social system    |
|   | Natural Components   | The Sense of Place: Psychological Connection to Places     |
|   | Natural Components   | The Sense of Place: Mentap Map and Orientation             |
|   | Natural Components   | The Sense of Place: The Spiritual Landscape                |
|   | Natural Components   | The Sense of Place: The Power of Nature and The Wilderness |

The summation of findings on the unit of analysis on the above table can be found later in Table 7.1 in Chapter 7 (refer to page 311).

## 6.4 The Tangible Cultural Landscape Components

It is found that the tangible cultural attributes of the Minahasan in which *genius loci* pervades are places, including the naming of places, settlement patterns and vernacular architecture. The second component is sacred places, representing perceptions of belief systems, including ancestor meeting places, Indigenous past and contemporary ritual traditions, totemic animals related to belief systems, the spirit in unified landscapes, heritage artefacts and archaeological sites, and natural spring water spots. The third component is festivals, including folk arts, songs and dances. The last component is ethnoecological knowledge, including traditional agriculture, seasonal calendars, ethnobotanical practices, hunting and gathering traditions, and ecological knowledge of the forest. Cultural attributes are the expressions of richness and diversity that have become Minahasan articulations of identity, including those that are expressed through landscape character. Minahasans create their identity through experiences of individual, social and physical locations.

### 6.4.1 Place identity and Settlement Patterns

This section defines place a significant component associated with *genius loci* – it consists of place identity, living place pattern and traditional housing in the three landscape settings, respectively around the lake, near the river and adjacent to the mountains. The term *genius loci*, or the spirit of place, conveys the past mysteries about the people who lived there, and their ability to create artefacts from wood, brick or stone, the events which occurred there, the lives of past generations and flow of history. Yet, it is also an indefinable thing concerning a particular place that makes it unique. In more traditional meanings it is called guardian's spirit of place. The spirit of place may be present in many different ways (Markeviciene, 2012), where cultures have mastered the art of place-making. Such places are moulded from time-to-time in different periods and are thereby dynamic in their evolution and creation. Places formed have unique attributes that shape community life. This study has sought to distinguish the patterns of living places, including concepts and thoughts by locals, in marking and recognizing their place through their use of the characteristics of landscape features, and conditions and/or landscape elements.

#### 6.4.1.1 Place Signifier

Knowing a place as a recognizable signifier is part of a cultural component; thus any significant association to a place is part of identity. In constructing place recognition, marking a place is one of

the most integral acts of the Minahasans. Names are part of the process of attaching meaning to surroundings and have a role as sources of information. Commonly, place signifiers assemble important events, episodes and stories of inhabitants. Moreover, in most studies on Minahasan place identity, the strong bonds evident between community and places, environment, landscape and resources are important signifiers of identity.

Place identity that gives meaning to representing territory is based upon the perspectives of inhabitants who occupy the region. The Minahasan have their own perspectives based upon their perceptions of the landscape characteristics in naming places and environments. Since the ancient Minahasan era, the majority of place names in the Minahasan realm are taken from various environmental elements and features. Place names are taken from landscape elements, namely: local plants growing in certain places, spring locations, wind directions, place positions (for instance at certain altitudes), and certain words used in the traditions of building a *negeri* (*wanua* or *kampung*) (Wenas 2007; Wenas 2010).

Studies of the 6 village names and associated places exhibit the way local people earmark and name their territories of living places, as detailed in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3**  
Framework of thoughts of the local people in naming places in lakeside settings

| Village | Ways of defining the living place  | Place name   |
|---------|--|--|
| Ro'ong  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Environment feature: water flows from Mt Masarang and passes through the village area.</li> <li>Elders in the village described the village previously as a swamp area, which the people found <i>rero'ongan</i> or spawning-chicken coop.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Literally taken from <i>Salundo'ong</i>, meaning stream.</li> <li>Do'ong (<i>Tolour Language</i>) Is taken from <i>Rero'ongan</i>.</li> <li>The name <i>Do'ong</i> was changed to <i>Ro'ong</i> by the government in 1940. In 1940s the area was covered by dense trees.</li> </ul> |
| Tolour  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The landscape feature in the village is a swamp area.</li> <li>Village is located at the edge of the lake.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Is taken from local language <i>tou</i> and <i>lour</i>, (<i>tou</i> = man or people and <i>lour</i> = water).</li> <li>"man on the water"</li> </ul>   |
| Watumea | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Land in the village consists of red stones.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Watumea</i> literally means <i>watu</i>=stones and <i>mea</i>=red.</li> <li><i>Watumea</i> is known for its red stones.</li> </ul>   |



|           |   |  |
|-----------|---|--|
| Telap     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The landscape features: a place where the water flows are united in the cape area.</li> <li>• Social life representation in the past where the most of the local had livestock.</li> <li>• The connected stones (chain of stones)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The village is known as "<i>pinatulapan dano</i>" means where the two water flows/streams met.</li> <li>• <i>Pinatulapan</i> means also the united water flows from the mountain.</li> <li>• Other name of Telap is <i>tekapen</i>, representing local's social life as animal breeders.</li> </ul> |
| Pélélo'an | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A stop off place near the edge of the lake becomes a vantage point for viewing the surrounding.</li> <li>• The stones represented a couple.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Previously called "<i>wanua Pelelo'an</i>"</li> <li>• Pelelo'an means "a place for viewing the area"</li> <li>• Pelelo'an means a place to see the view.</li> <li>• Pelelo'an or <i>melelo'an</i> means everything is seen. "<i>mea pe melelo'an</i>"= seeing each other.</li> </ul>                |
| Pulutan   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The occupied land consists of a clay soil layer.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pulutan means the land contains clay or "<i>tanah lilin</i>"</li> </ul>   |

(Source: Respondents' Interview Data 2011)

The perceptions of Minahasans who live in the surrounds of the lake clearly form their Indigenous perspective based upon the landscape characteristics of the occupied region. Thus, the landscape characteristics and the nature and phenomenon of place occurring in the area then shape the mindset of the local people, so generating their spirit of living around the occupied place. This spirit of place produces the local wisdom and traditions of the local population.

In the riverside landscape setting, the case of three villages is analysed similarly in terms of the naming of places. Based on interviews, the information extracted is shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4  
Comparison of the framework of thoughts in naming places in riverside settings

| Village             | Ways of defining the living place   | Place name  |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Lininga'an          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A large tree called "sesebungen" - a species of <i>ficus</i> or banyan tree - grew near the edge of the river that flows through the area.</li> <li>• Based upon an ancient folklore, a belief in listening to the sound of sacred bird called "kembaluan" or "manguni"</li> <li>• Elders were assembled or "rimewok" to listen to the sound of the sacred bird as a message or signifier. The <i>rimewok</i> was led by "mamarimbing", a skilled person in interpreting the sound of bird.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lininga'an means "a place where people heard the sound of <i>manguni</i>".</li> <li>• Lininga'an is well-known with the term "<i>Lininga'an si ko'ko ni mamarimbing</i>".</li> </ul>   |
| Kembuan-Tonsea Lama | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The main part of landscape element found in the area was an abundance of springs and the Tondano River that flows through the area.</li> <li>• The place name has changed during a period of time together with landscape changes in the area.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Previously, the place name was <i>Rendai Wale</i> and became <i>Tiwo</i>, later becoming <i>Walantakan</i> before the Elders changed the name to <i>Kembuan</i> for the old village (<i>wanua ure</i>) and <i>Tonsea Lama</i> for the new village.</li> <li>• The name <i>Tonsea Lama</i> is based upon an original narrative: "a white chicken-bird came out from the "spring water" near <i>Kembuan</i> and went around to the Likupang region, in the northern part of Minahasa. The chicken then signified and marked the place as a good place to live. The chicken-bird perched on a native tree called <i>Sea</i>. <i>Sea</i>=tree.</li> <li>• <i>Kembuan</i> means abundant of spring water or <i>mata air</i>. <i>Kembuan</i> was named based upon a narrative story; "when a ritual is made near the spring water in <i>Kulo</i> village (another name of <i>Tiwo</i> village) a white chicken came out in the summer time and fly to the beringin tree (<i>Ficus benyamina</i>). All the spring waters in the areas are flowed from <i>Kulo</i> spring water".</li> </ul> |
| Tanggari            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past, Elders possessed a creed in listening to the message given by the sacred bird <i>manguni</i> or <i>loyot</i>.</li> <li>• The living place is located in the hill area in between the rivers.</li> <li>• Previous occupied place was in the lowland area. However, because of the wind and flood disasters the villagers moved to the hilly area. However, they dealt with the same situation and eventually moved to the current place.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The name <i>Tanggari</i> is originally taken from the word <i>tenga'ar</i> (or <i>mineke tenga'ar</i> - local language. Other said <i>timengera'ar</i>) It means they have listened to the indistinct sound of a bird in the mid day" at certain place. Elders interpreted the message as "this is the place to build and to live".</li> <li>• From the origin <i>tenga'ar</i> the Dutch change the name into <i>tenggara</i> and the last <i>tanggari</i>.</li> </ul>   |

Source: Respondents' Interview Data 2011

In the setting of mountainsides, several villages were selected that are located adjacent to Mt Makalonsouw, Mt Mahawu and Mt Masarang, Mt Lokon, Mt Sopotan and Wulurma'atus mountain ranges.

Previous evidence demonstrates that significant relationships exist between belief systems and the landscape characters in determining Minahasan living places. Minahasan who inhabit the mountainside landscapes will have a little divergence in interpreting their living place.

Table 6.5 shows the comparison of the backgrounds of Minahasan's perspectives in defining their living habitats in the 7 villages in the mountainsides setting.

**Table 6.5**  
Comparison of the framework of thoughts in defining places in mountainside setting

| Village     | Thoughts in defining the living place   | Place name and meanings  |
|-------------|---|--|
| Makalonsouw | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The awareness of the existence of a place located in the hollow valley in between the Mt Makalonsouw and Lembean mountain ranges.</li> <li>A flat land uphill on Mt Makalonsouw called <i>Wanua Ure</i> or old village, was first established and inhabited by 9 people.</li> <li>An avalanche occurred around the place, which made the people move to a reserved place in the lowland area; they named their new place <i>Wanua Weru</i>, or new village.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Makalonsouw</i> is taken from Tondano language. It has several interpretations. The first is based upon the term <i>makalo-siow</i> meaning The Nine Brothers. The Nine Brothers were regarded as gods. One of them was <i>Opo Makalonsouw</i></li> <li>The second, <i>makalo'n'so'uw</i> is taken from two ancient words: <i>makalo</i>=seeing and <i>so'uw</i>=outside, far or distance.</li> <li>The third, <i>Makalonsouw</i>, was taken from the ancient Minahasan word <i>malonsor-lonsor</i>.</li> <li>Other Minahasans called the place <i>Winowangan</i>, meaning a place to catch bats, and <i>Makalo'on se'uh</i>, meaning as far as the eyes can see.</li> </ul> |
| Rurukan     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There are few meanings attached to the name <i>rurukan</i>.</li> <li>Firstly, <i>Rurukan</i> is a stopover place when travelling from one place to another.</li> <li>Another is "a place for wild animal hunting and gathering logs".</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The origin name of Rurukan was taken from <i>ruruk</i>= handle of a spear or pike. <i>Ruruk</i> also means right side.</li> <li>Other meaning of rurukan was a place for people to stop overnight and also to collect logs or wood.</li> <li>The name was taken from a river named <i>Rurukan</i>.</li> <li>Name of Rurukan is taken also from folklore or storytelling about a hunter and his servant called <i>Ata</i>.</li> </ul>  |
| Kinilow     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The name Kinilow was originally taken from several folklores: 1) a yellow bird with a yellow bill called <i>Kilow-Kilow</i> perched in a large tree in the old village known as <i>Nawanua</i> or <i>Kinilow Tua</i>; 2) is taken from the Kinilow Tree, a yellow tree.</li> <li>The way elders interpreted the</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kinilow is derived from the short phrase <i>Wanua nimokan wiang Kinilow</i>.</li> </ul>   |

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
|              | message given by the bird and used it as signifier of a living place  |   |
| Wulurma'atus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village name is taken from a mountain name, <i>Wulurma'atus</i>. The original meaning is "a hundred mountains or mountain ranges".</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Previous name was "Fak-A"</li> </ul>   |
| Kakenturan   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Significant as the highest living place in the Minahasa region</li> <li>Kakenturan is taken from Tondano language (Romboken)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kakenturan means a higher mountain or higher place.</li> <li>Previous name was "Fak-G"</li> </ul>  |
| Tumaratas    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The place name is defined based upon perception of sound of the branches of a big tree called <i>Kayu Wetes</i>. The wind blew and caused friction between the branches, resulting in sounds, which in <i>Tountemboan</i> language were called <i>ma'taretet</i>.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Ma'taretet</i> means "the sound of branches".</li> <li>People recognize the center place of the village as <i>Kayu Taretet</i>.</li> <li>The place was used in the past for assembly and worshipped.</li> </ul>                   |
| Pinabéténgan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Based upon on historical stone called <i>Pinawetengan</i>.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pinabéténgan is originally from the word <i>weteng</i>=divide. In Langowan language the term is <i>pinerbagean</i> (<i>weteng</i> to Langowan people means genitalia of woman, so they changed it to <i>pinerbagean</i>).</li> </ul> |

Source: Respondents' Interview Data 2011

#### 6.4.2 Settlement Patterns

The second component analysis of *genius loci* was the living place as a social unit of the Minahasans through their occupancy of niches or habitats and their continuous interactions with these. Minahasans built their living places based upon their traditions. Commonly their living places comprise houses, *uma* (paddy areas), and *kobong* (drylands and wetlands for cultivation) (Siwu 2002).

The *locus* of Minahasan living place in the lakeside settings consists of *wanua/kampung* (housing settlement), *talun* (forest) and *uma* or *kobong* (cultivation area). The *uma* is divided into *kobong kering* (dry land) and *kobong pece* (paddy field). Similar environmental settings are found in the selected case studies.

In the concept of living place, *genius loci* can be used as a fundamental idea of place-making. Christian Norberg-Schulz has postulated through his work on phenomenology about the concept of dwelling space and place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). The phenomenon of the dwelling place of the Minahasan people is that they have been inherited from their ancestors. The Minahasan people have

developed places by means of applying their images and perceptions of the environmental abode. The Minahasan's orientation to landscape and environment has established a meaningful relationship with the place and space that they inhabit. The concept of Norberg-Schulz supports the development structure of places and patterns. Most places have a historical concept of first being a dwelling place for the commencement of constructing social interactions and further settlement formation.

The ancient living place of the Minahasan is called *wanua*, which means a unit of small living place occupied by a unit of family. Through historical processes, *wanua* has evolved to become a *negeri* or *ro'ong* (a village). The term *negeri* or *ro'ong* contains two elements; *wale* (house) and *tana* (land). Further, *wanua* was used to represent more than one unit of *negeri* applied entirely to the sub-ethnic groups in the Minahasa region. Hence, it can be seen that the main understanding of *wanua* as an ancient Minahasan living place represents a customary land of *pakasa'an* or sub-ethnic units, which is linked to the descendants of ancestors *Karema*, *To'ar* and *Lumimu'ut*.

Observations made on site demonstrated that each village has its own historical and narrative themes around the use of space and on how the living place is built and developed. The living place is formed based upon kinship groupings, which is represented as units of kinship. Houses as dwelling units are essential in traditional Austronesian architectural styles as a genuine invention (Waterson 1990).

In lakeside settings, settlement patterns reflect ordinary patterns. However, these have been formed through family when first established, henceforth evolving as units of families. Here the description of settlement patterns reflects the Indigenous view and the way people transform their own living spaces individually and in a neighbourhood, which in the Minahasan world it is known as "*jaga/dusun*". Neighbourhood settings in rural landscapes are more exiguous than in urban landscapes in terms of density, proximity and housing typology. The pattern and functions of villages established near the lake are shown in Table 6.6 (see next page).

**Table 6.6**  
**Comparison of settlement patterns of the 6 villages in the lakeside settings**

| Village   | Settlement pattern   | Settlement Structure  |
|-----------|--|---|
| Ro'ong    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban village form</li> <li>Linear-grids pattern</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Consists of five block of neighbourhoods (<i>jaga</i>)</li> <li>A settlement area is developed in the southern gate of the city of Tondano</li> </ul>            |
| Tolour    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban village form</li> <li>Linear pattern</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Developed along the estuary lake to the edge of the <i>Teberan Wangko</i> (huge river).</li> <li>Consist of four <i>jaga</i> or neighbourhoods.</li> </ul>       |
| Watumea   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form</li> <li>Linear pattern of the settlement houses in both sides.</li> </ul>           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The settlement is divided into two neighbourhoods; <i>amian</i> and <i>timu</i> area.</li> <li>The settlement is developed along the edge of the lake</li> </ul> |
| Telap     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form</li> <li>Linear and grid patterns of the settlement houses in both sides.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The settlement consists of six <i>jaga</i> or neighbourhoods.</li> </ul>   |
| Pélélo'an | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form</li> <li>Linear and grid pattern of the settlement houses on both sides.</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The settlement is located in the flat plain and slope area.</li> </ul>   |
| Pulutan   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form</li> <li>Linear pattern of the settlement houses on both sides.</li> </ul>           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The settlement is developed in the flat plain in between hills, comprising three community units.</li> </ul>   |

Of case studies of villages established near the river, the patterns of villages surrounding the rivers demonstrate certain characteristics that have been adapted to the landscape features (Table 6.7 – next page).

**Table 6.7**  
**Comparison of settlement patterns of the 3 villages in the riverside settings**

| Village            | Settlement pattern   | Settlement Structure   |
|--------------------|--|--|
| Lininga'an         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban village form.</li> <li>• Linear-grids block patterns in the flat area.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consists of four blocks of <i>jaga</i> or neighbourhoods.</li> <li>• A settlement area is developed in the city center of the city of Tondano.</li> </ul> |
| Kembuan-Tonsealama | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Urban – rural village form.</li> <li>• Linear-grids block patterns in the flatland area.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consists of blocks of <i>jaga</i> or neighbourhoods.</li> <li>• A settlement area is formed in the peri-urban area of city of Tondano.</li> </ul>         |
| Tanggari           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rural village form</li> <li>• Linear grid block patterns of the settlement houses on both sides, in the flatland hilly area.</li> <li>• The village is in between the river.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Consists of seven blocks of <i>jaga</i> or neighbourhood.</li> <li>• A settlement area is developed in the hilly area in between the rivers.</li> </ul>   |

Lininga'an and Kembuan villages are built on the open flat land. Interestingly, Minahasans in Tanggari have experienced natural disasters, which led to migration from their original living place to a higher elevated one. The selection of a new place was based upon elder's decision making, using a belief system and the traditional ritual of *Opo Empung*, while waiting for the message from the sacred bird. Similar ways of selecting a new place also occurred for Lininga'an and Kembuan villages.

The tradition of establishing living places in other villages adjacent to hills and mountains also demonstrates similarities, as detailed in Table 6.8 (below). The patterns, positions and forms of each place are mediated. Hence making this tradition one of the manifestations of the Minahasan worldview about the way a living place should be established.

**Table 6.8**  
**Comparison of settlement patterns and of the 7 villages in the mountainside settings**

| Village      | Settlement pattern  | Settlement Structure   |
|--------------|---|--|
| Makalonsouw  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban – rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids patterns with several block of neighbourhood (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are scattered in between the streams.</li> <li>The village is located in the hollow land of the Lembean mountain ranges.</li> </ul>  |
| Ruruan       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids patterns with several block of neighbourhood (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The layouts of houses are linear in both sides of the roads.</li> <li>It has main road access</li> <li>The village is developed in between the two mountains, Masarang and Mahawu.</li> </ul> |
| Kinilow      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Urban – rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids and cluster patterns with seven blocks of neighbourhood (<i>jaga/lingkungan</i>).</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are located in both sides of the roads with main road access.</li> <li>The village is developed adjacent to Mt Lokon, Mt Empung and Mt Mahawu.</li> </ul>                          |
| Kakenturan   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids patterns with several blocks of neighbourhoods (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are scattered in the flat area.</li> <li>The village is located in the highest open land of Minahasa.</li> </ul>   |
| Wulurma'atus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids patterns with several blocks of neighbourhood (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are located on both sides of the roads.</li> <li>The village is developed adjacent to Mt Wulurma'atus, Mt Sinonsayang and Gn Molibut.</li> </ul>                                   |
| Tumaratas    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form.</li> <li>Linear-grids patterns with six blocks of neighbourhood (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are scattered in the flat land area.</li> <li>The village is located in open land in the Mt Sopotan region.</li> </ul>   |
| Pinabéténgan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rural village form.</li> <li>Linear patterns with eight blocks of neighbourhood (<i>jaga</i>).</li> </ul>                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The houses are scattered on the flat land area.</li> <li>The village is located on open land on Mt Sopotan, Mt Manembo-nembo and Tonderukan hill.</li> </ul>                                  |

#### 6.4.2.1 Concepts in Building a Settlement

The Minahasan's possess their own concept of establishing a settlement or *wanua/negeri*. Original traditions in building a settlement (*negeri* or *wanua*) from the Minahasan worldview have been documented in several archives written in Minahasan and other languages. The Indigenous tradition and rituals of the past can be traced through the memory and knowledge of the Indigenous



Minahasan. Each sub-ethnic group has its own tradition in bulding a *negeri* or *wanua*; for example as written in the Toutemboan sub-ethnic language (Schwarz, 1907):

“A tradition of establishing a *negeri* or *wanua* is recorded through a tradition called *Tumalinga* (origin from *talinga* = listen) or listen to a good sign sounded by Manguni bird (*Ninox punctulata*). *Tona’as Manalinga*, a person who leded the ritual, counted the bird sound by breaking a stick of sugar palm tree (*seho*). The broken stick was put into a cooking pot called *kure* which made of burned clay. Then, the ritual group sought a location to place a stone as a symbol of the centre the purposed living place. The stone of the living place are called *tumotowa* (Tountemboan sub-ethnic), *pahalesan* (Tombulu sub-ethnic), *Panibe* (Tondano/Tolour sub-ethnic), *Pasela’* or *watutumou* (Tonsea sub-ethnic). There are two stones prepared by *tona’as* to be placed; the first, a standing stone represent a man and a lie down stone represent a woman. The stone can be only one stone carving like human shaped which representing man and woman. Henceforth, a pair of chicken is placed in the location to see it scraped for food while other chicken started to crow. At the spot where the chicken stared to crow the stone is placed at 9 steps facing the rising sun. At the shade of the stone is placed the cooking pot – *kure* – (Tountemboan sub-ethnic used a head of man) is placed. Afterward, from the stones as a central point, *tona’as* would signify the wind directions to build and devide *negeri* into five areas; *talikuran* (western), *sendangan* (eastern), *amian* (northern), *timu* (southern) and in the middle called *uner* as a centre of *negeri* and apply the name of *negeri* as a new living place)”.

Figure 6.4 shows the application of traditional land territory relationships of the Minahasans, found in the Watumea and Telap villages.

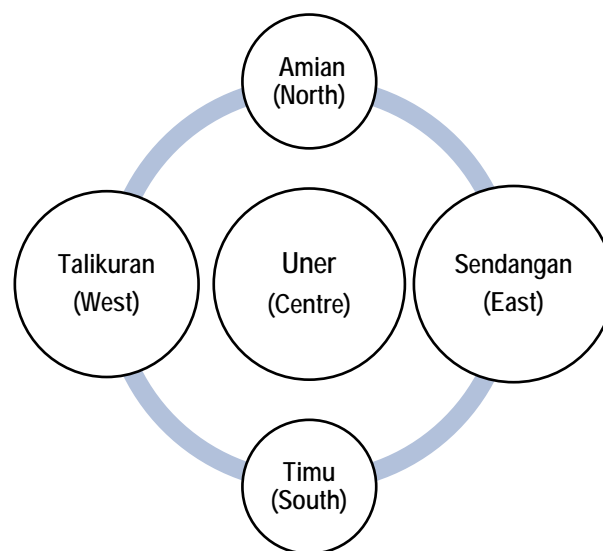


Figure 6.4  
The Traditional Concept of the Minahasan Settlement  
Source: Author 2011

Evidence found in the Watumea and Telap villages include the application and maintenance of the concept of a living place and the division of the village into *amian* (North Division) and *timu* (South Division) for their living territories. Further, this concept is also adhered to and maintained in their social customs and lives (interview and observation data, 2011). In contrast, other villages do not apply this Indigenous land division concept. The concept is influenced by a unification notion of neighbourhood or *lingkungan* in urban area and *jaga* in rural areas. The neighbourhood division is

applied in all urban and rural settlements in Indonesia. Thus, Watumea village's people show their respect to the values of the past.

The tradition of building a living place in Minahasa in the past however, in each sub-ethnic, differed according to the geographical conditions, language and customs of the Minahasan people. The concept of ancient tradition in building *wanua* or *negeri* was inherited from their ancestors. The concept of establishing a living place is found in the 16 case studies. The locals who occupied places on the edge of the Lake have little information about whether their living place was established because of a ritual tradition that occurred in the past. The establishment concepts of a *wanua* (or village) for each village are described in Table 6.9.

**Table 6.9**  
Description of Minahasans' concepts in building *wanua* or *negeri* as a unit of living place

| Place/village | Philosophy and Concept (based on respondent knowledge)   |
|---------------|--|
| Ro'ong        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The place was selected according to potential features: the village was built near a small stream passing the village, namely <i>do'ong</i>, from which former inhabitants used the water to sustain life.</li> </ul>   |
| Tolour        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village was built on the open water. The location has been recognized as Minahasan's first settlement.</li> </ul>   |
| Watumea       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village was established through a tradition called <i>tumani</i> (open a new land for cultivation). The concept of living space was taken from Minahasan Indigenous thoughts in viewing potential natural landscape elements.</li> </ul>  |
| Telap         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Former people who resided in Telap had chosen the site based on the landscape potentials and the natural resource availability.</li> </ul>  |
| Pélélo'an     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village in the past was a forest, and few people came for the <i>tumani</i> (land clearance) tradition in this area. The natural resources in the lake have altered people's ideas about who ultimately made the decision to stay and establish a new living place.</li> </ul>  |
| Pulutan       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village was built through <i>tumani</i> (land clearance) tradition.</li> </ul>  |
| Lininga'an    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village was built through a ritual called <i>mangalei</i>, meaning to ask God - <i>Opo Empung Wailan</i> - for a good place to live. The 'sacred bird' Manguni sang 9 times in a certain place near Teberan River where a large tree exists. Therefore, the Elders called the place <i>lininga'an</i> = listened to the sound of bird.</li> </ul>   |
| Kembuan       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village is known as <i>wanua ure</i> or old village.</li> <li>Kembuan was established through the ritual of <i>Opo Empung</i> conducted by Elders when a white bird or <i>koko putih</i> came out of spring water in Kulo, a grassy area, and flew to a <i>Walantakan</i> tree in the village. The place where the bird perched and sang 9 times was believed to be a message to stay, live and built a settlement.</li> </ul>  |
| Tanggari      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This village has been moved 3 times. First settlement was in the lower land area covered by bamboo trees, called <i>Kayu Pute</i> in <i>Timu</i> (east) of Saduan River. After twice experiencing disasters, the Elders moved to the highland in Wukit, an area covered with <i>rote</i>, or rattan trees, which was good for building roofs. However, the uncomfortable weather (strong winds), the distance from water</li> </ul> |

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
|                                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>resources, and also a creed that Wukit was imbued with negative spirit forces made the Elders move to another area. A ritual in the middle of the day was made to get guidance from the <i>manguni</i> bird. The place where the Elders heard the sound of Manguni became a village. The name Tenggari is derived from the word <i>tenga'ar</i> or <i>timenga'ar</i> = listen to (the sound of bird, in the middle of the day).</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Makalonsouw</b>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The previous location of the village was in <i>wanua ure</i> (old village) in the hill and slopes area. A group of people built the village and named it <i>makalo siouw</i> because they were 9 people (<i>siouw</i>=nine). Later, because of natural disasters, they moved to the lower land to <i>wanua weru</i> (new village) and named the place Makalonsouw. The word Makalonsouw is derived from <i>makalo so'uw</i> – <i>makalo</i>= seeing and <i>so'uw</i> = outside/far distance.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Rurukan</b>                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Previously the village was a dense forest area. Farmers who passed the area used it as a stop over before they continued their trip. The place is also an area for hunting and collecting wood (<i>ruruk</i>= collecting pieces of wood to make fire). In 1948 it became a village.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Kinilow</b>                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kinilow was previously located near a stony area adjacent to Mt Lokon. The old village was known as <i>nawanua</i>, and contained spring water. However, an epidemic disease and conflagration occurred and destroyed the village. The Elders decided to re-build the village in another place. The place where the Elders heard sounds and message of the <i>Kilow-Kilow</i> bird, where a large tree stood, then became a settlement.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Tumaratas</b>                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The village was formed through the <i>tumani</i> tradition near Ranolesi stream in a sloping area. Later, the people moved to the flat land. Near a big tree named <i>kayu wetes</i> people gathered and conducted prayer and listened to the sound of branches when the wind blew. The place became a settlement and the Elders gave the name <i>ma'taretas</i> = listen to the sound of branches.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Pinabétengan</b>                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A group of people came and opened up cultivation lands, or <i>tumani</i>, in this area; until 1904 the village was officially governed.</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>These villages were built due to migration of Minahasan people from the Kakas and Romboken districts in Tondano after a big earthquake occurred. The land is surrounded by mountains and is also adjacent to Moat Lake, which has potential for cultivation.</li> </ul>   |

Source; Respondents' Interview data 2011 by the Author

According to the primary data collection detailed in above the table, the philosophy and concepts of Minahasan's in establishing their living areas are based upon:

- Potential Landscape features and natural resources availability; in particular water resources;
- *Tumani* tradition – open new land for cultivation; and,
- Credo tradition and ancient belief system.

The Minahasans also signify boundaries of the *wanua*/village with stones, or "*batu penjuru negeri*", as a symbol when they establish *wanua* or settlement through ceremonial rites (Schwarz, 1907; Taulu, 1981, p. 12). Stones are placed in *amian* (North) – *timu* (South) alignments. *Wanua* in Minahasa, in particular for the main sub-ethnic groups, involves different terms and types of signifier stones, namely: *Watu Panibe* – Tolour sub-ethnic; *Watu Tumou* – Tonsea sub-ethnic; *Watu Pahlalesan* – Tombulu Sub-ethnic; and, *Watu Tumotowa* – Tontemboan sub-ethnic (Wenas, 2010, p. 15), as detailed in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10**  
Type of marker of boundary in tradition of building a *wanua*/negeri or settlement

| No | Main Sub-ethnic | Signifier of settlement boundary | The Symbol Stone  |
|----|-----------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1  | Tolour/Tondano  | <i>Watu Panibe</i>               |   |
| 2  | Tonsea          | <i>Watu Tumou</i>                |  |
| 3  | Tombulu         | <i>Watu Pahlalesan</i>           |  |
| 4  | Tontemboan      | <i>Watu Tumotowa</i>             |  |

Source of Photographs: (1 and 4) Author, (2) R.Taroreh, (3) J. Sondakh

#### 6.4.2.2 Communal Space

Minahasans traditionally assemble together both as small and large groups of people and mark their communal space. The Minahasans use communal spaces to assemble and communicate using a traditional way that occurs in a place. Their practices in interactions and conveying messages are very subjective and are related to their social value system. Minahasan people display their traditional communication values through building and maintaining mutual working co-operation in cleaning their environmental surroundings and also in supporting the social tradition known as *mapalus*. As in the past, The Minahasan people used the front yard of their *kumtua*, or village leader's house, or assembled in a large house called *bangsal* or *lekouw paruran*, a traditional semi-opened building, to undertake *mapalus* or co-operative work.

In past social interaction, the Minahasan people used a tradition called *palakat* to communicate between leaders, which was represented by *kepala jaga* (head of neighbourhood) and the community. *Palakat* is an announcement of message(s) to the people in a local language. In urban areas *palakat* has slowly disappeared. However, this tradition in rural or inland Minahasa has not totally disappeared in Minahasan social life.

*Palakat* tradition was a way of conveying messages to the community in the past, using traditional tools known as *tetengkoren*. *Tetengkoren* is a piece of wood or bamboo which was used as a symbol of a socio-cultural component; other villages may have different materials and names for this tool (as described in Table 6.11). Both in urbanized and rural areas, the megaphone or *toa* is an alternate tool to convey social messages to the community. Minahasans who still appreciate their social values still practice this tradition of mutual co-operation in traditional agricultural practices.

Evidence gained from the case studies has highlighted similar ways in the interactions and use of communal spaces within the built forms the Minahasan have created. The Minahasan communities residing in lakeside areas use their space through the meanings of "unwalled building" and "a meeting hall". In some instances, *bangsal* and large *sabua* refer to communal spaces, as well as the house yard for built forms (houses and other facilities).

Evidence of communal space as a space for social interactions and media for the Minahasans to communicate in the traditional way is shown in Table 6.11 (see next page).

**Table 6.11**  
**Comparison of the Minahasans' traditional communal space functions**

| Village                                   | Communal Spaces (past and current)   | Purposes   | Traditional Announcement Tools   |
|---|--|--|--|
| Ro'ong, Lininga'an, Kinilow Tumaratas     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front yard of the village leader (<i>kumtua</i>)</li> <li>• <i>Bangsal</i> or <i>lekouw paruran</i> (large semi-open house)</li> <li>• Balai Pertemuan or community building</li> <li>• Church</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation or <i>kerja bakti</i> in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• Prepared for conducting <i>Mapalus</i> (mutual aid) in the farm</li> <li>• Deliver a message of death</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tetengkoren</i></li> <li>• <i>Tong-tong</i></li> </ul>   |
| Tolour, Kembuan-Tonsea Lama               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front yard of the village leader / <i>kumtua</i></li> <li>• <i>Bangsal</i> or <i>lekouw paruran</i> (large shelter)</li> <li>• Community centre</li> <li>• Church</li> </ul>                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• Prepared for conducting <i>Mapalus</i> (mutual aid)</li> <li>• Deliver a message of death</li> </ul>                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tetengkoren</i></li> <li>• <i>Tong-tong</i></li> </ul>   |
| Watumea, Makalonsouw                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Huge and spacious yard of the village leader / <i>kumtua</i></li> <li>• <i>Bangsal</i> or <i>Lekow Paruran</i> (large shelter)</li> <li>• Meeting Hall</li> <li>• Church</li> </ul>                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• Prepared for conducting <i>Mapalus</i></li> <li>• Deliver a message of death</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> wood</li> <li>• <i>Tetengkoren</i></li> <li>• Old Bell</li> </ul>                      |
| Telap, Pinabéténgan                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• House yard</li> <li>• <i>Bangsal</i></li> <li>• School yard</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• A religious event</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> wood/ bamboo</li> <li>• Megaphone</li> </ul>   |
| Pélélo'an                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front yard of the village leader / <i>kumtua's</i> house</li> <li>• <i>Bangsal</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Human voice (the announcer)</li> </ul>  |
| Pulutan, Tanggari Wulurma'atus Kacenturan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Front yard of the village leader / <i>kumtua</i></li> <li>• Balai Desa or community centre</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Work co-operation in cleaning the environment</li> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i></li> <li>• Deliver social message</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> wood/ Bamboo</li> <li>• <i>Tetengkoren</i></li> <li>• Megaphone/ <i>toa</i></li> </ul> |

Source; Respondents' Interview data 2011 by the Author

Minahasans' social interactions and connection to the land are expressed in communal spaces as a result of their social system. Interview data gained from the elders demonstrates robust answers and recollections of past experiences and feelings when they were involved and practiced the traditions, and also when they assembled in temporary communal spaces in the village.

The Minahasans assembly spaces also occurred and manifested in some significant open spaces; for instance the open space in Liningaan, Tondano. This open space has been used for cultural, social and political events since European colonization.



Figure 6.5: The past use of communal open space in Dutch colonization era: (left) a celebration for a visit from Dutch Governor A.C.D de Graeff in Tondano in 1927, located in Lininga'an village; (right) a celebration of the opening of Walter's Plein in 1906 (photos source: KTILV Leiden)

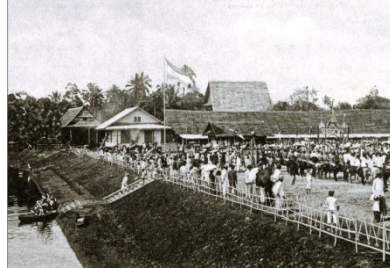


Figure 6.6: Current condition of communal open space in Tondano. The open space has been used for events on many occasions (photograph by the Author 2011).

Other communal place that gives meaning to the community is a place called *Togela-Tobeke-Tambelang*, a meeting place for farmers, located in Ro'ong Village (shown in Figures 6.7). The place provides a social interaction place amongst farmers, and also contains a spring water holes that flows towards Tondano Lake. The social and ecological values of this place are considered the *locus* environment in the village.



Figures 6.7: *Togela-Tobeke-Tambelang* is a significant meeting place of Ro'ong farmers, located in *sawah* area (photographs taken by the Author in 2011)

Communal spaces historically held profound meanings for the Minahasa which bound and united them to their place and land environment. Hence such places became a cultural space where *genius loci* was embedded in their social system.

### 6.4.3 Sacred Space and Place

It is important to gain understanding of the sacred in order to interpret ancient Minahasan philosophical thinking on sacred places and spaces. The word “sacred” is derived from the Latin *sacer*, “to make holy, which is set apart from the ordinary world” (Pearsall, 1999). The term *sacer* is closely related to *numen*, a presiding spirit or deity, and is connected to veneration and awe; there are various traditions examples around the world of religious traditions associated with the correlation of places, sites and objects around the concept of *sacer*. The Romanian scholar of religion, Mircea Eliade, in his book *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion* (1959) defined the sacred as space, time and cosmology, drawing upon Emile Durkheim’s identification of the distinction between sacred and the profane as characteristics of all religious beliefs. He viewed sacred places as a place where the three cosmic levels – earth, heaven and underworld – come into contact with each other and are represented (Eliade, 1959, p. 13-14). Eliade also postulated the *hierophany* concept to describe the particular character of place as a manifestation of something sacred; being, to believers, a divine place that was inhabited by spirits and gods and other powerful primeaval forces beyond human comprehension. Scholars from the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, archaeology and architecture have used Eliade’s paradigm of *hierophany* (Brereton, 1987, p. 525-35), even though to some extent this concept has not received universal acceptance (Simmins, 2008, p. 8).

Studies on ethnicity around the world have recorded that most ethnic cultures possess a concept of sacredness and a strong belief in the concepts of cosmogenesis, or origins of the world, in places that are vertically connected to heavens, for instance hills and mountains. Either physical or symbolic, many religions associate sacred spaces with their founders’ lives and actions, which represent the centre of the universe (Simmins, 2008, p. 9). However, many Indigenous people extend the concept of sacredness to the whole of their land, pointing to a different understanding of sacred and sacredness (Maddock, 1983). More interestingly, ‘sacred’ revolves around the notion of threshold and precinct, for example Mt Sinai, a place where God communicated to his people; The Holy of Holy, the inner most shrine of the Jewish temple; Aboriginal peoples’ belief that a certain place was sacred because of being touched by the Creator, and others.

In this section, the *genius loci* of the Minahasa is examined through three Indigenous concepts of place: communal space, dwelling space and its Indigenous cultural perspectives in building a living space, and sacred sites. These components are respectively analysed in the following sections.



### 6.4.3.1 Dwelling Space

The Indigenous Minahasans' dwelling space is questioned by local scholars as to whether Minahasans do have a vernacular form of living place, space or architecture. While the contemporary term "vernacular architecture" is a very common one, and in some places parallel with the term "anonymous architecture", in the social context it refers to a product belonging to a low class of the community (Priotomo, 1988; Rogi, 2009).

In qualifying Minahasan *genius loci*, the researcher examined contemporary and period dwelling spaces or houses that still exist and documented their folk architecture forms and the philosophical understanding involved in building these living places *Genius loci* includes the concept of dwelling place. Indigenous thoughts in building a dwelling house can be defined and informed by conserving this significant component of architecture as an integral part of Minahasan cultural identity.

A dwelling from architectural and anthropological perspectives can alter rapidly or can maintain existing styles and continuity over long periods (Waterson, 1990; Humprey, 1988). Anthropologists study the origin of dwelling houses using anthropological methods. Schefold (2008) has outlined four approaches to determining vernacular architecture: (1) Rationalistic approach; a factor-analysis postulated by Amos Rapoport, which understood houses as personal units, in whatever culture, that are the accumulation of various and different formations; (2) Socio-cultural factors; an analysis framework of L.H Morgan applied to a house forms based upon the patterns of cultural behaviour, values and worldviews, within which Morgan combined the evolution of family structure and the social evolution of humans; (3) Symbolic Conceptions; that Griaule and Dieterlen clearly define as an important paradigm in culture that sees cosmology concepts as essential in housing construction, for example the dogon huts in Mali (Egenter, 2005); (4) Multiple factor thesis; formulated by Schefold that emphasized traditions in defining house form. These approaches offer different understandings in describing vernacular dwellings.

A dwelling house from the Minahasan's perspective is called *wale* or *bale* (Schouten, 1983, p.18; Gillespie, 2000, p. 6). Gillespie described *wale* as a group of individuals associated with a spatial *locus* as a dwelling place which represents social connections, economics, politics and rituals, which can be permanent or temporary. Waterson also opined about housing in Southeast Asia as being a microcosm that expresses in layout, structure and relief the natural and social order concepts; thus house and settlement reflect information codes (Waterson, 1990, p. xvii).

A very traditional Minahasan dwelling place was a shelter called *sabua*/*popollekou*/*terung* that functioned as a shade space, providing for rest and cooking, as well as storing the harvest or crops before being taken into the house or *wanua*/village (Rogi, 2009). In building a dwelling house or *sabua*, the Minahasan used bamboo or grasses in preference to timber or wood. *Sabua* is made of various roof materials, for instance *kun* or *kusu-kusu* or *ilalang*, kinds of wild grasses, and palm leaves called *katu bobo* for low income families, and palm leaves called *katu* which are taken from the *sagu* tree or *Tewasen* tree for middle-class families (as shown in Figure 6.8)

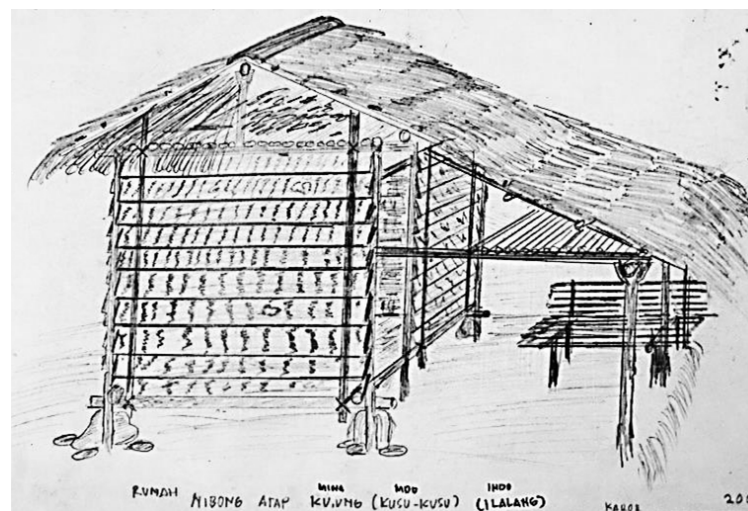



















Figure 6.8  
Nibong house – ku'ung, made from kun/kusu-kusu/ilalang  
(sketched by Franklin Sondakh, July 2012)

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century most dwelling houses in the Minahasa region were a type of *sabua*, and these could be found in settlements and plantation areas in the selected case study villages. Types of *sabua* as dwelling houses are in Table 6.12 (see next page).

Table 6.12 Sample Type of *Sabua* (shelter) of the Minahasans

| Village | Example type of dwelling space  | Description  |
|---------|---|--|
| Ro'ong  |    | <p><i>Sabua/Tewu</i> located in <i>kobong</i> (dryland area). The wall is made of bamboo and the roof is made of <i>tewasen</i> leaves (local plant).</p> <p>A shelter/<i>sabua</i> in <i>paddy</i> area (wetland), which functions as dwelling house.</p> |
| Tolour  |   | <p>A dwelling in the open water. The construction is of <i>tewasen</i> leaves and bamboo.</p>  |
| Watumea |  | <p>Example: shelter/<i>sabua</i> in the open lake water. The roof is made of sago tree and the wall is made of <i>seho</i> tree. It functions as a viewing and resting place.</p>  |
| Telap   |  | <p>Different type of shelter/<i>sabua</i> built in the open water. The roof is made of <i>tewasen</i> leaves.</p> <p>A shelter located in plantation area (<i>kobong</i>) which functions as a dwelling place.</p>   |

|                 |  |  |
|-----------------|--|--|
| Pelelo'an       |   | Type of shelter/ <i>sabua</i> , built in settlement area ( <i>kampung</i> ) made of split bamboo; the roof is made of zinc.  |
| Pulutan         | <br> | Types of <i>sabua</i> in plantation area. <i>Sabua</i> is made of <i>tewasen</i> leaves and the wall is made of a mix of bamboo and wood materials.<br><br>This shelter functions as a dwelling space with a bedroom, living room, kitchen and side space for a child. |
| Lininga'an      |    | Type of shelter/ <i>sabua</i> , built in urban settlement area. The walls are made of timber and the roof is made of zinc.   |
| Kembu'an-Tonsea |   | Types of <i>sabua</i> in plantation area. <i>Sabua</i> is made of pieces of bamboo material and is for storing crops.  |
| Tanggari        |   | Shelter located in plantation area which functions as a dwelling place, with a bedroom, living room and kitchen. A <i>para-para</i> for washing kitchen equipments is placed outside of the shelter.   |
| Makalonsouw     |   | Type of <i>sabua</i> for resting and also a living place, located in plantation area. The construction is of bamboo and <i>tewasen</i> leaves.   |

|              |   |   |
|--------------|---|---|
| Rurukan      |    | Type of <i>sabua</i> for resting place, located in plantation. The walls are made of bamboo and the roof is made of pieces of timbers.  |
| Kinilow      |    | Type of <i>sabua</i> for resting place, located in plantation area. It is built of partial walls and the roof is made of zinc materials.  |
| Kakenturan   |    | Type of <i>sabua</i> for resting and living space with a bedroom and kitchen, located in plantation area. It is built of partial walls and the roof is made of zinc materials.  |
| Wulurma'atus |   | Type of simple individual <i>sabua</i> for resting place, located in plantation area ( <i>kobong pece</i> ). The roof is made of bamboo and pieces of timbers and has no walls. |
| Tumaratas    |  | Types of shelter/ <i>sabua</i> , built in urban settlement area. The walls are made of bamboo and the roof is made of zinc.   |
| Pinabéténgan |  | Type of <i>sabua</i> , located in plantation area. The walls are made of bamboo and the roof is made of zinc materials.   |

Source of Photographs: Author 2011, 2012

Based upon the above typology of shelters, the *wale* or *bale* of the Minahasans can be divided into several categories, described in Table 6.13.

**Table 6.13**  
**Type of *wale/bale* in Minahasa region and the use of local natural resources**  
 (Source: Respondents' Interview data 2011 by the Author)

| Type of house         | Floor       | Walls element and material   | Roof element and materials  | Location  | Function   |
|-----------------------|-------------|--|---|---|--|
| <i>Sabua</i>          | Soil ground | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• bamboo or</li> <li>• wood beams</li> </ul>        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• attic</li> <li>• <i>tiang rajal</i> main roof structure</li> <li>• ridge materials: bamboo, sago leaves</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plantation areas</li> <li>• Village</li> <li>• Mostly low income family</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dwelling house</li> <li>• Rest</li> <li>• Crop storage</li> </ul> |
| <i>Terung or Tewu</i> | Soil ground | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• without walls</li> </ul>                          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• coconut leaves,</li> <li>• sugar palm leaves or</li> <li>• <i>woka</i> leaves</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plantation areas</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rest</li> <li>• Crop storage</li> </ul>                           |
| <i>Lawi</i>           | Soil ground | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• bamboo or</li> <li>• fine plaited wood</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• main roof structure or <i>tiang raja</i></li> <li>• ridge materials: bamboo, sago leaves, <i>woka</i> leaves,</li> <li>• coarse grasses and binders with rattan or <i>ijuk</i>.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Plantation area</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dwelling house</li> <li>• Rest</li> <li>• Crop storage</li> </ul> |

Simple examples of dwelling house *wale* or *bale* in Minahasa are still built using traditional knowledge and local resources and materials. These extant models offer local cultural perspectives in building a dwelling space according to the local community's functions and needs. However, the Minahasans have spiritual connections with these living places that can be traced through the tradition of building houses, as discussed in the following section.

#### 6.4.3.2 Cultural Perspectives in Building a House

The Minahasan cultural perspectives are manifested in their tradition of building a living place, where *genius loci* is associated with a spiritual psychological connection between people and their dwelling place and space, as documented in selected villages around the lake:

- Evidence expressed by several respondents in Ro'ong Village reflects this old tradition in house building called *mangalei*. This tradition includes providing a chicken and 'sacred' plant *tawa'ang* for use in rejecting demonic spirits and protecting from disasters or bad luck through a prayer to the God (in Tondano language). There was also a ritual known as

*masambo*. During part of *masambo*, a ritual of *sirang gunting* was applied by using *cap tikus*, traditional liquor made of the palm sugar tree (*seho* tree). *Seho* or *akel* tree is believed to be a sacred plant that traditionally has been used in rituals by Minahasan ancestors in the past. *Cap tikus* is splashed into each of the four main corner columns of the house. The aim, according to the beholders, was to make the column stronger (Interview respondent, 2011). Thus, after installing the roof they put a flag on the top meaning that the house construction was finished. This tradition continued until the 1980s. This house is also part of family heritage because it was built by co-operation in a tradition known as *mapalus*.

- In a different Minahasan tradition, local people in Watumea village express their knowledge of rituals or ceremonies in establishing a house:

“When people built traditional houses in the past, they used to put a plate under the stone column – the column was about 1m height - on the right of a piece of land. A *tona’as* led the rite and put offerings, such as ginger, rattan, nutmeg and a piece of red material to the plate. According to their belief, ginger was a favorite food of the “unseen” spirits – literally the spirit of a death person.

The ritual purpose was to ask the God and the goddess to protect people and the house. In the rite, the *tona’as* prayed in *Tolour* language. Afterward, they put two plates upside down together with the coin under *batu tulen* -- the first stone --. The tradition was called *tradisi panguluan*. The meaning of this tradition was to get blessing for the house and the family. *Panguluan* tradition represents as symbol of hope” (Interview respondent data, 2011)

- A Minahasan perspective in building a dwelling house in Telap village was also obtained from narrative and the experience of elders. It describes that people have their Indigenous ways of carrying out ritual tradition since the 19th century, as follows:

“Elders of the village provided offerings, such as an animal to be sacrificed - a dog, chicken or pig -, scrap materials and coins to put on the right side of the first placed stone. Henceforth, an elder asked *tona’as* to lead the ritual. In the past, Minahasans used *saguer*, a kind of juice taken from *seho* tree (palm sugar tree).

Then, a certain person made his body possessed the spirit of ancestor as a medium. *Tona’as* prayed to *Opo Empung Amang Pinasungkulan* while he read a prayer in local language to bless the ‘*goulanne oki*’ or house (*goulan*=house). In the prayer, *tona’as* mentioned *pinawaluan* to represent eight wind angles, symbolized as eight wind powers to protect the house from destruction.

After placing the scrap materials and the coins in the hole, they cut the dog or pig and took the blood to put into one of the holes. When the rite was finished, *tona’as* distributed the animal’s meat to the people who attended. After the house constructions were finished, the *tona’as* climbed to the top of the house and installed a flag. He waved the flag three times and bounded into the main beam, which means “victory”. The main beam was splashed with *cap tikus*.

The ritual of building a house in Telap is followed by *sumolo* tradition before people occupy new house. In *sumolo* tradition, Minahasans performed *rumamba* dance. When the house was finished, the *Sumolo* tradition is done when installing the roof. The roof is made of leaves of *tewasen* tree (a kind of palm tree). In this tradition, Minahasans sang *rumamba*, a traditional song while drink *saguer*. *Tuasan* in the song lyric means give us *cap tikus* while they were dancing, walking around the house while singing:

"Mae mo rumamba ee, e kawanua.  
 Rumamba, rumamba, rumamba waya  
 Rumamba e makewale  
 Tuasan tuasan tuasan waya  
 Tuasan ni sopi ee meke wale"

(Narrative gained from interview with Telap respondent 2011)

- On another part of Lake Tondano in Pelelo'an village, the tradition is simply executed by the placement of the first stone by a priest and accompanied by prayer. Interestingly, in Pulutan village the community would ask the village leader and Elders to make a rite. Materials used for offerings included cooked rice wrapped in leaves, traditional liquor *cap tikus* put in cups made of bamboo, and cigarettes or tobacco. A respondent recalled Elders speaking a prayer in Tolour ethnic language: "O Ina o ama", *Ina Wangko, Inaya o ama, Inang o Amang Kasuruan, satoro, malindung-lindungan tentumo'on ni tanpa wiang tana' ni'i* ("O God Almighty, God the Creator, protect this house and the place where they live"). The rite was closed with a prayer and a meal celebration, often including a ceremonial rite with the *tewa'ang* plant (known as *pepo'po*). *Pepo'po* was placed on a piece of bamboo and piled in the middle of the space where the columns were to be poled. Other communities performed this rite in different ways by placing *pepo'po* on the right of the land while or by planting it in the corners. *Pepo'po* is used as a symbol of protection from bad situations and things for the house, as a mark of respect for the previous owners, and to protect the house from evil spirits. Ultimately, a flag is installed on the main beam as a sign that the house is completed.

Another function of *pepo'po* was for land division, both in settlement areas and in plantation areas. In the village, placing *tewa'ang* plant as *sipat*, or demarcation, between private lands must be done by Elders. Minahasans in Telap village believed that a man could not remove or displace plants recklessly except by calling to an ancestor's spirit to avoid consequences like illness or death.

A dwelling house in the past was imbued with metaphysical rules or traditional rules that were understood and applied in relation to space orders, space circulation, detailed constructions and the installation of doors and windows, for which the reasons were based upon symbolic meanings. For instance, when placing the main columns or *tiang raja* - the main columns of the roof structure - it is prohibited to install them above the front and back doors; ventilation and windows should be one axis that is connected to the outside of the house. The Minahasa believe that when a spirit comes into a house through a window, it



comes directly out through opposite openings. This perspective was also applied to the installation of front stairs. In timber construction, both floor and beam planks should be placed following the growth direction or grain of the wood fibre. This rule is also applied to the horizontal joint installation for the joint beams of the structure (Graafland, 1898; Schwarz, 1907; Wenas, 2007). For years this tradition in Minahasa was adhered to by Elders, hence making it an integral local wisdom for the Minahasan.

Similar traditional ways are demonstrated in 3 villages established in riverside settings near Tondano River. The traditions and local wisdom inherited from their ancestors was attached to the people as detailed in Table 6.14.

**Table 6.14**  
Description of traditions in building houses in the 3 villages in riverside settings

| Village    | Local traditional knowledge of inhabitants based upon experiences, witness and telling of hereditary narratives   |
|------------|---|
| Lininga'an | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Before establishing the house, an Elder <i>tona'as</i> led a rite called <i>Masambo</i> followed by <i>Mangalei</i>, a prayer to ask <i>Opo Empung Wailan, Opo Sawangani</i> - the God of blessings. (Interview Respondent 02- see Appendix 4.7)</li> <li>• When a house was built in traditional way called <i>mangalei</i>, it was followed by <i>Sumolo</i> tradition or ceremony to signify the time to occupy a house or <i>nae rumah baru</i>. In <i>Sumolo</i> tradition they danced and sang <i>Maengket</i> while jumping and kicking to test the house structure and its soundness. (Interview Respondent 03- see Appendix 3.7)</li> <li>• In the ritual ceremony the leader <i>tona'as</i> used <i>tawa'ang</i> leaves as a symbol and prayed in Tolour language. The <i>tona'as</i> walked around the site - followed by the people - while evicting the demonic spirits with the <i>tawa'ang</i>. The <i>tawa'ang</i> was planted in the corners of the lot or in the place where the house would be built. This tradition is similar to the contemporary tradition of "placing the first stone". Past tradition used a pig's head as an offering, placing it on a plaited bamboo plate or <i>sosiru</i> together with a handful of rice, <i>saguer</i> juice, betel leaves (<i>sirih</i>) and <i>areca</i> fruit. The offerings were to call the <i>opo/tete</i>, the dead person's spirit who previously owned the land which was believed reside the place - according to the beholders. They were called "<i>se meketampa, se mena</i>" (<i>mena</i> = reside). The <i>tona'as</i> prayed; "<i>O tete, ka'ne pa' ator ni'l te wa'ali wali'ah tapi ka'amo tetawi</i>" (translated as: "O tete, we will start the ritual, please come but do not come closer!") After the rite was done, the pig was distributed and eaten by the people who attended the rite. After placing the first stone, a plate and coin were put into the bore, while the <i>tona'as</i> prayed to the <i>opo</i>: "<i>E tu'a, ne'i pe, tua ne taranak, tu'a! ne'ipe, pe mewali-wali ka kumadungen ne puyun</i>" (translated as: "come and see, oh <i>dotu</i>, see our children and grandchildren who are in need"). "My personal opinion that the tradition, even though this tradition was disappeared because of the Christianity and modern technology influences, however, about 5-10% of the contemporary community in this village still practice this tradition in bondage with the Minahasan ancient ethnic religion" (Interview Respondent 04 - see Appendix 3.7)</li> <li>• Another respondent recalls that before people built a house, the materials (timbers) were splashed with <i>cap tikus</i>, a traditional liquor. The timber was put in the right direction and the tips were installed against each other. The main columns (<i>tiang raja</i>) were also splashed with <i>cap tikus</i> liquor before installing the roof or <i>mafana</i>. "I think the purpose might be for chasing termites, and to my view, all the tradition were</li> </ul> |

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|                     | <p>done for positive values. Hereafter, the structure' connection between the timbers were installed with 2-5 mm space or gap to maintain the endurance and strength. Thus, when people enter the house, it was seemed unstable and resulted noise." (Interview Respondent 05- Appendix 3.7)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In relation to the ancient creed, in one ritual the people used incenses and took a piece of timber material that would be used to build the house and burned (or <i>fufu</i>) together with the incenses before using it. The columns were built by craftsmen or <i>bas</i>. The ritual was led by Elders. After <i>fufu</i> tradition, the elder took <i>tawa'ang</i> and planted it at the 4 corners of the lot to protect it from the demonic spirits (Interview Respondent 06- Appendix 3.7)</li> <li>• "This house for example was arranged and built in traditional way. They placed silver coin or Ringgit, and 2 porcelain plates into the hole and covered with soil before placing the first stone. The purpose was for welfare of the occupants (money, water and other needs). After installing the main structure (<i>tiang raja</i>), a flag was put on the top to give sign that the heavy works was accomplished. Later, the <i>tiang raja</i> was splashed with <i>sopi/cap tikus</i> for strengthening the structure (according to the beholder)". (Interview Respondent 10- Appendix 3.7)</li> <li>• "I have seen people build a house using <i>penenga'an</i> or offerings. It was done by elders of this village. They provided <i>kapur sirih</i> (natural chalk stone) and placed on a plate or <i>sosiru</i> in the middle of the lot and called all the Elders to arrange or <i>ba ator</i>. The <i>kapur sirih</i> was put in every corner of the lot in order to banish the demonic spirits". (Interview Respondent 12- Appendix 3.7)</li> <li>• "Based upon experience in building a wooden house, I conducted <i>mangalei</i> or <i>ba ator</i> ritual at night or early in the morning to avoid "judgment" from people who no longer agree to this tradition. I only provided cigarette, <i>cap tikus</i> and coffee. Some stones were taken from the river and selected to place in the bore for first foundation structure. Later, I ask God in prayer as spoke; "<i>O Empung Amang Kasuruan, merete' mangise, ei mo kei pe mangase, ya Amang Kasuruan, se puyun-puyun ne, turuni si tampa'an</i>". (Translated as: "Oh God I ask you for this purpose, I ask for the <i>dotu</i> to come and enter into my body"). This was to ask for becoming a medium of the spirits. The <i>dotu</i> spoke through trance; "<i>keter-ketereni' kamang-kamange si tampa', kamang-kamange simeberkat, kame'e kelangan kame lalang</i>". (Translation: make the house strong, flow with the blessings, open the ways!"). After placing the stones, they took soil and put the glair (egg) and splashed with <i>cap tikus</i>" (Interview Respondent 14- Appendix 3.7)</li> </ul> |
| Kembuan-Tonsea Lama | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In this village the tradition was called <i>pengeri'an</i> – people worked unpaid and they only received food. According to the ancient creed a <i>tona'as</i> conducted a rite known as <i>ba ator</i>. They prepared a white chicken and slaughtered it on the site. A stone was placed on the left side where a house was to be built. "I was attended a rite. The Elder <i>tona'as</i> put offerings on a plate. I heard the <i>tona'as</i> shouted a prayer; "<i>Opo Empung, wo se opo matampa wia tampa, ya'i kapa se tua' tua' mina pu' namo, rumang sa ke wia'i, wo melek um bale pere'rendai ne puyun, wo kamu rumangsa ke, wia tampa ya'i wo sana'an ni melek, kapanu kuman, kuma nolaka' woka mu maparei ato'an</i>" (Translation: "Our God, through our ancestors, come and gather in this place, this house will be built by your descendant/grandchildren."). After said <i>mapere're!</i>, it meant the offering were ate by the ancestor's spirit and they went back. The <i>tona'as</i> then placed the first stone. When the house was finished, a ceremony "<i>nae rumah baru</i>" was conducted as a first chance to occupy the house. The <i>tona'as</i> used water and <i>tawa'ang</i> leaves and splashed the water around the house." (Interview Respondent 01- Appendix 3.3)</li> <li>• "To build a house people called a <i>tona'as</i>. I saw the way the <i>tona'as</i> did a rite. He arranged and called God using <i>tawa'ang</i> leaves and offerings like eggs and a wrapped rice. <i>Tawa'ang</i> was used for <i>sinere'an</i> or for counteracted the demonic-evil spirit. After the house was built, they conducted a tradition of <i>Sumolo</i> (first time to occupy the house)". (Interview Respondent 03- Appendix 3.3)</li> <li>• In the past, Elders brought <i>kapur sirih</i> and <i>pinang</i> or <i>areca</i> palm fruit and placed them above a cupboard or table. If the house was not yet built, the <i>sirih</i> and <i>pinang</i> were put on the site." (Interview Respondent 04- Appendix 3.3)</li> <li>• "Elders in the village would ask to prepare gold, silver and coin to put underground. While placing these, the Elders prayed according to their language." (Interview Respondent 06- Appendix 3.3)</li> </ul>  |

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| Tanggari | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A respondent recalls that in the past Tanggari elders arranged the ritual. They prepared <i>pinang</i>, <i>kapur sirih</i> or natural chalk, <i>tempurung</i> (coconut shell) and tobacco and put them on a plaited plate -- <i>sosiru</i> -- and covering with <i>woka</i> leaves (<i>Livistonia rotundifolia</i>). The elders prayed and the offerings were hanged at the door to keep the house and the occupants from evil spirits. The door was annointed with the blood of pig. (Interview Respondent 01- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• To build a house people called an Elder, who was a <i>tona'as wadian teterusan</i>, or a leader and guardian of the village, to conduct a prayer ritual to God. A ritual called <i>Sumolo</i> was conducted after the house was finished, following by <i>Maramba</i> tradition to examine the house structure. <i>Maramba</i> was a dance where people would form a circle while jumping on the floor and thrusting. (Interview Respondent 02- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• A respondent experienced seeing this ritual while bulding a house, known as <i>Taremo mere rolor</i>. An Elder took and slaughtered a dog while he walked around the site in a clockwise direction. In the first foundation hole they put Dutch coins or 250 Ringgit on 2 white plates and covered with soil before placing the column. A priest or <i>ketua jumat</i> led the prayer. In the last step they put a flag on the top of the house. "I remember <i>Rumamba</i> tradition and a part of lyric in <i>Maengket</i> song; "<i>mai mo kita lumaya pe, lumiya kampe rege regesane, mai mo rumamba, maimo rumamba, wo kita rumamba la kou wiam bale weru e" wale weru ee...wale weru ee</i>". (Translation: "let we exult, let we shake this house, if it is shaky, the house is not sturdy". (Interview Respondent 03- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• Another Elder slaughtered a pig and took the pig's liver. They prepared <i>pinang</i>, <i>kapur sirih</i>, <i>gauk</i> (a tip of <i>seho</i> tree) and tobacco before praying in ancient language. The offerings were placed in <i>sosiru</i> and the pig's liver placed on a white plate. The Elder performed the ritual of <i>baca hati babi</i>, or a prognostication about the occupant's future welfare and prosperity. (Interview Respondent 04- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• One respondent recalls a similar tradition: people prepared offerings with the same ingredients (<i>kapur sirih</i>, <i>pinang</i>) placed on a white plate together with some coins and then read a prayer in ancient language. In <i>Sumolo</i> tradition they slaughtered a spotted dog (or <i>korotey</i>) to eat in a thanksgiving service, while people sang <i>Maengket</i> song. (Interview Respondent 05 and 06- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• A respondent experienced and witnessed a <i>tona'as</i> asking God in a prayer for good weather to build a house. In an offering ritual, the <i>tona'as</i> spoke in "bahasa tana" (Tonsea language): "<i>Opo Empung wianatas, Opo Empung Mananatas, tembone "satoro walila ku, akat netu'a kita akat keure ure menambale ya'ai es kurang apa"</i> (Translation: "O God in the higher, listen to us, look after us, we are building a new house and will stay for the rest of life and also to have children and grandchildren in a secure circumstances"). Then the offering was placed in the attic of the house for a period of time. A <i>korotey</i> dog (in 3 to 4 colours) was slaughtered when the <i>Sumolo</i> ritual was performed and a person carried the dog around the inside of the house to give a sign that the house was alright to inhabit. The dog was a symbolic guardian. (Interview Respondent 07- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• A respondent has seen only a silver coin placed in the first foundation hole and a <i>Sumolo</i> ritual, in which the blood of a <i>korotey</i> dog was splashed in every corner of the house, and also the <i>Rumamba</i> tradition and <i>Maengket</i> song lyric: "<i>Rumamba-rumamba rumamba waya, towasan ne sopi eme ke wale</i>" ("lets drink <i>cap tikus</i> while we exulted"). (Interview Respondent 08 and 10- Appendix 3.11)</li> <li>• Another ritual includes <i>soloan bas</i>, a celebration meal for people who built the dwelling, before they conducted <i>Sumolo</i> ritual. <i>Sumolo</i> means that the house is installed with lamps and ready to stay in. (Interview Respondent 09- Appendix 3.11)</li> </ul> |
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Source: Interview Data Collection, April – June 2011

The researcher rigorously researched other specific cultural traditions that were practised around *rumah panggung* (or wooden house) construction in other parts of the Minahasa region, either similar or different to previous case studies, and also whether spiritual connections between the

Minahasans and their dwelling house, associated with *genius loci*, were evident. Thus, this study was applied to six villages located in the mountainside regions: Rurukan Village, Kinilow Village, Kakenturan Village, Wulurma'atus Village, Tumaratas Village and Pinabéténgan Village.

Based upon the knowledge and experience of respondents, a Minahasan hereditary tradition is evident in wooden house construction; religious traditions are practised through rituals and customs. The Minahasans respect their ancestor's spiritual connection to God, the *Opo Empung Wailan*, and the wisdoms and methods they used and that have been inherited by the next generations. However, while the influences of religion (Christianity) and building technologies have caused significant changes to attitudes and paradigms in building contemporary 'traditional' wooden houses, a positive attitude towards customs and cultural traditions remains.

Evidence was gained from respondents who lived in these villages, as to their experience in witnessing these traditions, or how they derived this knowledge from their parents and Elders. A summary of the evidence of traditions in house building is detailed in Table 6.15, below.

**Table 6.15**  
**Description of traditions in building houses in the 6 villages in mountainside settings**

| Village    | Local traditional knowledge of inhabitants based upon experiences, witness and hereditary narrative telling  |
|------------|--|
| Makalonsow | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In Makalonsow, people built houses based upon their inherited tradition from Elders in the village and also from their ancestors' philosophical thoughts.</li> </ul>  |
| Rurukan    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>"The villagers in the past adopted ancestor's thoughts in setting the house position and material timbers positions. Those methods are still use in the present days. Like I am a carpenter, I must inspect the wood quality, the tree's structure, starting from the root and signify it. There are many cases when people do not use this wisdom, they got sick and die. And also when placing a first foundation stone, people called the Elders of this village. The Elders practiced their methods".<br/>"I remember they used blood of a pig and they conducted a ritual. Other Elders could use white chock. The blood was applied in every corner, in the front of the house, and in the bed rooms. The pig or chicken was being eaten after the rite is done. The liver was placed in the corner to signify strength of the building, to avoid a wicked attack and contained blessings to the occupants. When my house was built I called Elders. In my experience as a leader of the workers or leading <i>bas</i>, I learned from other head of <i>bas</i> from Sangir, Minahasa and from this village. I practiced and combined their methods. For example, method from Sangir people; they placed 3 coins in the hole and cover with the stones, and started to work. When installing the main roof structure (<i>tiang raja</i>), I used Minahasan method to use liquor <i>cap tikus</i>. According to Elders belief, those wisdom must be applied otherwise the unseen spirits would come and resided the house, thus one must prioritize God the Almighty is a must". After prayed, all the joint structures and constructions were splashed with <i>cap tikus</i>. The top of the roof also was placed with a coin in between the beam".<br/>"The ritual was called <i>Tumo'tol um bale</i> tradition. <i>Tumotol</i> means starting to build</li> </ul> |

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|--------------|---|
|              | <p>the house. The Elders when they wanted to ask to join in working together they said “<i>meimo kita tumotol um bale</i>”...The tradition is still practice in this village.” (Excerpts from Respondent 03–see Appendix 3.8)</p>   |
| Kinilow      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “This tradition was derived from the Elders, that people were gathered and prayed together. They used a plate tu put into the hole when placing the first foundation stone. On the plate people put coins and also used a chock. Coins were to get more blessings and the chock was for offering to the landlord. I recall they spoke in Tombulu language and the tradition was called <i>rumeta</i> tradition, which means an offering for the landlord and asking for a freedom to build a house. If people disregard this tradition, a disaster or hurricane and earthquake might happen and destroy the house”. (Interview Respondent 01- see Appendix 3.9)</li> </ul>   |
| Kakenturan   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “There is only co-operation occur amongst the community in moving a house. Housing construction is done by skill person or <i>bas</i>, no other ritual or Elders involve in the process”. (Interview Respondent 04 – see Appendix)</li> <li>• “House is made from <i>katu</i> leaves or <i>kalekes</i> taken from the forest. The main columns was used <i>cempaka</i> wood”. (Interview Respondent 02- see Appendix 3.12)</li> </ul>  |
| Wulurma’atus | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past, a <i>bas</i> or skilled person took the lead in building a house. They started by preparing a white plate and some coins (Dutch) and placed it into the hole before the first stone was laid. Even though Elders attended the process, the head of the <i>bas</i> would lead the tradition. Thus, the process from beginning to end in <i>Sumolo</i> is performed by head of <i>bas</i>, and neither the Elders nor the deacons. (Interview Respondent 01- see Appendix 3.12)</li> <li>• People in the past called a traditional healer (<i>dukun</i>) in the village. They planted <i>tawa’ang</i> in the middle of the land. According to the beholders it functioned as a ‘guardian’ of the land. The plant was removed and put on the edge after installing floors. The mid-point where the <i>tawa’ang</i> was first placed was substituted with crossed timbers to protect from the force of spirits. Later, they laid the first foundation stone and some coins. When the house was finished, they conducted the festivals of <i>Sumolo</i> and <i>Rumamba</i>. A <i>tona’as</i> arranged and called <i>dotu-dotu</i> through the ritual <i>ba ator</i>. In <i>rumamba</i> they sang all day until the next day. This tradition has slowly disappeared since the 1960s. Recent rituals are performed by priests or deacons (in the Christian faith). (Interview Respondent 05- Appendix 3.12)</li> </ul> |
| Tumaratas    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past there was a <i>mapalus tradition</i> in building a house and also a <i>Sumolo</i> tradition, or “the first chance to occupy the new house”. (Interview Respondent 06- Appendix)</li> <li>• There was some traditional wisdom in choosing the wood or timbers for a house. The timbers must be taken at the first crescent moon to get a good quality of wood and to avoid termites or damage. However, people in recent times may not use this wisdom anymore. (Interview Respondent 07- Appendix 3.13)</li> </ul>   |
| Pinabéténgan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A respondent experienced and has seen a tradition of co-operative work in building a house called <i>ma’sembong</i>, which applied to all communities in this village. From the 1950s to the 1960s, a <i>tona’as</i> led the ritual <i>ba ator</i>, which included placing the first foundation stone and coins. When the house was completed, Elders threw paddy on the house as sign to ask for blessings before people occupied the house. The <i>ma’umper</i> tradition, or offering, has slowly disappeared. In the past it was performed as a symbol of kinship and relationship with God. The tradition occurred until the 1980s, but because of the current religious system (Christianity) it has been eroded. (Interview Respondent 03- Appendix 3.14)</li> <li>• People called a <i>tona’as</i> for a ritual. He prepared boiled eggs and rice on banana leaves while spoke:<br/>“<i>Eat it! Kumanam mio kamu! Yema’mo mio’o wiyo rano me mio yema’o tu’u tu bungkusan, tawani’!</i>”. (Translation: “The offering was for you and strengthened the house, work without obstacles and disturbances!”).</li> </ul>   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Thus, they asked permission from God and prayed. At that time they read bible. (<i>Interview Respondent 08- Appendix 3.14</i>)</li> <li>• "I have seen and experienced a <i>tona'as</i> (from Lempoy clan) prepared boiling eggs, <i>Pinang</i>, and tobacco. He shouted: "<i>wa'ana wok sama ane keter, pakaka ke'ten sia maka tampa nyo' mara wale. Tampa nyo mara wale</i> (Translation: "Make it strength! Give strength to the owner of the house"). <i>Kete-keteren</i> means strong. However, the tradition has now been eroded. (<i>Interview Respondent 09- Appendix 3.14</i>)</li> <li>• A past tradition used copper coins, placed under a stone. (<i>Interview Respondent 011- Appendix 3.14</i>)</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

Source: Interview Data Collection, April – June 2011

### 6.4.3.3 Traditional Houses

In terms of earlier traditions around building dwellings in Minahasa, a house in the 16th century had a large and wide quadrangle layout with a high roof, without an attic. The house had a closed verandah at the front and a wide corridor towards the back of the house. On the left and right there were small rooms divided by material. In every room resided a family, known as *awu*, and each room had a kitchen with a furnace, called *reramporan*. The corridor also functioned as a bedroom for young boys and visitors (Lundstrom, 1981, p. 28). Padtbrugge, in 1679, observed that Minahasan houses possessed the typology of long houses, or *rumah panjang*, built upon hard wooden columns that varied between 2.5 to 4 metres in height. The house would be occupied by 5 to 9 families and each family space had a kitchen. The oldest family had the largest space. The house stairs were constructed of wood (Padtbrugge, 1866, pp. 321-322, in Wenas, 2007, p. 118; Renwarin, 2007, p. 104). In certain houses, a family was united in one large room covered by a plaited mat (*tikar*) on the floor and pillow (*tetedean*) without partitions and separate spaces.

In the 1850s the long house or *rumah panjang* was altered to *rumah panggung*, in which every house was occupied by only one family (Hoevell, 1856, p. 27 in Wenas, 2007, p. 118). Wallace, in the 19th century, recorded a Minahasan house description which included the use of the under space of the house for keeping pets. A stairway led to the ground, but could it could be lifted at night to avoid unwanted guests (Wallace, 1890).

The Minahasan traditional house consists of two types, called *wale wangko* (or long house) and *wale*. The *wale wangko* type had no partitions for each bed room and attic. The inside of the house consisted of beams, and upon each of the beams was placed cane-work or plait mats that functioned as partitions.

A *wale* type is described as a small house occupied by one family. The space hierarchy of a *wale* comprised of: (1) open front space called *loloang* for visitors, (2) bedrooms, (3) dining room (4) an attic which functioned to store crops or to dry clothes and (5) a kitchen or *ramporan* at the back that connected to the main house like a 'lean-to'. The house columns were placed upon stones called *wale meiwangin*, and the columns were built upon horizontal beams called *wale meito'tol* (Wenas, 2007, p. 119) (as illustrated in Figure 6.9)

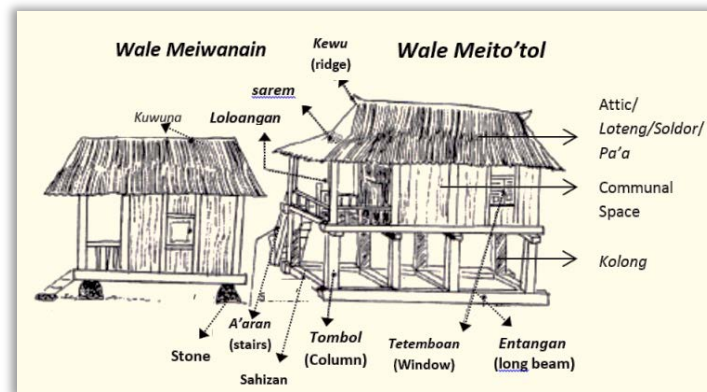


Figure 6.9  
Typology of *wale* of Minahasa in 16th century  
(Source: Wenas 2007, p. 119)

The Minahasan vernacular house is pictured and described by Riedel in 1872 (Riedel, 1872, p. 4, p.193-7) and was painted by A.A.J Payen (National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden) in 1824 using an early settlement on Lake Tondano's edge, demonstrating that the typology of the dwelling house was adapted to and acclimatised with the environment, as depicted in Figure 6.10.



Figure 6.10  
Typology of housing in Tondano in 1824, painted by A.A.J. Payen from Belgia when Dutch Governor G.A van Capellen visited Tondano  
(Source: National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden)



Figure 6.11  
Earlier settlement on the Tondano Lake in 1830s (a picture in a book of Dr.C.G.C Reindwart) (Source: Palm. 1964)

Similar descriptions of dwelling houses were portrayed by the Dutch, for example Dr Reidwardt, who visited Tondano in 1821. Tondano town was established during British colonization in 1812 (shown in Figure 6.11).

The house (or *Wale/Bale*) of the Minahasans has gradually changed over many generations. As a dwelling space, the Minahasans built their houses by using local resources. With the development of technology and construction tools, bamboo was discarded in favour of timber. A volcanic eruption occurred on 5 January 1845, and apparently destroyed or damaged most of the traditional houses in Minahasa (Buddingh, 1860, p. 71; Renwarin, 2007, p. 108; Wenas, 2007).

Waterson contends that a house is a micro-cosmos, being reflected through the layout, the structure and relief decorations representing nature and social concepts (1990, p. xvii). Moreover, Waterson concludes that most of the houses in Indonesia have Indigenous beliefs of cosmology interwoven in three spatial layers: the middle space between the above-space world, and the under-space world which is occupied by humans (1990, p.193).

In the Minahasan house concept, the space under a house was grimy – litter was thrown here from the kitchen and also it also functioned as a stable. The floor that detached the building from the ground space, strengthened by columns, functioned as space for humans. The upper space, or attic, was for keeping heirlooms or legacies as the sacred part of the house. The Minahasan house is detailed in Figure 6.12.

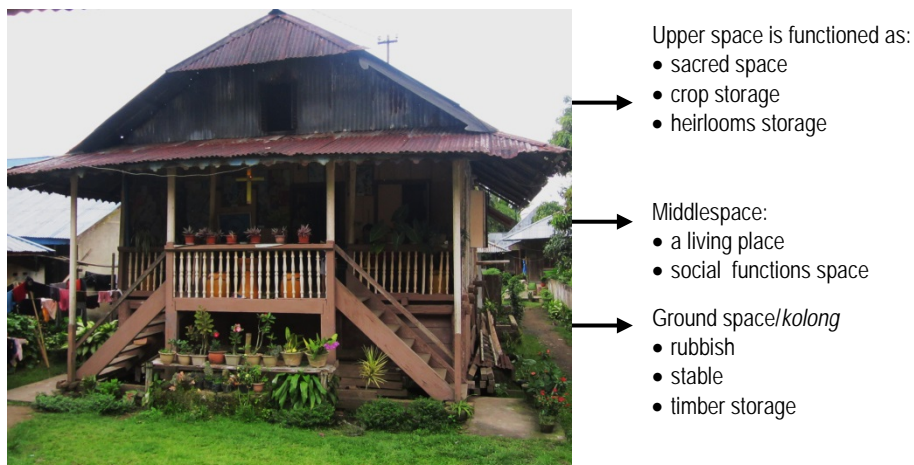


Figure 6.12  
Type of Minahasan traditional dwelling house  
(Source: Author 2011)

Hence, the *locus* concept of Minahasan cosmological thought is expounded. The upper space (or attic) is the sacred space. To Minahasans, the upper space or *loteng* is symbolized as the ancestor's dwelling space (Rogi, 2009; Renwarin, 2007, p.106). From the Minahasan perspective, the roof space is a part of the house which is located far from the ground and hence does not have a direct connection with the earth. The space that connects both spaces is the human world,



which is the middle space in the house, wherein human perform all their interactions. The ground space or *kolong* is a bad or harmful place where evil spirits and departed spirits reside, thus it is viewed as a dirty place.

The Minahasan belief system has been applied to the concept of space functionality for many years. Despite strong adherence to Christianity, the Minahasan traditional housing that remains today demonstrates that the Minahasans applied their traditional customs to these constructions. Hence, a Minahasan dwelling house contains a *locus* to the occupants or family that is connected with past traditions that are associated with cosmological concepts, and contains Indigenous thoughts. The application of traditional wisdoms upon space divisions was applied to protect occupants from negative variables and to nurture the good.

This research demonstrates a significant variety of ritual processes in building a Minahasan house, beginning with the effort of the Minahasans to pragmatically construct a dwelling house by using available natural resources, while responsively considering the physical landscape and environment. In particular, the dwelling space was created in order to make a space function well, and to have a meaning embodied in the building of a shelter to offer protection from the negative influences of nature. Minahasan dwelling houses are also categorized by contemporary authors as folk architecture.

The Minahasan Indigenous perspective is depicted in their pattern of understanding space as a human micro-cosmos that is manifested in the application of space divisions, functional spaces, and metaphysical spaces. This conclusion is very evident in the extant Minahasan houses investigated in this research. The forms of traditional architecture as dwelling houses were developed with considerations of the aesthetic and symbolic aspects of the social and cultural in the community.

The phenomenon of *genius loci* in the Minahasan vernacular and traditional dwelling place is manifested when the house is defined into philosophical structures and functions, as well as the metaphysical contents. Based upon comparative studies of contemporary traditional houses that exist in the 16 villages, variants of Minahasan dwelling houses are presented in Tables 6.16, 6.17 and 6.18.

Table 6.16  
Variants of Minahasan traditional houses in selected *wanua* (village) in lakeside settings

|  |   |
|--|---|
|   <p data-bbox="469 831 764 891">Ro'ong - Tolour Village</p> |   <p data-bbox="1075 831 1299 891">Pelelo'an Village</p>      |
|   <p data-bbox="445 1420 743 1480">Watumea Village</p>    |   <p data-bbox="1011 1435 1307 1496">Pulutan Village</p> |
|  <p data-bbox="727 1794 1026 1854">Telap Village</p>   |   |











Photographs taken in May - July 2011 by the Author

Table 6.17  
Variants of Minahasan traditional houses in selected *wanua* (village) near catchment area



Photographs taken in May - July 2011 by the Author

Table 6.18  
 Variants of Minahasan traditional houses in the selected *wanua* (village) adjacent to mountains

|   |   |
|---|---|
|  <p data-bbox="408 595 719 658">Makalonsouw Village</p>  |   |
|  <p data-bbox="427 994 738 1043">Kinilow Village</p>   |  <p data-bbox="963 1005 1278 1055">Kakenturan Village</p>                               |
|   <p data-bbox="427 1606 738 1655">Ruruan Village</p> |   |
|    |  <p data-bbox="979 1995 1291 2045">Tumaratas Village</p>                              |



Photographs taken in May - July 2011 by the Author

Evidence obtained through recorded interviews and observations demonstrates that traditional houses continue to be built using the Minahasan's Indigenous concepts derived from their ancestry. Traditional houses in the surrounds of Lake Tondano – in Watumea village, Telap village and Pulutan village – have adopted similar typologies, and to a large extent these houses were built using ancestral philosophical and symbolical concepts. In contrast – in Tolour, Ro'ong, and Pelelo'an villages – there remains few traditional houses due to the strong influences of colonialism and modern architecture.

Minahasans who live adjacent to the Tondano River have similar concepts in building their houses and also in their way of conducting ceremonies using wisdom from their ancestors.

Research found a few examples of housing established near the river and the mountains that are still solid and varying in age between 100 to 200 years, which also reflect Indigenous models of Minahasan housing. Some cases also demonstrated that people are maintaining these structures in accordance with their ancestor's wisdoms and methods, in particular the spiritual connectivity to God -- *Opo Empung Wananatas*.

The entity of dwelling space of the Minahasan is presented by using natural resources and responsiveness to the physical environment. The establishment of houses was based upon practical and functional needs to present a "shelter" or protective space from negative influences from natural

conditions. From this perspective, the Minahasan traditional dwelling places can be defined as vernacular or folk architecture. From an Indigenous concept of *wale/bale* (or an austerity shelter) that is pragmatically an acquisition amongst the Minahasans in embodying their identity, the pattern of the house also offers design patterns. Iconic design, according to Broadbent (1980), is to imitate the form or pattern that has existed and is claimed to be an ideal form. Hence, many examples Minahasan traditional houses that still exist have become traditional architecture.

#### 6.4.4 Sacred Natural Places

Sacred place is considered by the researcher to be an essential component in *genius loci* research about the Minahasan's cultural landscape identity. Minahasan people and other groups from different cultures in many countries, past and present, define and recognize sacred or holy places as obligations and relationships relating to gods of some form. Sacred places or sites are manifested widely and permeate in all areas of human life in both natural and built areas. In most cases, sacred sites are frequently associated with certain natural objects and features, such trees, stones, water, mountains, caves and other forms in the landscape. Sacred places to native people's belief are distinguished from those held by non-native cultures because they are natural. Native people or individuals have a holistic perspective that all nature and living things are part of sacred world (Simmins 2008, p.15). Some locations, or in particular resources in nature are valued because of their worth in spiritual association or with spiritual activities.

From the Minahasan's perspective, sacred sites are recognised mostly from traditions practiced and ancient living relationships and values. The Minahasans have developed a rich spiritual life based upon a close relationship with nature before colonization. The Minahasans perceive their landscape and environment as being embodied in their 'religious' systems and 'religious' symbols. Siwu has concluded that the Minahasans' ancient religious symbol systems consist of three core elements: myth, *fosso* – the community's or the everyday life' religious acts that reproduce or reconstruct what is being apprehended in the myth into the "micro cosmic scale", and customs (Siwu, 2002, p. 34). Thus myths and *fosso* are bounded together, which from Berger's perspective recalls traditional meanings embodied in culture and its major institutions consisting of rites, rituals and ceremonies (Berger, 1967). The Minahasan's concept of the sacred is perceived structurally and functionally. Minahasans, in their belief systems, express sacred place in a cosmological sense in relation to:

- God, the highest power of the universe called *Opo/Apo; Opo Wa'ilan* (the Creator; the Protector and the Sustainer One); *Empung Wananatas* (God in the Highest); *Empung Wailan* (God the

Richest ); *Wailan Wangko* (God the Almighty); *Opo Kasuruan Wangko* (the Almighty One); *Opo Empung Kasuruan Nimena in tana wo langit* (the One who creates the heaven and earth); *Si Wailan Kasuruan Wangko* (the Great Mercy One); *Opo Empung Renga-Rengan* (Spirit One who protects and maintains the universe), *Si Esa de Eene*, *Si Nimema I Tjita* (The One and The Almighty the Creator of Human) (Andriani, 1925; Graafland, 1881, p. 100; Kruyt, 1906; Schwarz, 1907, p. 372 in Wenas, 2010, p.16; Wilken, 1863)

- Medium between *Opo* -- the God -- and the people is the ancestors. They are called *Opo-Opo/Empung-Empung/Kasuruan-kasuruan* – (Saruan, 1991; Siwu, 2002; Wenas, 2007)
- Medium between *Opo-Opo* and the people are called *walian* (priestess), *teterusan* -- representative of the leader of *wanua/village* --, *waraney* (warriors), and *tona'as* – skilful in the traditional knowleges and healers -- (Taulu, 1981, p. 15; Saruan, 1991, p. 86; Siwu, 2002, p. 41)

Thus, in perceiving sacred places the Minahasans recognize the functional role of *Opo-Wailan* as God. *Opo* appears to the Minahasans as the legitimisation of the centre of their cosmos and the ground; because *Opo* no longer remains solely an ancestor, *Opo* has becomes a sacred symbol in the Minahasan social order and at the personal level in their society (Siwu, 2002).

The Minahasans recognize their sacred places as *kepeli'an* (*pele* = sacred) possessing tranquillity, silence, such as a shady place found amongst leafy big trees, big stones, inside dense forests, ravines, hills, caves, streams, waterfalls and mountains (Respondent Interview April – July 2011). These places, in their geographical knowledge, are a reflection of the ability of Minahasan individuals or groups to be cognitive and reflexive, and to see places as temporal spaces between the sacred and the profane (Tresidder, 2001, p. 65-66).

Certain landscapes possess sacred qualities, which do not meet with the traditional Western definition of 'religion'. To the Minahasan community, landscape features that are labelled and adopted as sacred do not have to pertain to or be applied to religion. Moore and Mayerhoff (quoted in Graburn, 1977) observe that a community that holds sacred concepts as a structure of their beliefs about the universe may not be religious, but can be fundamental to the continual process of an Indigenous cohort of individuals, constitutions or schemes. Hence, the sacred is capable of stimulating strong emotions. It provides a necessary focal point on devotion, conceptions of being or acts as a social marker.

Pre-colonization Minahasans recognized two centres of origin in places known as:

- *Tu'ur in Tana* -- the origin place of the first Minahasan people – located in the Wulurma'atus Mountains in the southern Minahasan Region, where the original people *Karema*, *Lumimu'ut* and *Toar* dwelled and lived before they spread out to other regions; and,
- *Puser in Tana* – the centre of Minahasans' world/realm – located in Romboken, near Tondano Lake (Graafland, 1881; Interview data, 2011; Wenas, 2007, p. 67).

In determining and embracing these sacred places, the Minahasans mark their traditions and cultural roots. However, the Minahasans also claimed *puser in tana* is represented by *Watu Pinawetengan* in Tonderukan Hill, Tompasso and *Rano ni Empung* at Mt Empung.

Studies on the landscape and environment of the Lake Tondano region in inland areas highlighted several other places associated with Minahasan sacredness, and these were found in the following case study locations:

- The community in *Ro'ong* village possesses a folklore derived from the hereditary story of a particular place near the Tondano River where a big tree can be found. This place was used for rituals to call *Opo Empung* -- *their God*. The place was called *kalewo'an* (or sacred) in a negative way because it was prohibited for children. The ancestors of the village had a belief that guardian spirits resided in the tree. In the dry season the ancestors went to the *paddy* area in the western part of the village near the river at a place called *kayu rempeng* to undertake the *makeisan* tradition -- people splashed each other in the water while praying to God to shower the earth. This tradition was performed in connection to agricultural practices, for example to stimulate plant growth and to have a productive harvest season.  
Other associated places include *Uluna* that was previously in the territory of *Ro'ong* village. This place is claimed to be sacred and was used by elders of the *Ro'ong* village to conduct rites. A few of respondents interviewed reported experiencing the ritual tradition occurring at this place. *Uluna* possesses spring water which the community who reside near here use for a variety of purposes. Near the *Uluna* spring, there are more natural places that are sacred: the *Uluna* Cave, which is claimed as *Dotu Mamarimbing's* dwelling place, and the forest on a hill that has many large trees (Author Fieldwork and Respondent Interview data 2011).
- In *Watumea* village, the community recognizes a natural place possessing a spiritual atmosphere or sacredness – near the cape – that is derived from the Elders' narrative known as *paposoken*. *Paposoken* was used for events and ceremonies or personal purposes, such as a



*mangalei* (a plea or prayer) ritual. In the ritual, an Elder *tona'as* became a medium to communicate with the unseen spirits of ancestors. According to the Minahasans Elder's belief, the place contains a guardian spirit; thus it was and is a forbidden place, particularly for children. Historically, *Paposoken* was also used as a hiding place; for instance people hid here from the enemy during the Japanese War in 1942.

Narrative evidence from respondents confirms that in the past *Paposoken* was an eerie or sacred place. The place is described as a huge hole in the hill adjacent to and facing the Lake. *Paposoken* is a natural big stone cave (*Paposoken* means a cave). The cave could function as shelter. The place was prohibited for some unexplained reasons. However, in recent years the prohibition has been negated by the local community. The place possesses stories derived from Elders and the community that in the past it was used for certain religious rites according to the Minahasan creed. Its environmental features are as follows: it as a closed place, covered by dense trees and shrubs in the lower hill, with a hole and where the Lake water reaches the place. The surrounding environment is a patchy mix of wild trees and stones. The trees grow wildly through the water, which brings an eerie perception to the community. There is a wide and flat stone, which they called *manambatu penar*, a characteristic that makes people hesitate to visit the place. The locals respect the message of wisdom from their parents. For example, the wisdom: "*Sakei wia ne'la wisya ne yo pasani umi, menem wia nembatu penar, sako mea wo opas sana, mena kalewo'an*" – "as they go to that flat stone, is a reminder message everyone to be aware when fishing there because people might have an accident, fall down and get injured!". The Elders (*Ne Tu'a*) know the place as *kalewo'an- penampa'an*, or a demonic place because of the "guardian spirits" that reside here. *Paposoken* also is associated with a phenomena derived from Elders who witnessed a large snake and a large millipede approximately 50 cm in length here (Respondent Interview 2011). Based upon recollected narratives from respondents, *Paposoken* is the manifestation of a sacred place. The *Paposoken* site is illustrated by photos shown in Figure 6.13.



Figure 6.13  
Paposoken – sacred-place – in Watumea Village, Minahasa (Photographs by Author, April 2011)

- Respondents in Telap Village mentioned several places inside their nearby forests, plantation areas and in the village that are deemed sacred. Places such as *Watu Pinatik* in the forest hill slopes near a stream, Wengkang and Gerungan Hill located in northern of the village, the *keko'an* site in the plantation area and the *Werowan* site near the Lake, where a big tree exists, and a water spring called *Salosot*. Such places contain mythological and historical narratives that have significant connections both personally and socially to the Telap village locals. All these places are bound to their ancestors' lives and actions in the past.
- In Pelelo'an village, the community recognizes some places that are imbued with cosmological and historical phenomena, in particular: *Tinemuan* site, an ancestors' meeting place, which contains water holes; *Toungkagegeran* site, a cold and quiet place that also contains spring water; the *Kembuan* water hole in the forest; the *Watu Leloangan ni Mukur* in Leloangan - Toka Pokol, which the community believed to be an entrance "door" of ancestors to the earthly world. The Leloangan site contains a curative plant called *kayu tulus* and a curative stone. A particular family in this village has inherited the practice of healing acute and critical fractures of bones. They use pieces of wood taken from the tree and stone from the Leloangan site.

Other places near the Lake known as *Tetul* and *Pe'meamean* are deemed to contain eeriness or sacredness. In the past people have disappeared or sunk into the Lake. The location of each of these sacred sites is detailed in Figure 6.14.

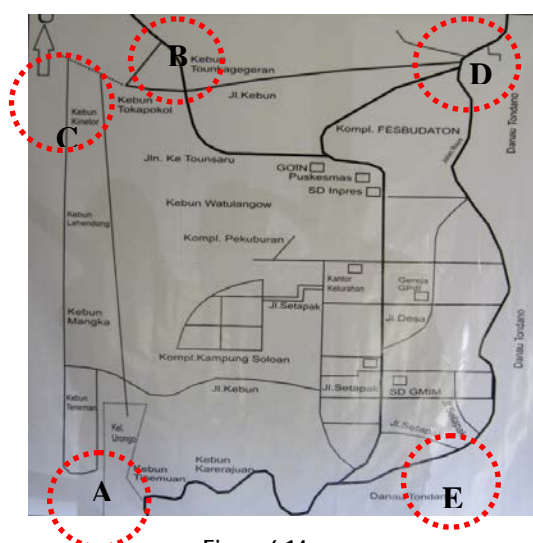


Figure 6.14  
Location of sacred places in Pelelo'an;  
A. Tinemuan; B. Toungkagegeran; C. Leloangan-Toka Pokol; D. Tetul; E. Pe'meamean  
(Source of Map: Peleloan village Office – Author modification)

- Observations made in Pulutan village documents a place known as *Lumasot* site – a plantation area or *kobong kering* containing big stones and a water hole. The place in the past was imbued with spirituality for the local people. Based upon respondent interviews, some people expressed witnessing an oddity at the place, but also a few people were injured or became sick after visiting this place. Hence, people perceive there are “guardians” residing at the place. To pass through the area people said *mélange keti'in* or sounded *eheem*.

Other sacred places in Pulutan include *Kobong Lo'owang*, *Sesembungan* and *Lengkoan*, which possess folk stories associated with the establishment of the village and their ancestors' meeting places.

Studies on sacred places are also recorded in 3 villages adjacent to water flows. The community construes these places with their mythology as a container of their culture and history, as follows:

#### *Lininga'an Village*

- Narratives in Lininga'an document places which in the past were considered sacred, for instance a large tree called *Sesebungan* located near *Teberan Wangko* (Tondano River). *Sesebungan* possesses cosmological meanings and also history to the Liningaan community. Therefore the community deems the place sacred. Both positive and negative incidents and events occurred at these places in the past. One respondent recalls that elders in the past assembled in *Sesebungan* and conducted meetings and rites to establish a *wanua* or village. Near *Sesebungan* site was found *Watu Panibe*, a signifier stone to delineate the boundary of a new village.

Another place that is deemed sacred to the community is *Talun Oki*, a corridor way. In this place some people have witnessed personal spiritual experiences with spirit forces that have affected the person's psychology or psyche. These kinds of beliefs are found in other Minahasan areas and in other regions in Indonesia. Clifford Geertz (1966) labeled these as “spirit beliefs”, whereas James Haire (1981) has called them “pre-literal religious beliefs” (Siwu 2002, p. 44). Siwu categorizes these spirit forces as *Se dei-ca-pa-ileken* or “unably seen ones”. For example guardian spirits, or “*panunggu*” and *Opo-opo*, or the possession of spirit forces of ancestors, are labeled in various terms such as spiritualism, spiritism and spirit medium, to describe a metaphysical theory or spiritual realm (Ibid, p. 48).

### *Kembuan – Tonsea Lama Village*

- In Kembuan village, some places were mentioned as having connection with cosmological forces, such as the forest and plantation areas in *Tonsea Lama*, *Saduan*, *Rendai Wale*, *Kiriten* and in *leput* or water flows. Each place has different narratives to the community, who experienced both negatives and positive events or incidents at these places.

### *Tanggari Village*

- Research in Tanggari Village recorded several places imbued with mythology and spirituality for the community, for example in *Keratang*, *Lewo Ngaran*, *Spusit-Saduan* Stream and *Pinohelan* Stream – places where people experienced abominable things. In addition, several respondents reported of places where they had experienced positive things, such as in *Leouw* which contains spring water and a big tree; *Setepe* (a flat land for resting); *Gima* and *Dano Tu'a* at the boundary of Tumuluntung village (places where people can get abundant water); *Timu* and *Pinokokan* or *Watu Winokok* where elders in the past conducted *posan* or rites to *Opo Empung*. Timu and other water springs in the Tanggari village, which are called “water from God”.

Minahasans who live in the mountainsides possess different representations of sacred places and the meanings of these places. The *locus* of each place is associated with Minahasans' ancient belief systems. Observations and interviews of respondents in the seven case study areas was made and records significant places related to folklore and history.

Table 6.19 provides a description and functional analysis of the character of each place and how the community interacts with the place and its environment.

Table 6.19  
Minahasans' Perception on Sacred Places in the mountain landscape setting

| Village     | Sacred Place   | Associated place names  | Embodiment to the community   | Association/connections/ community' interaction   |
|-------------|--|---|---|---|
| Makalonsouw | A certain place on the edge of forest.                               | <i>Wanua Ure/</i><br>Old village  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The first dwelling place of earlier villagers</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Historically the first settlement of the community.</li> </ul>   |
|             | A large stone in plantation area                                     | <i>Walewatu</i> (stone house)   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A residing house of ancestor called <i>Opo Makalonsouw</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Person or certain group visited and laid offerings (such as incenses, white chicken and head of pig) to the ancestor/<i>opo Makalonsouw</i>.</li> <li>Ritual "<i>mangale</i>" – to recall <i>Opo Empung</i> and to communicate with the ancestor/<i>Opo-Opo</i>.</li> <li>People searched for and placed specific types of wood around the <i>walewatu</i> for traditional healing (<i>makatana</i>).</li> <li>The place was used for a traditional ritual called "<i>makatana</i>" which was believed to heal people.</li> <li>The place is imbued with peculiar stories. For example, certain people heard the sound of "<i>kolintang/ instrument</i>" around the site.</li> </ul> |
|             | A large stone in the forest  | <i>Pepera'an</i> or <i>watu meja</i> (stone table)  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's meeting place</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some Minahasan people went to the place for several purposes: to perform rituals for blessing needs and healing, as release from daily activities, and to clean the place.</li> </ul>  |
|             | A large flat -stone  | <i>Keko'anni Matindas</i> , a table stone ( <i>Keko'an</i> = a place for having a drink) and the " <i>reruberan</i> " or sitting area | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's resting place before continuing the trip</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The Elders and few of the community used to conduct "<i>baku sirang</i>" tradition to ask God for rain water.</li> </ul>   |
|             | Spring water below Mt Makalonsouw                                    | <i>Parigi-Teneman</i>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's place.</li> <li>Commemoration of historical battle between Minahasa and Mongondouw Tribe.</li> </ul>    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A place to get fresh water.</li> <li>A place imbued with peculiar and mysterious stories or (seemingly absurd in reality), but some people experienced it.</li> <li>A guardian resided in the place.</li> </ul>  |
| Ruruan      | Certain places in the forest or plantation areas<br><br>Spring water | Features contain water flows and spring waters in the village (with no labeled names)   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's meeting place</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>People interact with the places for water needs – drinking water and for bathing purposes.</li> </ul>  |
| Kinilow     | Caves at the Mt Lokon  | <i>Kelong</i>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's dwelling place</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Person or certain group conduct rite to communicate with ancestor/<i>opo</i>.</li> </ul>   |
|             | Stony area below the Mt Lokon  | <i>Watu Neiseper</i> (assembled stones)   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Elders' meeting place</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>When the mount erupted, elders of the village conducted ritual and put offering (<i>lumeta</i>) to call the ancestors/<i>Opo</i> to obstruct the lava and stop it at the place.</li> </ul>   |
|             | Spring waters and small waterfall                                    | <i>Tapa'an ne Pesut</i>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ancestor's residing place</li> <li>Prohibited/<i>taboo</i> place in connection with the "spirit forces"</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Person or certain group conduct ritual <i>Mahz'reta</i> to place offerings and communicate with ancestor/<i>Opo</i>.</li> <li>(Three places of "<i>tapa'an ne pesut</i>" are located: in Kayu Roya, in the village boundary near to Tinoor Village, and in Indraloka).</li> </ul>  |

|              |   |  |  |   |
|--------------|---|--|--|---|
| Kintlow      | Hidden place in the forest, with water spring, big tree and a table stone | <i>Rano'apo</i>  | •Ancestor's dwelling place   | • Person or certain group bring offerings and conduct rite to communicate with ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> .   |
|              | Big trees ( <i>Tangkokow</i> )  | <i>Lelelesan</i>   | •Ancestor's residing place   | • In the past Elders of the village conducted rituals and put offering ( <i>lumeta</i> ) and called the ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> .  |
|              | Spring water (cold)   | <i>Lalaneyan</i><br><br><i>Rama</i><br><br><i>Matembe</i>          | •Ancestor's meeting places   | • In the past Elders of the village conducted ritual and laid offerings: <i>Pinang (Mahz'reta)</i> and called the ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> to obstruct the lava /eruption at this place only.   |
| Kakenturan   | Hill and a hot spring water hole at below the hill                        | <i>Doluong Hill</i>  | • Ancestors' residing place  | • Community uses the place for resting area and leisure.<br>• Certain people get <i>pusaka</i> or heirloom in this hill.  |
| Wulurma'atus | Hot spring water holes in between a stream                                | "men and woman spring waters" / "the binary spring water"          | •Ancestor's / <i>Dotu Wulurma'atus</i> dwelling place                      | • Person or certain group conducted rite to communicate with ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> in <i>Tolour</i> language for protection and blessing purposes. For example, to ask the <i>Opo</i> to give a kind of heirloom or <i>pusaka</i> as a protector / <i>sombar</i> to protect from harm.<br>• Offerings were placed on a rattan basket, such as cooked rice, <i>cap tikus</i> , <i>sirih</i> , <i>Pinang</i> , natural chalk, cooked egg and glasses made of bamboo. |
|              | A pond  | <i>Sibow</i>   | •A guardian / "spirit forces" residing place and a prohibited/taboo place  | • Community interacts with the place when the pond is abundant with water.  |
|              | Mountain  | <i>Mt. Wulurma'atus</i> (also known as <i>Mt. Rante</i> )          | •Ancestor/ <i>Dotu Wulurma'atus</i> dwelling place.                        | • Person, Elders or certain group laid offerings and conducted rite to communicate with ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> for protection purposes.   |
|              | Cave  | <i>Goa Wulurma'atus</i>  | •Ancestor's dwelling place – <i>Dotu Wulurma'atus</i> and his wife.        | • A place for certain people to get <i>pusaka</i> /heirloom.  |
| Tumaratas    | Stream  | <i>Kali Ranolesi</i> ( also known as <i>Timbukar</i> )             | •Ancestor of the village's first resided place and also their burial place | • The villager's first accupied place.  |
|              | Water flow  | <i>Kinatala'an</i> (a place of the water are disappeared/absorbed) | •A sacred and prohibited place   | • Person, Elders or certain group conducted rite to communicate with ancestor/ <i>Opo</i> for certain purposes. They laid offerings.  |
|              | Spring water and a big tree   | <i>Loyan</i>   | •Ancestor residing place<br>•A sacred and prohibited place                 | • Children used to play in the place.   |
|              | Water flow  | <i>Rante</i>   | •A sacred and prohibited place   | • The community uses the place for bathing purposes.  |
| Pinabétengan | The Village   | Pinabetengan Village   | •The sacred living place   | • A community living place.   |

|  |   |  |   |   |
|--|---|--|---|---|
|  | A hill known as Tonderukan Hill contains hot and warm spring waters | <i>Rano I Kasuruan</i><br><br>(Water of God), also known as <i>Pinares</i> waterfall | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Ancestor residing place</li> <li>•Water for healing and purification purposes</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communities both from the village and the entire Minahasa use the water for many purposes including rituals, healings, purifications, bathing and recreation.</li> </ul>   |
|  | The Stone located below the hill, near the waterfall                | <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•The holy and sacred place</li> <li>•Ancestor's dwelling place</li> <li>•A historical place</li> <li>•A healing place</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Person, group of Minahasans or the community use the place for rituals, healing, cultural events and festivals, tourism and recreation, education and research.</li> </ul> |

Source; Respondents' Interview data 2011 by Author

Sacred natural places and land enable people to discover the hidden secrets and meanings of the landscape around them. Worldwide there has been a dramatic growth in interest in history of buildings, landscapes, sacred places, beliefs, and culture over the last few years. The evidence of this research reveals that the meanings, stories, and a history of the *genius loci* and the over arching cultural landscape are embedded into the Minahasan's landscape.

Landscape 'maps' are needed in order to better the land that lies beneath the feet. It will be of interest to all those who love history, sacred places, and sacred history, and people who enjoy exploring their ancestry and roots.

#### 6.4.4.1 Distinctive reference: the Sacred Stone - Watu Pinawetengan

A significant place called *Watu Pinawetengan* is located in *negerilwanua* (village) Pinabétengan contiguous to Mt "Toundurutan" (*Sempo*), which currently known as "Tonderukan Hill" (Aguw, 2011). *Watu Pinawetengan* is the paramount cultural landscape component of the living Minahasan people. As mentioned in the previous chapter, ancestors from different sub-ethnics groupings historically assembled in this place and divided the Minahasan land into four main sub-ethnic groupings based on language dialects, and these communities later evolved into 9 sub-ethnic groups (Graafland, 1881, p. 97; Palar, 2009, p. 117; Riedel, 1894, p. 31; Schwarz, 1907; Taulu, 1983, p.12; Wenas, 2007, 2010).

The ancient stone found in this hill zone has been investigated by both Westerners and Indonesians because both were interested in seeking to unravel the 'secret' behind the history of Minahasan culture from different perspectives.

In terms of this ancient belief system, the stone is associated with some important traditional rites which reinforce Minahasan culture, namely: *Peposanan Sanagio-gio*, attended by three sub-ethnic groups of Tombulu, Tonsea-Tewoh, and Tonkimbut (Tountemboan) and also the host, Tountumaratas. Each sub-ethnic group conducts rites according to the land divided by *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* (Riedel, 1869, p. 31, as translated in Wenas, 2010, p. 11). This narrative exhibits the Indigenous thought of pre-colonization Minahasans in managing their land and environment.

There are also other associated intangible cultural components embedded in the place linked to the Minahasans' ancestors, including events at Tonderukan hill (in precolonial era was named Awoan Hill). This hill is named in a ceremonial rite "*Pinawetengan In nuwu*" (Schwarz, 1907; Supit, 1986, p. 29). The rite was led by the three highest leaders -- *Muntu-Untu*, *Kopero*, and *Mioyo*. Riedel wrote of these individuals in slightly different nomenclature: *Muntu-Untu*, *Mandey* and *Mioyoh* (Riedel, 1870, p. 13).

The key ancient rite linked to this place embodies the ancestor's wisdoms for the Minahasans (Supit, 1986, p. 29; Respondent Interview 2011), namely:

*Nuwu I tu'a:*

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Sapakem si kayoba'an anio</i>        | (It is the Minahasa Land)                             |
| <i>Tana ta imbaya!</i>                  | (our homeland)  |
| <i>Asi endo makasa</i>                  | (one day in the future)                               |
| <i>Sa ma'em si ma'api</i>               | (when "ma'api" come (the bird Manguni)                |
| <i>Wetengan e pa'tuasan</i>             | (will be divided by "wetengan" (the leader)           |
| <i>Wetengan eng kayoba'an</i>           | (the leaders divided the land)                        |
| <i>Tumani e kumeter</i>                 | (spread out (to be independent)                       |
| <i>Mapar e waraney</i>                  | (snatch o yee the warrior)                            |
| <i>Akad se tu'us tumow o tumow toow</i> | (until descendant grow (bring life) for other people) |

*Nuwu I Ngeluan:*

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Sa kita esa, sumerar kita</i>                | (when we are assembled, we firmly united)  |
| <i>Sa kita sumerar, esa kita</i>                | (If we have firmed, we are one)  |
| <i>Tumani e toutumuwu</i>                       | (Make efforts in pioneering and be autonomous)                                       |
| <i>Am bawaya, sapake' em pataled, sarun sia</i> | (Altogether, when we meet anything, then face it!)                                   |
| <i>En natenu, karengan pute ong kakete-</i>     |  |
| <i>I watu anio</i>                              | (Your heart is as hard as this stone)  |
| <i>Ambisa ke eng kateka'an mu, mapat ko</i>     | (Where ever you are, take the authority)   |
| <i>Ta'an kawisa ke we'e mio andeken em-</i>     |  |
| <i>pused e Opo</i>                              | (However, at anytime, put in your heart (your mind) God is the centre of everything) |

These two important wisdoms expressed by Minahasan leaders constitute the living values of the Minahasans and their need to stay and connect with their homeland, and build wisely, managing and



respecting their land. The wisdoms *Nuwu I tu'a* and *Nuwu I ngeluan* are more recently known as "*Amanat Watu Pinawetengan*" (Supit, 1986).

Watu Pinabetengan bequeaths narratives depicted in ancient figures and scratches on the *Watu Pinawetengan* stone, which express the results of their decisions and also the symbols of an ancestral language. Interestingly, many researchers have tried to interpret the hieroglyphs on the stone based on science and their understanding of the Minahasan language. For example, Riedel wrote of this sacred stone in his book "*Watu Rerumeran ne Empung*", as being the sitting stone of ancestors when they conducted meetings; Riedel has linked the place through pictures to Minahasan ancient folklore (Riedel, 1869, p. 3). Another Westerner, Schwarz, attempted to interpret the meaning of the pictures in *Watu Pinawetengan* in his "*Ethnographica uit de Minahassa*" to explain the folklore and legends he obtained from the Minahasan community (Schwarz, 1905, pp. 5-7, cited in Wenas, 2007, p. 36).

While European knowledge of Minahasan ethnography in 18<sup>th</sup> century was limited, Minahasan Elders or cultural activists (*tona'as*) could narrate the meanings of pictures using their traditional thinking or through supernatural thoughts in disclosing the Indigenous Minahasans' culture – to most 'rationally-minded' Westerners this ethno-science is not acceptable. However, the ancestors explain their existence in the pictograph figures and their Indigenous perspectives through the stone, which ultimately expresses the Minahasan philosophy to contemporary Minahasans. Some of the pictographs have gradually eroded because of time and climate factors. The ancient scripts are depicted in Figure 6.15.



Figure 6.15  
Ancient Script in Watu Pinawetengan (Photographs by Author, 2011)



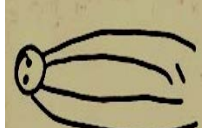
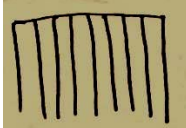
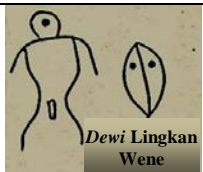
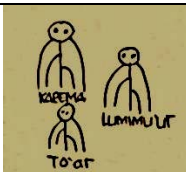



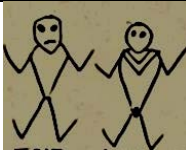



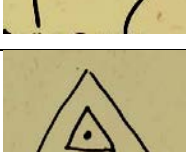

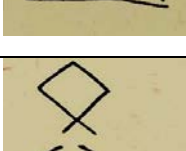
The sacred place *Watu Pinawetengan* has been recognized and labelled in several terminologies according to its embodiment and connections with the community, as described in Table 6.20.

**Table 6.20**  
**Minahasans' Perception on Sacred Place Watu Pinawetengan**  
 Source: Riedel 1870; Schwarz 1907; Supit 1986; Wenas 2010; Respondent Interview data 2011)

| Associated names  | Functional of place  | Implication and values   |
|---|--|--|
| <i>Watu Kaposanan/Poposanan</i>   | A place to give offering in a ceremonial/rite ( <i>posan</i> or <i>pellii</i> = <i>pamali</i> or prohibited) | The ancestors <i>Toar</i> and <i>Lumimu'ut</i> received blessing to have descendants given by <i>Empung Wailan wangko</i>        |
| <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i><br><i>Watu Pinerbagean</i><br><i>Pinawetengan I Nuwu</i> | A place of ethnic devision and land territories  | The Minahasan Land has been divided into 9 sub-ethnic communities and so, divided the language                                   |
| <i>Rano I kasuruan</i>  | A holy place   | Many people were healed through the traditional practice " <i>makatana</i> "   |
| <i>Watu Pinasungkulan</i>   | A meeting and assembly place   | The first concept of democracy applied to Minahasa and (possibly) to Indonesia   |
| <i>Watu Pinaesa'an</i>  | An assembly place of ancestors from the 9 different sub-ethnic groups  | Emotional bond and connection as Minahasan community   |
| <i>Watu Tumotowa</i>  | A predominant natural stone altar to call <i>Opo Empung</i> – The God.                                       | <i>Fosso</i> and rites to ask God/ <i>Opo Empung</i> for immunity, strength and safety before travelling outside of the homeland |
| <i>Watu Rerumeran ni Empung</i>   | Ancestors' sitting place to ponder internal and external problems which occurred in Minahasa land            | A place for assembling and making decisions  |
| <i>"Maka une-uner antanak ne Mahasa"</i>  | A place for Minahasan leaders to negotiate and pledge  | Unification of all sub-ethnics   |

The interpretations of pictures in *Watu Pinawetengan* are detailed in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21  
Interpretation of script in Watu Pinawetengan

| Pictures/symbols  | Meanings and interpretations  | Pictures/symbols   | Meanings and interpretations  |
|---|---|--|---|
|    | Picture above the stone: <i>Karema</i> (left), <i>Lumimu'ut</i> (middle) and the baby <i>Toar</i> (right).                                      |    | Season of hunting <i>babi rusa</i> or forest pigs.  |
|    | <i>Karema</i> is the goddess of stars ( <i>Karemema</i> = stars), described as meteor/Halley's Comet. To signify a big event that had occurred. |    | The nine - thin sticks made of palm tree/ <i>seho</i> tree. Represents the nine times sound of <i>Manguni bird</i> , to legitimate a decision of the goddess <i>Muntu-Untu</i> .  |
|    | A picture of a lady, the goddess of riches ( <i>Dewi Kesuburan</i> ). The goddess of paddy was called " <i>Lingkan wene</i> ".                  |    | Picture of three persons on the western side, below the stone: the goddesses <i>Karema</i> , <i>Lumimu'ut</i> and <i>Toar</i> . The symbol indicated they were wearing robes made of leaves.  |
|   | A symbol of ground plants (such as nuts) and the hook stick to make a hole for planting seeds.  |   | Trap for <i>babi-rusa/babi hutan</i> ( <i>Babiroussa babiroussa</i> ). The circle with the two dots was the pig nose. The two lines symbolized fences to lead the wild animal to a trap.  |
|  | A symbol of <i>Pari</i> fish ( <i>nyoa</i> ) representing the planting season.  |  | Picture of two persons: <i>Toar</i> (left) and <i>Lumimu'ut</i> (right) found on the western side of the stone. The picture was similar to a picture found in a natural cave in Angano, East Philippines.   |
|  | A symbol of the entrance to the settlement area/ <i>wanua</i> .   |  | A picture of a woman from sideview of the stone. It was interpreted as <i>Rinuntunan</i> - wife of <i>Muntu-Untu Kumokomba</i> - who in the 7 <sup>th</sup> Century was avowed as the goddess of richness ( <i>Dewi kesuburan</i> ) (Riedel 1894, p. 9 in Wenas 2007, p. 32).       |
|  | A symbol of a trap to catch wild animal; <i>babi hutan</i> .  |  | The location of <i>Tona'as Wangko</i> the goddess <i>Muntu-Untu</i> - the house or roof can be seen from the front side (construed by <i>Tona'as</i> Joel Lumenta - in Wenas 2007).   |
|  | A symbol of a necklace, made of shell skins, found on the edge of <i>Wulilin</i> Lake, <i>Tombatu</i> .   |  | Above is a picture of fish to determine the particular season and territory division for fishing in the lake, river and sea. Below is the tail of millipede or <i>Kama</i> , the symbol of <i>Karema</i> . It was also a symbol of clearing the land for settlement or agriculture. |

Sources; Riedel 1870, p. 3; Schwarz 1905, pp. 5-7; Graafland 1881; Taulu 1981<sup>a</sup>; Wenas 2007, p. 38; and Interviews 2011 and 2012

In primordial Minahasan belief system, *Watu Pinawetengan* possessed sacred meaning that embraced a territorial area and hierarchy. Narratives gained from the Elders in Pinabétengan and the surrounding areas have mentioned several associations between sites and artifacts, and connection to the greater sacred place in the ancient period (Interview data 2011 and 2012). The evidences and findings of places and associated artifacts during the researcher's field observation with the ISBSU (*Institut Seni Budaya Sulawesi Utara* – The Institute of Art and Culture in North Sulawesi) research team have made an interim conclusion based upon the orientations and hierarchy connection of each place to the main highest sacred place -- *Kuntung Soputan/ Mt Soputan*. From this hierarchy of connections assumption, the primordial Minahasans' sacred place is constructed in Figure 6.16.

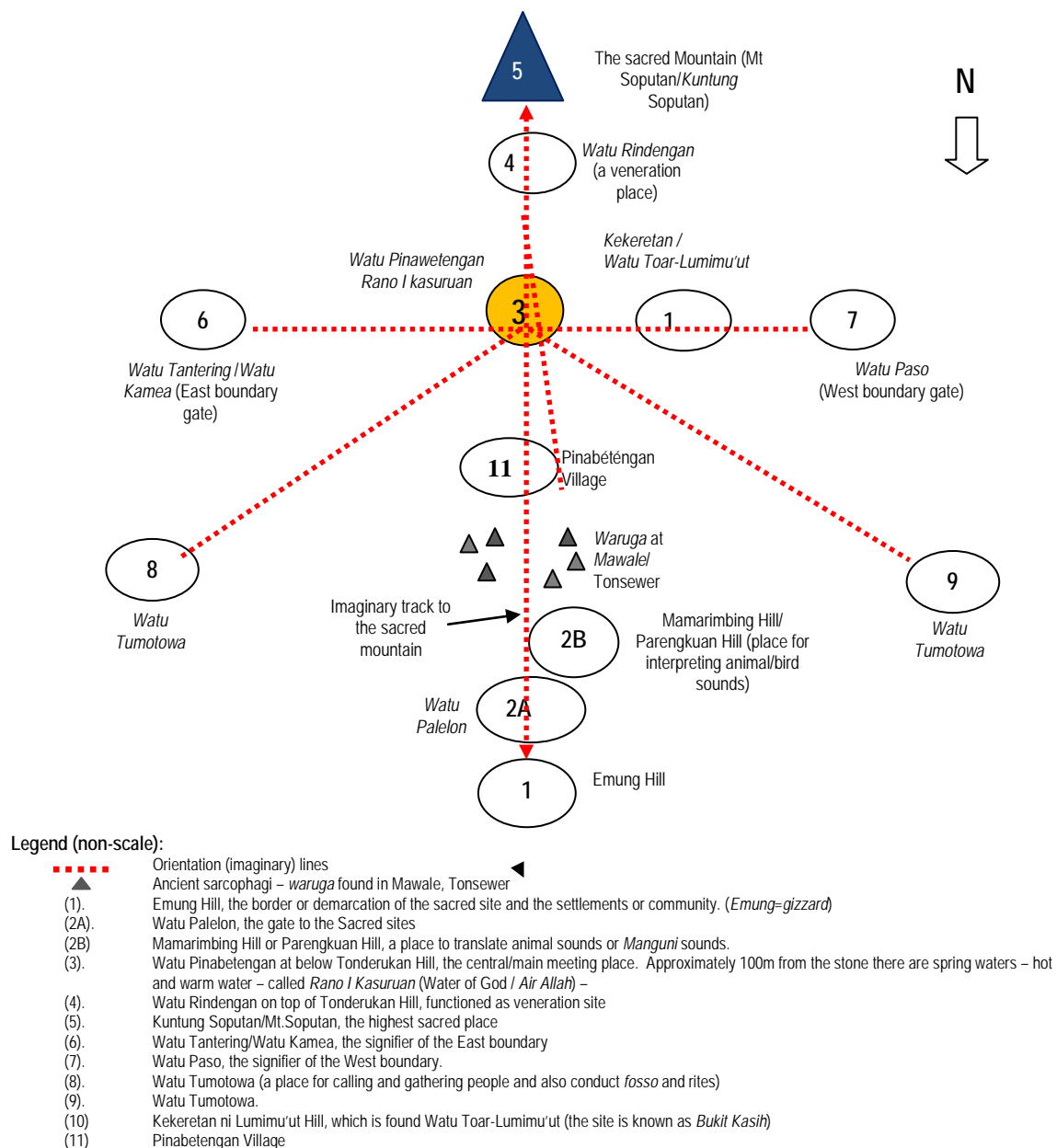


Figure 6.16  
The Ancient Minahasans' Sacred Place in the centre of the land (*Tu'ur in Tana*)  
(Source: by Author and ISBSU team)

Those artefacts and places found are based on empirical investigation and ancient narratives gained from the Elders who live in several villages around *Watu Pinawetengan* (in Kanonang, Tonsewer, Pinabétengan, Tumaratas, Ampreng and Toure). The acknowledgement of the sacred 'territory' comes from Minahasans' subjects – *tona'as*, *healers*, *cultural activists* – and their experiences in interacting with the places, mostly in the form of *fosso* (ritual and ceremonial) traditions (Interview data 2011 and 2012). The greater sacred place embeds more of the atmosphere of *genius loci* in *Watu Pinawetengan* territory, which bound the Minahasans' emotions to the past cultural dignity.

Thus, the sacred values of *Watu Pinawetengan* will not be lost in the hearts and minds of the Minahasans. The stone embraces an atmosphere where the sub-ethnics in Minahasa are united and the symbolic meaning of hieroglyphics in the stone reflect the cultural change in Minahasa, the settlements and its patterns, the community hierarchy, the scattered administrative system, the livelihood of hunting and farming, and other related ways of life being.

Figure 6.17 to 6.21 show the sacred *Pinawetengan* site and the built environment, and the way Minahasans interpret the stone based upon its shape and cultural associations, and a series of pictures showing the emotional connections to the place over time.

- Minahasans' interpretation of the Sacred Stone and place

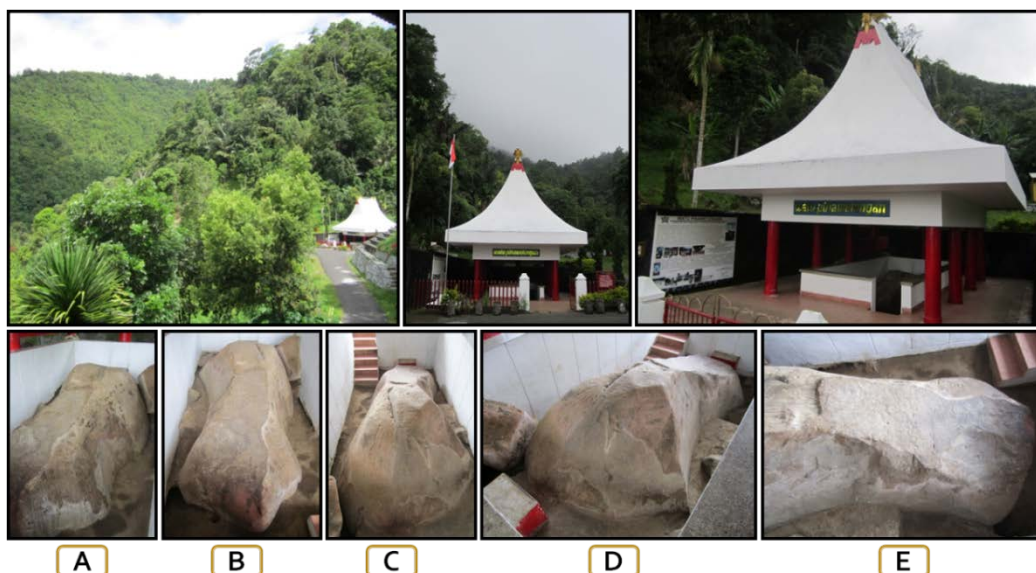


Figure 6.17

The Sacred Place *Watu Pinawetengan* in different interpretations and meanings.

- A. Entrance gate to the highest sacred place; B. Represents the shape of Minahasa Land; C. A kneeling mother earth-*Lumimu'ut*; D. Wise Stick (usually owned by *tona'as*); E. *Karema* in sleep position/*Karema's* dwelling place  
(Source: Interview Data 2011; Photographs by the Author)

- Cultural Festivals



Figure 6.18  
Annual art and cultural event at Watu Pinawetengan area  
(Photographs by ISBSU, 7 July 2011)

- Rituals and Ceremonials



Figure 6.19  
Spontaneous ceremony on every 3rd January by *Komunitas Adat "Minaesa'an"* in 2011 and *Komunitas Adat "Waraney Wuaya"* Tombulu in 2014  
Photographs by *Minaesa'an* Tombulu and *Mawale* Movement Centre 2014



Figure 6.20. Ritual Tradition of *Komunitas Adat* Minahasa:  
"Toar-Lumimu'ut" - Tonsea (Left), "Laskar Maesa" - Tolour (Middle) and "Waraney Wuaya" - Tombulu  
(Photographs by Author 2012 and *Mawale* Movement Centre 2014)

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held by the University of Adelaide Library.

Figure 6.21  
Sub-ethnic group and individual rites and ceremonies  
(Photographs by Author (left), *Komunitas Adat "Waraney Wuaya"*, Tombulu (Middle)  
*Komunitas Adat "Laskar Maesa"* – Tolour (right)

#### 6.4.4.2 Rano ni Empung at Mt Empung

The most significant sacred place to the Minahasan's is the *Watu Pinawetengan*. However, it is recorded also in Graafland's *De geestesarbeid der Alifoeren in de Minahassa gedurende de heidensche periode in Land en Volkenkunde van Neerlandsch Indie* (Graafland, 1881; Wenas, 2007; Respondent Interview, 2012) that there was a significant sacred place called *Rano ni Empung* located on Mt Empung (*Mount of God*), near Mt Lokon. This place is considered the first where Minahasan ancestors used to conduct a ritual and prayed, repeating the words *Opo Empung Wailan Wangko* in a religious ceremony involving worship (Graafland, 1881, pp. 97-98; Wenas, 2007). As written in Graafland's book the ancestors prayed in their language:

*"O empung wailan! O empung rengarengan. Turuan – ei u lalan karoundoran, wo tija u lalan ka'engkolan!*  
(Graafland 1881, p.98) ("O God the omnipotent and the Glorious One, show us the right path and not the wrong path (translation: Jessy Wenas)

At the top of mountain is a stone altar and below is a water hole called "tambulenias" meaning "sacred lake" (*telaga suci*) and a flat stone for conducting rites.

Based upon Graafland's notes, *Rano ni Empung* is thought to have become a central place of precolonial ethnic religion in Minahasa, where he (Graafland as an outsider) witnessed "paposanan", a place to conduct *fosso* or religious ceremony, and for the first time heard the Minahasan people mention and name 'God'. The outsiders (the Dutch) labelled the primordial Minahasans as *alifoer/alifuru* or 'wild people', or people with primitive behaviour who believe in polytheism (Graafland in Montolalu, 1991, p. 90). However, this 'judgment' is contrary to the views of most Minahasans, historians, theologians and many others. *Alifuru*, according to GA Wilken, is when people live in the wild with nature; moreover Musschenbroek translated the term as "... wild and free from dominance or power over people or person" (Wilken, 1863).

Traditional healers who live near the place and also a few of *'tona'as/samanists/spiritualists* mentioned some cultural routines which have taken place on the site (Interview respondent, 2012). Cultural activists also use certain plants that grow around the place and stones for curative medicine. Thus, the name "Mt Empung" and "Rano ni Empung" were colonially imposed based upon the historical background of the Minahasa as documented in Graafland's 1881 – published book.

The mythological and historical events evidenced at both *Watu Pinawetengan* and *Rano ni Empung* make these places symbolic of and central to orientations in understanding the ancient Minahasan culture. Both places possess significant roles and values in revealing Indigenous culture and in unifying all Minahasans.

### 6.4.4.3 Artefacts and Archaeological Sites

Artefacts and archaeological sites were analysed as a component of *genius loci*; this is important in qualifying the Minahasans' cultural landscape. Some artefacts coincide with or have been found at archaeological sites. Relic artefacts are regarded as comprising evidence to the Minahasans in recognizing their cultural possessions, which have been created according to their local knowledge. Evidence found in the selected case studies can be considered as important to the Minahasans' cultural landscape components.

#### *Re-identification of Artefacts*

This section describes evidence of artefacts in the case study areas. The evidence was obtained from in-depth interviews with respondents, in particular Elders and cultural activists. The researcher is keenly aware of constraints to fieldwork, in particular time and cost. Hence, related information of some places and artefacts documented in the interviews has not been followed up with photographs to provide physical evidence. However, the knowledge and experiences of the key informants in the village on artifacts are excerpted and detailed as follows:

#### Ro'ong village

- The community recognizes an old Minahasan wooden house that contains an artefact called *lisung* that is used for threshing paddy or coffee. The artefact exists inside of the house. The respondent (the owner) recalls that this artefact was taken from Tondano Lake near Pelelo'an Village. This artefact was taken for a museum collection in Manado City in 1968. However, the *lisung* reappeared back in the house in a supernatural way (Respondent Interview 17<sup>th</sup> April 2011). The artefact *lisung* has been used in traditional crop processes since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and to some degree it is and remains an object of social interaction to the community in the village. The *lisung* object is shown in Figure 6.22.



Figure 6.22: Cultural artefact called *lisung* in Ro'ong Village  
(Photographs by the Author, taken 17<sup>th</sup> April 2011)



### Watumea Village

- A well-known historical building, recognised as the “Watumea Church”, is the oldest church in Minahasa, and was designed Dutch Zending Rooker in 1868. The church is still maintained as a structure and functions as a significant cultural property to the Minahasans for the community’s religious activities (as shown in Figure 6.23).



Figure 6.23: Historical old church in *Wanua* Watumea, established in 1867 in Dutch colonization era (Photograph by the Author 2011)

- Some other artefacts that are considered evidence in Watumea village are the three sarcophagi ‘*waruga*’. Based upon a respondent’s narrative and observations, the *waruga* have a significant connection with the historical establishment of the village. However, the community in the village does not understand the cultural value of the *waruga* and they have dismantled and damaged them. The pieces of *waruga* are still located at a private residence.

### Telap Village

- Several important places in Telap depict the hereditary history of *Wengkang*, a leader of *walak*/district Kakas, and *Gerungan*, leaders of *walak* Toundano who lived in the 15th century. They had roles as leaders in battles against outsiders, in particular the Mongondouw tribe (Jasper, 1916, p. 281-283; Riedel, 1970). Observation and interview records several places deemed as *Wengkang* and *Gerungan*’s meeting places. The villagers are value *Wengkang* and *Gerungan* as Minahasan defenders and heroes, and appreciate them with the appellation “*Dotu*” (*Apo/Opo*). In connection to the narratives, respondents are definite that some places possess historical values to the community, namely: *Watu Pinatik*, a flat bas-relief stone 5 m long and 4 m wide. On the surface of the stone is a relief picture of *Dotu Wengkang* and *Dotu Gerungan*. Their body length is around 2 m and shoulders approximately 95 cm wide. The

stone is labelled as ‘two men-carved stone’, located at the edge of a stream in the forest area approximately 6 km in distance from the village, in the Lembean Mountains (excerpt from interview of Telap respondents 03, 05, 06 and 07). *Watu Pinatik* is detailed in Figure 6.24.



Figure 6.24  
*Watu (stone) Pinatik*, found in the forest near a stream, 6 km from Telap Village  
(Source: L. Ratulangi-Sugandhi)

- Another place that has a historical connection to *Dotu Wengkang* and *Dotu Gerungan* is a table stone located to the south of the village on a hill adjacent the Lake. On the stone are pictures of *Dotu Wengkang* and *Dotu Gerungan*. The place is deemed a meeting and resting place for these commanders (shown in Figures 6.25). In recent years the community has used the place for specific rituals or services. The land has become an important cultural property component of the village.



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Figure 6.25  
*Wengkang and Gerungan Hill and the Table Stone*  
located near to the Lake, in Telap Village (Photographs by the Author 2011)

- Other artefacts in Telap village include *Watu Keko'an*, a meeting place or resting place of ancestors, located in one of the *kobong* or plantation areas (as shown in Figure 6.26). Occasionally, certain community groups use this place for ritual purposes.



Figure 6.26  
*Watu keko'an* located in private plantation areas, in Telap Village.  
(Photograph by the Author 2011)

- Artefacts known as *waruga* that are *sarcophagus* dating from the Minahasan pre-colonization era also exist in this village. Two *waruga* identify the village as one of the earliest settlements in the region, as depicted in Figure 6.27.



Figure 6.27  
Sarcophagi (known as *waruga*) in Telap Village:  
pictures 1 and 3 are the *waruga* and picture 2 is the small cup and plate found inside the *waruga*  
(Photographs by the Author 2011)

### Pelelo'an Village

- An artefact that is recognized in Pelelo'an Village is *batu kadera* (Figure 6.28). This artefact is located inside a restaurant near the Lake. Previously the place was an open space. The stone is respected as symbol of Minahasan ancestors in connection to the Lake in the past. Folklore gained from respondents in the village concluded that this stone and its periphery express folklore and ominous occurrences such as sinking, death and car accidents (Respondent Interview data, 2011). This space and the artefact are contentiously viewed as symbols of a forbidden space containing prohibition rules.



Figure 6.28  
*Batu Kadera* in Pelelo'an Village  
 (Photographs by the Author 2011)

- The community recognizes a historical place in Pelelo'an Village known as *Watu Pelelo'an*. This place and its associated stones are perceived as a "place for contemplation" and for viewing the landscape or scenes. Another villager labelled this stone *watu tangga* as the "stairs stone" because in the past it functioned as ancestors' resting and sitting place. The stone is now covered with wild plants and is minimally managed by the community. The way the community perceives and defines a place reflects the relationship between people's cognitive perceptions and landscape connections.

#### Pulutan Village

- In Pulutan Village, *lumasot* and *lengkoan* in plantation areas are identified as meeting places of ancestors. The community perceives the places to be sacred. The landscape features of these places are stony and flat with a few large stones. The stones represent the local's cognition and perception of the place as a spiritual signifier (Interview data, 2011).

#### Lininga'an village

- The community recognizes a few important artefacts in the village. Firstly, *watu Panibe* or "*batu penjuru negeri*". The stone functions to signify the boundary of the village and also as an ancestors' meeting place. *Watu Panibe* was placed near the Tondano River and in *Kobong Ketama*. Lininga'an was the first re-built settlement after the old settlement – Minawanua -- on the Lake was totally destroyed by the Dutch in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- The *keko'an* stone (*keko'an* = drink) near a grassy open space called Sparta Tondano, adjacent to the Tondano River. *Keko'an* is recognized also as an ancestors' meeting place.

Because there is little known about the stone, it was accidentally disregarded when people built a hotel on the site. However, half of the stone still appears piercing the ground surface.

- Sarcophagi (*Waruga*) are also found in Tounsukun and Toulumuten plantation areas (see Figure 6.29). The artefacts are not documented or listed in provincial or regional archaeological inventories. Based upon the knowledge of respondents, the *Waruga* belonged to ancestors who lived in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and are claimed to belong to *Lingkan Bene* (*dewi padl*). The researcher visited the site and found that the sarcophagus was little maintained. The *Waruga* is located below a hill. The body of *Waruga* and its lid are separated from one another by approximately 5 m (see in Figure 6.29 below).



Figure 6.29  
Waruga Lingkan Bene, found separately in Tounsukun plantation area  
(Photographs by the Author 2012)

In Minahasan belief there is a tradition called *Simoro Waruga* (*Mera Waruga* in *Tombulu* sub-ethnic language and *Lumales Waruga* in *Tonsea* sub-ethnic language) (shown in Figure 6.30) which talks about the return and repositioning of artefacts as they were before being apparently disturbed; the tradition usually undertaken by calling a *tona'as* to conduct a ritual to the ancestors. This tradition still exists in Minahasan folklore and this cultural artefact is seen as an important component for the maintenance and communication of cultural and historical knowledge.

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Figure 6.30  
*Mera Waruga* tradition in Tombulu ethnic  
(Photographs by BodeTalumewo)

- In *Kobong Tounsukun* -- farmers' plantation areas – is found the debris of *Kure* (cooking pot), a kind of ancient tool or for internment tradition, which indicated that in the past the area was occupied by Bantik Mongondouw ethnic group (Respondent Interview 2011).
- Lininga'an also possesses a historical large tree called *sesebungan*, which functioned as ancestors' assembly place. In the past, the Elders conducted rituals when building the settlement/*wanua*. The historical tree has its connection with Minahasans mythology of sacred bird *manguni*. According to the Elders' creed, the nine sounds given by *manguni* in the place was a legitimation to establish *wanua* or settlement. A *tona'as* namely *Mamarimbing* led the ritual and labeled the place as *Lininga'an si koko* or "a place when sounds of bird was being heard" (Respondent Interview 2011).

### Kembuan – Tonsea Lama Village

- Kembuan possesses some significant artefacts of sarcophagi as cultural properties (Figure 6.31). Based upon respondent interviews and observations, the *waruga* were deemed to belong to ancestors *Dotu Lengkong Waya* and *Dotu Wenas Rumbayan (Opo Sokomen)*. The *waruga* are found in plantation areas, while some other *waruga* near the forest remain anonymous and their role and associations are unknown.



Figure 6.31  
Artefact "*waruga*" found in Kembuan Village, respectively  
1. *Waruga Dotu Lengkong Waya*. 2 and 3 are anonymous (Photographs by the Author 2011)

- An area known as *Kobong Sea* is claimed to be a place for making *waruga*. In this place assembled bodies and lids of *waruga* spread around the location have been identified. A similar place for making *waruga* is found in the sloping area of Mt Tata'an, near Tondano River, about 900 m from the main road in Sawangan district, North Minahasa (Interview with the custodian of *Taman Purbakala Waruga*, Sawangan 2011).

### Tanggari Village

- This village is deemed one of oldest villages in Minahasa and also hosts sarcophagi artefacts. Over 20 *Waruga* are known to exist, most being taken from Kayu Pute village in Saduan Lama (early settlement village) after a big flood occurred and submerged all the *waruga* there. The remaining *waruga* were excavated and re-located in a certain place in the current village (Figure 6.32).



Figure 6.32  
Some artefacts *waruga* (sarcophagi) in Tanggari Village  
(Photographs by the Author 2011)

### Rurukan Village

- Rurukan has no significant artefacts. However the community acknowledges the narrative of a historical stone *Watu Kinembengan* which was taken from *Kobong Kinembengan* near Kulo area in Tondano. One respondent recalled a narrative, derived from Elders of the village, which told of a hunter from *Tonsea lama* (*Dotu Rumbayan Sokomen*) who went hunting and saw a wild pig (*babi hutan – Sus celebensis*) appearing from *Kinonta'an* forest, whereupon he chased the animal to the *Kinembengan* plantation area near Rurukan. In *Kinembengan* there is a stone which depicts foot prints of a human and a pig, and also a spear which are claimed to be the hunter's (Figure 6.33). Based upon the Minahasan ancient belief system, in order to move objects that belong to or are inherited from ancestors to another place, "permission" should be sought through a ritual tradition. Hence, when moving this stone to Rurukan Village, the community conducted a *Mangopo* ritual (Respondent Interviews 08 and 11, in 2011 and 2012). This ritual is similar to that of *Mera Waruga*, which is undertaken to move artefacts to other places and hence to amend the place's purpose. In 1948, a stone was laid near an anniversary statue, which was erected when the community celebrated 100 years of *Negeri* (village) Rurukan.



Figure 6.33  
A historical stone *Watu Kinembengan* and an anniversary statue of *negeri Rurukan*  
(Photographs by the Author, taken 19th May 2011)

### Kinilow Village


- Kinilow Village is acknowledged as being the first settlement established by the ancestors on high flat land in Tomohon, and located adjacent to Mt Lokon and Mt Empung. Narratives derived from the Elders tell of the earlier inhabitants – known as Makiog'loz and his family, with his nine sons -- lived previously in the old village called *Nawanua* or *Kinilow Tua* close to Mt Lokon. Thereupon an epidemic disease and a conflagration occurred and destroyed the houses and all the properties, which led the villagers to move to the current place.

The village possesses some artefacts and historical places as their cultural component and these are claimed to have connections to Minahasan ancestors. The places and artefacts are: sarcophagi (*waruga*), *Watu meja Ranoapo* and *Dodoku Batu Kinakoloan*. The researcher did not visit two of the three places narrated by respondents during the fieldwork in this village due to constraints on fieldwork, as mentioned above.

Folklore obtained from the respondents revealed several narratives about each place, depicted in Table 6.22.



Table 6.22  
Description of Artefacts in Kinilow Village

| Artefact Name                 | Description  | Associated Folklores  | Category                     |
|-------------------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
| <i>Waruga sarcopaghi</i>      | Memorial stones<br> | Two waruga exist near the village government office, which are claimed to belong to Elder <i>Dotu/Opo</i> Dien. The other <i>Waruga</i> is anonymous as to its associations. Other waruga exist in a hidden place in the plantation forest areas.   | Associated cultural material |
| <i>Watu meja Ranoapo</i>      | A table stone (dimension 2 x 1)<br>Picture - nil   | <i>Ranoapo</i> site contains a table stone, water hole and a big tree (or <i>tangkokow</i> ). Certain people have their belief and practice communication with ancestors in a ritual to <i>Opo Empung</i> called <i>Mahz'reta/lumeta/rumeta/rumages</i> for healing or other needs. In the rite they prepare offerings.   | Associated cultural material |
| <i>Dodoku Batu Kinakoloan</i> | A bridge stone<br>Picture - nil  | The folklore of <i>Dotu</i> Tarandung or Tetewatu carried part of Mt Lokon. <i>Kinakoloan</i> is claimed to be the <i>Dotu's</i> resting place before he continued his journey to Mount Kalabat. He left his wife in <i>Kinakoloan</i> , and his wife then became a bridge stone. Near the bridge exists a water hole called <i>matembe</i> , which based upon the creed that if a woman takes water in <i>matembe</i> the water will stop flowing. Several phenomena have been proven, which has made this perception valid. | Associated cultural material |

Source: Respondent Interview, taken 24-25 May 2011, by Author

### Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan Village

- The community acknowledges a significant cultural component about 1 km from the village called *Watu Sinisir* that exists in *Kobong Sinisir* near Poigar River at the boundary between Minahasa and Mongondouw regions. A big stone approximately 7m height is embedded in a sloping area. On the surface of the stone is found the footprint of ancestor *Dotu Siouw Kurur*. Aside from the stone there are nine artefacts or *lisung*. The place is narrated to be *Dotu/Opo* Sigar's place for bathing. A few people have witnessed seeing a short black snake here which they believe to be the 'guardian' of the place. The site was also a boundary defence place

against the Mongondouw tribe (excerpt from Interview Respondent 01 Wulurma'atus – refer to Appendix 3).

- One respondent recalled a place on the hill recognized as *Goa Wulurma'atus*, which is claimed to be the place of *Dotu/Tu'a Wulurma'atus* and his wife. A few people have journeyed to and interacted with the place; to some extent they conducted a ritual and a person served as a medium to speak to *Dotu Wulurma'atus*, whom they believed resided in the cave. In a rite, they requested protection called *pusaka/sombar*. A respondent who was formerly a *tona'as* and a traditional healer, and who has experienced going to the place several times and witnessing a *pusaka*, said that an apparition came out from the middle of the stone where the water dropped onto the stone. The community acknowledges the historical value of the place, and its potential to serve as a culturally significant place in the village.

#### Pinabéténgan Village

- Artefacts in this village are described separately in the section *Sacred Place* – refers to section 6.4.4.1.

This section concludes that artefacts and their periphery constitute substance or potential *locus* that embrace place and region, wherein the Minahasan people possess their traditional oral history, which in some cases contain supernatural thought and event. Myths linked to artefacts in the study area are culturally symbolic and express the Minahasan identity and social structure. Hence, to Minahasans these places are considered 'sacred'. Such possessions and all narratives have also an aesthetic quality that has continued for generations. As a component of *genius loci* and cultural landscape, artefacts are a manifestation of the Minahasan confirmation or charters of their social facts and beliefs. Overall evidences of artefacts associated with cultural landscape are identified and summarized in Table 6.23 (see next page).

**Table 6.23**  
**Summary of Artefacts recorded in the Case Study Locations**

| Village/ Location        | Significant names  | Feature  | Cultural Association  |
|--------------------------|--|--|---|
| Ro'ong                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Lisung</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancient grinding stone</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A relic/tool from pre-colonization era</li> </ul>  |
| Tolour                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>waruga</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> </ul>  |
| Watumea                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Watumea Church</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Religious Building</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An oldest historical building established by Dutch in 18<sup>th</sup> Century</li> </ul>   |
| Telap                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>waruga</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Pinatik</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Wengkang Gerungan</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu keko'an</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> <li>• Flat carved stone</li> <li>• Table stone</li> <li>• Table stone</li> </ul>                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> <li>• Historical ancestor's inheritance from 15<sup>th</sup> century</li> <li>• Ancestor's assembly place</li> <li>• Ancestor's resting place</li> </ul>   |
| Pelelo'an                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Watu Kadera</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Pélélo'an</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sitting stone</li> <li>• Sitting stone</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancestor's resting place, sacred</li> <li>• Ancestor's resting place</li> </ul>  |
| Pulutan                  | nil  | nil  | nil   |
| Lininga'an               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Waruga</i></li> <li>• <i>Keko'an - Watu Panibe (near the river)</i></li> <li>• <i>Keko'an - Watu Panibe (in Kobong Ketama)</i></li> <li>• <i>Walewatu Tounsukun</i></li> <li>• <i>Walewatu Tounipus</i></li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> <li>• Boundary Stone</li> <li>• As above</li> <li>• Stone house</li> <li>• Stone house</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> <li>• Ancestor's meeting place and evidence of tradition in building settlement/<i>wanua/negeri</i></li> <li>• As above</li> <li>• Ancestor's dwelling place – <i>Dotu Koyansouw</i></li> <li>• Ancestor's dwelling place – <i>Dotu Makalonsouw</i></li> </ul> |
| Kembuan Tonsea Lama      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>waruga</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> <li>• <i>Waruga</i> belonged to ancestors: <i>Dotu Lengkong Waya</i> and <i>Dotu Wenas Rumbayan/Sokomen</i>.</li> <li>• Few of <i>waruga</i> exist in the forest</li> </ul>  |
| Tanggari                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>waruga</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> </ul>  |
| Makalonsouw              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Walewatu</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Pepera'an ni Lumimu'ut</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu keko'an</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stone House</li> <li>• Large flat stone</li> <li>• table stone</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sacred stone /dwelling place of <i>Dotu Makalonsouw</i> and <i>Makarensouw</i></li> <li>• Ancestor's resting place</li> <li>• Ancestor's resting place</li> </ul>  |
| Rurukan                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Watu Kinembengan</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Opo Masarang</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A Stone contains animal footprint</li> <li>• A table stone</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancestor's historical evidence</li> <li>• A place to conduct rite to <i>Opo Empung</i></li> </ul>  |
| Kinilow                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Waruga</i></li> <li>• <i>Batu Dodoku</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Ranoapo</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sarcophagi</li> <li>• Bridge stone</li> <li>• Table stone</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Burial tradition in pre-colonization era</li> <li>• Ancestor's inheritance</li> <li>• Ancestor's inheritance</li> </ul>  |
| Wulurmaatus – Kakenturan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Watu Sinisir</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A large stone containing footprint of <i>Dotu Siouw Kurur</i> and the 9 of <i>Lisung</i></li> </ul>                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancestor's heirloom storage place</li> <li>• Ancestor's bathing place (<i>Dotu Sigar</i>)</li> <li>• Historical battle with Mongondouw Tribe</li> </ul>  |
| Tumaratas                | nil  | nil  | nil   |
| Pinabétengan             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Siouw Kurur</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Kopero</i></li> <li>• <i>Watu Tumotowa</i></li> <li>• <i>Tree of Siouw Kurur</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Altar Stone</li> <li>• Large Stone</li> <li>• Large Stone</li> <li>• Statue Stone</li> <li>• Sacred tree</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sacred stone, ancestor's meeting place, historical stone, veneration place</li> <li>• Ancestor's inheritance</li> <li>• Ancestor's inheritance</li> <li>• Ancestor's assemble place</li> </ul>   |

Sources: Author's Observation and Respondent Interview April – July 2011 and July 2012

## Re-identification of Archaeological Sites

Archaeological sites as components of *genius loci* analysis have been identified and explored in the case study area. Archaeological sites contain relic artefacts and connections to important events that took place in earlier periods, which are historical evidence to the living Minahasan people today. Some potential significant archaeological sites are identified and recorded in the case study locations. They include sites on *Minawanua* land, Makalonsouw Village and in Pinabéténgan Village.

*Minawanua* land is located contiguous to Tolour and Ro'ong villages. The site possesses historical value as an earlier settlement area established near the estuary of the Lake in the colonization period. It contains a number of sarcophagi (*waruga*) that are an important part of Minahasans' cultural components, as illustrated in Figures 6.34 and 6.35.



Figure 6.34  
Minawanua Land -- contains *waruga* artefacts -- in Tolour and Ro'ong Villages  
(Source: photographs by custodian M. Lukas; Author modification)



Figure 6.35  
Minawanua Land in current condition  
(Photograph by the Author 2011)

*Waruga* is a pre-colonial burial tradition applied by the Minahasans. Most of the local farmers -- when working in *sawah* or *paddy* field in the Minawanua area -- have found artefacts inside the *waruga*, which are often only a few metres under ground, including ceramics, bangles, bracelets, necklaces and combs made of metal, iron and copper which belonged to its owner.

The *Minawanua* land contains a series of historical narratives that record when the Tondano people were involved in a battle with the Europeans. Respondents recall battle events against the Dutch and the Mongondow tribe. A massive backlash by all Minahasans occurred against the Dutch in Tondano between 1661 and 1664, which was called the "*Tondano Wars*" (Kotambunan, 1985; Mambu, 1986; Supit, 1986, pp. 7-88; Wenas, 2007, p. 44; Wuntu, 2001). Supit records that when *Tondano War I* occurred, the Dutch used Tondano River (Temberan River) to inundate the Tondano plain, which led the Tondano people at Minawanua to move their settlement to Tolour, and build houses on the open water using big wooden piles (Supit, 1986 p. 89). The second battle -- *Tondano War II* -- occurred over the next 145 years, also against the Dutch. During the latter, the Minahasans mainly fought against starvation, which ultimately destroyed the community and the *Minawanua* land. Relics of fortifications are found near the site.

These historical narratives and significant relics which literally litter the landscape possess significant cultural value to the Minahasan society; all of this needs to be conserved as part of the overall cultural landscape system of Minahasa region.

*Minawanua* land has also been used for Minahasan cultural events and also for individual and group purposes in connection to spiritual needs.

The second important place is Makalonsouw Village which is considered an important cultural landscape component. The Minahasan community recognize a few places that contain substantial historical narratives which were inherited by their Elders in the form of natural landscape objects and sites. These narratives recount four places that have connections to Minahasan ancestors. The narratives are linked to earlier and contemporary occupants and their interactions with the places, in particular to their belief systems and ideas. The places that are frequently mentioned in interviews with respondents have meanings both in social and cultural contexts to the community include a *walewatu* (stone house) *pepera'an* (draining stone), a *keko'an* (table stone) and a *teneman* (water hole). The places and their locations are depicted in Figure 6.36.



Figure 6.36  
Associated Cultural landscape components in Makalonsouw Village  
(Source: Google Earth 2012, Author's photographs and modification of the Aerial View)

Substantial narratives about each place were obtained from interviews with 10 elders and cultural activists based upon question themes. The narratives attached to those places are detailed in Table 6.24.

**Table 6.24**  
**Significant History and Folklores associated with Cultural landscape components**  
**in Makalonsouw Village**

| Cultural Landscape Component          | Association Folklores and History   | Community Interactions   |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| <b>Walewatu</b><br>or Stone House     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the pre-colonial period era it was a place of ancestors: <i>Dotu/Opo Makalonsouw, Dotu Makarensouw</i>, who resided in <i>Toka</i> (hill) Makalonsouw. People used to communicate with <i>Dotu/Opo</i> through rituals.</li> <li>• <i>Walewatu</i> also a dwelling place of <i>Dotu Matindas</i> and <i>Pingkan Mogogunoi</i>.</li> <li>• In the pre-colonial period, <i>Walewatu</i> was a worship place to <i>Empung Wailan</i> – The God.</li> <li>• <i>Walewatu</i> is deemed a sacred place.</li> <li>• In 1942, the Japanese army infiltrated inland Minahasa region through Mt Kaluta Lembean. The Japanese passed by and destroyed the village. <i>Walewatu</i> then became a refuge place for 40 families. The community believed their ancestors would protect them from enemy and danger.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The place has been used by Minahasan cultural activists, shamans and traditional "<i>makatana</i>" healers.</li> <li>• People sought advice or guidance about their fortunes in <i>Walewatu</i>.</li> <li>• Tondano people went there to conduct rites for individual purposes (obtained heirloom/<i>pusaka</i>)</li> <li>• Some local villagers came and cleaned the surrounds of this environment.</li> <li>• Some people have experienced sounds of <i>Kolintang</i> music (Respondent 02).</li> <li>• A supernatural experience occurred when people cut a big tree (<i>Tali Kunet</i>) near <i>Walewatu</i> and they saw red stains appear on the tree's surface (Respondent 04)</li> <li>• An experience derived from Respondent's grandfather: when people cut <i>Tali Kunet</i> Tree in <i>Toka (hill) Makalonsouw</i>, he testified "blood" came out from the wood surface (Respondent 06).</li> <li>• Subsistence plants are forbidden in the place. Respondent experienced planting pepper seedlings and the crop disappeared the night after they were harvested. (Respondent 07).</li> <li>• People sheltered in <i>Walewatu</i> when heavy rain occurred and they recorded that they did not get wet (Respondent 07).</li> <li>• People go there to look for medicinal plants.</li> </ul> |
| <b>Watu Keko'an</b> or table stone    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ancestors' resting place where one drinks before they continue walked to <i>Watu Pepera'an</i>.</li> <li>• People also called this place <i>keko'an ni Matindas</i>, in connection to a story of ancestors <i>Matindas</i> and <i>Mogogunoi</i>.</li> <li>• There were seating stones aside the <i>keko'an</i> called <i>reruberan</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Keko'an</i> means a place for drinking.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A tradition of <i>makeis'an</i>, or splashing each other with water to ask <i>Opo Empung</i> watering the land.</li> <li>• People come and drink <i>saguer</i> (sugar palm juice) or coffee.</li> <li>• People used to play in <i>keko'an</i> and also clean the place. Certain people used to wash their faces and drink the water that came from the middle hole in the stone.</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Watu Pepera'an</b><br>ni Lumimu'ut | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A narrative derived from Elders that <i>Pepera'an</i> is a dwelling place of ancestors/<i>Dotu/Opo</i>.</li> <li>• <i>Pepera'an</i> also a place of ancestors for drying their clothes.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Makalonsouw people used to guide persons or groups to the place, mostly people from outside village. The outsiders use the place for personal purposes (i.e. to ask for a <i>pusaka/pakaian</i> or protection).</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Teneman</b> Water Hole             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Teneman</i> in Tolour language means to submerge things.</li> <li>• A narrative derived from Elders that when people submerge a needle, it could be seen. When people submerge a long stick of bamboo, it would never touch the bottom.</li> <li>• <i>Teneman</i> is deemed sacred and <i>posan</i>, or prohibited, to the</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Certain people come to clean the place (Respondent 18)</li> <li>• People seek fresh and clean water for drinking.</li> <li>• Elders believe the water can heal people. In the past when a certain person was sick the traditional healer submerged the person in the water.</li> </ul>  |

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | <p>community in connection to ethic values.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A few people saw a strange snake appear and in one case it stood.</li> <li>• Elders derive a narrative that the unseen spirits reside and “guard” the place.</li> </ul> |  |
|--|--|--|

Source: Interview respondents of Makalonsouw, 21st – 25th April 2011

Overall, the evidence of artefacts and archaeological/historical sites and related folklores and histories that exist are a manifestation of the *genius loci* to the locals and other Minahasans. Therefore they can be considered as part of the Minahasan cultural landscape heritage.

#### 6.4.5 Traditional Folk Arts

Folk arts are included in this *genius loci* analysis as tangible cultural landscape components. *Genius loci* presents in a place both physical features and non-physical features that may involve the five senses. *Genius loci* occurs when people, their senses and the environment or atmosphere of the space they are engaged with create meaningfulness to the place's environment and those who interact with it.

To meet the basic aesthetic and spiritual needs, Minahasans in the past created arts, in particular dances and songs that they used in *fosso*, ceremonies, rites and other events (Graflaand, 1881 1898; Palm, 1958; Riedel, 1870; Schwarz, 1907; Siwu, 2002; Wenas, 2007). Folk arts, particularly sacred songs and dances were used by the *Malesung* people (ancient name of Minahasan people) in religious rites, as part of building houses, as part of planting practices or for other purposes (Riedel, 1870). A good example is the *Mareindeng* song, an ancient song that has associations with a goddess *Maruaya* in Minahasan mythology: “if *Maruaya* did not sing the song, the earth would not be able to occupy” (Schwarz, 1907, p. 380). The Tombulu ethnic group recognizes “Zani” as a voice of human or an animal and a song called *Zazanian or Raranian*. In Tombulu folklore, *Zazanian ni Karema* narrates the story of *Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* and their descendants, and this song was led by a *walian* (a woman leader of the worship) in the *Mangorai* dance in an Indigenous religious rite called *Rumages*. *Zazanian ni Mapalus* was used by people who worked together in the *paddy* field or *kobong* (plantation areas) (Palm, 1958, p. 3; Wenas, 2007).



Minahasan dance is commonly undertaken while the dancers are singing. The most well-known dance is the *Maengket* dance. Originally, the *Maengket* dance was associated with *paddy* or rice planting, opening new houses and romance. The *Maengket* dance is related to the goddess of richness. In the pre-colonial period, *Maengket* was a sacred dance, of which the movements involved swinging hands while holding *Woka* leaves (*Livistona rotundifolia*) or handkerchiefs and lifting the foot up and down. The aim of those specific movements was to enter in a transcendental condition to let the body be entered by the spirit of *Si Opo Nimema in Tana*, which was the goddess *Lumimu'ut* or god of earth. *Lingkan Bene*, the leader of the *Maengket* dance is known as *Wailan ni Uma* (a skilled person in agriculture rites). When the goddess of earth entered *Wailan ni Uma's* body, she started to shake a bronze stick with a head statue known as *sekad* (Palm, 1958, p. 3). The *Maengket* dance in harvest season was also recorded in the Tountemboan ethnic group's stories. This dance was conducted over 3 days in a space called *Lesar um Banua* in the yard of *Watu Tumotowa* (Schwarz, 1907, pp .259, 260, 266).

In the Tolour/Toundano sub-ethnic group, the traditional song *Maengket* is derived from their folklore. *Maengket* originates from the word "*engket*" = ignite – courage -- and "*engkes*" = open the way/path had 16 movements and styles according to time, place, event, ceremony, rite and purpose as listed below:

1. *Marajor*, origin of word is "*royor*" (meaning = straight, true and good)
2. *Maowey (Makamberu)* (meaning = singing while harvesting paddy/rice, or collecting new paddy and threshing the paddy)
3. *Maramba*, origin of word "*ramba*" (meaning = kick the floor, rejector)
4. *Mareindeng*, origin of word is "*reindeng/leindeng*" (meaning = voiceful and melodious)
5. *Mawinson*, origin of word is "*winson*" (meaning = repeatedly bundle )
6. *Masambo*, origin of word is "*ambo*" (meaning = achievement/reach )
7. *Mapurengkei*, origin of word is "*rengkei*" or "*lengkei*" ( meaning = high )
8. *Matolok/Malolok*, origin of word "*lolok*" or "*lulu*" (meaning = short people ; woman )
9. *Masauna/Masawuna/Masawona*, origin of word is "*sawo*" (meaning = souce or fluid – a game when the paddy had no content or still fluid)
10. *Masiserap*, origin of word is "*serap*" (meaning = moon)
11. *Maurai*, origin of word is "*urei/orei*" (meaning = bundle the sheaf/paddy )
12. *Makerei*, origin of word is "*kerei*" (meaning = cleaning )
13. *Maweso*, origin of word is "*weso*" (meaning = pull )
14. *Maiyap*, origin word is "*iyap*" or "*riyap*" (meaning = bright and brilliant light )
15. *Marani*, origin word is "*rani*" or "*lanei*" (meaning = slippery and smooth )
16. *Matambak*, origin of word is "*tambak*" (meaning = remember )

All the 16 styles of *Maengket* above were sung in poetry or poems. The above evidence proves the *Maengket* dance holds a significant role in the Minahasan's spiritual life which gives representation of their customs and traditions in agriculture practices, religious rites and in building wooden houses. Documentation of these can only enrich the intangible folkart of contemporary Minahasan's art and culture.

Since the 1990s traditional songs have become less relevant the Minahasan community because of the Europeans and their religious missions which introduced Christian and other Western songs (Buccholt, 1994; Palm, 1958). The *Maengket* dance is no longer practised in religious rites; however, in the contemporary Minahasan community it is used in art and festivals (See Figure 6.37).

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Figure 6.37  
Maengket performance at Pinawetengan Annual Festival  
(Photo by Author, 7 July 2012)

In re-documenting the Minahasans' fondness for traditional songs and dances, interviews were undertaken with the Elder's group in the case studies.

The traditional songs and dances that are still meaningful to the living Minahasan people are presented in Table 6.25, which documents the extant traditional songs and dances and their roles in the Minahasan's social and cultural system.

Traditional songs and dances are of the utmost importance in maintaining the continuity of customs and traditions, and for the Minahasans these traditional events are often linked to particular events and/or places and can also determine the *genius loci* of a place.

**Table 6.25**  
**Tangible Cultural Landscape: traditional songs and dances in selected Case Studies**  
 (Source: Interview data 2011)

| Village                   | Traditional Songs, musics and Dances   |   | Current Functions  |
|---------------------------|--|---|--|
|                           | Past   | Present   |  |
| Ro'ong                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kolintang music</li> <li>• Clarinet music</li> <li>• Bia music (shell)</li> <li>• Bamboo flute</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> songs – Tombulu version</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art festivals</li> </ul>   |
| Tolour                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> songs – Tolour version</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> – <i>Maramba</i> song – in Tolour version</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In Christian events</li> </ul>  |
| Watumea                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> dance for ceremonial to welcome official government</li> <li>• <i>Maengket Maramba</i> was used in <i>Sumolo</i> Tradition</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> dance - <i>Maramba</i></li> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> dances; <i>ma'owey</i></li> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> dance - <i>Makamberu</i></li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art festivals</li> </ul>   |
| Telap                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i></li> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Pelelo'an                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i></li> <li>• Bamboo music / flute</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Pulutan                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> music</li> <li>• Bamboo music</li> <li>• <i>Mengket</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Lininga'an                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> dance, consists of:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*<i>Lelayaan</i> – in paddy harvest</li> <li>*<i>Maramba</i> – in building new house</li> <li>*<i>Masambo</i> – traditional poetry in Toundano language</li> <li>*<i>Mangalei</i> – prayer song to God</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i></li> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> music instrument</li> <li>• <i>Masambo</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art festivals</li> <li>• Art performance competition</li> </ul>      |
| Kembuan                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> Dance (in Tonsea language )</li> <li>• Bamboo instrument</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art festivals</li> <li>• Art performance in church events</li> </ul> |
| Tanggari                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> in <i>Mapalus</i> and <i>Soloan</i> (<i>Tolour Sumolo</i> traditions)</li> <li>• <i>Kabasaran</i> Dance</li> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> and Bamboo instrument</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Makalonsouw               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional song in farming</li> <li>• <i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> dance</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Ruruan                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Cakalele/Kawasaran</i> Dance</li> <li>• Indigenous <i>Maengket</i></li> <li>• <i>Mahzarian ni Tombulu</i> songs: in romance and betrothal, in <i>Mapalus</i>, and in bulding new house.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indigenous <i>Maengket</i></li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural events and art performance competition</li> </ul>                        |
| Kinilow                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kabasaran</i> Dance</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Wulurma'atus – Kakenturan | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> Dance</li> <li>• Traditional song – Toundano language</li> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> and Bamboo music exist until 1970.</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>  |
| Tumaratas                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Flute music</li> <li>• Bamboo instrument</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• nil</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art performance</li> </ul>   |
| Pinabétengan              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maengket</i> - <i>Maramba</i> was popular in 1950s</li> <li>• <i>Kabasaran</i> Dance in Tountemboan language version, exist in 1970s.</li> <li>• <i>Masambo</i> – prayer songs in <i>Mapalus</i> and <i>Sumolo</i> tradition</li> <li>• Bamboo instrument</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Masambo Eroyor</i>,</li> <li>• <i>Mapitoria</i> (traditional poetry)</li> <li>• <i>Matoloke</i></li> <li>• <i>Kolintang</i> music</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural and art performance</li> </ul>   |

### 6.4.6 Language Territory and Boundary

Language is fundamental in recognizing Minahasans' culture. Much of their cultural attributes have their roots in their ancient language. In Chapter 4, it was documented that the Indigenous language of the Minahasans derives from their ancestors' territorial division deliberations that were proclaimed by their descendants the meeting at Tonderukan Hill in 670 AD.

The Minahasan language has been studied and written about in linguistic, anthropological and other disciplines, and to some degree the Minahasans have contributed to developing the language based on their sub-ethnic languages. A linguist Sneddon (1978) thoroughly studied the Minahasan ethnic languages and drew some conclusions about the 8 current spoken Indigenous languages in Greater Minahasa that include: *Tonsea*, *Tondano*, *Tombulu*, *Tontemboan* and *Tonsawang*, *Bantik*, *Ratahan* and *Ponosakan*. Sneddon derived the first five languages from a genetic group of the proto-Minahasan, which are more closely related to each other and cover the larger part of the Greater Minahasa landscape. All these languages are assumed to have been derived from a common parent language which was itself spoken in Minahasa, which in the pre-colonial era was claimed as the *Malesung* language (Personal interview). The following linguistic classification has been developed by Sneddon from the boundary of the four main ethnic groups in Minahasa; *Tombulu*, *Tonsea*, *Tontemboan* and *Tolour/Tondano* (Figure 6.38).

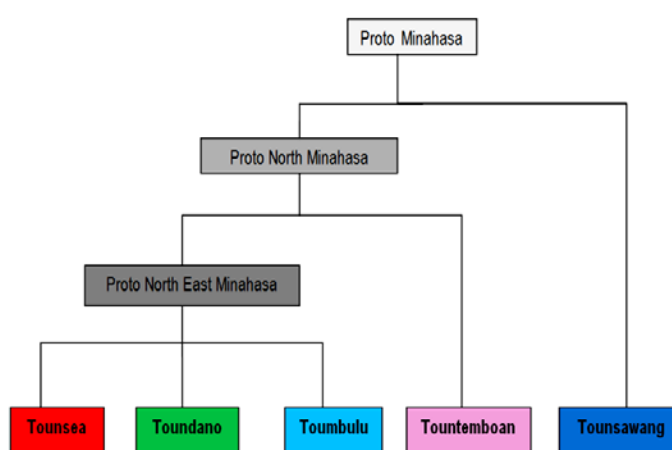


Figure 6.38  
Language Classification of the Minahasa Ethnic Community  
(Quoted in J.N Sneddon, 1978)

Based upon territorial boundaries of the region, the other three languages – *Ponosakan*, *Ratahan* and *Bantik* – have their closest links with languages spoken outside the Minahasa Region.

*Ponosakan* is closely related to *Mangondow*, spoken in the *Bolaang Mangondow* District to the south of the Minahasa District. *Ratahan* also referred to as *Bentenan*, and *Bantik* have their closest links with *Sangirnese*, spoken on the islands of the *Sangir* Archipelago to the north of the Minahasa District. The use of these languages, however, is decreasing as many people (especially the younger generation) are under pressure to switch to *Manadonese*, also known among the local people as *Malayu Pasar* or *Manado Malay*. In addition, there many people who speak *Sangir*, especially in Bitung, along the northern coasts of Minahasa and on the small islands. The overall distribution of the 9 languages in Minahasa is shown in Figure 6.39.



- (1). Bantik language is used in ten villages in Malalayang and surrounding districts in Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province and several transmigration villages in southern Minahasa. The language is most closely linked to Sangirnese.
- (2). Malay, Manadonese language (Manado Malay, Manadonese Malay, Manado Malay, Minahasan Malay). Most people in Minahasa speak and understand this language.
- (3). Ponosakan language is used in three villages in the district of Ponosakan in the south-eastern part of Minahasa and is most closely related to Mongondow ethnic.
- (4). Ratahan language (Bentenan, Pasan) is used in the north-eastern section of the northern peninsula of Sulawesi, around Ratahan and to the southeast coast of the northern peninsula.
- (5). Tombulu language (Tombulu', Tombula, Toumbulu, Tombalu, Minahasa, Minhasa) is spoken in the centre of Minahasa to the west coast, around Tanawangko and Tomohon. The dialects consist of Tara-Tara, and Tomohon. The language is closest to Tondano and Tonsea.
- (6). Tondano language (Toundano, Tolour, Toulour) is used in Northeastern Sulawesi around Tondano and to the southeast coast of the northern peninsula. The dialects consist of Tondano, Kakas, and Remboken. The language is closest to Tombulu and Tonsea.
- (7). Tonsawang language (Tombatu) is used in about 12 villages around Tombatu in the southern part of Minahasa Regency.
- (8). Tonsea language (Tonsea') is used in the extreme north part of the Sulawesi peninsula and has the largest area of any Minahasan language. The dialects are insignificant and consist of Maumbi, Airmadidi, Likupang, Kauditan, Klabat, and Bitung.
- (9). Tontemboan language (Tompakewa, Tountemboan, Pakewa) is used in the northeastern coast of Minahasa Peninsula from Sonder to around Motoling and Tompasso Baru. The dialects consist of Langoan, Tompasso (Makela'i-Maotow) and Sonder (Matana'i, Matana'i-Maore').

M = Mongondouw

S = Sangir

**Figure 6.39**  
Language Map of the Minahasa Ethnic Community  
(Source: J.N Sneddon, 1978)

Language has a strong impact on Minahasan's thoughts and perception of their place and environment. A linguistic relativity hypothesis known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is pertinent in establishing a place environment (Hussein, 2012; Whorf, 1956).

As such, Minahasan languages and distributions of dialects can be a useful tool in acknowledging the territorial boundaries between ethnic communities, which can be a very useful inclusion in development planning of the Minahasa region. The division of *Toar-Lumimu'ut* descendants as occupying the entire region in the pre-colonial period has formed the predominant language boundary, where each sub-ethnic group has construed their place and associations with land, environment and their social life, because they articulate their everyday phenomenons in these languages to bridge the understanding of things and to develop their place and local traditions.

### 6.5 Ethnoecology Study

An ethnoecological approach has been used in defining the *genius loci* of the Minahasan as an investigation system of perception and cognition that uses the natural environment. Ethnoecology is a way of comprehending the relationship between humans and their environment, of which the cognitive dimension plays a role in framing human behaviour. Nazarea (1999) argues that in valuing places based on local wisdom and knowledge, one needs to reference the internal coherence and the environmental and socio-cultural adaptiveness of community (Ibid, p. 4). The practice of ecological knowledge is as old as ancient hunter-gatherer cultures. As part as this endeavour, an ethnoecology approach will focus on conceptions of ecological relationships held by Minahasan people or Minahasan culture. Ethnoecology according to Hardesty (1977, p. 291) is a study of systems of knowledge developed by a given culture to classify objects, activities, and events in its universe. Thus, ethnoecology is a subset of ethnoscience or folk science, in which various kinds of Indigenous environmental knowledge have come to be accepted and used by scientific experts in a number of areas. An ethnoecology approach is a useful framework in managing environments, sustainable agriculture, conserving biodiversity and in an overall framework of regional planning and development in the Minahasa region.

This section is concerned with the core data research upon which this thesis is based, in that it studies the ethnoecological knowledge of Minahasans from three aspects: (1) Local traditional knowledge, (2) Ethnobotanical knowledge, (3) Hunting and gathering knowledge, (4) Ecology and sustainability, and (5) Water resources: water holes or spring waters.

Interviews on ethnoecology provide useful insights into how the reported knowledge was acquired, via the statements of interviewees about how they came to know that particular fact. The most important point to be made is that most of information provided appears to be empirical. When a person told the researcher something based upon something other than direct personal experience, they generally qualified it as such, but this was relatively rare.

The analysis was largely restricted to data obtained in formal interviews, as this method can be treated as fairly standard for analytical purposes. A total of 226 interviews were conducted with elder's and farmer's groups on the ecology and function of plant and animal species. For the purpose of analysis, interview data was separated into categories of ecological aspects and those significant to cultural tradition.

### **6.5.1 Local Traditional Knowledge and Resource Management**

In managing Minahasan's land and environment, ethnoecological knowledge is seen as a link to their Indigenous thoughts that converts knowledge of spiritual insight and wisdom to sustainable living concepts. The word 'knowledge' is applied to Minahasan Indigenous understandings of nature, interpretation of natural processes, knowledge of resources and so forth. In the following analysis, evidence of the substantive properties of this Indigenous knowledge are applied to Minahasan resource management, in particular agricultural or farming practices, hunting and gathering, and ethnobotanical plant usage.

Evidence of agricultural practices of villages in the three different land environments – lakeside, catchment area and adjacent – mountains show that Minahasans are continuing to exploit their natural resources according to their cultural rules. Through biological adaptation and adoption of local wisdoms derived from their ancestors, the Minahasans continue to use the landscape and the forest in sustainable ways.

What is considered as spirit of the land is reflected through the lessons learned from Minahasan farmer's traditional environmental knowledge in agricultural practices, land use and resource management derived from ancestral concepts, wisdoms and Indigenous thoughts, and from their mediation of different cultures (traditional and modern) based upon self-experience. The knowledge of the Minahasans has been gained through in-depth interviews with farmers in the case study area, as summarised in the following points:

- Traditional farmers in the Ro'ong village have methods of managing agriculture in wet-rice fields or *sawah*. From the interviews obtained during the fieldwork, it was found that several local farmers have their own understanding and management systems in planting *wene* or *paddy* (*Oryza sativa*). *Paddy* can be planted both in wet-rice field (*sawah*) and dry land (*ladang*). *Paddy sawah* was introduced by outsiders to the Minahasa region in more recent times. Farmers in this village apply traditional methods in planting *paddy*, as follows:

First stage is *koloko* (or seedling) which takes approximately one month; second is *bajak* or *pajeko* (ploughing) to make the land become muddy; third, planting the paddy and waiting for about four months; fourth, *penyiangan* (to remove the weedy plants/grasses) and then fertilizing using composts or fertilizers; lastly, harvesting or cropping. The traditional measurement of production in agriculture is *gantang*. If farmers grow seedling/*koloko* from one *gantang*, the harvest estimation will be around 50-55 *gantang*. The farmers use a combination of traditional and modern tools, such as *pacol* (hoe), *parang/sabel* (cleaver), sprayer for pesticide, *tolu* (farmer hat), boots and wooden puppet to chase birds. Farmers explained some issues around agriculture in the fields: firstly, the drainage system in between the *paddy*, which has been used for planting water spinach (*kangkung*), could disturb the water flow; secondly, the water system is not well-managed by the local government. Cooperative action in planting and harvesting times are needed because of the impact upon water flows when farmers are planting, while others carry out *pajeko* simultaneously – this will lead to the water wash away the fertilizers (*pupuk*) (Respondents Interview, April 2011).

- The community in Tolour village relies on fishing for their main livelihood. Most of the land from which agriculture was the main production for the village has been sold to outsiders and the environmental conditions have changed. In the past the locals could plant *paddy* and corn on their private lands. Past conditions of the village also enabled access to the estuary area of the lake in the 1980s; during this time the estuary was a huge dry area and children used to play there. However, current conditions make it impossible to access the estuary. Minahasans in Tolour village use traditional practices in capturing fish: *patok* or *jubi* and *tura* to capture fish with traditional tools – *sosoroka*, *pukat* (nets and fish ponds) in their everyday life, as can be seen in Figure 6.40.



(1) Tondano Lake is a primary resource income of the locals



(2) Traditional fishing method "Tura" by using *sosoroka*, a wooden stick with a sharp tip.





(3) Fish breeding method



(4) Fish breeding using net / fish-net

Figure 6.40  
Traditional practice of Minahasans in the surround of the Tondano Lake  
(Photographs taken in Tolour Village, by the Author)

Traditional natural resource management has long been practiced amongst the community in Watumea. The main crops in this village are corn, red bean, clove and pepper. Interviews were undertaken with 11 farmers. Farmers manage their own land for subsistence farming. However, a few farmers will sell their crop if they obtain a surplus from the harvest. Traditionally, farmers manage their *sawah* (Figure 6.42) and *ladang* or land cultivation with simple method of seedling and fertilization, using organic compost or other fertilizers obtained from plant shops. Farmers also practice an intercropping method between corn and clove. To negate the crop from weedy plants, plant diseases or infections, most farmers actively look after their crops, clean the land and spray with pesticides or fungicides when needed. Some clove farmers use injections to kill the clove-caterpillar. Other locals rely on the lake for sustaining life (as seen in Figure 6.41). A new phenomenon of “net - village on the water” has emerged in recent years, which may have an impact upon the sustainability of the lake and its ecology in the future, as seen in Figure 6.43.



Figure 6.41  
Traditional fishing method – *sarup* – to capture local fish called *nike*.  
(Photograph by the Author 2011)



Figure 6.42  
*Koloko*/seedling method for *paddy sawah* near Tondano Lake.  
(Photograph by the Author 2011)



Figure 6.43  
Fish-breeding method using nets and bamboo construction,  
in Watumea Village (Photo by the Author 2011)

- Farmers in Telap apply traditional practices in agriculture and the use of natural resources similar to that used by farmers in Watumea, probably because the two villages are relatively contiguous to one another. Interviews were undertaken with 10 farmers, of which the majority manages their own land cultivation practices, while a few work on other land owners' holdings. The main subsistence crops are *paddy ladang*, clove, pepper and candlenut.



Community's practice of draining the  
*paddy* on the road



Candlenut crop



Local fish called *payangka* (*Ophieleotris aporos*) and *wiko* (a species of crustacean) from the Lake



*Paddy sawah* in Telap

Figure 6.44  
Traditional practice of Minahasans in Telap Village  
(Photographs by the Author 2011)

- Around 60-70% of the *Pélélo'an* community are farmers and rely on their major crops such as corn, peanut, peppers and cloves for subsistence agriculture. Other communities also use Lake Tondano as their main resource, particularly catching local fish, namely: nike – a juvenile fish species (*Awaous melanocephalus*), mujair (*Oreochromis mossambicus*), payangka (*Ophieleotris aporos*) and kabos/gabus (*Channa striata*).



Figure 6.45  
Main crop (corn) in *Pélélo'an* Village.  
(Photographs by the Author 2011)

Observational work and interviews were undertaken with 12 farmers in *Pélélo'an*. The farmers apply the 'plant and hire system' or *Sistem sewa tanam*. In managing land cultivation, *Pélélo'an* farmers use traditional methods (particularly in planting corn and *paddy ladang*) based upon their knowledge, as detailed in Figure 6.46.

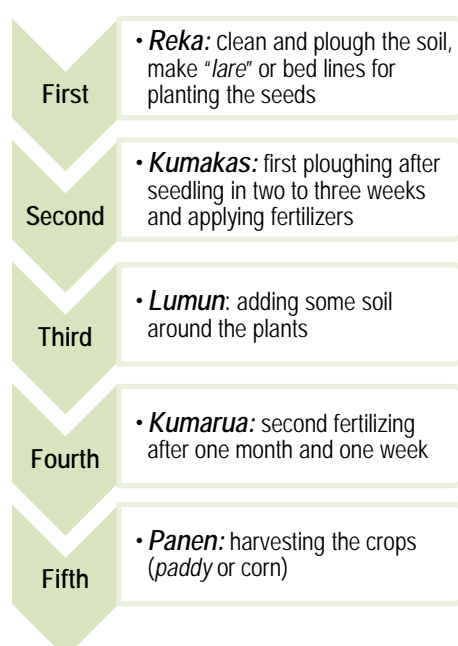


Figure 6.46  
Traditional farming Process in *Pélélo'an* Village

Farmers continue to use this method despite the fact that modern agriculture may offer different and more innovative methods. Several farmers have tried to adopt modern agricultural methods, receiving training from farming groups or *Kelompok Tani*. However, the innovative method introduced by the government through the Agriculture Elucidation Program (*Program Penyuluhan Pertanian*) was ineffective for various reasons, including lack of monitoring and unequal distribution of funds for farmers in the form of seeds and loans; this eventually induced the Telap farmers to return to their former methods.

- The community in Pulutan Village has a different nomenclature in traditional farming and has other uses of natural resources available in the surrounds of their living place. Observational work and interviews were undertaken with 11 farmers in Pulutan (consisting of 3 farmers and 8 craftsmen). The farmers apply 'plant and hire system' or *Sistem sewa tanam* and manage land cultivation using traditional methods (particularly in planting corn and *paddy ladang*) based upon their knowledge. In applying *Sawah tadah hujan* system, the farming process is detailed in Figure 6.47.

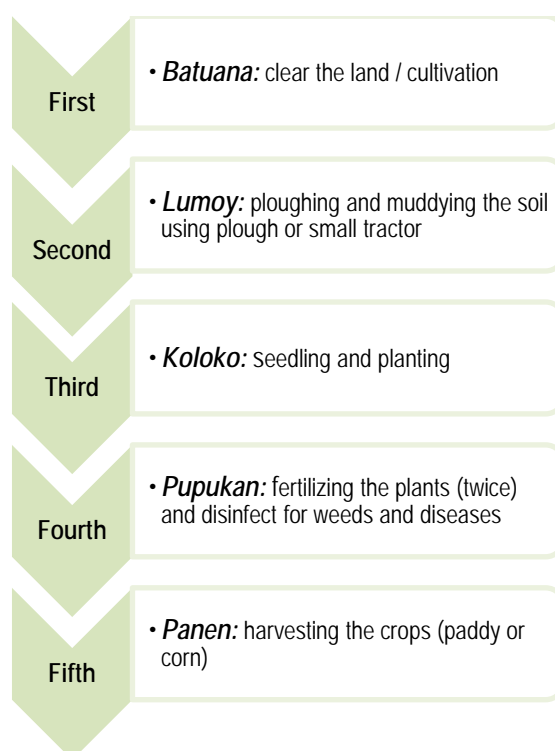


Figure 6.47  
Traditional farming Process in Pulutan Village



Figure 6.48  
 Natural resource management in Pulutan Village  
 (1) Cultivation area, (2) Sawah tadah Hujan, (3) Paddy harvest, (4) Wood plant seeds  
 (Photographs by the Author, 2011)

The majority of the Pulutan community rely on exploiting “land” that contains clay at upper layer structure (5-10 m) that can be found around the village environment to make ceramics or other types of objects. The Pulutan community believe that the clay will be recycled naturally in 10-12 years (they consider that the soil is “growing” or continually available). The soil is then called *Ka’anak*.

The Pulutan community manage their production in traditional and semi-traditional ways. The respondents inherited the tradition of ceramic making from their families, and also have their own knowledge and experience, ranging from 10 to 45 years. The traditional knowledge and the general steps of practice are described in Figure 6.49, and the community’s traditional management of soil clay are described in Figure 6.50 (see next page).

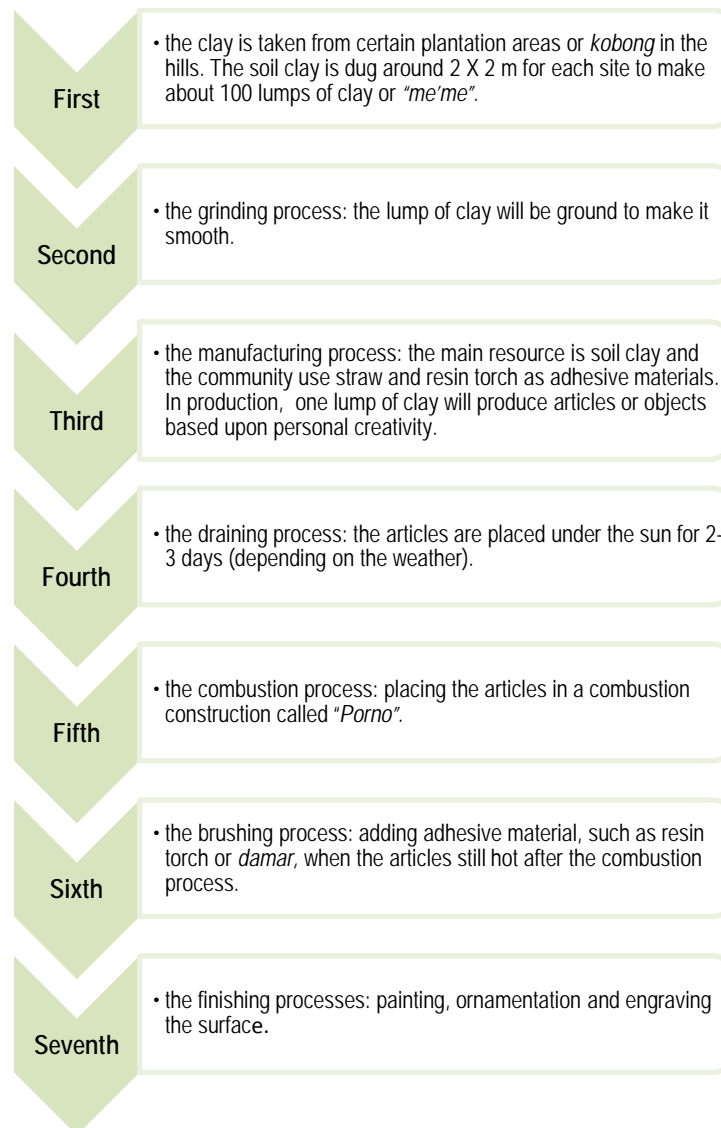


Figure 6.49  
The Process of Using Natural Resource - Clay in Pulutan Village  
(Observations made on 27th May and 28th May 2011)



(1) Lump of clay or *Me'me*



(2) Grinding and smoothing the clay



(3) Traditional tools called *Wuwuwu*, *Kukure*, *Sesepe*, *Lalanei*, *To'toto* and *Loto* to produce ceramics such as *kana*, *kure*, *porno*/kitchen appliance and flower pot.



(4) Production process using traditional skill and tools



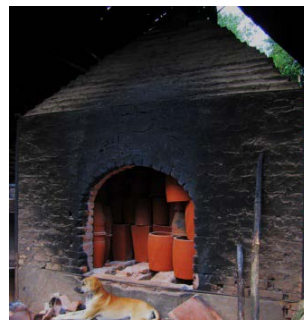
(5) Production process using Semi-traditional tool called *putaran*



(6) Examples of ceramic production using traditional tools



(7) Draining the ceramics under the sun



(8) Combustion process using "*Porno*"

**NOTE:**  
This figure/table/image has been removed to comply with copyright regulations. It is included in the print copy of the thesis held by the University of Adelaide Library.

(9) Finishing process



(10) Examples of final ceramic product with different creative expressions

**Figure 6.50**  
**Local knowledge of Pulutan Community in using Soil Clay**  
(Observation made on 27th May to 28th May 2011; Photographs by the Author)

Interviews and observations were made with 8 ceramic craftsmen to obtain knowledge and experience in ceramic production as described in Table 6.26 (interviews in their local language are provided in Appendix 4.10).

**Table 6.26**  
Description of Pulutan community's Production and Resource Management

| Respondent Code | Types of production   | Experiences  | Tools  | Resource location   |
|-----------------|---|--|--|---|
| 09              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot</li> </ul>  | Working since childhood, inherited from parent, self-learning            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wuwuwu</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4-5 km distance from the village on private land</li> </ul>  |
| 10              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, porcelain jug, chair and table</li> </ul>                              | Working about 10 years practice  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Putaran keramik</li> </ul>  | nil   |
| 12              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Porno or furnaces</li> <li>Pot</li> </ul>  | Working since married or about 10 years practice                         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wuwuwu</li> <li>Iron string</li> <li>Mal / moulder</li> <li>Porno/furnance</li> </ul>                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Tahawe Hill</li> <li>Talikuran</li> </ul>  |
| 16              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, Kure or appliance for cooking</li> </ul>                               | Working since a young age  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wuwuwu</li> <li>Porno/furnance</li> </ul>   | nil   |
| 17              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, porcelain jug, furniture (chair and table), Kana</li> </ul>            | 45 years producing ceramics  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Putaran keramik</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Private land/ Kobong Sumelendu</li> <li>House yard</li> </ul>  |
| 18              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, Kure, Kana, Porcelain jug, chair and table</li> </ul>                  | Working since married or about 30 years experience in producing ceramics | Traditional tools: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Wuwuwu</li> <li>Sesepe,</li> <li>Lalanei</li> <li>Kukure</li> <li>To'toto</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>House yard</li> <li>Plantation area in the hills (Lumasot, Lo'loweng, Talikuran, Tahaweh)</li> </ul> |
| 19              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, Kure, money boxes, chair and table</li> </ul>                          | Working since a young girl, inherited from parent                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kayu Wuwuwu</li> <li>Putaran keramik</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Kobong Tahawe</li> </ul>   |
| 21              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flower pot, Kure, Kana, porcelain jug, chair and table, small fountains</li> </ul> | Inherited the home industry from parent                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Six of Putaran Keramik tools</li> <li>Porno or furnance</li> </ul>                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>House yard</li> <li>Hilly area</li> <li>Amian-village boundary</li> </ul>                            |

Source: Interview of 7 Respondents, on 27 May – 28 May 2011 (Refer to Appendix-4.10)

Traditional environmental knowledge was identified in the three villages that have riverside settings, which indicates that this has been derived by hereditary means, as detailed in the summation below:

- In Lininga'an Village, research on traditional environmental knowledge amongst the community was obtained from interviews with 8 farmers, particularly farmers who have sustained their production for over 10 years. Interviews were undertaken on 17th May to 19th May 2011. The researcher has documented personal and group knowledge and experiences in farming.



Most Lininga'an traditional farmers maintain their occupation or profession because farming was introduced to them by their parents during their childhood age. Farmers possess private land but also work on other owners' lands, which is called the *Tumoyo* system. In the 1960s the *Tumoyo* system was equally divided between both the farmers and land owners until the agreement was changed in the 1990s, whereby 1/3 of the harvest is for land owner and 2/3 for the farmer. The majority of farmers managing *paddy sawah* and their cultivation areas reside in the village or 1 - 5 km from the village in Tontolok, Louroki, Linouran, Spokok, Tounsukun, Talun Oki or Palui. These farmers generally select paddy based upon quality and growth duration; the popular nomenclature of these *paddy* plants is "local *Superwin*, *Paddy Banteng*, *Paddy Cigilis* and *Paddy Temo*". Farmers will change their planting rhythm according to seasons to avoid losing plant quality and soil richness. For example, farmers may plant *paddy Cigilis* targeting a harvest of 2-3 times in the first year, and then use another *paddy* type in the next year. Farmers also apply the "*Sawah Tadah Hujan*" which is almost totally reliant on water. Beside the main task of farming, the community also works in *ladang*, or dry lands, planting subsistence crops such as corn, soybean, peppers, *seho* (palm sugar), clove, banana and cassava.

The significance of Lininga'an's traditional land treatments amongst farmers is documented and detailed based on their derived method, whether from their parents and/or from self-experience, in Table 6.27 (see next page).

Based upon these farmers' traditional methods, agriculture lands are sustainably conserved by their Indigenous traditions, while at the same time continuing the plant production chain in the area.

Table 6.27  
Traditional Land Management of Sawah/Wetland, in Linging'an urban village

| Traditional Land Treatment Method A  | Traditional Land Treatment Method B   | Traditional Land Treatment Method C  | Traditional Land Treatment Method D   | Traditional Land Treatment Method E   | Traditional Land Treatment Method F   |
|--|---|--|---|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Land is prepared for seeding the plants.</li> <li>(2) <i>Koloko/Kumoloko</i> or sowing the seeds.</li> <li>(3) Make <i>litir</i> or terraces.</li> <li>(4) <i>Sumiboi</i> process – directly sowing the seeds on the terraces along the <i>larik</i> or planting lines or using <i>labela</i> process, directly planting the seeds.</li> <li>(5) <i>Cuci Rumpu</i> – a process to remove the unnecessary growing seeds and manage spaces between plants by using traditional tool <i>sisir</i>. This is done after 21 days of <i>sumiboi</i>.</li> <li>(6) <i>Tumotok</i> or second ploughing of the soil.</li> <li>(7) <i>Lume ek</i> or crushing the soil to flatten it, using <i>poka</i> or plough.</li> <li>(8) <i>Pramodia</i> or <i>burning padi</i> period.</li> <li>(9) <i>Pendagiran</i> or second <i>Cuci Rumpu</i> if necessary.</li> <li>(10) <i>Panggalawan</i> – to chase the intruder – wild bird.</li> <li>(11) <i>panen</i> or harvest season</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-17)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) <i>Rumekek</i> or crumbling the soil to release oxygen</li> <li>(2) <i>Tumotok</i> or ploughing the soil, using hoe or cow</li> <li>(3) <i>Lumekek</i> or crushing the soil to flatten using <i>sisir</i></li> <li>(4) <i>Sumiboi</i> or spread the seeds</li> <li>(5) Add fertilizer</li> <li>(6) <i>Panen</i> or harvest (in 3 months)</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-18)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) Making <i>litir</i> or terraces and <i>koloko</i> or seeding <i>paddy</i></li> <li>(2) First stage is <i>Pajeko</i> (using tractor, or cow or hoe)</li> <li>(3) <i>Sisir</i> or flatten the soil</li> <li>(4) Planting the seeds</li> <li>(5) Second <i>Pajeko</i> and make <i>litir</i> or terraces</li> <li>(6) <i>Panen</i> or harvest (in 4 months)</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-19)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) <i>Bajak</i> or <i>Pajeko</i> (using tractor or plough)</li> <li>(2) <i>Koloko</i> or seeding in 3 weeks</li> <li>(3) Planting</li> <li>(4) Fertilizing (base fertilization)</li> <li>(5) Second fertilization after 30 days.</li> <li>(6) <i>Panen</i> or harvest – in three months</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-20)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) <i>Koloko</i> or seedling become wet for 2 - 3 weeks</li> <li>(3) <i>Sisir</i> or flatten the soil (using tractor, or cow or hoe)</li> <li>(4) Planting the seeds</li> <li>(5) <i>Penyiangan</i> or <i>cabut rumput</i></li> <li>(6) <i>Panen</i> or harvest (in 4 months)</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-23)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(1) <i>Koloko</i> or seeding in 3 X 4 m terrace and wait for 4 weeks</li> <li>(2) <i>Rempaken</i> or first stage of <i>pajeko</i> – to topple and to decay the straws</li> <li>(3) <i>Renasen</i> or second stage of <i>pajeko</i> after a week</li> <li>(4) Planting the seeds in a range 20 - 30 cm apart</li> <li>(5) First fertilization after a week using base fertilizer</li> <li>(6) Second fertilization after 2 -3 weeks</li> <li>(7) Spraying, using pesticide (to prevent plant disease) about 1.5 months after fertilization</li> <li>(8) <i>Panen</i> or harvest (in 4 months)</li> <li>(Data Respondent code- LINGGAAN-24)</li> </ul> |

(Source: Interview Respondent Linging'an, 16th – 18th May 2011)

Previously, in the 1960s the farming system utilised human labour to work cooperatively and mutually through the *mapalus* and *mawenangan* traditions. In *mapalus*, a group consisting of 30 to 40 people had a manager to lead them, whilst in the *mawenangan* tradition the group consisted of 9 to 10 people without a manager. All people involved in *mapalus* or *mawenangan* had an obligation to contribute to the efficacy of collective agriculture by working on the land. Individual or groups of 2 to 4 farmers have also recounted their own experiences, in which they had similar management regimes, but somewhat different in terms of each process.



Figure 6.51  
Lininga'an agricultural lands  
(Photograph taken on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2011  
by the Author)



Figure 6.52  
*Mawenangan* tradition in harvest season  
(Photograph taken 27<sup>th</sup> April 2011 by the  
Author)

Thus, farmers in Lininga'an have maintained their traditional methods in order to continue agricultural production. Land management of Lininga'an farmers and their experiences in managing crops demonstrates that their agricultural tradition has been kept coherent over a long period of time. Farmers interviewed identified changing weather, technology, and Tondano City development encroachment as factors that have heavily affected their land cultivation activities. On another issue, Lininga'an is being slowly converted to an urban area and the community is continuously impacted upon by development plans, particularly land conversion. Conversion of vacant or abandoned agricultural lands into housing areas is a threat to these farmers and to agricultural sustainability overall. Hence, it is important to ponder the role of Minahasan agricultural lands, in which the continuation of traditional ecological knowledge of the community is maintained, and also the potential loss of both land and tradition to comparatively unproductive uses.

- In contrast, the traditional farmers in Kembuan reside in a landscape structure that consists of cultivation areas; *sawah* (wetland) and *ladang* (dryland), settlement, water flows, and community-forest gardens.

The natural resources in this village are mostly agricultural production, including: paddy, corn, tomato, pepper, chocolate, cassava and banana. The crops are produced for subsistence, with some crops being sold. The crops are planted in land surrounding the village, for example in *Kobong Toka*, *Kobong Wowusu*, *Kobong Rumorong*, *Kobong Kinembengan*, *Kobong Danoakel*, *Kobong Semuda* and *Kobong Nomorampa*. Most of the farmers work in *ladang* and a few others in *sawah*.

Traditional environmental knowledge in Kembuan was obtained from 9 farmers through observational work and interviews on 30th April to 4th May 2011. In farming practices and other uses of natural resources, the locals possess a different nomenclature than the preceding villages. A group of farmers in this community comprise the original farmers who undertake private land cultivation; *Sumoyo* farmers, who manage other owner's land cultivation; fishery farmers, who use the river by installing nets or *karamba* to breed fish and *sasamberingen* (large-riverine shrimp); and also assistant farmers (who support the work in *sawah*). For the majority of farming practice, the community applies the *Sumoyo* system or managing other owner's land.

Similar to other villages, Kembuan farmers manage their land cultivation using traditional methods and tools (particularly in planting corn and *paddy ladang*). This method in farming relates to customs and traditions and is still applied. For example, farmers use the moon cycle phenomenon as their planting period. The period of *mekapopok*, when the moon leans or inclines to the north, during which the rain season is expected to occur, is a good time for the planting calendar. Also, it is prohibited to plant crops during a full moon period in the planting or harvest period (see Figure 6.53). This cycle is believed to have a connection between the tide phenomenon and the plants' minerals. Farmers recalled experiences of cutting a tree in the full moon period, when the trunk contains much water and sugar, which in this condition will attract animals. Thus, farmers would plant the crop in the last quarter moon.

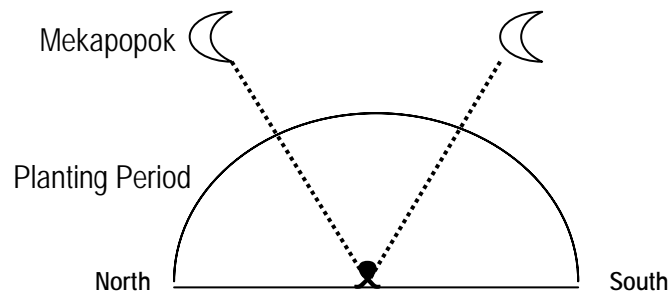


Figure 6.53: Mental imagery of Planting period using moon cycle phenomenon in Kembuan Village  
(Source: Interview respondent; translated by the Author)

In planting corn, farmers practice the wisdom from their Elders or ancestors by placing the seeds into the first three holes with their eyes closed. This is believed to prevent the plants from disturbing animals, and this practice has been used by several farmers in the village. Paddy farmers also apply the *Sawah tadah hujan* system, its farming processes are similar to the processes to that of farmers in Liningaan Village (as detailed in Figure 6.54). In the stages, there is a different nomenclature according to their language.



Figure 6.54  
Traditional farming process in Kembuan Village

The community practices intercropping in their *kobong* or dry lands cultivation for an alternative subsistence source (Figure 6.55). A few farmers have accidentally found historical artefacts in *kobong*, such as *waruga* in Kobong Sea and *Kure*, an ancient cooking tool in Kobong *Toka* which was deemed to belong to the Bantik tribe.



Figure 6.55  
Subsistence farming: corn and peanut in Kembuan Plantation areas  
(Photographs taken 4<sup>th</sup> May 2011 by the Author)

- The community in Tanggari possesses management prescriptions from traditional ecological knowledge. Interviews were obtained from a random selection of villagers and the snowball technique was applied, resulting in interviews with 8 farmers and observations on 31<sup>st</sup> of May to 1<sup>st</sup> June 2011. The majority of traditional farmers in Tanggari have sustained their production practice since their parents introduced the knowledge to them at a young age or for supporting their livelihood. All farmers interviewed inherited the knowledge from their parents. Other non-Tanggari origin farmers learnt from other methods and practices. The majority of land cultivation in Tanggari is on dryland area and farmers' preferences in planting are towards the seasonal crops, such as *paddy ladang* and also corn, peanuts, cassava, spices, and annual crops – banana, coconut, clove, *seho* or sugar palm – and use of the *tumpang sari* system (intercropping). Elderly farmers in Tanggari have had experienced participating in the *mapalus* tradition, which involves around 60 people in a group.

Most traditional farmers plant their production in cultivation areas, namely: *Kobong Tete Unek, Kobong Pinohelan, Kobong Sendien, Kobong Rendean, Kobong Keratang, Kobong Dawet, Kobong Toka, Kobong Sasteng, Kobong Padembean, Kobong Diang, Tana Kewawa and Keweduan Tanggari*. The place names are given by their family according to land position and characteristic. Farmers in Tanggari have a nomenclature in practicing traditional planting. An intercropping system is applied, mainly planting paddy coinciding with corn, pepper and red spring onion. Farmers do not use modern tools due to the landscape condition – one example of these planting practices was gained from a farmer (Respondent Code-19, refer to Appendix 4.7). The planting processes in the Tanggari nomenclature are as follows:

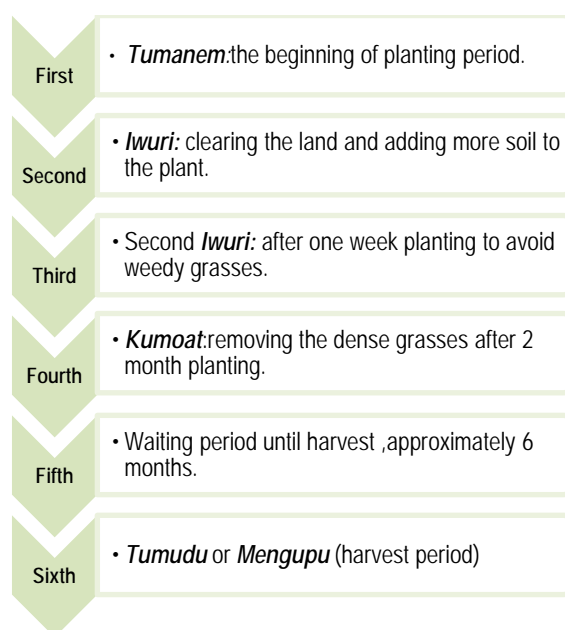


Figure 6.56  
Traditional farming Process in Tanggari Urban Village

In the *Tumudu* or *Mangupu* period, farmers have a technique in picking plants or paddy called *Rantal*. However, if the crops are in great quantities farmers will practice *Tumudu* (5 to 6 people are working together) or *Mapalus* (more than 10 people in a group). In agricultural *mapalus*, the community still practices traditional singing while cropping – using *Tonsea* songs and *Maengket* songs, and also traditional poetry.

Farmers also apply traditional land treatments in planting corn. After land clearance and the making of terraces, farmers start planting the seeds in holes ranging from 25 to 30 cm. In two weeks, in *Kumalipo'po* period when the leaves start to grow, they perform *Kumiskis*, and after another 2 weeks or one month in the *Keweruan* period when the plants start to flower, they perform *Kumedua*. This treatment regime aims to loosen the soil (using a hoe). Some farmers do not use fertilizers as the soil is abundantly fertile, which means that plants can easily grow. However, other farmers use fertilizers to stimulate plant growth. Farmers who undertake land cultivation over 5 hectares have alternatives to developing their land by planting trees, such as *seho* trees to produce lump sugar and *cap tikus* (beverage product resulting from traditional distillation), and/or *saguer* (a kind of juice), and coconut trees to

make *kopra* – smoked coconut – to be sold to coconut oil enterprises. This method continues to be practiced amongst Indigenous farmers.

As self-supporting farmers, they are responsive in managing their land and environment, particularly with variable weather that can force a change to their pattern of planting, or weedy grasses and animal disturbances, such as monkey (*Macaca nigra*) in land cultivation near the catchment area. Some farmers still using wisdom inherited from their Elders or ancestors, for example using the moon cycle in determining their planting period, in which 3 days before or after the full moon is a good time to plant seeds.

In comparison, the evidence of agricultural traditional practices of the six villages in the mountainside settings have been documented and presented as follows:

- Makalonsouw village is surrounded by hills and the landscape structure comprises plantation areas or dry lands and wet-rice fields (or *sawah*), settlement and community forestry. Most of the community in Makalonsouw work as farmers. Observations and interviews were undertaken with 10 farmers. The majority of respondents manage their own land and practice an intercropping system (*tumpang sari*) growing seasonal plants, such as *paddy ladang*, corn, yams, vegetables, spices, flowers and annual plants, such as cloves and other trees, which is largely subsistence farming to cover the family's expenses.

In managing land cultivation, the Makalonsouw farmers have similar methods to the preceding farmers, in that they start their process by loosening the soil and at the same time carry out *koloko* or seedling. These farmers practice traditional management in ploughing, and muddying the soil, and sinking the straws using plough and cow, or tractor if the land is more than 5 ha.

Traditional farmers in this village do not use the moon cycle or weather condition in planting *paddy*, but use defined planting periods, and they also rely on fertilizers. Thus, they adjust one or another in determining the rhythm of planting and normally harvest the crop around 2-3 times annually.

Other communities plant the *seho* tree on their dry land to produce lump sugar, *cap tikus* and *saguer*, also using their *pekarangan* (or front and back yard) by planting fruits, flowers



and trees, and a few farmers grow the forest flower known as *Anthurium sp* to be sold in the markets for additional income, as seen in Figure 6.57.



Paddy area in Makalonsow



Intercropping system: *seho* trees, coconut trees, corn, yams, spices, and fruits.



*Anthurium sp.*, grown naturally in the community forest and plantation areas.



Home Gardening: utilizing front and back yards

Figures 6.57

Natural resources and traditional management in Makalonsow Village  
(Photographs taken on 22<sup>th</sup> – 25<sup>th</sup> April 2011, by the Author)

- The Rurukan community undertakes traditional land management in dryland cultivation areas, with mainly seasonal plants. Interviews were obtained from a random selection of 8 farmers during site visits and observations on 19<sup>th</sup> May to 21<sup>st</sup> May 2011.

Rurukan farmers apply traditional land management including an intercropping system and planting rhythms; for example, within one year farmers harvest the crop twice and with the third opportunity they plant another type of plant using traditional farming processes involving land clearance, terracing and making plant beds, planting seeds, *kumerker* period to remove weedy plants or grasses, *rumo'ro* period to re-adjust the distance between the plants and remove the excess plants and weeds, cleaning the space between plant beds, fertilizing (depending on the fertile), and a waiting period to harvest in 2 - 3.5 months.

Production plants that thrive on the land conditions in Rurukan are horticultural plants such as carrot, cabbage, cauliflower, green bean, pea, spring onion and spices, and corn.

In identifying and recognizing the cultivation areas in Rurukan, specific names have been given to each place based upon the landscape features and conditions, and the cultivation land names are based upon landscape features taken from *Tombulu* language, as detailed in Figure 6.58.

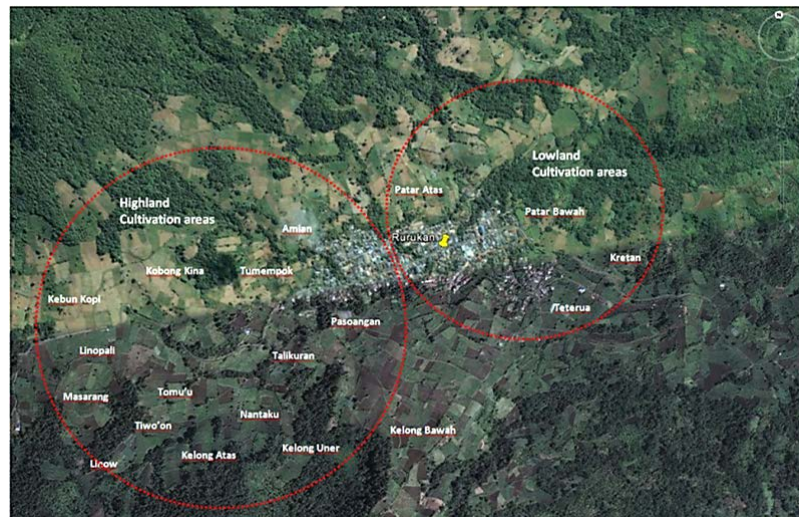


Figure 6.58  
Map of land cultivation divisions in Rurukan Village  
(Source: Aerial view-Google Earth; Author modification; Respondent Knowledge Interview 2011)

Rurukan farmers have a tradition of managing agricultural production, particularly in hiring labourers known as *Marawis*. *Marawis* is similar to the *Mapalus* tradition in the aspect of cooperation work, however, it is done only by women and they get paid. In *Marawis*, the women workers remove the weedy grasses and clean the *bedeng* (planting beds), and this farming period is called *Kumerker* (as seen in Figures 6.59 and 6.60).



Figure 6.59: Managing agriculture landscape in Rurukan  
(Photograph by Author, taken on Neighbourhood Street)



Figure 6.60: Marawis tradition in Kumerker period, in Rurukan  
(Photograph by Author, taken on Paddy areas and the irrigation system)

Those original farmers in the community who work on their own land also work with other land owners, particularly in the period of waiting for the harvest to sustain life.

Rurukan traditional farmers use the moon calendar in managing their crop. A respondent mentioned the term *Oras* indicating a period of rain or hot weather when the moon is in the position of *Mawuleleng*, or large moon/full moon. *Mato'os Ma'aya* indicates rain when the moon at the top of the sky around 6 am, and the term *Mato'os Marepow* indicates less rain in the 'dead' moon position. Thus, in applying the traditional farming calendar, during the *Ma'atos Ma'aya* period the farmer plants in the evening, while in the *Ma'atos Marepow* period the farmer plants in the morning before the moon appears. In the *Oras* period in *Mawuleleng* (new moon) farmers plant any time and over three days consecutively. Conversely, in the 'dead' moon period farmers plant over two days. Respondents who were traditional farmers have been practicing this knowledge and experiencing successful crop production over several decades. Hence, such local knowledge in farming practice is deemed important in conserving this Indigenous local tradition of the Minahasans, particularly in Rurukan.

- A different traditional land management regime is applied in the Kinilow village which is located adjacent to the active volcano of Mt Lokon. Traditional knowledge was obtained from 6 respondents who are the original farmers and still maintain their agricultural production patterns and techniques. The majority of recently arrived farmers engage in subsistence farming and offer their surplus production for sale at the local markets in Tomohon and Manado City. Traditional farmers consistently plant seasonal plants, and consider the effects of the volcano on the plant's growth, in particular the volcanic dust or cloud. Farmers consider planting in traditional ways like other farmers. They plant corn, peanut, pepper, *kangkung*, bannana, yams and cassava mainly for family needs. Farmers use the intercropping system by planting annual production trees, such as *seho* trees for making lump sugar, *cap tikus* and *saguer* production, and also other large trees, for example clove, *Cempaka hutan (Micelia celebica)*, *Nantu tree (Sapotacede sp. celebensis)* and many other forest trees for economic and ecological benefits. Most respondents' private land cultivations are located in Kobong Kasama'an near Mt Lokon, Kobong Kaima, Kobong Pinakukukan, Kobong Kayongan and Kobong Amian.



Figure 6.61: Kinilow community's forest gardens adjacent to Mt Empung  
(Photograph taken on 24<sup>th</sup> May 2011 by the Author)

The Kinilow community maintains their forest gardens near Mt Empung; this area consists of *pasini* lands, or lands possessed by several family clans since their ancestors first farmed the land for planting, in what they call the *tumani* tradition (Figure 6.59).

Certain places in Kinilow possess values in connection to pre-colonial belief customs, such as *Tapahan Napesut* and *Pinawela'an*, which these significant locations for the community are as detailed in Figure 6.60.

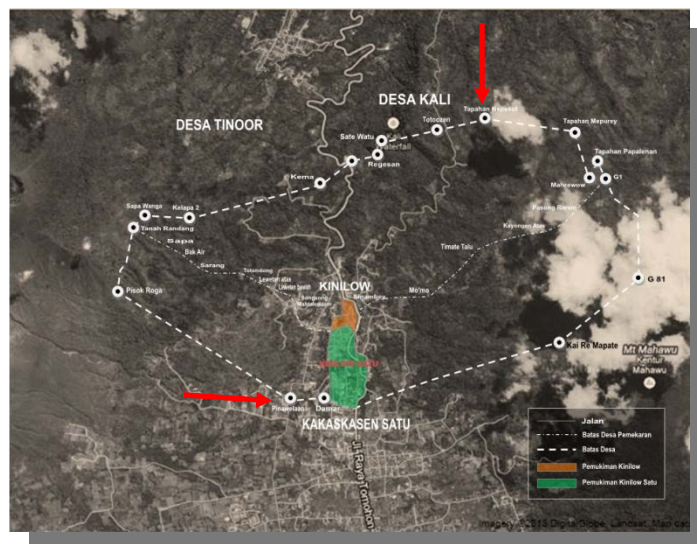
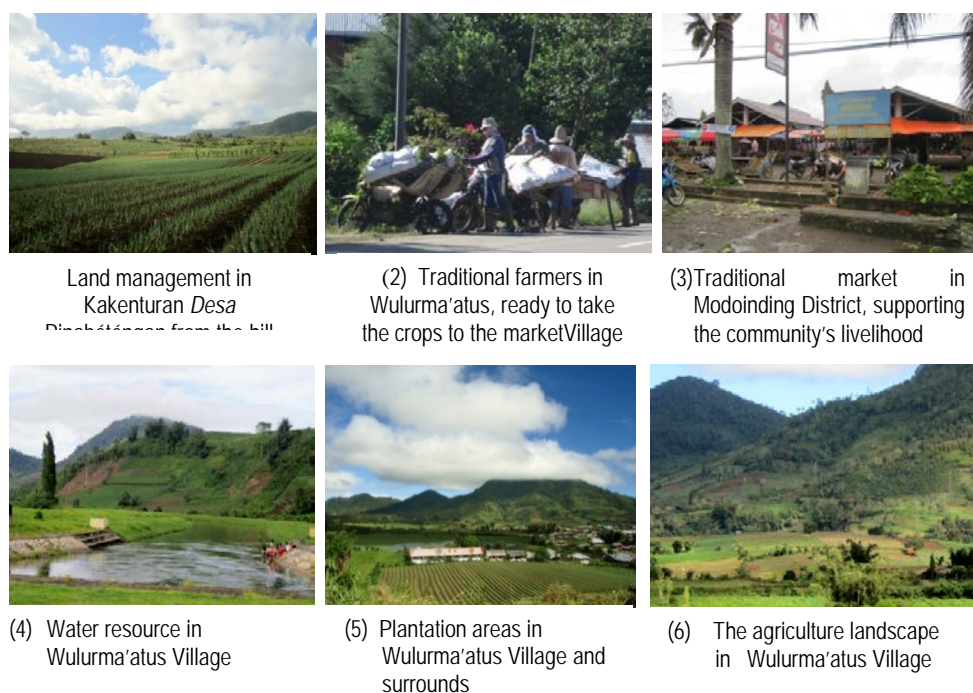


Figure 6.62: Map of Land Division and Boundary of Kinilow Village  
(Source; Aerial view-Google Earth; Government Office 2011; Author Modification)

- The communities at Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan villages are in the majority farmers, and comprise original (or traditional) and modern farmers. Interviews about traditional land management were obtained from 5 farmers in Wulurma'atus and 3 farmers in Kakenturan during observations and surveys from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> June 2011. The villages are located on the

flat highland area in southern Minahasa, on the boundary of the Bolaang Mongondow District. The landscape is appropriate for agricultural development, particularly horticulture. The most prolific horticultural plants that thrive in these land conditions are potato, carrot, spring onion, cabbage, pumpkin, fruits and trees. Farmers also apply an intercropping system.

Respondents' knowledge about farming practices varied according to their experience and how long they had been managing the land. Some traditional farmers continued the traditional practices using the moon cycle phenomenon and simple tools (hoe, spade, plough tools with cow or tractor) and machines to clear the land. In planting processes, most of the farmers used fertilizers (both organic and chemical, with an expectation to harvest in 3-4 months in a year. Thus the soil is considered only as planting media. Despite the mixed methods of traditional and modern, farmers are reliant on natural conditions, in particular rain in hot seasons and water availability.



**Figure 6.63**  
Natural resources and traditional management in Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan Villages  
(Photographs taken on 3rd – 5<sup>th</sup> June 2011, by the Author)

The sustainable landscape in this area is determined by how the community or the farmers maintain their work ethics, farming strategy and techniques in managing the land, and use combined methods that maintain the intensification of production for long-term periods. This must be achieved while extending the market for their production to other regions in the

province, or to other islands in eastern Indonesia, such as Ternate, Maluku and Papua Islands.

- Investigation at Tumaratas documented the community's traditional environmental knowledge, gained from traditional farmers. Their farming practices is a combination of traditional ways inherited from past family members and modern knowledge, which they have learnt from agriculture training. These farmers consider both the seasonal calendar and the moon cycle phenomenon, even though some farmers no longer use the latter method. Tumaratas farmers use their local terminology in understanding the moon cycle phenomenon that is applied to their farming practices, as described in the Figure 6.62 and Table 6.28.

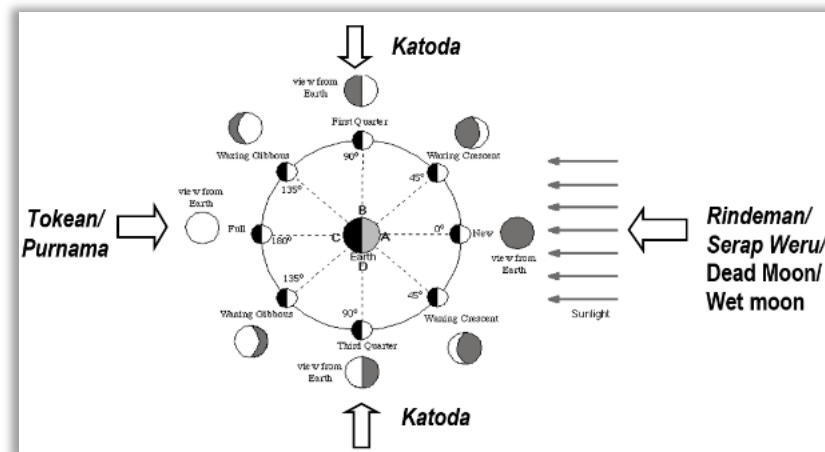


Figure 6.64  
Planting Season in Tumaratas village based upon moon cycle phenomenon

Table 6.28  
Moon Calendar applied by Tumaratas traditional farmers

| Moon Position             | Nomenclature                         | Knowledge and Local Wisdoms  |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| New Moon                  | <i>Serap Weru/Dead Moon/Wet moon</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It is prohibited to harm any plant or harvest (particularly clove, tomato or any trees)</li> <li>Is permissible to plant 3 or 4 days before or after <i>Serap Weru</i></li> </ul> |
| Full Moon/ <i>Purnama</i> | <i>Tokean / Big moon</i>             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any treatment for plants</li> <li>Good for planting yams or cassava</li> </ul>  |
| First Quarter             | <i>Katoda</i>                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any threatment for plants</li> </ul>  |
| Third Quarter             | <i>Katoda</i>                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Any threatment for plants</li> </ul>  |

Tumaratas traditional farmers use a traditional land measurement system called *Tek-tek* (1 tek-tek = 10 X 35 m<sup>2</sup> or 3,500 m<sup>2</sup>) or *waleleng* (distance between wood piles) in managing their lands. A farmer who has 1 *baung* has the equivalent of 20 *waleleng*. Farmers take heed of applying their Elders' wisdom in planting.

The landscape character and soil conditions at Tumaratas enable the cultivation all types of tropical plants to grow. However, the community prefers to plant apple tomato, which is appropriate both in the dry/hot season and the wet/rain season. Other types of seasonal and annual plants found here are *paddy sawah*, *padi ladang*, pepper, spring onion, corn, cassava, spices, vegetables, fruits and tropical trees. Farming in this village is supported by abundant water resources that originate from springs or water holes in *Ranosui*, *Ranotelu*, and *Rante*, adjacent to Mt Soputan, and Tombokan near *paddy* areas.

- The community in Pinabéténgan village applies traditional knowledge in using their land and natural resources. Interviews were obtained from 11 respondents, mainly traditional farmers. The interview outcome documents their experiences and methods in land management. The majority of farmers plant horticultural plants that thrive in this environment, mainly for subsistence farming, but also for production purposes, such as *paddy sawah*, corns, red beans, peanuts, shallots, yams, and vegetables. Some farmers plant fruits (*seho* tree, coconuts, and bananas), and also cloves and cinnamons, as well as other tropical wood trees in sloping areas and grasses for feeding race horses. They also use an intercropping system. Some farmers apply their own land cultivation regimes comprising both *sawah* (wetlands) and *kobong* (drylands). Others merely work with another land owner (*tumoyo* or *toyo* system) or hire and manage land cultivation.

Farming cultivation areas are located in the village and its surrounds, such as on the upper part of hills near the sulphur land (*Bukit Kasih*), Tonderukan Hill, Danu Kasuruan, Patumo, Tonsewer, *Kobong* Masem, and *Kobong* Bendungan.

Pinabéténgan traditional farmers in the majority measure their land with *tek-tek* and *waleleng* (as above), while some others use the hectare measurement. The majority of farmers work on land sizes ranging between ½ - 3 *tek-tek* (about 1750 m<sup>2</sup> - 10 500 m<sup>2</sup>). All *paddy* farmers start the farming process with *koloko* or seeding. Following three weeks of the *koloko* process, farmers continue with the *tempang* process, or cultivating the land

before planting the seeds. Farmers use semi-traditional tools: hoe, *bajak* or *pajeko* machine. After conducting the *tempang* process, farmers plant seeds, with a preference towards the local *paddy*. Ideally, in one year farmers can harvest 2 or 3 times. Before planting, farmers drain the land and enrich with organic fertilizers, namely *Urea*, and *Ponska*. Commonly, farmers add more fertilizers around 2 - 3 times over 2 - 3 weeks. The next process, called *Abut*, involves removing weedy plants. Farmers also use liquid pesticides to combat plant diseases while waiting for the harvest period.

**Table 6.29**  
Traditional Farming Practice in Pinabéténgan Village  
(Source: Interview Data 2011)

| Plants    | Preference type   | Bedeng/<br>Planting<br>bed<br>(cm -width) | Amount of<br>seed<br>per hole | Planting<br>range<br>between<br>holes (cm) | Traditional method of<br>application<br>(local terms)   |
|-----------|---|---|-------------------------------|--|---|
| Corns     | • Yellow Corn   | N.a                                       | 2 or 3                        | 40   | • <i>lare</i> or making planting lines  |
| peanuts   | • Red peanut<br>• <i>Belimbing</i> peanut                 | 80-100                                    | 1                             | 6  | • <i>kumikir</i> or removing weedy plant<br>• <i>Tumuak</i> or adding soil to loosen the soil                 |
| Red beans | • Common red bean<br>• Palu red bean<br>• Bogor Red bean  | 80-100                                    | 3                             | 40   | • <i>Wawayu</i> or planting seed using 5-6 wood stick-piles or <i>patokinto</i> circle shape<br>• <i>Abut</i> |
| Shallot   | • Magelang Shallot<br>• White Bombay Shallot              | 80  | 4                             | 30   | • <i>Kumikir</i> or removing weedy plant<br>• <i>Tumuak</i> or add soil to loosen the soil                    |
| Paddy     | • <i>Superwin</i><br>• <i>Wessel</i><br>• <i>Paddy 64</i> | Nil                                       | 1                             | 15 - 20                                    | • <i>Koloko</i> /seedling<br>• <i>Tempang</i> /ploughing<br>• <i>Abut</i> or removing weedy plants            |
| Tomato    | • Pearl Apple Tomato                                      | 100                                       | 2                             | 40   | • <i>Koloko</i> /seeding<br>• <i>Patok</i> or strengthening the plant   |

In the farming process, the wisdom and tradition from the Elders using the moon cycle phenomenon in determining the planting period and treatment or nursery are applied. Farmers do not plant or engage in land cultivation in during *Waru Serap*, or the new moon/dead moon phases, which from their perspective cause disease and affects plant growth. In contrast the first quarter or third quarter of the lunar cycle, and 3 days after the new moon period, are considered good periods for planting. Farmers also consider the sign of a full moon (if it appears in the early morning) as a good time to plant (Figure 6.63).





Figure 6.65: Moon phenomenon; Use by Pinabéténgan farmers in determining planting period  
(Photograph taken on 16<sup>th</sup> June 2011, by the Author)



Figure 6.66: Natural resources and traditional land management in Pinabéténgan Villages  
1. Paddy sawah; 2. Corns, 3. Peanuts; 4. Harvesting peanut; 5. Shallots; 6. Tomato  
(Photographs taken on 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> June 2011, by the Author)

The community cultivates natural resources for subsistence and production for their livelihood. A respondent recall that in past agriculture practice around the 1950s, a mutual aid or *mapalus* tradition was applied in this village. About 40-50 people were involved in the cultivation of lands under *kumeter* rule (official mandate from the village leader) to work and to control the workers. However, *mapalus* existed until the late 1970s then began to disappear. In recent times, *mapalus* has been replaced with a labour hire system.

## 6.5.2 Ethnobotanical Knowledge

Traditional ethnobotanical knowledge in the Minahasan community has long been used to sustain life since pre-colonial times in this region. Plants are not only used for food, but also in medicinal, house construction, ritual and other cultural uses (Mohamad, 2009). Plants in Minahasa have been researched and written about in reports and books by researchers from outside the region and by locals. In order to conserve the role of plants in the Minahasan living practices and to maintain their use in cultural and historical practices, a re-identification of plants connected to the community's extant traditional knowledge is needed.

The categories employed in this research were as follows:

- Medicinal curative plants;
- Rites and Ceremonies – specific plants for cultural events;
- Technology – plants for making tools or utensils;
- Firewood – dead woods to burn for specific purposes;
- Edible – including cultivated vegetables and fruits; and
- Miscellaneous – other functions in any of the above.

### 6.5.2.1 Plants for Curative Medicine

Minahasan's botanical knowledge that involves the use of plants for traditional healing purposes is still being practiced today. In Minahasan culture, the ability to heal people is called "*se mangelot*" (Dotulong, 2010), and this knowledge has been inherited from their ancestors. Minahasan's belief system and myths are connected to the need to treat illnesses and to provide therapy, as they believe in the God *Empung* and the myths of "*Opo-Opo*" (the spirit of ancestors), the belief of *bad spirits or force spirits* and the belief of the existence of human spirit souls (Moningka, 1985).

Information was gathered from respondents who have knowledge of curative plants. Interviews and field observations were undertaken in the community. Respondents with backgrounds as traditional healers or *dukun* (also called *tona'as*, *tonaas wadian*), *biang*, and Elders select plants for therapy or healing based upon the causes:

- (1) Common illness (i.e. fever, flu, injury),
- (2) Bad vapour or bad wind of the earth,

- (3) Improper care of one's-self,
- (4) Black magic, and
- (5) Human execution by witchcraft or "*Opo-Opo*" (*guna-guna*).

Some plant materials presented in this research have well-identified plant taxonomy but several do not. Thus, it is anticipated that further taxonomic research in this area is necessary. Rites and procedures of Minahasans in traditional healing and therapy can be compared with other Indigenous communities in other regions, but can also be used as a cultural reference for tracing interactions between people and their environment.

Evidence of some significant ethnobotanical knowledge and traditions in the case study areas, which have the potential to be maintained, were recorded as follows:

- A respondent in Ro'ong recognizes the traditional practice known as *mandi kera* or *ba-kéra*, a traditional spa which is undertaken 10 days after delivering a child. This tradition carried out by *biang kampung* – in other Minahasan communities it is called *bidan* (Malonda, 2007). The *biang kampung* might involve over 24 kinds of local plants depending on their availability in the area. Examples of plants include *tewa'ang* leaves, banana leaves and *popontolen* or *lemon suwangi*. If a mother gets sick after delivering a child, the suggested practice is consumption of the *turi plant*.
- The Watumea community practices a similar tradition of spa therapy after childbirth called *sosotan*, using *lemon suwangi* and *saribata/sirih* as ingredients.
- The Pelelo'an community recognizes a traditional healing which is practiced by families using a plant called *kayu tulus*. The plant is taken from their private plantation area called Kobong Kinetor. The healing method is taught through a dream by their late Elders or ancestors. The plant remains the only one extant in the location near a stone called *Leloangan ni Mukur*. Part of the plant (its root) is used for healing a patient with fractures, scalds or sprains. In practice, the healer eats a slice of the root while massaging and praying to the patient with a special prayer that is delivered through a dream. The community have witnessed many people from different parts of Minahasa and other regions in North Sulawesi and Papua Island coming to Pélélo'an village for this purpose and report that the patients were healed.

- The Lininga'an community recognizes a post-childbirth therapy called *Sarapa*, which also involves different procedures during childbirth. A midwife (*biang kampung*) uses a sterilized tool called *katewa* and a sharp slice of bamboo (*bulu taki*) to cut *tali tembuni* the placenta (*tali tembuni*) – this practice is also carried out in Tanggari Village. *Sarapa* is performed 9 to 11 days after delivering the baby. About 9 types of plant are used and they are cleaned and sterilized before being boiled in water. The nine plants are detailed in Table 6.30. Fire-burnt stones can also be used to maintain steam. This traditional therapy method has been practiced for many generations and continues to be maintained by this community.

**Table 6.30**  
**Types of plants used for traditional spa therapy after child delivery**

| Plants Materials (Local Term)                      | Description (by Respondent)                    | Part of plant to be used    | Benefit (Based upon respondents)                      |
|--|--|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>Sese'wanua</i>                                  | Family of tubers                               | Whole parts                 | Recovery from a weak body                             |
| <i>Kayu Tulus</i>                                  | Wood is taken from the forest                  | Leaf                        | Repairs broken veins                                  |
| <i>Popontolen/suwangi</i>                          | A kind of lemon                                | Fruit                       | Keep the body away from disease and also bad spirits. |
| <i>Leleme</i>                                      | Family of Hibiscus                             | Leaf                        |   |
| <i>Karimenga</i>                                   | Hard to find and only with ancestor's guidance | Whole parts (Root and leaf) | To flavour boiling concoctions                        |
| <i>Tetinkisen</i> , also called "rumput kaki kuda" | Family of grassess with small round leaves     | Whole parts                 | Repair broken veins                                   |
| <i>Torongoak</i>                                   | Family of grasses with wide leaves             | Whole parts                 | Joins veins   |
| <i>Daun Mangkuk</i>                                |  | Leaf                        | nil   |
| <i>Tawa'ang keles</i>                              | Family of Dracena, with green and red colours  | Whole parts                 | Fragrant  |

Source: Respondent - Max Lesar – Lininga'an

- The tradition of planting medicinal plants (which also includes spices and herbs) in a garden house amongst the Pinabéténgan community is known as *leleme sukur* or *leleme in dior*, which in *Bahasa Indonesia* is called *apotik hidup*. The Minahasan people acknowledge the medical benefits of plants, and these methods and practices have been derived from their ancestors for generations and are maintained today. Minahasans use curative plants depending upon their beliefs and experiences according to causal factors.

Table 6.31 tabulates the use of local plants for medicinal purposes; this data was obtained from 144 respondents in 16 urban-rural areas in the highlands of Minahasa that were surveyed. The medical ethnobotanical survey data in Table 6.31 represents plant species which are purported to have some medicinal value. The varied distribution of these species reflects the great ecological

diversity of the inland area of the region. Many plants occur as restricted endemics, while other plant species are more widespread not only in their geographic distribution but also in their patterns of use in traditional healing. This study indicates that the Minahasan's are known to treat particular health conditions. Almost all medicinal plant species used by the Minahasan's are employed to treat several health conditions using alternative treatments. These findings led the researcher to wonder if those species with high usage might also demonstrate lexical similarities or variations in nomenclature across the Minahasan community in general. This can be ascertained by levels of agreement amongst collaborators in this discipline of science. However, the assumption of this agreement reflects a cultural salience. The number of plant species resulting from this re-identification was around 75 in the data set. In deciding the importance of distinct nomenclature, there are some species that have lexical variations according to the sub-ethnic language.

**Table 6.31**  
**Minahasan ethnobotanical knowledge: common plants used for medicinal purposes**  
**in the Case Study Areas**

| Name of Plants<br>(Local Term)   | Scientific name or Botanical<br>Family                                    | Part of<br>plants | Function/benefit<br>(according to respondents<br>practices and experiences)                      |
|--|---|-------------------|--|
| Alpukat (I)  | <i>Persea gratissima</i> Gaerth   | lv                | Hypertension   |
| Balacai (MM)   |   | lv                | High Fever, sprain, wound  |
| Bawang Merah (I)<br>/Lamsuna Rangedang (IM)  | <i>Allium cepa</i> var. <i>ascolonicum</i><br>Backer (Alliaceae)          |                   | High fever   |
| Bawang Putih (I) / Lamsuna<br>Kulo (IM)  | <i>Allium sativum</i> L.  | bu                | Stomach ache   |
| Bramakusu (IM), Salimbata<br>(IM), Sarimbata (IM)  | <i>Andropogon schoenanthus</i> L.<br>(Poaceae)                            | wh                | Internal illness   |
| Benalu (I)   | <i>Lorathus</i> sp. (Loranthaceae)  | ro                | Emphysema, TBC   |
| Bunga Tondano (I) / Totosiken<br>Kema (IM) / Kana (MM)   | ?   | lv                | Wound  |
| Cengkih (I)  | <i>Syzygium aromaticum</i> (L.) Merr<br>& L.M.Perry<br>(Myrtaceae)        | fr                | Breast Cancer, unknown illness<br>caused by bad wind/force spirits                               |
| Cocor bebek (I)  | <i>Kalachoe pinnata</i>   | lv                | Fever, wound   |
| Dangedu (Ts)   | ?   | lv                | Red-eyed   |
| Daong Mangkok (MM)   | <i>Nothopanax cocliatum</i>   | lv                | Common illness   |
| Daong Tabal (MM) Rarate (IM)   | <i>Bryophyllum calycinum</i> salis B.                                     | lv                | Fever  |
| Dudi (Ts) ,leleme-redai, sela<br>(Td); kelet-rintek (Ti); Dudi-<br>kerut, werot (Ts), sela (Tb),<br>Daong garida, dahengora (MM) | <i>Codiaeum variegatum</i> (L.) Blume<br>(Euphorbiaceae)                  | fl                | Headache, fever  |
| Goraka (MM) / jahe (I)   | <i>Zingiber officinale</i> var. <i>Roscoe</i><br>(Zingiberaceae)          | rh                | Fever/compress, stomach ache,<br>trad.steam, unknown illness caused<br>by bad wind/force spirits |
| Goramasu (Tb)– Goraka merah  | <i>Zingiber officinale</i> var. <i>rubrum</i><br>Theilade (Zingiberaceae) | rh                | Headache   |
| Goringo Merah (MM) –<br>Karimenga Rundang (IM,Ts)  | <i>Acorus calamus</i> L.<br>(Aracaceae)                                   | rh                | Any type of illness; Fever, cough,<br>teeth ache, trad.steam                                     |

|   |   |        |   |
|---|---|--------|---|
| Goyawas (MM)  | <i>Psidium guajava</i> (Myrtaceae)                        | lv     | Diarrhoea   |
| Jeruk Nipis (I), lemon Nipis (MM)   | <i>Citrus auratiifolia</i> (Christ.) Swingle (Rutaceae)   | fr     | Cough, eyestrain, red-eyed                          |
| Kanengengen (Td)  | Poaceae   | lv     | Wound   |
| Kencur (I), Sukur (IM)  | <i>Kaempferia galangal</i> L. (Zingiberaceae)             | lv, bu | Internal illness, fever                             |
| Kalapa (MM)   | <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L. (Arecaceae)                      | fr     | Massage, mix with other plants                      |
| Kunir (IM); Kukuniren (a); Kuni (IM), Kurkuma, Kunyit (MM)                                      | <i>Curcuma Longa</i> L.                                   | rh     | Internal illness, gastritis                         |
| Kembang Sepatu (I)  | <i>Hibiscus rosa-sinensis</i> L                           | lv, fl | Common illness                                      |
| Kucae (MM), Lansua rintek (Tb)  | <i>Allium uliginosum</i> Don.                             | wh     | High Fever, cough, hypertension, headache           |
| Kuning (MM) / Kunyit (I)  | Zingiberaceae   | rh     | Gastritis, Trad.steam                               |
| Karimenga Kulo (IM)   | Araceae   | rh     | Fever, wound, teeth ache                            |
| Kayu Merah (I)  | Rizophoren  | wo     | Injured/wound                                       |
| Kekuru (IM) or balakama (Td) Kemangi (I)  | <i>Ocimum basilicum</i> L. (Lamiaceae)                    | lv     | Fever   |
| Kopi (I)  | <i>Coffea arabica</i>                                     | lv, fr | Fever, wound  |
| Korontungan Mea (Td); Kerentungan-raindang kulo (Tt); Kecubung merah-putih (MM)                 | <i>Datura sp. div</i>                                     | lv     | Fever   |
| Kumis Kucing (I)  | <i>Orthosihon aristatus</i> (Blume) Miq. (Lamiaceae)      | lv, fl | Reumatic, Tired, back pain,                         |
| Langsat MM)   | <i>Lansium domesticum</i> Correa emend.Jack (Meliaceae)   | lv     |   |
| Lingkuwas (MM)/Lincuwas (Td) /Langkuwas (Tb)  | <i>Alpinia galangal</i> (L). Willd. (Zingiberaceae)       | rh     | Common illness                                      |
| Leleme (Tt)   | Gramineae   | lv     | Wound   |
| Lemon Nipis (MM), Lemon ikan (MM), dedamud (IM)   | <i>Citrus acida</i> Roxb / <i>Citrus medica</i> L.        | fr     | Cold and flu, headache                              |
| Lemon Suwangi (IM), Lemong (MM) Popontolen (IM)   | <i>Citrus hystrix</i> DC. (Rutaceae)                      | fr     | Steam therapy, flatulent                            |
| Liat Tinerusan (Td)   | ?   | fl     | Fever   |
| Loloyan (Td/Tb); Riyo (Tt)Wewuyung (Ts); Tagalolo (MM)  | <i>Ficus leucantatona</i> Poir                            | lv     | Wound, fever, cough, abscess                        |
| Serewung Mea (Td); Serewung Raindang (Tt); Serewung Rangdang (Tb); Mayana Mas, Mayana Mera (MM) | <i>Plectranthus scutellarioides</i> (L.) R.Br (Lamiaceae) | lv     | Expectorant, chest pain, stomach ache, fever, wound |
| Mayana itang (MM)   | <i>Coleus atropurpureus</i> Menth                         | lv     | Blood vomit/TBC                                     |
| Mawuena (Td)  | Forest plant (?)  | lv     | Fever   |
| Papaya (I)  | <i>Carica papaya</i> L.(Caricaceae)                       | wo     | Wound   |
| Pasote (IM)   | ?   | lv     | Fever   |
| Pisang (I)  | <i>Musa sp.</i> (Musaceae)                                | lv     | High Fever, wound, Malaria                          |
| Pisang Goroho (IM)  | <i>Musa acuminata</i> Sp                                  | lv     | High fever  |
| Rumput Sopi/Mousopi/Marrow Sopi (IM) /dukut sopi (Ts)   | <i>Ageratum conyzoides</i> L.                             | lv     | Wound, cramp  |
| Rumput Macang (MM)  | Poaceae   | lv     | Wound, scratch, numb of arm and leg                 |
| Rumput Puti (MM)  | Poaceae   | lv     | Wound   |
| Rumput Matelew  | ?   | lv     | Wound   |
| Saketa (IM) / balacae (MM) Jarak (I)  | <i>Jatropha curcas</i> L. (Euphorbiaceae)                 | lv     | High Fever, sprain, wound                           |
| Sambung Nyawa (I)   | <i>Gynura procumbens</i> Backer                           | lv     | Internal illness                                    |
| Seho (MM) / Akel (IM) / Aren (I)/ Sagner (MM)   | <i>Arenga sacchariferum</i>                               | ro     | TBC   |

|  |   |            |   |
|--|---|------------|---|
| Selebung (Tt), bawang daun (I)   | Alliaceae   | lv         | Wound, fever  |
| Sesauten/Se'utan/Pase'utan (IM)  | <i>Alliumtuberosum</i> Rottler ex Sprengel (Alliaceae)  | wh         | Fever, wound  |
| Sese'wanua (IM)  | <i>Clerodendrum fragrans</i> (Vent.) R.Br (Verbenaceae) | lv, ro     | High Fever, Tumour, thriginosis, abcess in the rectum, other internal disease or critical disease |
| Sese'panga (IM) / benalu (I)   | Loranthaceae  | lv         | Cancer, wound and any common illness  |
| Se'sesang (IM) /   | ?   | wo, fr, se | Internal illness  |
| Sirih (I)  | <i>Piper betle</i> L. (Piperaceae)                      | lv         | Fever, Cold   |
| Sirsak (MM)  | <i>Annona muricata</i> L. (Annonaceae)                  | lv         | Cancer, Tumour, rheumatic   |
| Taritup (Tt)   | ?   | lv, fr     | Hyperuricemia, anti -cancer, rheumatic  |
| Tawa'angim Bolai (Tt); Tawaan ni Angko (Ts); Popopok ni Wolai (Td)                     | <i>Draccaena angustifolia</i> Roxb                      | lv         | Bites (millipede)   |
| Tawa'ang Keles-mea,puti, popopok (Td); Tawa'an (Tt, Ts, Tb); Lenjuwang, Senjuwang (MM) | <i>Coryline terminales</i> Kunth.                       | lv         | Fever, illness caused by force/bad spirits  |
| Tomat (I) / Tamate (MM)//Komantes (IM)   | <i>Lycopersicum esculenta</i>                           | fr         | wound   |
| Torongowan (IM)  | ?   | lv         | Internal illness  |
| Tulus ni sawa (Td);  | <i>Eranthemum malaccense</i> Clarke                     | wo         | Fracture, sprain and burn or scald  |
| Turi (I)   | <i>Sesbania grandiflora</i> (L.) Pers. (Fabaceae)       | lv         | Headache (after childbirth)   |
| Temulawak (I) / Kencur (I) / Wangelei (IM)   | <i>Curcuma xanthorrhiza</i> Roxb. (Zingiberaceae)       | bu         | Internal illness  |
| Tawa'ang (IM)  | <i>Cordyline terminalis</i> (L.) Kunth (Agavaceae)      | wh         | Steam or spa therapy (bakera/Sarapa/mandi uap)  |
| Tungkara (IM)  | <i>Impatiens balsamina</i> Linn                         | lv         | Wound, Bleeding   |
| Tu'is (IM)   | <i>Ananassa sativa</i>                                  | wh         | Wound   |
| Walantakan (IM)  | <i>Erythrina lithosperma</i>                            | wo         | Fever (Sarampah-IM)   |
| Walisu (IM) / Kaai Walisu (IM)/ Kayu Manis (I)   | <i>Cinnamomum zeylanicum</i> Ness                       | wo         | Fever   |

- (Td=Tondano), Ts =Tonsea), Tt=Tontemboan), Tb=Tombulu), IM=Indigenous Minahasa, MM=Manado Malay), I=Indonesia)
- Rh: rhizome; wh: whole plant; wo: wood; bu: bulb; lv: leaves; fl: flower; fr: fruit; se:seed, bd: bud; ro: root

### 6.5.2.2 Plants for Ceremonial Use

The Minahasan people also use plants for ceremonial purposes. Minahasans recognize several local plants that are associated with their cultural practices, particularly in conducting monthly and annual ceremonials at Pinabéténgan Village.

Long before colonization, plants played an important role in particular rites to *Opo Empung* (Riedel, 1870; Schwarz, 1908). Pre-colonial Minahasan people practiced sedentary agrarian culture.

Research about ethnobotany for cultural materials in the case study areas evidenced several significant plants that Minahasans use in several ceremonies and rites:

1. *Mangalei* of a group or individual (plea for blessings from *Opo Wailan wangko* (God Almighty) and plea for a *sombar* or heirlooms for self-protection and healing, such as medicinal plant materials, which are given through a medium or a trance);
2. Ceremonial events, such as annual cultural celebrations;
3. Rite of thanksgiving, which mostly occurs at the *Watu Pinawetengan* (a historical division stone) place.

Table 6.32 and Figures 6.67 and 6.68 list the plant materials used in these rites and ceremonies.

**Table 6.32**  
**Minahasan ethnobotanical knowledge:**  
**common plants used in rites and ceremonies in the Case Study Areas**  
 (Source: Interview Data 2011)

| Name of Plants (Nomenclature)  | Scientific name or Botanical Family                                       | Function/benefit (according to respondents practices and experiences) |
|--|---|---|
| Bulu Rames/Tambelang   | <i>Bambusa</i>  | Ritual and ceremony   |
| Goramasu (IM) – Goraka merah (MM)  | <i>Zingiber officinale</i> var. <i>rubrum</i><br>Theilade (Zingiberaceae) | Healing Rituals and protection from force spirits                     |
| Goringo Merah (IM) / Karimenga Rundang (IM)  | <i>Acorus calamus</i> L. (Aracaceae)                                      | Used by tona'as or healer in Rituals/rites and ceremonies             |
| Lemon Suwangi (MM), Lemon Popontolen (IM)  | <i>Citrus Limetta</i> Risso (Rutaceae)                                    | Used by Tona'as or healers for protectiing from "force spirits        |
| Tawa'ang Keles-mea,puti, popopok (Td); Tawa'an (Tt,Ts,Tb); Lenjuwang, Senjuwang (MM) | <i>Coryline Terminalis</i> Kunth.   | Rituals/rites and ceremonies  |
| Sirih (I)  | <i>Piper betle</i> L. (Piperaceae)  | Rituals/rites and ceremonies  |
| Pinang hutan (I)/ Tenga'wua (IM)   | <i>Areca catechu</i>  | Rituals/rites and ceremonies  |
| Tabako (MM)  | <i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> ( <i>Nicotiana</i> Spp.L                         | Rituals/rites and ceremonies  |
| Daun Pisang  | <i>Musa</i> sp. (Musaceae)  | Rituals/rites and ceremonies  |



**Figure 6.67. Plants for rites purposes**  
 (1) *Tenga'wua* or *Pinang hutan* (*Areca catechu*) and (2) Banana leaves (*Musa* sp.)  
 (Photographs taken on 16th June 2011 and 22th July 2012 by the Author)



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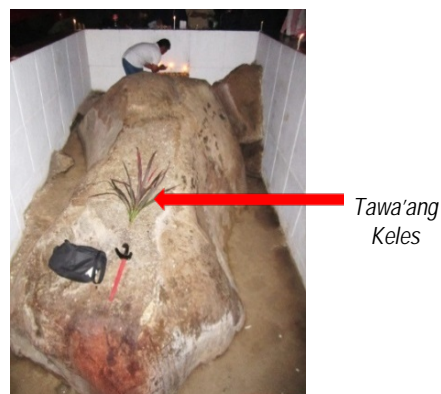


Figure 6.68. Plants for cultural ceremony: Tawa'ang Keles (*Coryline terminales* Kunth) and bamboo (*Bambusa* sp.) for: (1) ceremonial and (2) rite (Photographs taken at *Watu Pinawetengan* on 17<sup>th</sup> June 2011 and 7 July 2013, Source: the Author and ISBSU)

Each Minahasan sub-ethnic group possesses similar plant materials for their rituals. However, their use depends upon availability in the area. Commonly, in preparing plant materials, the Minahasans (mainly *tona'as* and healers) use odd numbers of 1, 3 or 9 portions of each material. *Tawa'ang* and *karimenga rundang/rangdang* are the most popular plants in all rituals. Andriani and Kruijt (1912-1914, II, p. 35 and III, p. 162) mention *tawa'ang* as a magic plants "*par excellence*" in Sulawesi and describe it in a healing ritual context. Palm (1979, p. 222) wrote about this particular plant being common in East Asia and Oceania, which was associated with blood, vitality and a rejection of demonic spirits, and is also used in other Indigenous communities in Indonesia because of its symbolic meanings and purposes – for example in Mentawai it is called *sago* (calling) and in Batak Karo it is called *simbera bayak*, or wealth prospect (Renwarin 2007, p. 145).

Minahasan people in Lininga'an recognize a *sombar* (heirloom) called *Palingkunan*. The Pelealu clan maintain this tradition, the knowledge and methods of which have been inherited from their ancestors. This practice is used as a means of protection to protect a person from witchcraft practices or black magic (*doti*). Plants that are used in the *Palingkunan* tradition are taken from forests in the inland Minahasa region, for instance Tounsukun Hill, and include *Balisu* (a piece of wood) and *Terembu'uk/damar*. The making of *palingkunan* is described by a respondent as follows:

"The *balisu* will be dried before it is shave off and blended with *terembu'uk* and incense, and thereupon the ingredients are smoked by using 3 coconut shells (each shell should have 3 holes in surface) and coconut leaves. The last process is called *gauk*, is mixed together with tobacco to make cigarette."

This tradition is practiced and maintained by a family clan. Respondents recalled experiences making *gauk* and using them when traveling to other regions outside Minahasa.

### 6.5.2.3 Plants for Housing Construction

The Minahasans use plants taken from the forests around their living place. The Minahasans collect part of plants such as the logs, bark, wood or timber to build houses. Plants, such as *tawa'ang*, have a significant role in a rite that precedes colonization. Minahasans have a particular nomenclature of plants involved in house construction. Data on plants was recorded from interview respondents in the case study areas (as detailed in Table 6.33).

**Table 6.33**  
Plants use for housing construction in the Case Study Areas

| Name of Plants<br>(Local Term)                            | Scientific name or Botanical Family  |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Wasian (IM); Cempaka hutan (I)                            | <i>Michelia celebica</i>             |
| Walantakan  | <i>Erythrina lithosperma</i>         |
| Kayu Hitam (MM)   | <i>Diospyrus ebenum</i>              |
| Nantu (IM)  | <i>Sapotacede sp. celebensis</i>     |
| Ares (MA)   | <i>Dipeo carpacae</i>                |
| Sea (IM)  | <i>Morinda bracteata</i>             |
| Akel (IM, Seho (MM)                                       | <i>Arenga sacchariferum</i>          |
| Rumbia (MM), Tewasen (IM)                                 | <i>Metroxylon sagus</i> Rott         |
| Nipa  | <i>Nipa fructicans</i> Wrinb         |
| Wanga (IM)  | <i>Metroxylon elatum</i>             |
| Nibong (MM)   | <i>Areca nibung</i>                  |
| Ketapang, Pohon Sombar (MM), Walisu (IM) Kayu Lawang (MM) | <i>Terminalia cattapa</i>            |
| Bulu Tahaki/Taki (IM), Wulu, Totoren (IM)                 | <i>Babusa vulgaris</i>               |
| Kelapa (I)  | <i>Cocos nucifera</i> L. (Arecaceae) |
| Raripungu/Aripungu (IM)                                   | <i>Tectona grandis</i>               |
| Talampa Siouw   | Nil                                  |

Source: Interview data 2011

### 6.5.2.4 Plants for Miscellaneous use

The Minahasan people have used trees for other purposes, such as using the *damar* (*Agathis dammara*), *saketa* (*Jatropha curcas*) and *wiouw* (*Aleurites moluccana*) for emergency lighting. *Tawa'ang* is also a particular plant associated with customary law or related to land division matters. A private land allotment in a family is called *tana pasini* and each family member of family has a right, known as *hak lilikur*, to own a piece of land; this is an unwritten law that is acknowledged by local and regional governments today. Mostly, *tana pasini* is cultivated land and may also be known as *kobong* and/or a heritage land (*kintal*) where a family clan lives. *Tawa'ang* (mostly *tawa'ang keles*) is used to divide the land boundary or *sipat* (*sipat* means border). Through a ritual *adat*, *tawa'ang* is planted by the village leader and Elders. In some cases, in other villages, the two parties who own

the parcel of land will plant the *tawa'ang*. Plants such as *Saketa* and *Bori/Wori* wood (*Ormocacarpum glabrum*) are used alternatively by the community in marking private land borders or parcels.

### 6.5.3 Hunting and Gathering Tradition

Long before colonization, Minahasan people had the ability to hunt wild animals, which was integral to their survival and coping with the environment. The spirit of hunting and their skill reflects the character of the Minahasans as a strong, brave and adventurous people. Thus, precolonial Minahasan used a very traditional hunting and gathering strategy, and possessed a range of tools to service these activities.

Hunting-gathering involves the mutual interaction of humans and animals in the food production chain (Tapper, 1988 in Descola & Páisson, 1996, p. 64). This sedentary and foraging tradition in Minahasa also involves site-specific and practical acts that pay respect to this human-environmental relationship. Foraging activities are a contemporary tradition that is important for Minahasans, as is also their continuance of the hunting customs that replicate the practices of their ancestors. This topic was investigated in interviews and direct observations amongst Minahasan hunters and gatherers as to whether they still maintain these traditions today. Questions were asked about habitat use, preferred species targeted and the recognition of species and their methods of identify many continuing practices.

Minahasan hunters have adopted strategies and hunting techniques that reflect their practical knowledge through direct perception. Hunting is used to acquire knowledge of species which they consider significant. Hunters learn from experience that animals communicate, learn and modify their habits and ways in response to humans. Below are several current activities of Minahasan hunters that typify their interactions with wild animals:

- *Mangasu* is the activity of a person or a group of people when hunting rats, pigs, and monkeys using few trained dogs (*asu*). Hunters use spear that are made of iron or *Nibong* wood (*Areca nibung*). To undertake hunting, hunters adapt to the environment, learn the wind directions, determine the hunting area and identify the animals' food sources and requirements. In some cases, hunting activities commence in a catchment area and move to inland into the forest. This activity was recorded as occurring in several villages in the case study area, such as Lininga'an, Kembuan and Pinabéténgan.

- *Mangawok* is similar to *mangasu*, wherein the Minahasan's hunt forest rats called *Tikus ekor putih* (white tail rats). This species is one of the most hunted wild animals in Minahasa. Two or three persons co-operate in hunting white tail rats. Hunters commence in plantation areas or forests and are accompanied by trained dogs. Hunters interviewed for this research identified five species of white tail rats based upon their local terms as follows:
  - *Tureang/Turean* has white and yellow fur and generally has their nest and habitat underground. This species lives in a large group of 20 to 30 in a defined territory. They also live in any forest trees.
  - *Tangkara* have large bodies, grey fur, live in pairs with one or two babies, and have their nest in *Walanga'an* trees and *Seho* trees (*Arenga sacchariferum*).
  - *Pangaladen* have some red fur on their back with a white chest. They are mostly found in Banana trees (*Musa*).
  - *Kumakampoy*, similar to *Turean*, have a small body, and are found in the *Lamtoro* tree (*Leucaena leucocephala*).
  - *Tembuwung* have no white tail and have a medium sized body. They live in the *Cempaka* tree (*Michelia celebica*).

Hunters apply their skills to track and identify the rat's habitat and are equipped only with a cleaver and stick. Usually hunters will examine an area by observing remnants of rat food such as leaves and certain fruits, or foot prints on paths. Therefore, hunters will look in the areas around the roots of trees to find nests, using their dog's sense of smell. A skilled hunter can easily pull the tail of a rat and then kill the animal by hitting its head. Commonly, the habitat of *Tangkara* is in *Seho* trees, among the fruits of the *seho* called *mayang*, within which they make their nest (*rumung*).

- Minahasan hunters have skills in making nooses or traps to catch forest pigs (*Sus celebensis*), forest cow (*anoa* – *Bubalus depressicornis*) or deer. Hunters make trap holes with a 1 m diameter and 1 m depth and position sharp bamboo or wood stakes or robe traps with sharp woods in the base of the pit. The trap holes, known as a "*Lolombeng*", are constructed where a population of animals (mostly forest rats) is thought to reside, as indicated by their food remnants. Over a few days hunters will put corn or coconut in the base of hole and they put a piece of wood called *patetean* to create a bridge for the rats to get to the food. After 3 days, the *patetean* will be lifted and more food will be put into the trap hole. According to respondents' experiences, on the next

day in the early morning, around 10 to 20 edible rats would be found in the hole. Thus, hunters can easily catch this species.

There is also a trap that they put in trees, using a rattan rope or a cord rope; this technique is similar to a hunter gather technique used in Makalonsow.

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**Figure 6.69**  
Minahasan hunter with a traditional tool of hunting-gathering called “dodeso”  
(Photograph; taken at Makalonsow forest, 22 April 2011, Source: the Author)

Until the late 1980s these traditional techniques were still maintained, and around the 1990s hunters started using air rifles and perform their hunting activities at night. They also equipped themselves with a torch, a piece of bamboo and cleaver, along with other tools to imitate the sound of rats. Some hunters are able to imitate the chatter “ciit...ciiit” which makes the rats come closer, or by using a toy that imitate this sound. When hunting at night, hunters use the movement of the moon to guide them, or one of the eastern stars as a sign and orientation guide. However, when the sky is dark with no natural light, the hunter will mark trees when passing the tracks.



**Figure 6.70**  
Minahasan hunter from Pinabéténgan and semi-modern hunting tools  
(1) Air rifle, head torch and power battery (2) A toy to imitate rat sound (3) A hunter  
(Photographs taken at Pinabéténgan Village on 15 June 2011, Source: the Author)

- *Mameret* is a hunting activity to catch bats. Usually hunters undertake this during times of clear skies at night, with no rain or moon, and in the forests or on the hillsides or mountainsides in the valley slope. Hunters prepare the location by making a *steleng* (space) between two hills to block the route of the bat. They prepare tools such as nets with the dimension 5 m x 7 m which is tied between two of bamboo sticks. Commonly *mameret* involves 3 to 4 people. A skilled hunter will “call” the bats by rubbing bamboo with a cleaver to imitate its sound. *Mameret* can also be undertaken during the day time. Hunters will undertake a survey to look for large holes in trees or caves around the hills or mountains seeking to identify the specific smell of this creature. Hunters will burn logs and dry grass to fill the cave with smoke and make the sleeping bats become paralyzed.

A Kembuan hunter recalled his experiences in hunting in the forest near the village and identified some of the popular wild animals that he had seen and knew to exist in Minahasan nomenclature, namely *kuse*, *Manember* snake, *Deduma'an* snake and *Padingan* snake (all three snakes are species of Minahasan cobras), forest chicken, *wakian pongo* bird (a green bird), bat or *Paniki* (*Rousettus celebensis*), and *Yaki* or black monkey (*Macaca nigra*). Kembuan hunters have a different nomenclature for white tail rats (compare to Pinabéténgan hunters), and they distinguish four types of this rat species:

- *Tikus Ketan*: found in *seho/akel* trees in its *mayang* or fruits;
- *Tikus Kumekles*: a large rat that has thick fur. After roasting the rat becomes small;
- *Tikus Rusa*: has a head similar to deer but has short front legs and long back legs; and
- *Tikus Saduan*: has a stripe on its stomach.

Minahasans hunter-gatherers or foragers live in an environment characterized by diverse and heterogeneously distributed resources. From a wide range of potential food species, foraging locations and pathways, the Minahasan foragers consciously choose combinations to ensure their subsistence. They can strategically adjust to these ecological conditions and their adaptive patterns having regard to the constraints of the situation(s), time and chance based upon their knowledge and experiences. Their contemporary foraging is for subsistence.

### 6.5.4 Ecology and Sustainability

In the Minahasan Indigenous way of life, biodiversity is a substantial influencer for all resource use that supports the existence of their life as well as the sustainability of the ecology of the region.

Biodiversity is identified through the presence of totemic species and their habitats, fruit and flowers having regard to the seasonal calendar and weather.

Minahasan ancestors before colonization understood comprehensively the everyday weather phenomenon and annual weather patterns. Undoubtedly, these ancestors (*Opo-Opo*) linked up or correlated these natural phenomena to their rites and activities. For example, in the past the Minahasan ancestors had a precolonization narrative connected with agriculture that was interpreted, manifested and re-communicated in the traditional dance *maengket*, as expressed in J. ten Hove's *Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie: De Alifoersche dierenriem* (1887, p. 318):

This world exists in the middle of "the large granary" or "sangkor". At the circle of the earth there was a creature named "*meie'et en tana*" or (bounded rim of earth). The creature was not man or snake, eventhough it is symbolized as snake. The sphere was trailing other tip like a snake cheasing its own tail. Minahasans called it the "*sawa-wiilin*" or heavenly-cane snake that always moves without reaching the destination. The colour of this secret creature is half yellow and half black. The name of this earth belt is "*nie'etan*" or is bound and its represent as stars". In an ancient song title "*Nie'etan e natas em bene/ Nie'etan im bawo un bene*" the meaning of the lyric was; up in the sky was bounded paddy/rice. Minahasan represented the stars as paddy. Minahasan have their interpretation of sun phenomenon that the sunget back to the south (means to the west) and goes to the north (means to the east) which they translated it in a narrative: "the sun likes to eat rice everyday", then the rain season was passed by and the stars appears at night like spreaded paddy in the heavenly garden in the night/dark. This story is related to the myth that paddy was obtained from heaven (translated by Author).

There is a tradition in Minahasan agricultural practice that when paddy is being picked or harvested, they conduct a harvest celebration in their front yard, and this event represents the end of the year. Based upon the precolonization narrative above, Minahasan Elders and youths danced the *maengket* in a manner that represented a shape from outer space, a creature that never stopped circling, or is represented by the zodiac that keeps circling in the sky as described in the narrative above. Thus, the symbols of the universe, such as the ones described in the above narrative, are part of the essence of Minahasan Indigenous perspectives which inform their folk art related to agriculture.

In determining weather and climate Minahasans use a seasonal calendar. In the past, the Minahasans used the seasonal calendar to guide and inform agricultural practices, particularly planting, cultivation or harvest seasons. When weather was constant it could be predicted by learning the cycle of these seasons. The Minahasans, in particular farmers, used the seasonal calendar to manage their crops and production.

Climate and weather are significantly changing and are currently unpredictable in the region. The pattern of weather (including wind direction) in the past was used in land division-making in a village. The Minahasans divided the land into Timu=north, Amian= east, Talikuran=south and Sendangan=west.

The Minahasans base their responses and judgements on ecological thought. Contemporary climate change has changed the way Minahasans manage their natural resources. For example, they now use alternative natural resources if their main livelihood – paddy and corn crops – is not productive because of weather constraints; some Minahasans also plant other vegetables and fruits as alternatives. For example, the community in Tolour Village use a certain place in the surrounds of Minawanua where *Tewasen* plants are growing for their own benefit. The locals also now use the *Tewasen* tree for construction materials, and the leaves are used for making roofs (*katu*).

The locals are concerned about conserving the land, water and forest, and in particular the sustainability of the Lake. They recognize that the surrounds of the Lake possess many springs that are significant to maintaining the ecology of the Lake and its environment. Thus, Minahasans exploit the Lake wisely. This can be witnessed when people fish in the Lake using traditional ways and never use any harmful tools like explosive materials for larger benefit. In this way, they believe they are acting in a responsible manner for future generations.

However, people from outside introduced a weedy plant “eceng gondok” (Common Water Hyacinth or *Eichhornia crassipes*) into the Lake. This plant has grown quickly, spread out and now covers the Lake. This plant has become a threat to the Lake Ecosystem and environmental sustainability.

In order to save the Lake, some of the Minahasan community is involved in restoration programs to clear this weed from the Lake. Thus, the Minahasans demonstrate their concern about the ecology of the Lake, even without assistance from the local government.





Figure 6.71  
Local's involvement in restoration program to clean the Lake from weedy plant "eceng gondok"-  
*Eichhornia crassipes* (Photographs by author, April 2011)

Few Minahasans have sold their land; however, most new owners apparently have continued past conservation strategies and have planted the land with wood trees and ensure that the land becomes a protected forest. The recent condition of the forest surrounding the lake indicates no particular customary lands.

#### 6.5.4.1 Water Holes / Spring Waters

Water holes or spring waters are deemed important cultural landscape elements that have a significant role in ecology and sustainability in the Minahasa region. The Minahasa region is rich in water holes because its patchy landscape mosaic of dense forest trees store abundant ground waters and water flows. As a significant component in the landscape, water holes or spring waters have a link to the Minahasans both spiritually and physically. In general, Minahasans use spring waters for their daily living. Spring waters also engage with the community in their belief systems. Some Minahasans believe certain spring waters can bring healing, such as water holes *Rano I Kasuruan (Air Allah)* at Pinabétengan, *Rano ni Empung* at Mt Empung and *Teneman* in Makalonsow; the community claim these to be "holy water".

The first historic summary of water holes was written by Heringa in Jansen's book (1873, pp. 142-202) *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, which was translated into Bahasa Indonesian in Gerungan Family's notes (Dotulong, 2010). Heringa recorded the spring water places found in and around Tondano. Later in 1891, Heringa investigated areas to the west and south of Tondano Lake and concluded that the natural waters are free of sulphuric acid, in particular the water holes in Tondano, Kakas and Romboken districts. The Minahasans use these water holes for health benefits and healing purposes.

In this study, the researcher sought to comprehend the role of water holes in Minahasan life and their perceptions of the places that contain this valuable resource through the interviews and observations. The water holes and their roles were recorded in 16 villages as case study venues and are listed in Table 6.34 (see below).

**Table 6.34**  
**Re-identification of Water Holes/Spring Waters in Case study areas**

Source: Interview data respondent 2011 and 2012

| Village                     | Given names<br>(by locals)   | Location   | Cultural Association   |
|-----------------------------|--|--|--|
| Ro'ong and Tolour           | (1). Toubeke/Toumbeke<br>(2). Ga'garan<br>(3). Anonymous                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>in paddy area</li> <li>intersection (Togela-Ro'ong-Tonsaru)</li> <li>boundary of Tonsaru and Pélélo'an</li> </ul> | Healing, bathing   |
| Watumea                     | nil  | -  | -  |
| Telap                       | Salosot  | Hilly area – in Telap Lama   | Healing water. Used by the ancestor Wuri Muda  |
| Pelelo'an                   | (1). Tinemuan<br>(2). Tongkagegeran<br>(3). Watulandouw<br>(4). Kembuan                        | Hilly forest around the village  | Ancestral meeting place,<br>As above<br>Drinking water<br>As above   |
| Pulutan                     | Lumasot warm water   | Hilly forest near the village  | <i>Ka'apo'an</i> place /ancestor's place<br>Prohibited place   |
| Kembuan                     | (1).Wonor<br>(2).Semuda<br>(3).Spokol  | In the village<br>In the village<br>In the forest  | Drinking water<br>As above<br>As above   |
| Lininga'an                  | nil  | -  | -  |
| Tanggari                    | (1). Air Leouw<br>(2). Air Panas<br>(3). Dano tu'a<br>(4). Timu<br>(5). Wenuang                | Hilly forest   | -Ancestors dwelling place/guardian (1 to 5)<br>-Forbidden/taboo/ <i>lewo ngaran</i> (3 and 4)<br>-Washing and drinking water (1,2 and 5) |
| Ruruan                      | (1).Patar Atas (cold water)<br>(2).Patar Atas (hot water)<br>(3).Paseangan(warm water)         | Patar area<br>Patar area<br>Paseangan area   | Drinking water<br>Washing and bathing<br>Washing, bathing  |
| Kinilow                     | (1). Indraloka/ <i>Tapa'an ne pesut</i><br>(2). Tapa'an Telu<br>(3). Ranoapo<br>(4). Lalaneyan | Mt Mahawu and Mt Lokon areas   | Recreation/Tourism area<br>Ecotourism area<br>Rites<br>Washing and bathing   |
| Tumaratas                   | (1). Ranolesi/maesi<br>(2). Kamesi<br>(3). Loyan<br>(4). Rante<br>(5) Tengkira                 | Mt Soputan area  | Prohibited /guardian place<br>Drinking water<br>As above<br>as above<br>As above   |
| Wulurma'atus and Kekenturan | (1).Koladon<br>(2).Monyobua<br>(3).Kokapoy   | Mt Koladon and Mt.Rante  | Drinking water<br>As above<br>As above   |
| Pinabétengan                | (1).Ranosui (hot and warm water)<br>(2).Tonderukan<br>(3).Patumu                               | Mt Soputan mountainside<br>Mt Soputan area<br>Tonderukan hill  | Drinking water, washing and bathing<br><i>Rano I kasuruan</i> /water of God for healing, bathing<br>Drinking water                       |

Thus, an overall analysis of this ethnoecology study demonstrates that the Minahasan people make extensive use of the biodiversity of both forests and other natural resources for subsistence purposes. There is evidence of conscious application of ethnoecological knowledge in plant use, hunting, fishing and in gathering wild animals. There is also evidence of utilitarian factors that are encoded in the Minahasan biological lexicon, in which the treatment of several categories of non-cultivated plants and animals is atypical. This overall subsistence application is dominated by agriculture; however, the employment of ethnoecological knowledge in these fields of activity was not extended further in this study. The possibility that agriculture (to complement hunting) is having impacts upon the forest ecosystem, the emergent properties of an agroforestry ecosystem and regime, and the regulation of human exploitation of natural resources as a result of symbolically-encoded restrictions on subsistence activities are further discussed in Chapter 7.

## 6.6 The Intangible Cultural Landscape Components

This section involves an analysis of the intangible cultural landscape components possessed by the Minahasan people and provides evidence of these cultural attributes. *Genius loci* may pervade Minahasan intangible culture that influences their intellectual construction of place and landscape environment. The components that are included in this analysis include belief and spiritual systems, social values, connections, and their sense of place, including the way Minahasan's perceive their spiritual landscape.

The intangible cultural landscape of the Minahasan is a manifestation of the diversity of individuals, groups and/or community expressions over time that show respect to their customs and tradition.

### 6.6.1 Belief and Spiritual Systems

The meanings and values of belief systems and spiritual connections of the Minahasa that has been attached to their traditions are also manifested in their use of space and place, and have been since the pre-colonial era. This study sought to identify these connections and whether they are still extant today or have been eliminated.

The importance of Minahasan cosmology in this study was found to be somewhat greater than first anticipated. In searching Minahasan traditional and symbolically-prescribed systems in this

acculturated and nominally Christian people, this research did not expect that there would any great extent or continuation of this knowledge and these practices. However, in contrast, it became very evident that the Minahasan conceptual thinking that is related to functions of their traditional encoded system is demonstrable in their everyday practices, such as healing and sickness treatments, human relationships with nature, and that these functions were unable to be fulfilled by Christianity or with modern knowledge. The Minahasans, in particular older generations, strongly retain a form of their traditions in their belief system.

As previously mentioned in an earlier chapter, the Minahasan pre-colonial belief system has three components: myth, which represents the genealogy derived from their ancestors and their comprehended relationship to God and which is manifested in sacred meanings; *fosso*, which includes rites, rituals and ceremonies or festivities; and *adat* which is about Minahasan value systems, including ethos, perspectives, wisdoms and ethics (Siwu, 2002, p. 34; Tulaar 1993, p. 25). These three components have affected and are embedded in the community's socio-cultural routines today.

### 6.6.1.1 Ancient Belief

It is important to acknowledge that prior to colonization, the Minahasans possessed their own spiritual belief system. The Minahasan ancestors believed in one God or monotheism as documented in Holleman's book *De verhouding der gemeenschappen (familie, dorp en district) in de Minahasa* (Holleman, 1929, p. 22) and in Graafland's text *De Geestesarbeid der Alfoeren in de Minahasa, gedurende de heidensche periode* (Graafland, 1881, p. 98 to 101). The Minahasan's who live in the northern region called their God *Empung Wailan Wangko* or God the Almighty, while the Minahasan's who live in the southern region call their god *Si Niema in Tana* or the 'One who made the Earth'. In central of Minahasa, the Tombulu group, has recognized "*Empung timatar un tana wo Langit*" (God the maker of heaven and earth) (Saruan, 1991; Siwu, 2002). The term *Si* refers to the singular or only one, while other goddesses are mentioned as *Se* or plural / more than one. Those terms above are found in various religious prayers in the respective Minahasan community languages. For example the Minahasans prayer in Toundano/Tolour (Wenas, 2007) is:

*O..Empung e Wailan Wangko!  
O..Empung e Renga-rengan  
Turuan-ei e lalan karondoran,  
Wo tèa' e lalan kaèngkolan!*

(O, God the Almighty!)  
(O, the Protector Angel)  
(Show us the truth and the righteous ways)  
(and protect us from wrong paths)

The prayer articulates a strong dependence upon the highest power, which is not tangibly described other than in nomenclature, however the references clearly imply spiritually, and giving help and protection to the believers. The lyrics and rhyme in the prayer also embodies spiritual thought in the community. Further, the Protector Angels or *sè renga-rengan* was a pre-colonial concept expressing spirits who birth together within the human soul.

Prior to colonization, the Minahasans formalised these manifestations in their abstract thinking, and started to believe in gods somewhat comparable to and whom could reside within human conditions; herein some tasks or responsibilities were allocated and some form of legal adoption of these tasks and responsibilities linked to gods and places, occurred. This philosophical thinking positions the ancestors and their descendants as being integral to the Minahasan's spiritual and social system.

Pre-colonial Minahasans manifested these beliefs in their rites and traditions, and gave offerings to god(s) accordingly. The tradition *mangalei* involved an offering for several personal and community purposes through *fosso* (religious ceremony). Graafland documented that in the colonization era, there were 27 types of *fosso* in Minahasa (Graafland, 1869 in Montolalu, 1991, p. 119). The *Mangalei* were pre-colonial prayers which were said by a family *fosso* or communal *fosso* for several reasons, such as healing and recuperation, for agricultural practices, for building a house or *wanua*/village, marriage, death, childbirth and other needs (Graafland, 1869; Schwarz, 1908<sup>b</sup>; Supit, 1986; Wenas, 2007).

Pre-colonial Minahasans were imbued with beliefs in mythological and cosmological systems as discussed by Graafland (1869), Riedel (1870) and Schwarz (1907); all three early colonial writers concluded that pre-colonial Minahasans practiced rituals of religion in relation to their God(s), even though they possessed many 'gods'. The Indigenous beliefs of the Minahasans recognize three ancestors whom they appreciated and who became directly linked to the Minahasans' descendants – *Karema* (grandmother), *Lumimu'ut* (mother) and *To'ar* (son). However, Minahasans admit to only one God, even though in practice they implicate the multiple spirits of ancestors to expel evil spirits and so on; this perspective affects their entire lives life from birth to death. The socio-cultural changes in community life thereupon directly interact with these pre-colonial historical ethnic-beliefs.

Thus, pre-colonial Minahasans had a 'two-in-one' belief system, namely monotheism and polytheism. A study of their religion in 1619 by Palmino (Van Kol, 1903, p. 80) concluded that pre-colonial Minahasan people possessed three gods of sky, three gods of earth and three gods of lands (Ibid).

### 6.6.1.2 Contemporary Rites

Belief systems for the Minahasans since the colonisation era have been substantially modified corresponding with the conversion of a large portion community faith to Christianity and other religions over later years. However, these contemporary cultural practices, for example the ritual tradition of *Opo Empung Mananatas*, have been intermingled with Christian and other religions.

Hence, what has been opined in some books by outside scholars is questionable as to whether the in fact pre-colonial belief systems have radically disappeared. This research has evidenced that there remain strong connections to the Minahasan ancestors and their inherited wisdoms and knowledge, including their bonds which are manifested into spiritual creeds and customs, and which to some extent have been incorporated into their cultural traditions.

Evidence of contemporary rites were obtained from several Minahasan spiritualists or *tona'as* during fieldwork in 2011, and these revealed some consistent spiritual perspectives. These *tona'as* expressed that their beliefs are an amalgamation of spiritual thoughts of both monotheism to *Opo Empung/Opo Wananatas/Empung Wailan Wangko* who reside in Heaven (*Sinayawan/Kaina'waan*), and polytheism to ancestors/*Opo-Opo* who reside in nirvana or *Kasendukan/Karondoran, Kasosoran, Kalawatan*. *Kasendukan* is described as place on top of a highest mountain with a light breeze and beautiful rainbow, covered by thin clouds or *kentur regeregesan, runi-runian, wo rambu-rambunan* (Riedel 1894, p. 3 in Palar 2009<sup>a</sup>). Minahasans generally emphasize *Karema, Toar* and *Lumimu'ut* as sky gods; *Siouw Kurur, Manembo-nembo, Sopotan, Muntu-untu, Wuri Muda, Makalonsouw* and *Lingkan wene* are believed to be earth gods, while *Topo Rundeng, Makalawang* and *Maengkom* are considered ground gods (*dewa tanah*). Riedel wrote that the wisdoms of these ancestors or *Apo/Opo* were referred to as "*posan pahasiwohan*" or ethics and moral principles.

To examine the Minahasan belief systems and how they value their ancestor's Indigenous belief system related to their creeds, interviews with some 144 respondents in the 16 villages, including their Elders, were undertaken and evidence of different or similar folklore, including knowledge of past rituals and ceremonials (*fosso* and *adat*) and the practical contemporary rites were identified, detailed as follows:

- Six respondents in Ro'ong village narrated that prior to colonization the Minahasan people believed in the spirits of their ancestors who gave protection and blessings to a family member or a hereditary family. Respondents recalled beliefs in signs of nature that were conveyed

through the presence, movement and sounds of animals, which many Minahasans today (particularly those who have daily contact with nature and live in the inland and remote areas) conserve. Some rituals around possessions or patrimony were conducted to make *sombar* or protection. The types of *sombar* could involve representations in stones, knives, blades, handkerchiefs, wisdom messages or prayers. In certain cases, these *sombar* events were followed by a ritual cleansing, while a person who led the rite called the 'sacred bird' *Manguni* for an affirmation. Respondents reported witnessing in 1950 Elders of the village conducting rituals to test the power of *sombar*. A person who held *sombar* was vested with the maintenance of its power, which involved a monthly rite undertaken in the full moon by heating embers using incense. This ritual is called *tumapa* (*Tondano language*). A respondent recalls the Elders of the village fitting themselves with a *wiwingkol* or *peporongan kokong* (turban) when they wanted to fight with other tribes or outsiders. They also prepared stones, which were wrapped in red material or cloth known as *tereten* (originating from *eret* or belt) to protect them from evil spirits.

- In contrast, five respondents in Tolour village were reluctant to talk about their belief system. However, a respondent gave evidence about one ritual tradition: Elders in Tolour conducted the ritual *mangalei* to call *Opo Empung Wailan* and prayed in their language for healing purposes. In the ritual, the Elders prepared some offerings. Most of the respondents in this village did not respond to the question about myths of Minahasa because they are strong Christianity adherents. However, one respondent in Ro'ong recalled a mythical story about evil spirits who wandered anywhere and disturbed occupants in houses, and also a belief in natural signs or alerts through sacred birds.
- In Watumea village, eleven respondents responded to these questions with a similar narrative that explained that in the past men in this village were equipped with *sombar*, given by a *tona'as*, which they had to look after like an heirloom through a ritual of *tumapa* (smoking/fumes) using coconut shells once a month at the time of the full moon. Respondents also mentioned plants such as *tawa'ang*, animal sounds and other natural signs are associated with Minahasan traditions. They also respect ancestral wisdoms, particularly in agriculture practices.
- Ten respondents in Telap gave different narratives in connection to their belief systems. Two respondents recalled experiences where they were equipped with a *sombar* called *pa'ereten*

(or red or white cloth belt) by their parents that was believed to repel bullets when they were involved in battle, had trips to other islands or when someone intended to injure them. Another respondent recalled that keeping a piece of plant *karimenga* (claimed to be a sacred plant) was thought to protect them against mystical powers. Another respondent also narrated that people who enter the hilly areas surrounding the village should avoid screaming or jangling loudly.

- Respondents in Pelelo'an village recalled similar experiences when their parents equipped them with a traditional cloth belt called *sembilan buku* that contained materials such as tiny stones, a piece of wood that has been burned, copper, brass and the *sese'panga* plant. Respondents gave evidence of witnessing a supernatural healing practice using a certain plant, *kayu tulus*, accompanied by a pre-colonial prayer in Minahasan language, and an act of healing through a medium or *tumpa'an* in a ritual process where the spirit of ancestors gave certain materials to heal a person. The Pelelo'an community also recognizes *sempe'an*, the belief that a person can use any materials to harm people.
- Six out of eight respondents in Pulutan acknowledged that pre-colonial beliefs still existed in this village. A respondent recalled an ancient creed of the Minahasa that occurred near a large tree called *wetes* (*wetes* means big tree location for conducting prayer). The respondent had experienced being involved in rites led by an Elder during which he saw the placement of offerings and the Elder calling to a God and their ancestors. Certain people in the village still keep various heirlooms, such as *Keris* and a white handkerchief and also the self-protection *sombar* called *Sembilan buku* (Romboken people called *Sembilan utul*) and which is worn around the stomach and/or an arm. The red and white colour of these self-protection items indicates good values. In contrast, the black colour indicates bad values. People who wear the black *sombar* have to comply with prohibition rules indicating that they have committed fornication, thief and other unrighteousness or when walking did not look turning their head towards a particular sacred object.
- Around 14 Elders group were interviewed in Lininga'an village and nine respondents acknowledged having Minahasan pre-colonial beliefs. Respondents acknowledge a strong belief in the spirit of their ancestors of this village and expressed witnessing events that involved *mangalei* rites. Several pre-colonial beliefs are documented in this village, as follows:



- A belief in the magical power of heirlooms inherited from their ancestors of the *Dotu* Pelealu clan for healing and self-protection from black magic or from the harmful deed called "*palingkunan*". *Palingkunan* is a kind of tree wood called *kayu balisu* taken from the Louroki and Tounsukun plantation areas near the village which is applied through the traditional method through a dream. A respondent explained the making of *Palingkunan* through a ritual tradition:

*"Kayu Balisu* is dried in the sun and then blended together with tobacco, *seho* leaves, resin torch and incense to make *gauk* or cigarette. The *palingkunan* wood is smoked (*tumapa/ rao/fufu/pengasapan*) once a month in the embers under the light of a full moon."

- A *sombar* called *Pisau Labot* is owned by a family and was used for self-protection during periods of colonial occupation and during upheavals in the 1960s; it is still used until recent times (refer to respondent 08 – see transcript and recording attached on the CD).
- A *sombar* called *Pa'ereten* has nine or eleven loops and each loop contents either a betel, areca nut (*Pinang*) or *paddy* (stones). Each material carries its own philosophy or relevance.
- *Tona'as*, or traditional healers, consist of *mahi hitam* believers who practice black magic, harming people with witchcraft called *talibagu* and *mariara*; in contrast *mahi putih* believers practice white magic for helping people.
- Some of the community participates in their ancestors' rites. The ancestral rites were transferred through dreams and *patumpa'an*, or a ritual where a medium enters a person's body.
- A traditional examination to expose a person who is a thief involves using the surface of a chicken's egg. The egg is put in the attic of a house and on the next day the face of a person appears on the surface.
- Some villagers believe that water and soil are mediums for traditional healing. A few of them take water from *Rano I Kasuruan* or "water of God" at *Watu Pinawetengan* as their healing practice.

The examples of cultural materials that were used by Minahasan ancestors, according to their ancient belief system, are documented in Lininga'an village. These materials are detailed in Figure 6.72. The cultural materials shown in the figure are symbols of possessions that recall ancestors, which according to the believers can only be used for traditional *makatana*, or healing practices. The functions of each material are provided in a video recording of respondent 04 (attached in the CD).

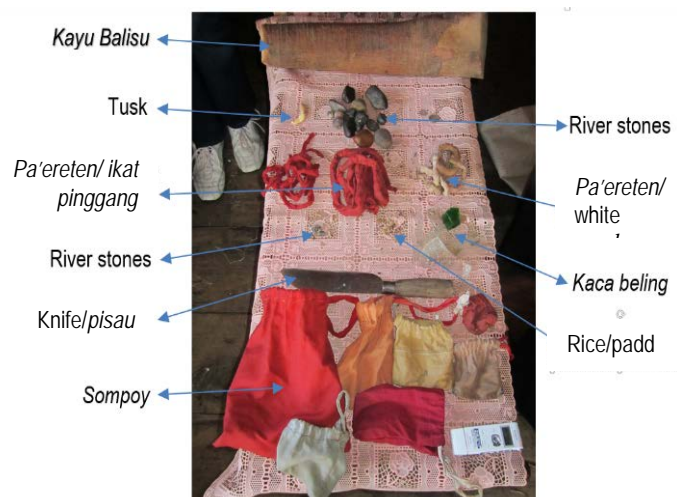


Figure 6.72  
Cultural materials related to ancestors' belief system  
held by *spiritualist* and traditional healers in Lininga'an village  
(Source: Max Lesar; Photograph taken in April-June 2011 by the Author)

- The case study in Kembuan village evidenced a variety of spiritual practices. Ten respondents provided evidence of several customs that have existed in their village and that have relationships with their pre-colonial belief system. In their belief system, the spirits of their ancestors implicate several ritual traditions and narratives involving *tona'as*/healers who hold inherited heirlooms and who have supernatural and séance abilities. *Tona'as*/healers use water and plants that are wrapped in a red cloth, *Keris* and *ikat pinggang/Sembilan buku*. One respondent recalled witnessing a few people in a group conducting rituals *patumpa'an* (*pakampetan*) every month in the village.

A significant annual tradition called *Sumere* occurred every 31<sup>st</sup> December at the end of the calendar year. This ritual occurred at night, and its purpose was to exorcize spirit force as described by a respondent:

"The Kembuan community have witnessed in a period of time a group leaded by a *tona'as* from *Wenas* clan who conducted rituals. The group paraded across the village while dancing *sakalele* along the way. In this tradition, about eleven cultural materials were used for the ritual; such as, *Pinang* (areca nut), palm leaf lid, a slice of roasted pork, *tawa'ang*, *gonofu* (coconut fibre), *sirih* (betel fruit), shrimp, rice and water and banana leaves. All materials were placed in "*sosiru*" (winnowing or bamboo tray). At the beginning of their ritual, the body of *tona'as* became a medium for all spirits. Before they started to walk, the *tona'as* spitted each member of his group with *tumengan* or *sirih* (betel vine). They were also being "smoked" or *tumapa*. In *tumapa*, a pan, coconut coal and incense were being prepared. *Tumapa* was done to make all members can visibly seeing the force spirits. They called this "*pasu'un*". When walked around the village the group planted *tawa'ang* in every block of '*dusun/jaga*" (unit of neighbourhood) and in every "*sipat*" or border of the village. The *tona'as* planted "*tawa'ang keles*" in the centre of the village area while said loudly "*si lewo muntep, yamba nuwei, keles sewo*" (interview respondent code 07-Kembuan).

However, this tradition began to disappear in the late 1990s because of the discontinuity of Elders in bequeathing to the next generation in their clan, and also because young people were reluctant or apprehensive to be involved with these activities as this contradicted their Cristian faith.

Respondents also told that certain people are still putting out offerings for their ancestors at their home when a family member dies, while others bring offerings to the *sarchopagi/waruga* at the cemetery, and some also place offerings before a celebration party.

The community acknowledged Elders' local wisdoms in their agricultural practices, including rituals to manage their planting season and protect their crops, including prohibiting persons passing by when they were planting. One respondent recalled that when they harvested a *paddy* crop during a heavy downpour an Elder took a palm leaf rib (*lidi*) and prayed, and after a few moments the rain stopped. This creed is only valid to the beholders.

In terms of house building, a respondent mentioned a *nirumping* or *putung* tradition conducted by families, during which they placed materials under the ground of the house for protection and blessing Elder purposes. In terms of healing traditions, healers applied the ancestral wisdom of sitting facing east when they pray or consume traditional medicines. There is also a ritual, *matanembo*, which is a traditional investigation through a healer's nails to discover a thief.

- Nine of eleven respondents in Tanggari village possessed similar ways in perceiving Minahasan ancient belief system. Respondents recall that several *tona'as* or healers who were Elders of the village and mainly men. The Elders used to meet at Saduan and in the Patoka'an hills because these were they previous habitats. These *Tona'as* Tanggari possessed heirlooms, such as the *sombar* called *ika puru teliket*, and red and white *karimenga*. Another respondent recalled witnessing his grand father maintaining the magic power of their heirloom through a ritual called "*ba-fufu*" that involved burning coconut shells together with sulphur oil, *kemangi* (holy basil), red onion and garlic skins to smoke a blade for 15 minutes every month. The sword encased itself magically in its *sarong* (case) after the ritual was finished. This respondent also recalled a narrative in which, some 65 years ago, this sword helped protect people in the village from a person who entered it.

*Tona'as* at Tanggari practice traditional healing *makatana*. A respondent noticed that when a *tona'as* healed a person, he took *tawa'ang* leaves and said "*undang ko endo ku undang si*" (in Tonsea language), that can be roughly translated as the *tona'as* invoking the spirits of ancestors.

Another respondent recalled experiences and knowledge of traditional *makatana* because he inherited the *tona'as'* lineage, as his grandparents were both traditional healers. Another ritual

conducted by *tona'as* is a prayer to God using the local language; in receiving messages through a medium, that the Ten Commandments (as written in the Christian bible) called *Sepuluh Penjuruan* should be obeyed. He was also equipped with a *pepet/pet* or cloth belt, similar to *pa'ereiten/lkat pinggang*. He narrated a story that *Dotu Kaunang* installed *pasela* as a safeguard on the four boundaries of the village some years ago using nine types of plants including *dudi* and *tawa'ang*. He also recalled facing the *wewengat* (the spirit of fire ghost), *Siouw Kurur* and another spirit force *Pok-Pok* around the village. Thus, these stories were evidence that black magic was extant in the village because apparently jealousy and envy had occurred in the community's social life.

In the pre-colonial era, the village leader (*kumtua*) was also a *tona'as wailan* and *teterusan* (refer to previous explanation about these nomenclatures in Chapter 3). During the colonial era, a *kumtua* also served as a church leader or *penatua*. This was part of the Dutch strategy to eradicate Indigenous traditions in this village by replacing customary traditions with their religion, but in fact the Dutch entangled Christianity and Minahasans' ancient beliefs.

- Research on pre-colonial belief systems in Makalonsouw was undertaken by interviewing ten Elders. Seven respondents acknowledged some traditions that were connected to pre-colonial belief systems and three offered no answers. The few people who practice traditional healing are called *mangelot* or *tukang barubah*, and practice these in various ways today.

In the past respondents recognized *Opo-Opo* traditions and the ritual of *patumpa'an* through a *tona'as* or healer, and their practices (bringing offerings) to certain places around the village, such as sacred stones *walewatu*, *keko'an* and at the water hole (*tinemuan*). The community of Makalonsouw also claimed that Mt Makalonsouw contains narratives that in many cases are difficult to explain in Western thinking. For example, some people recalled entering forest and cutting a tree called *tali kunet* that secreted a red liquid which people assumed was blood. A few people experienced hearing *kolintang* music from a distance that was particularly audible in the early morning or before sunset in *Toka Makalonsouw* and *Toka Labo*, which according to their creed originated from a supernatural pre-colonial community who resided on the mountain. People who are not from the Makalonsouw villager are prohibited to enter the mountains without guidance from one of the villagers who knows these environmental conditions, the relevant traditions and rules when entering the forests.

- In contrast, only three out of ten respondents in Ruruan village narrated traditional belief systems in this village. One respondent perceived that in the Minahasan tradition, offerings or

*tetenga'an* are made to call *Opo Empung*. A blessing will be given through the spirit of ancestors by a medium/trance into *tona'as'* body. One respondent, who is also a *tona'as*, is equipped with a *sombar* and heirlooms, and he conducts rites at many times in several places according to his personal connections with the ancestral spirits. Some sacred places that one respondent visited included Mt Soputan, Tonderukan Hill and *Rano ni Empung* at Mt Empung, and this respondent recalled conducted rites involving medicinal plants. In the area around Mt Empung, there is a place called *Tambulenas*, where the Minahasans *tona'as* or healers obtain certain plants for curative purposes. One respondent recalled that upon a request by a person, water could become twisted in a creek. One respondent has the ability in *makatana* (medication) to heal people, mostly by using *sarengseng siouw* (*goringo* or *karimenga rundang*) which is claimed to have been used by his ancestors in the pre-colonial period. One respondent prayed in Tombulu language and received guidance from *Dotu/Opo* to take certain plants for healing from the forest by cutting the plant only three times. One respondent sometimes use a whole pig in conducting a ritual. One respondent has the ability of foretelling something or an event using the liver of a pig in a ritual called *baca hati babi* (this tradition is also occurred in Tanggari, Kinilow and Kembuan-Tonsea Lama). One respondent claimed that many Minahasans believe in the spirits of their ancestors and that this belief system is still widely extant.

- Only two of six respondents in Kinilow village were not hesitant to tell of stories of their ancestors and their pre-colonial belief systems. Respondents offered that in the past their ancestors held animism and dinamism belief systems, in which all natural places, particularly spring waters, large trees and caves were sacred places to which their ancestors brought *sesajen* or offerings. Folklore derived from Elders explained that their ancestors possessed spiritual powers and liked to fight against their enemies. The Kinilow people recognized a ritual called *pahkampetan*, similar to other villages, wherein their ancestors' spirit entered the *tona'as* body to fulfil a request to provide *sombar* for a person's request for invulnerability.

One respondent recalled a *mareta* ritual for healing at a place called *Lelelesan*, wherein the *tona'as* might apply *rages*, or use the blood of a red chicken or pig.

One respondent recalled a myth which involved his ancestors and their supernatural powers linked to several significant places, namely *Dotu/Opo* Tarandung and the places of Mt Lokon, Kinakoloan, Tetewatu and Mt Kalabat. This folklore can be categorised as a myth. The values and meanings behind this myth are central to these villagers.

- Three respondents from Wulurma'atus village and five respondents from Kakenturan village were interviewed and gave evidence based upon their knowledge. Respondents from Wulurma'atus recalled that in the past the community in this village possessed a belief system that involved spiritualism with its associated practices including *tona'as*, heirlooms, traditional healing, supernatural powers, both white and black magics, body immunity, rituals and *fosso*. One respondent, who had experience as a traditional healer, recalled that his parents gave him a stone to use for healing people. When this respondent wanted to help a sick person, he used to call to the *Pisok* bird, and the bird came and brought to his house a piece of wood or small or large leaves, which were used as medicine plants. The bird directly perched on the respondent's table in the bedroom. If the sickness was because of *guna-guna*/ bad spirits or *maria'ra*/poison, then the bird brought the antidote. One respondent interpreted the bird as "breath". One respondent retained a sombar *pa'ereten* or *sembilan buku* (also called *tali mamudu*). One respondent knew how to make *tali mamudu*. He witnessed a *tona'as* from Pinabéténgan who came to his house and was asked to make *tali mamudu*. For any kind of heirloom, there is an obligation to perform a maintenance regime through *ba fufu*/smoking in every period of the full moon.

Another respondent who also served as a *makatana* (traditional healer) experienced holding *tali mamudu*. Mt Wulurma'atus is claimed to be a place where *tona'as*/ Elders and healers conduct *fosso* and *adat*. There is a cave on the top of the mountain. One *tona'as* respondent last visited the place in 1995.

- A Kakenturan respondent recalled that a *tona'as* practiced the traditional healing called *mangelot* ritual after harvest season.
- Eight Tumaratas respondents told of their traditional belief system that existed and also that there were a few *tona'as* who practiced traditional healing in this village. Their belief system slowly disappeared in the 1950s. There were significant belief systems that were associated with their cultural landscape, including the belief that some places that are claimed to be ancestral meeting places, including places water springs, which was similar to other villages. There is also a belief in natural signs, such as the sounds of birds, cats and small house lizards.

One respondent recalled folklore derived from Elders (namely *Lod Sendow*), that contained a myth relating to Mt Sopotan, Mt Wawo and Mt Lokon, that is now claimed to be a place of spirits. Today it is an unnerving place to the community due to several unusual episodes where people

drowned when they swam there and their bodies were not found. This small lake, *Lod Sendow*, was formed as a result of the accumulation of volcanic materials.

- In contrast, interviews in Pinabéténgan involved respondents consisting of several groups of Elders and cultural activists, wherein it was noted that Elder respondents were hesitant to respond to questions relating to their ancient beliefs. However, these respondents certainly acknowledged that certain people in this village still adhere to the creed of spirit of their ancestors and that they routinely conduct rites, mostly at *Watu Pinawetengan*. Each group of followers often scheduled rites or a ritual of calling (*mangalei*) to *Amang Kasuruan Bangko* and their ancestral spirits, particularly during full moon events, and prepared offerings (*tetenga'an*) of food which are claimed to be their ancestors' diet. The offerings mostly consist of *Sirih* fruit, *Pinang*, chalk stone, *tabako lempeng* or tobacco, and all these materials were used by their ancestors to protect, kill germs and to sustain healthy teeth. Hence these cultural activities have made the place become sacred.

To summarise this interview analysis, evidence in the selected villages overall has demonstrated that the spiritual belief of their ancestors is still being practiced by *tona'as* and traditional healers from each sub-ethnic group according to their knowledge, known as *makatana*. Evidence that the researcher obtained through interviewing the 14 traditional healers (*tona'as*) and cultural activists documented that these traditions were involved in their daily and monthly routines.

However, in this analysis, the researcher also discerns a different point of view from a cultural phenomenon, which is that in examining the authenticity of *genius loci*, spiritual connectivity and place, these notions are clearly attached to one another, perhaps even inseparable. In this sense, the positive values of these traditions are still determined by their cultural contributions in making places more functional and meaningful, even if only to a minority of Minahasans, by making a place spiritually identifiable by their activities.

### 6.6.1.3 Sacred Narratives

*Genius loci* has a strong connection with prose narratives, such as myths that form sacred stories in explaining the creation of the world and the origin of humanity. The study of myths is an interdisciplinary venture conducted by scholars around the world (Dundes, 1970; Bronner, 2004).

Prose narratives are an appropriate category of the verbal art that includes myths, legends and folktales that are inter-related to each other in prose. Prose narratives are distinguished from poems,

proverbs, riddles/mysteries, proverbs, ballads, tongue-twisters and other forms of verbal art (Boscom, in Dundes, 1965, p. 7). Folktales are regarded as fiction and are not considered as history or dogma (Boscom, in Dundes, 1965, p. 8). Nevertheless, folktales hold important functions in shaping the moral codes of a society, and have often been called “nursery” tales or fairy tales. Folktales usually recount the adventures of animals or human characters. A variety of folktales can be differentiated including human tales, animal tales, tall tales, dilemma tales, fables or moral tales. All these fictional narratives at some point coincide with myths and legends.

Myth is defined by modern society as *“all of primitive, fumbling effort to explain the world of nature, production of poetical fantasy from prehistoric times, a misunderstood by succeeding ages, a repository of allegorical instruction, to shape the individual to his group, as a group dream, symptomatic of archetypal urges within the depth of human psyche”* (Campbell, 1988 quoted in Doty, 2000).

In Minahasan literature, myths are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the past. One famous myth in Minahasan society, for instance *Toar* and *Lumimu’ut*, presents genealogy and the Minahasan relationship to God. Even though this myth is taught to be believed, it can be cited as authoritative in answering ignorance, doubt or disbelief. Minahasan myths embody dogma and are considered sacred. In theology and ritual, the main characters in myths are not usually human beings, but demonstrate human attributes through characters such as animals, deities or culture heroes whose actions are set in an earlier world (Siwu, 2002; Riedel, 1870; Schwarz, 1907).

Minahasan myths explain the origin of the world, human-kind, death, or the characteristics of birds, animals, geographical features and the phenomena of nature, purporting to explain details of ceremonial paraphernalia or ritual, or why a taboo/“prohibition” must be observed. Other prose narratives are regarded as truth by the narrator, are set in a time considered less remote and are more often secular than sacred. For example, several legends tell of migrations, battles and victories, deeds of past heroes, chiefs and kings, and the succession of ruling dynasties.

Myths, folktales and legends can be used as analytical concepts to be meaningfully applied cross-culturally, and they may be repeatedly told from generation to generation. The Minahasans possess many myths, folktales and legends that are derived and transmitted orally or verbally amongst their society. In applying the historical-geographical method to the study of a particular myth or tale, one may find these irrelevant because prose narratives must be considered as a unit. However, because



myths, legends and folktales differ in their geographical settings in time and place, and in the beliefs and attitudes associated with them, the information contained within them explains a major 'literarcy' of cultural explanations, meanings and place/geography relationships (Leach, 1967; Torrance, 1994). In defining their myths, the Minahasans use explanatory elements, supernatural phenomena or the personification of animals, plants and natural phenomena occurrences in a place. Examples of Minahasan myths, legends and folktales that are extant amongst the community in the case study area are summarised in Table 6.35.

Table 6.35  
Examples of Na'asaren (Folklores) of Minahasans in Case Study Areas  
(Source: Interviews 2011 and 2012)

| Type of Prosa Narrative | Na'asaren (folklore)                                   | Association                                | Re-narrated in |
|-------------------------|--|--|----------------|
| Myth                    | <i>Toar and Lumimu'ut</i>                              | Genealogy/ Origin of Minahasa              | All villages   |
| Legend                  | Tondano Lake   | Natural phenomena                          | Ro'ong, Tolour |
| Myth                    | <i>Siouw Kurur</i>                                     | Personification of animal/half-human being | All villages   |
| Legend                  | The Legend of <i>Dotu Wengkang-Gerungan</i>            | Battles and heroes                         | Telap          |
| Myth Legend             | <i>Dotu Likri Vs Dotu Pelelo'an</i>                    | Battles and heroes                         | Pelelo'an      |
| Myth Legend             | Opo Lour and <i>Likri</i> Island                       | Supernatural phenomena/human tale          | Liningaan      |
| Myth Legend             | <i>Maengkom</i> and his journey in <i>Lour</i> Tondano | Supernatural phenomena/human tale          | Liningaan      |
| Legend                  | <i>Pingkan Matindas</i>                                | Battles and heroes                         | Tanggari       |
| Legend                  | <i>Wolo Wu'uk</i>                                      | Human tale                                 | Liningaan      |
| Folktale/Fable          | <i>Woley dan Wo'u</i>                                  | Animal tale/Moral tale                     | Minahasa       |
| Jocular Poetry          | <i>Ongkor</i>  | Moral tale                                 | Liningaan      |

Prose narratives are part of Minahasan cultural landscape components. They are described as *na'asaren/aasaren* (folklores) in Minahasa and are considered myths, deity's stories, and often explain the origins of natural phenomena as part of a larger body of mythology. Legends recount the origins of families or clans and explain the rituals and prohibitions (*taboos*) of their ancestral code. In the passage of cultural change many narratives have become folktales; for example the myth of *Toar Lumimu'ut* has become central to the Minahasan myth and continues today. However, from a different perspective, Minahasan-Christian theologians who study culture and religion have been faced with certain difficulties when using the terms myth, history and sacred history in classifying the Creation of Nature as myth, the Crucifixion as history, and the Resurrection as sacred history (Honko, 1968 p. 56).

Through the mythology of the Minahasa, the pre-colonial philosophies presented in prose narratives can be unpacked using several modern conceptual myth approaches, postulated by Honko (in Dundes, 1970), which in such cultural studies can be spatially analysed in terms of place planning and development or community development. The conceptual approaches are:

- Cognitive categories: the myth is seen as an explanation for enigmatic phenomena, which scholars need to conceptualise certain aspects of the universe in which to establish the relationship between different phenomena;
- Symbolic expression: myth is placed with other creative activities, for example music and poetry, and the myth has its own laws, reality and forms of expression of human kind and of symbolic structure of the world;
- Projection of subconscious: myth is seen in relation to a substratum shared partly by all humans, such as day-dreams as being elements of life;
- Integrating factors in human adaptation to life: myth is a world view, which humans are faced with the fundamental problems of society, culture and nature, offering opportunities that satisfy individual tendencies and social necessities;
- Charter of behavior: myth supports accepted patterns of behaviour by placing present-day situations in a meaningful perspective with regards to the precedents of the past and provides valid justifications for obligations and privileges;
- Legitimation of social institutions: myth sustains institutions and together with ritual give expression to common religious values and consolidates them;
- Marker of social relevance: in a culture there is a clear correlation between the distribution of mythical themes and socially relevance in a culture;
- Mirror of culture, social structure: myth reflects certain facets of culture that may reveal values or would otherwise be difficult to detect;
- Result of historical situation: myths are appraised in the light of their historical background, and their subsequent use and modification in view of new historical developments are placed in relation to origin; and,
- Medium for structure: myth used in a method of research dealing with language, content and structure of myth in the concept of binary opposition.

The functions and values of Minahasan myths can be examined using these approaches. Myth is defined through a functionalism approach in a living society as being a statement of primeval reality

which still lives in present-day life and is justified by precedent, and supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical beliefs.

Therefore, myth in the Minahasan context is neither mere narrative, nor a form of science or a branch of art or history, nor an explanatory tale; it fulfils a function of *sui generis* or unique connectedness with the nature of tradition and the continuity of culture, with the relationship between age and youth, and with human attitudes towards the past. The function of myth is to strengthen tradition and endow it with greater value and prestige by tracing back to a better, more supernatural reality of initial events (Malinowski, 1954, in Dundes, 1970, p. 194).

In order to maintain mythological values of the Minahasa, prose narratives can be brought to life in the form of enacted myths (ritual dramas), narrated myths (liturgical recitations in verbal and non-verbal media such as hymns, prayers, sermons and religious dances). Similarly, myths can be manifested in religious art (icons and symbolic signs). In addition to these codified forms, myth can be transmitted in speech, thought, dream and other modes of behaviour.

#### 6.6.1.4 Totemic Animals

The study of local native species as symbols was considered necessary in this research to be analysed as a phenomenon in the context of *genius loci*. The significant animals associated with Minahasan's cultural traditions include a species of owl known as the Sulawesi Scops Owl (*Otus manadensis*), which amongst Minahasans is known as *Manguni*. *Manguni* have been regarded as a representative symbol of pre-colonial Minahasan and are deemed to have spiritual significance in conveying messages to the community. Therefore, it is claimed as a "sacred" bird.

*Manguni* found in the Minahasa region is classified in the order of *Strigiformes* or Owl, family of *Strigidae* (the true owls) amongst the 212 species of owls around the world. *Manguni* is identified in 8 native species and the Sulawesi Scops Owls (*Otus manadensis*) is one of those species. Sulawesi Scops Owls is smaller compared to other Sulawesi *Manguni*, and has a body length of less than 23 cm. This species is the only one that has a protruberance and a wide 'eyebrow' that look like ears. The structure of its feathers, tail and body make the *manguni* a specialist in flying without sound. *Manguni* is also a nocturnal species and can be found from the coastal areas to the highlands in Minahasa (Celebes Biodiversity, 2012).

In addition to human history in the various cultures, the symbol of the Owl has become part of many belief systems, particularly in myths and narratives, both in positive and negative ways in the Minahasa. Minahasan owls are associated with personification and include attributes such as knowledge, wisdom, spiritualism, dread and death. The sound of the *Manguni* is believed to be an expression of the environmental condition at that time and also what will happen on the next day. The *Manguni's* sounds mostly determine daily life in a traditional community by conveying local wisdoms. Specific sounds determine specific events, such as planting and harvesting seasons, the appropriate time to establish a house, and when to make a trip or marry. *Manguni* birds are claimed to have associations with conveying good and bad news to people. Farmers use the sound of the *Manguni* before sunset to stop working in their *kobong* or plantation areas; the sound before sunrise is a good sign, indicating that it is a good day to work. *Manguni* will produce a melodious sounding "Ooooot" when sunset comes and this sound often continues until midnight.

The Minahasan ancestor who possessed the skill of interpreting bird's sounds was called *Dotu Mamarimbing* (Wenas, 2007, p.12). Adam (1967) has recorded that there are 2 kinds of 'voices' that the bird used in pre-colonial Minahasan culture: (1) *Waraendo, Totombara, Kumekeke*, or day bird; (2) *Wara Wengi, Loyot (Td), Doyot (Ts), Kembaluan (Tt, Tb, Ts, Td)* or night bird. The sound of day bird *Waraendo/Wala en endo*, according to folklore, is interpreted based upon human feelings and instinct about situations and offers a sign of things that may occur. Thus, the *Manguni* in Minahasan culture has spiritual significance to the community and is respected as being a sacred animal. Roeroe (2003), a Minahasan theologian, in his book *I Yayat U Santi*, postulated that the *Manguni* bird:

*...to our ancestors, Manguni birds are "living day-to-day friends" in nature, a "close friends" and even they are considered as mediator between human and the Most High and omnipotent: Opo Wana an Atas, Opo Wailan Wangko, Opo Renga - rengan. Thus, to our ancestors, Manguni birds are not "owls"! , again, are not "owls"!*

*They are being loved and being given a special place in the hearts of our ancestors, again, as a friend. They give signs or news to people through their sound or singing in a quiet and beautiful nights, particularly when the moon shines, and even in the full moon time, when Manguni birds sing melodious sounds and calm: " Hoot ....., ..... hoooooot, hoooooot " repetitively in the high above wood trees, then our ancestors celebrated with joy and shouted, "Hey everyone, including my children, wake up tomorrow morning and do everything that was planned well. Success are waiting for us, work with glad, diligent and full of joy. We have been signaled by our friends. The "Sound and beautiful singing is a sign of peaceful environment, beautiful, sustain and bring safe. Therefore, fought with courage, diligent and hard work, it should be a good result! But once at a time or one night or late night, and near house or hut the bird suddenly sounded like, "hot..,hot.., hot!" in haste and panic, then, said our ancestors: "Hi everyone, including my children, be aware, check all doors and windows and your house keeper-dog. Perchance there will be less good things happend, whether a malicious person or wild animals were approaching us or the possibility of imbalance of nature such as floods, prolonged drought and other nature disasters... (Translation by Author)*

Roeroe concluded that the Minahasan ancestors attempted to understand the language of these “friends”; the *Manguni* in their realm can be scientifically explained and understood by learning about their long interaction with the environment. Moreover, the *Manguni* is equipped with sophisticated vision and hearing from the Creator-God, and thus particular natural signs can stimulate the *Manguni* to behave either in tranquility or fits of panic if it feels disturbed, according to its instinct (Long, 1998; Mamoto & Warokka, 2007). Thus, the *Manguni* bird has an attachment to the Minahasans and has lived, engaged and interacted wisely with their nature. This bird is clearly sensitively associated with this environment and therefore has a particular skill in identifying and understanding nature, and is more sensitive to climate change and the symptoms of specific environmental disasters, as has happened in recent years. Although most Minahasans ancestors were not educated and were less informed scientifically about *Manguni* birds, they did not see *Manguni* as a frightening bird (ghost bird). The Minahasans’ ancestors lived close to nature and all life forms, including *Manguni*. These ancestors learned to cooperate with and understand nature, living in a sustainable manner for the benefit of all in their community.

The Minahasans who reside in the surrounds of Tondano Lake see this bird more often. Respondents in Ro’ong and Tolour have seen *Manguni* birds in certain areas, such as in the village, *Tewasen* trees, the Minawanua Land area, the Lembean Hills, and in *paddy/sawah* areas (a few of the bird *manguni* were accidentally captured by farmers in snares).



Figure 6.73  
The ‘sacred’ bird *Manguni* or Sulawesi Scops owl (*Otus manadensis*)  
(Source: Komunitas Adat Minahasa)

Respondents recalled narratives about the *manguni* from the Elders, as well as hearing the bird’s sounds themselves. All these respondents concluded that the bird is sacred and believed to convey signs or messages through its sound to persons, groups or communities about good or bad things

about human trips, a battle situation, a death, and/or a weather change. Between the 1940s and the 1970s the *Manguni* bird was used in a tradition to elect a new village leader. Certain Minahasans have reported listening to the sound of *Manguni* making specific sounds which are believed to warn people.

In Tolour, Liningaan and Kembuan villages, the *Manguni* is called *loyot/doyot*. Another nomenclature of this bird is *manguni makasiouw* (*Siouw*= nine kinds of sound). Based upon respondents' personal experiences, the long sound 'Oooo' brings good things and short and disconnected sound 'Ot ot ot ot' or 'Kiiiiik' means a bad sign or noxious situations. For example, when a person wants to conduct trip or demise. The *Manguni* bird can be invited or called by *tona'as*, and the bird would appear or come closer. In a *sosoringan* ritual tradition of the Tolour sub-ethnic group, the *tona'as* could call *Manguni* and the bird would abruptly perch on the shoulder of a *tona'as* (healer).

During the *Permesta* (local force) war in the 1960s against the Indonesian national government, the Minahasans in Tolour used the *Manguni's* signs to protect them from their enemies.

Another bird called *Totosik* (*Tito rosenbergii*), with its sound 'totosikk', is associated with the tradition of capturing wild pigs (*Sus celebensis*) using traps. This wild pig is found in the forest or *talun*/plantation areas and is usually eaten as a traditional food. It is believed the *Totosik* will give a signs of bad or good luck for the hunter and gatherer when hunting wild pig. The *Totosik* bird can be called or captured for ritual purposes (as seen in Figure 6.74).

NOTE:  
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Figure 6.74  
A species of large owl called totosik (*Tito rosenbergii*) with a *tona'as* (Minahasan spiritualist) (Photograph by *Waraney Wuaya*)

The *Manguni* is used by Minahasans as a symbol in many government agencies and organizations including religious, educational, government and military entities. The diversity in interpreting the

*manguni* varies according to one's personal understanding of its meaning from different cultural perspectives. It is worth discovering the intrinsic meaning of this creature to different cultures.

Minahasans who believe in the sacredness of this bird also use other species as oracles to determine messages, or interpret animal's presence in certain areas that are claimed to be sacred or forbidden, such as the appearance of *mamai* (black snakes), cats and millipedes. Another significant species of bird is the sparrow called Pisok bird (*Passer montanus*), which also known as *Burung Gereja* or church bird, and is considered holy in Minahasa. The Minahasan people believe that the *Pisok* bird always brings good luck. The *Pisok* narratives are embedded in a traditional dance called *Pisok* Dance which is performed by an odd number of girls and also in prose narratives.

Thus, these examples are evidence of wild animals being totemic or sacred to their communities, as narrated by respondents during interview sessions.

### 6.6.2 Life Cycle, Kinship and Social Tradition

The life cycle of Minahasans is recorded in their social life. Commonly, the life cycle consists of the important events of childbirth, selecting a spouse, marriage and death. These events are applied in their social traditions.

In the Minahasans' pre-colonial thinking, they perceived personal and social life phenomenon to overcome changes in nature through supernatural things that were manifested through the social customs and traditions. Malonda (1952, p. 26) has concluded that Minahasans have three essential life threads. Firstly, *gegenang* or memory, which generates thought. *Gegenang* is believed to have connections with soul. Secondly, *pemendam* or senses that create beliefs and thereupon generate creativity and inspiration. *Pemendam* is believed to have a relationship with spirit. The third is *keketer* or strength/force that propels their ideas and this is represented in a body. Malonda (Ibid p. 29) has concluded that if one lacks any of these human essentials, she or he becomes abnormal. In normal life or under consciousness, these three philosophical thoughts embody life. However, in Minahasan culture there is also an outside potency that influences their journey or trips, trances and sleeping. Minahasans who have departed are said to be *pemendam* and *keketer* or non-active, but their *gegenang* or *mukur* (soul) is still alive in their body for 3 x 24 hours. Thus, the pre-colonial Minahasan community believed that a person, who possessed supernatural ability and helped a community abundantly when they were alive, would become a *dewa* or god when they died. These

philosophical thoughts are still manifest in Minahasan social life today, in particular when conducting ceremonial services to respect a dead person or ancestors in the form of a commemoration called "Third days", "Fourth days" and "One year" and other events to which relatives, neighbours or other community members are invited. This tradition has been recorded since the early 19th century (Holleman, 1929; Riedel, 1870). Holleman (1929, pp. 19, 38-39) wrote:

...the community is continuously maintaining the descendant, the religious relationship and the respect to the ancestors. This respect shows, the longer the distance between alive people and death people, the more they respect them, and eventually it shift to an appreciation as god (for example the ancestor of Toar and Lumimu'ut)."In many things, for example in "demise", the ancestors of a person who died are mentioned and called through *mareindeng* tradition. In every important event or ceremonial, people felt the presence of ancestors, who are commanded to bless them... (Translated by B Dotulong).

In the post-colonial era, empirical research has demonstrated that Westernization has influenced the origin of Minahasans festive life and replaced it with strong European cultural influences (Kiem, 1994, p. 53). Contemporary Minahasans have retained a number of pre-colonial and colonial feasts, and have amalgamated them into Christian rituals and worship events. Social values are in the form of contemporary festival occasions such as a communal meal (*makan bersama*), services and prayers (*ibadah dan berdoa*).

In Minahasan social tradition, the people have a kinship system based upon a patrilineal regime involving social stratum that is inherited by males. A family clan maintains their harmony through the *Rukun Keluarga* tradition. The purpose of *Rukun Keluarga* is to strengthen the kinship, and is undertaken by assembling together in a worship service and meal. Basically, *Rukun Keluarga* is conducted once a month or as needed. If a family member has passed away, they will arrange to assemble to commemorate that member. Thus, the celebration of *Tiga malam*, *mekan* or *kumaus*, *Empat Puluh hari* and *Satu Tahun* are undertaken as forms of religious services, and are followed by communal meal. In the past, there was a custom when families were assembled, that they sat together and ate corn-rice on banana leaves and drank *saguer/tuak* in coconut shells or from cups made from bamboo. This tradition still occurs in all Minahasans sub-ethnics communities, albeit irregularly.

The Minahasans' social values are seen as part of the prodigious manifestations of cultural tradition, which are represented by individuals and communities. This socio-cultural unit was formed prior to colonisation. A study of transformation in Minahasan festive life has concluded that the "Minahasa is a most fruitful region for anyone who studies the conditions of changing traditions (Kiem, 1994, in Buchholt & Mai, 1994, p. 51). Pre-colonial Minahasans practised large-scale festivities, such as *fosso* (offering) feasts to honour gods in their major life events, including childbirth, marriage and



death, or other situations and events, for example illness, building a house, battle and opening new land (Lundstrom-Burghoon, 1981, p. 38). Following colonization, contemporary Minahasans who largely transferred to Christianity still retained deep layers of Minahasan custom and tradition, as well as European cultural influences (Schefold in Kiem, 1994, p. 53). Examples of ceremonies and events related to life cycle, family connections and social values that still exist in present-day Minahasa were recorded from interview respondents and are detailed in Table 6.36 below.

**Table 6.36**  
Significant Life Cycle, Kinship and Social Customs in the Study Areas  
(Source: Interview respondents 2011 and 2012)

| Aspects   | Tradition names  | Association/description   | Exist in Place        |
|---|--|---|-----------------------|
| Childbirth  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Dengkang</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <p>This tradition intends a baby to become a good person in the future, through a ritual "fufu" (traditional smoked) using three coconut shells (representing Father God, Son and Holy Spirit); after that, putting <i>paddy Pesel</i> into the fire to ensure the baby will not lack food; then putting skins of red onion and white onion or fin of eel into the fire to ensure the baby is saved from harmful persons, followed by putting a dried spider, dried lemon <i>suwangi</i>, leg of monkey, wing of <i>Wanea</i> (<i>manguni</i> bird) and wing of bat, followed by ritual of circling the naked baby around the fire. The next step is bathing the naked baby with concoction-fragrant water. Lastly, an Elder praying in <i>Tonsea</i> language: "<i>Opo Empung satoro serint'e padengkangan puti'i male'os-le'os akat siama tu'a, ma selamat tu'a: des kurang apa</i>". After delivering a baby, it is suggested a mother consume a <i>turi</i> leaf drink to clean the mother's womb, which they called <i>mati mea</i> (Excerpt from Respondent 07-Tanggari).</p> | Tanggari              |
| Engagement and Marriage   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Palus</i> tradition</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help the family who celebrate the marriage by giving a basin of rice, drink, and fish.</li> </ul>  | Pelelo'an             |
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Angka piring</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Young people help to collect material aid by going from house to house, according to the list of registered family.</li> </ul>   |                       |
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Wowo</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Invitation to a cultural marriage celebration, particularly amongst family and their relatives only.</li> </ul>  | Kembuan – Tonsea Lama |
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Maso Minta</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A man asks permission to marry the woman through a family gathering event.</li> </ul>  |                       |
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tunangan</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Engagement/Exchange rings</li> </ul>   |                       |
|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sabut Tawa'ang</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The bridegroom should prepare 8 materials (bodkin/hair pin, earring, pendant, necklace, needle, brooch, ring and wreath).</li> </ul>   | Tanggari              |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Baca hati babi</i> ritual</li> </ul>  | <p>A ritual of prophecy/prediction through reading the structure of a pig's liver. This tradition is conducted by an Elder in the village, the day before undertaking marriage. The Elder places the liver on leaves in a <i>sosiru</i> (bamboo plate). After interpreting the meaning of the liver, Elder walks around and to show to all who attended.</p> | Tanggari  |                       |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tulungen</i> tradition</li> </ul>     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help the family by giving a sack of rice, which will be returned if necessary.</li> </ul>   | Ruruan  |                       |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mangetumuzhu</i> tradition</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• This custom is similar to "<i>maso minta</i>" tradition by visiting the woman's family for marriage purpose; following by "<i>antar harta</i>" tradition (bring some belongings, for example parcel or gold).</li> </ul>  |   |                       |

|  |  |   |                                       |
|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| Family Clan Traditions   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mekekayaan</i> tradition</li> <li>• <i>Kumaya</i></li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A form of family gathering.</li> <li>• A worship service, following by "arisan" or agreement to contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money.</li> <li>• Helping family who conduct a celebration or experience bereavement.</li> </ul>   | Makalonsouw                           |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Matulung-tulungen</i></li> </ul>   | Family gathering once a month. If a family member or relative has passed away, each family clan contributes rice and money.   | All Villages                          |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Kumure</i> tradition</li> <li>• <i>Sumakei</i> Tradition</li> </ul>  | The community which is involved/registered in the social group are required to bring food (rice and cooked chicken or fish – at least 1.5 Kg) to be given to the bereaved family.   | Telap,<br>Wulurma'atus,<br>Kakenturan |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Keko</i> tradition</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Amian</i> people will assist with the funeral and Timu people will bring food (sugar and cakes/biscuits).</li> </ul>  | Watumea                               |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sakeian</i> tradition</li> </ul>   | <i>Amian</i> people bring raw cook material and Timu people will bring cooked food.   | Watumea                               |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Rukun Kampung</i></li> </ul>   | Collecting money to aid the family who lost their beloved. In some cases people help by building a large shelter and digging the grave space.<br>In Rurukan people are obligated to give 2 litres of rice, 10 eggs and 3000 rupiah to the bereaved family.  | All Villages                          |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mesesakeian</i> tradition</li> </ul>   | The registered family in the group bring food in the morning and afternoon, make the coffin, and collect money for the family who lost their beloved.   | Lininga'an                            |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mekan</i> tradition</li> </ul>   | Lunch or dinner with the grieving family.   | Makalonsouw                           |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social Aid (previously called <i>penger'an</i>)</li> <li>• <i>Kumaus</i> Tradition (the seventh day)</li> <li>• <i>Tiga Malam</i> tradition</li> <li>• <i>tanang bunga</i> tradition</li> <li>• <i>Kaduangando</i> tradition</li> </ul> | Encourage family and relatives to help each other if a family have lost their beloved by giving some money or bringing 1 kg of rice, eggs and drink.<br>Family clan have lunch together. Worship service after funeral on the third day.<br><br>A <i>kumaus</i> or lunch together – all people in the village are invited.<br><br>Family clan have lunch together and after that chase and brush each other using coconut oil and charcoal. This tradition is intended to strengthen the family clan's relationship, and also (according to the Elders) make the spirit of the dead person not appear as a ghost. | Kembuan-Tonsea<br>Lama                |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 40 days tradition and One Year tradition</li> </ul>   | Worship service conducted by a family who lost their beloved by inviting relatives and neighbors in the village, followed by lunch or having a meal.  | All villages                          |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Na'asu</i> Tradition</li> </ul>  | Every house used to prepare bamboo filled with water as to be vigilant about fire danger in the summer season.  | Telap                                 |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mapalus Mawenangan</i> (in agriculture)</li> </ul>   | About 5 to 6 people in a group work in <i>kobong pece</i> or <i>kobong kering</i> . Each person will contribute 6 times, including on his/her own land cultivation.   | Lininga'an                            |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mesesawangan</i> tradition.</li> </ul>   | Family gathering and bereavement to pray for the lost.  | Lininga'an                            |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> for logging</li> </ul>   | Collecting wood/logs in the plantation area or forest.  | Makalonsouw                           |
|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> in Agriculture</li> </ul>  | Contributing his/her man power and taking a turn to work in the farming areas. In Rurukan, there are "a whole days", "a two hours" and "a two and half hours" of <i>Mapalus</i> according to agreement.   | Rurukan<br>Tumaratas<br>Pinabéténgan  |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Women <i>Mapalus</i></li> <li>• Men <i>Mapalus</i></li> <li>• Mixed <i>Mapalus</i> (Men and women)</li> </ul> | Working in plantation areas for a half day.  | Wulurma'atus  |                                       |

In recent years, *mapalus* or mutual aid has dominated many different kinds of activities, including *mapalus kerja* (particular forms of agricultural wage labourer) and *mapalus uang* (credit associations). Most villages in the case study area continue carrying out feast traditions in the family

clan, village and church organizations. The social cohesion and festive life that occurs in the village are instruments of *genius loci* and a manifestation of regional identity. The strong symbolism meanings of Minahasan social traditions through feasts and ceremonies amongst the community maintain their relationship to the environment and their gods.

#### 6.6.2.1 Spatial Hierarchy Relating to Kindship and Social system

The spatial orders in a village, or districts, in Minahasa were originally derived from an ancient family hierarchy system of community based upon a unit of family household called *awu*, which consists of a number of inhabitants in a village (Wahr, 2004). All family members lived in one large house known as *bangsal* (Blust, 1980, in Renwarin, 2007, p. 98) or *bale/wale* (*wale* is the name of iron wood – *kayu besi* – in Minahasan, which was used for building a house). From marriages and extended families, several *bangsal* were built in a complex of *bangsals*. Inhabitants who had family ties are called *taranak*. Marriages between *taranak* members resulted in new *taranaks*, and these developed separate and wider *bangsals* and spaces. Spatial functions shift from family ties to a settlement called *wanua* or *ro'ong*. A *wanua* or *ro'ong* consists of settlement areas, cultivation areas and hunting territories. A leader of a *wanua* was called *ukung*. *Ukung* divided his core living place or territory into *lukar*, or a unit of neighbourhood; in current village structures the *wanua* is now the *jaga* (guard). Leadership of *Ukung* was assisted by *maweteng* in conveying decisions and an advisor *pa tu'usan* (Siwi, in Wahr, 2004; Wenas, 2007). Large territories consisted of several *wanua/ro'ong* that were amalgamated into a spatial category called a district, with the highest territory called *Pakasa'an* and this district was led by a *Walak* (Lundstrom-Burghoom, 1981, p. 56; Schwarz, 1908; Watuseke, 1968, p. 39). *Pakasa'an*s began to develop in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Schouten, 1983, p. 18).

The pre-colonized Minahasan culture did not recognize a regal governance system compared to other ethnic communities in Indonesian Archipelago. Their pre-colonial leadership structure, in their social system, began to change from a matriarchal system (in *Karema* and *Lumimu'ut* era) to a patriarchal system, with the highest governance under *Muntu-Untu* (Andriani, 1925; Schwarz, 1908; Watuseke, 1968). Following transitional periods, the leadership hierarchy for the Minahasa began to change around 1679 with the enactment of the Dutch government regulation *Staatsblad No. 28-1856* wherein the Minahasa region was divided into 27 *Walak* in the form of *Pakasa'an* regions. Under this administrative system, the term *Walak* was substituted by *Ukung* and head of several *Walak* was named *Hukum Besar* or "the great law", and his vice or deputy was called "Hukum

Kedua" or "the second law". A *Pa'endon tu'a* or head of village is today called "*Hukum Tua/Kumtua*", while his assistant is called *Kepala Jagalpala'* or *Tu'a lukar* (Watusেকে, 1968; Wenas, 2007, p. 72). Because of the Dutch administrative changes, past spatial orders were completely removed from the Minahasans' social-democratic traditions and thereupon unified under the Indonesian national spatial planning concept; for example the term "district" was changed to *Kecamatan* and the terms *Wanua/Negeri* to *Kelurahan* or *Desa*. Despite this, some remote villages still maintain the term *Jaga* as a unit of neighbourhood that is still extant across their region while *Pakasa'an* represents various sub-ethnic groups; for example, the *Pakasa'an Tombulu*, *Pakasa'an Tolour*, *Pakasa'an Tonsea* and *Pakasa'an Tontemboan* groups of people.

In terms of their contemporary leadership system and associated administrative changes, the current spatial order in the case study areas was built based upon this family hierarchy system and the tradition of clearing the land for cultivation called *Tumani*. When a family performed *Tumani* in a new area, a potential new *Ro'ong/Wanua* could be established.

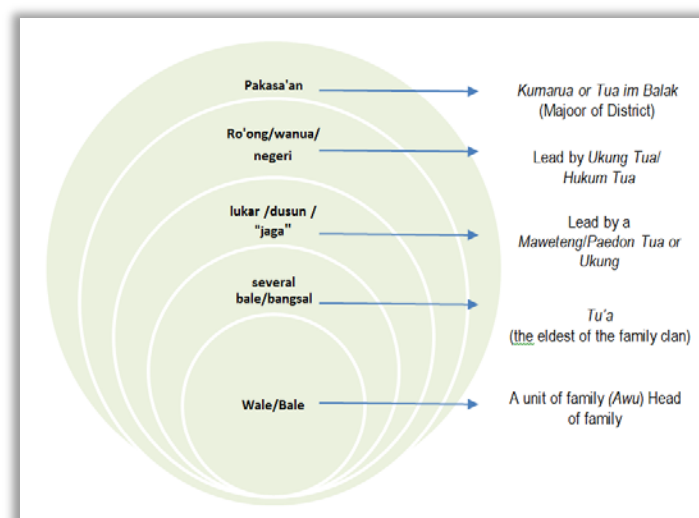


Figure 6.75  
Past spatial hierarchies of a living space in the Minahasans' worldview  
(Source: the Author)

### 6.6.3 The Sense of Place

Sense of place is used in this study as a component of *genius loci* research in connection to Minahasan perceptions about land and environment. Sense of place embraces the physical elements in the landscape, people's behaviour and psychological processes (Convery, Corsane, & Davis, 2012; Stedman, 1999). The sense of place of the Minahasans has been examined through several cognitive aspects:

- Psychological connectivity to the memory of places;
- Mental map orientation;
- Perception to spiritual landscape; and
- Perception to the power of nature and the wilderness.

### 6.6.3.1 Psychological Connection to Places

Connectivity to a place is an important element of sense of place, but contains complex values. Profoundly, connectivity to places is derived from Minahasan spiritual realms through an understanding of their ancestors, and the existence of natural features in their landscape region. Spiritual connectivity with a place or landscape will influence social relationships to land or country in a historical context and involves belief systems and Indigenous culture in the current circumstances.

In response to the sense of belonging and memory questions applied in this research (refer to Appendix 2) respondents stated that they were originally born in Minahasa or that their parents are Indigenous Minahasan, and that their life cycle and everyday life occurred in the village. Most respondents recorded that they had experienced travel outside of their place, but that they felt comfortable and secure in their own place as well as being part of the community in the village. In some villages in the case study area, respondents had never travelled outside of their homeland. Strong connectivity factors include birth place and living place, the place where they currently live, including fresh air and weather that makes them feel comfortable. Respondents were also proud to live in their homeland and as Indigenous Minahasans.

In terms of research questions relating to sense of place in a landscape context, Elder respondents noted a strong connection to nature, the *sawah* (paddy field) and *ladang* (dry-land cultivation), the lake and other sceneries in the surrounds of their living place. Respondents were also able to describe the past conditions of the village, the past environment and the past landscapes. They acknowledged certain historical and battlefield sites, such as the Minawanua Land, and *Benteng Moraya*. Respondents acknowledged the good social life of the village and their experience of leadership in organizations which trained them to take responsibility. Hence, they felt peace and harmony because people in the village respected each other.

Other aspects included a bond to a memory of place or a strong geographical memory of their childhood. Respondents in particular memorized playgrounds in the village and traditional games, which are summarized in Table 6.37.

Table 6.37  
Identification of past Traditional childhood games in the Case study areas  
Source: Interview respondents 2011

| Name of games (local term)                            | Source of materials                    | Sub-Languages | Exist in                        |
|---|--|---------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Umpey</i>  | Star coconut shell, bamboo             | Td            | Ro'ong, Tolour                  |
| <i>Patok, Waray, pepukulen</i>                        | Wood sticks                            | Td, Tt, Tb    | All villages                    |
| <i>Taskela</i>  | Bamboo, <i>kasti</i> ball              | Td            | Watumea                         |
| <i>Petas-petasan</i>                                  | Bamboo or chopstick                    | Mm            | Telap                           |
| <i>Wia'u/Kalubang/pocis/Seten/Kanikir/ (kelereng)</i> | Kemiri (Candle nut)                    | Td, Mm, I     | All villages                    |
| <i>Sampinit</i>                                       | Coffee                                 | Td            | Makalonsouw                     |
| <i>So'pel (cenge')</i>                                | Stone, ground                          | Td, Mm        | Telap, Lininga'an               |
| <i>Ceklen, Batubal</i>                                | Rubber ball, shell and stone           | Mm            | All villages                    |
| <i>Skop Blek</i>                                      | Can                                    | Mm            | Ro'ong, Lininga'an, Makalonsouw |
| <i>Walo, Piong, Rerunu Susundek (gasing)</i>          | Nail, rope and wood,                   | Td, Ts, Tb    | All villages                    |
| <i>Kasti</i>  | Wood                                   | I             | All villages                    |
| <i>Rencong</i>  | Rubber                                 | Mm            | All villages                    |
| <i>Kodo-kodo</i>                                      | Land drawing and jump                  | Mm            | Liningaan                       |
| <i>kokotrek</i>                                       | Chasing                                | Mm            | Ro'ong, Lininga'an              |
| <i>Spel</i>   | Wood                                   | Td            | Lininga'an, Tanggari            |
| <i>Bintoi (bead)</i>                                  | <i>Bintoi</i> plant                    | Td            | Lininga'an, Tolour, Makalonsouw |
| <i>Katapel</i>  | Wood and rubber                        | Mm            | All villages                    |
| <i>Kumeta'a/mako'ta (turning rope)</i>                | <i>Gomutu</i> /sugar palm tree, banana | Td, Tb        | All villages                    |
| <i>Panukur</i>  | Stones                                 | Tt            | Pinabéténgan                    |
| <i>Lulutem</i>  | Bamboo, grass                          | Tb            | KInilow                         |
| <i>Sperak / Pistol bulu</i>                           | Bamboo                                 | Mm            | Makalonsouw, Lininga'an         |
| <i>Tempa</i>  | Stones                                 | Td            | Makalonsouw                     |
| <i>Mateta'ar</i>                                      | Cans                                   | Td            | Makalonsouw                     |

Notes: Tl/Td (Tolour/Tondano), Tb (Tombulu), Ts (Tonsea), Tt (Tountemboan, Mm (Manado Malay), I (Indonesia).

Examples include the game of *Umpey* that comprises a kind of star of coconut shells and a piece bamboo to play battles or fighting. In the *Wia'uw* game the candlenuts were arranged in a row/line. A stone called *gaco* was used to throw and hit the candlenuts. Another game called *patok* used a long stick and a short stick and a hole in the ground – while a person stood near the hole and nearby, a person would then try to catch the short stick that glided through the air. Another childhood battle game known in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was called *Taskela* and involved a bamboo stick.

Several of these traditional games that were documented during the interviews were slowly disappearing; however, some others were still maintained amongst children, for instance battles of *taskela*, *wia'uw kodo-kodo*, and the *so'pel games*, while other risk games, such as *Waray*, *rencong*, *katapel*, *umpey*, and other traditional games are forbidden and have thus disappeared.

Mainly Children also created games by using available materials from the forest or surrounds to the village. The experiences of collecting scrap wood, stones or other materials built a bond or connection to their environment and their land. Such traditional childhood games can generate memory and psychological connectivity to the village or its surrounds. Certain places in the landscape were used as playground spaces, for example, in *kintal/kelasan* (front yards of houses), plantation areas, hills, rivers, and the Lake.

### 6.6.3.2 Mental Map Orientation

Mental maps and orientation was used in this research to consider how Minahasans recognized places and the region as their “mother land” with specific characters and values. This aspect was identified through the perception of respondents and their experiences in exploring the region.

A mental map is a perception or the way people see the environment through their cognitive senses, which may be a useful tool in characterizing environment. Rapoport (1982) defined cognition used by humans to explain how people understand, construct and learn about environments and how they use it to comprehend a place or landscape, particularly a city or region. Hence, mental maps are a process that enable people to collect, organize, memorize, recall and characterize information about a place, and signify the environment geographically (Holahan, 1982). Mental maps are also a basic component in humans adapting to an environment.

In this section the researcher did not seek mental maps from the respondents as this assumes graphic fluency. The respondents were asked to orally discuss what (words, images, places) came to their minds when considering about orientation relationships to Minahasan myths.

The most significant associations of mental map orientation, which were frequently expressed in interviews with the Elders in this fieldwork, are listed as follows:

Tangible human (semi-natural) made landscape or places:

- *Sawah, paddy* (rice field cultivation)
- *Kobong Kering* (dry land)
- *Kampung; Desa* (Village)
- *Watu Pinawéténgan* (*Pinawéténgan* stone)
- *Tana kelahiran* (Birthplace)

Natural Landscapes:

- *Danau Tondano* (Tondano Lake)
- *Sungai Tondano* (Tondano River)
- *Lingkungan alam* (The natural environments)
- *Suasana desa* (The ambience of village)
- *Air jernih* (Fresh water)
- *Rempah-rempah* (Spices - cloves, coconut and *pala*)
- *Gunung-gunung* (Mountains)

Associated intangible cultural landscape:

- *Lagu dan tari tradisional* (The traditional songs and dances)
- *Rukun* (Milieu)
- *Makanan khas* (The traditional food )
- *Petuah/Pesan orang-orang tua* (Elders' wisdoms)
- *Tana Minahasa* (The Minahasa Land)
- *Esa/Pinaesaan* (United/Unity/Unify)
- *Orang Manado* (The Manado People)
- *Anak suku* (Sub-ethnics)
- *Kawanua* (The people from the same homeland)
- *Sei Re'en* (*who am I*)

The homeland and its mental map associations are critical factors through which people in the village can actualize themselves and express their lives in the landscape. Interview responses from most of the 144 respondents clearly demonstrate that the Minahasan people are closely attached to their environment and landscape in a deeply spiritual sense.



### 6.6.3.3 Perception of the Spiritual Landscape

The notion of spiritual landscapes provides an avenue to new understandings about existing in the world through faith and belief. Spiritual landscapes include spaces that can be inhabited or dwelt in, in different spiritual contexts including 'landscapes', and include ways of seeing and an openness to being affected by them in this context. This study considers the phenomenological traditions of landscape in the cultural geography of Minahasa and its broader archive to consider how these cultural and personal spiritual formations work (Rowe 2007, p. 44). Initially, there are many ways in which spirituality is manifest.

In spiritual landscape analysis, the geographic environment and social-emotional relationships are of spiritual significance to the Minahasans. Spiritual landscape is identified through the Minahasan's sense of belonging and connectivity to their land and 'country'. The physical connection and adaptation to their living environment, which can also generate memory of the land, are part of this *genius loci* research. Physical connection is also significant in determining Indigenous identity as it relates to feelings of safety, of home and about a place which is a destination to people. Thus, this is essential in recognizing the function of history and cultural lore in identifying the spiritual landscape of Minahasa. In perceiving the Minahasans' spiritual landscape, the researcher discovered a sense of belonging in all respondents, based on their responses to questions about the living environment involving their five senses, which are described below:

- In lakeside environmental settings, villagers perceived what their village looked like, comparing past and present situations including the changing environment and development. The quietness and healthy fresh air in the village was a factor in making them "feel like home". Other respondents also described the changing open spaces in their living place in the past and the present. Respondents also noticed the disappearance of certain native fishes, such as *sepat siam* or *payangka hitam*, *bomboya* and a plant species *ayaman* in the Tondano Lake. Respondents recognized certain landscapes and places that were significant with particular features, for example, the three water springs at the edge of the Lake, the natural cave at Uluna, the Benteng Moraya historical place (a fortress made of bamboo and wood that was used for defence against Europeans in the battle in the 18<sup>th</sup>, located between Ro'ong village and Toubeke area), the Apowen pine forest in Tolour, and a place for locals to source a specific plant to make a tool for capturing fish. These are unique places to the community and have special landscape meanings and connections which begin in childhood. The places are well-recognized amongst

the community. Respondents in Watumea and Telap villages were able to view the Lake from their plantation areas uphill and also their well-recognized forest landscape. Certain places in the forest area were ‘sacred places’ for some Minahasans to seek peace in quiet, remote spaces.

- In comparison to the villages in riverside environment settings, respondents have direct connection to the places in the catchment areas. In particular the fresh morning air and the embodiment of river views were spoken of. Respondents named their particular private lands in the landscape based upon landscape characteristics and the changing land environment. They recognized the land structures around the river precisely. Respondents ventured that their society and culture in the past 20 years has clearly changed, in particular the infrastructure and village development, without them being conscious of it.
- Communities who lived on the mountainsides identified with views and contemplation of a mountain, such as *toka* (mount) Makalonsouw, *toka* Klabat, and other mountains, because they evoked a sacred perception, joy or even scary emotions; specifically amongst male respondents there was a desire to conquer the mountains. Respondents in Tanggari village recalled a prerequisite for villagers who enter the hills forest through Timu area to behave politely and respectfully in this place because of a belief of the presence of a supernatural human called *Dodu*, a short old woman with long hair who wore a blue cloth and a *tolu* hat.

In contrast, respondents in Makalonsow frequently interacted with and traced the inside of *toka* (mount) Lembean and *toka* Labo, noting that certain places have the potential to establish ecotourism projects, including a place they called Kawiley.

Respondents in Rurukan and Kinilow villages had a strong interaction with Mt Mahawu and well-recognized its associated landscape. They frequently entered the forests to collect rattan for making *loto* (basket) and collecting logs for cord wood. These activities have historically formed an emotional contact to the land.

Kakenturan and Wulurma’atus are villages on the Modinding highland and are surrounded by mountains, where the locals felt apprehensive about the sudden appearance of wild animals *babi utang* (*Sus celebensis*), a mountain cow called *anoa* (*Bubalus depressicornis*), and the *yaki* (*Macaca nigra*) when those animals entered the village.

People in Tumaratas and Pinabéténgan villages are aware of the active volcano mountain (Mt Soputan) which may jeopardize their living place. Even though an eruption may occur, the village is surrounded by inactive mountains (Mt Rindengan, Mt Kalondey and Mt Tamporok) and these hills make the people feel safe. The volcanic ash has made the land fertile and luxuriant.

The spirit of place in the present context is bound to Minahasan life and is expressed through their sentences or phrases, reflecting their pride in living in their homeland Minahasa.

Table 6.38 is provides an inventory of respondent expressions and textual connections to the “spirit of place”, their spirit of homeland.

**Table 6.38**  
List of Community Expressions of “the Spirit of Place” in the Case Study Areas  
(Source: the Author)

| Phrases/Sentences  | Meaning/Sense  | Language (sub-ethnics) | village      |
|--|--|------------------------|--------------|
| <i>“nyaku kumepa’apar ma’ nak wia tampaku”</i>   | I have my affection for my birthplace  | Tondano-Tolour         | Ro’ong       |
| <i>“nyaku pa’ar Minahasa”</i>  | I love Minahasa  | Tondano-Tolour         | Tolour       |
| <i>“nyaku pa’ar wia tanpa Tolour”</i>  | I like to live in Tolour   | Tondano-Tolour         | Tolour       |
| <i>“Kewangunanen palo’on wia lour ri’i”</i>  | The view of the Lake is beautiful  | Eris-Tolour            | Watumea      |
| <i>“mengenang-ngenang kampung temi bete mea’ kampung”</i>  | Remembering the village  |                        |              |
| <i>“Kepa’arku mena terus wian Telap, ka’an ku mina tou wian Telap”</i>   | I am glad to stay in Telap because I was born in this place  | Eris-Tolour            | Telap        |
| <i>“nyaku mesale’ke ma’ento’am Pulutan, ma piker endo mangendo ma’a tawoi kure on pot bunga”</i>   | I like to stay in Pulutan because I am interested in crafts in this village                            | Romboken-Tolour        | Pulutan      |
| <i>“nyaku ma’a-ma’a te mena wiam Pulutan, kamaso wo ni kure on pot bunga wiam mo pencarian wia Pulutan”</i>                                    | I like to live in Pulutan because I have the skill to make ceramics to continue my life for the future | Romboken - Tolour      | Pulutan      |
| <i>“Kinatouanku e, kou upusku banuaku”</i>   | “I love this village because I was born here”  | Tondano-Tolour         | Lininga’an   |
| <i>“Waku remendem untana kine jadianku”</i>  | I like my birthplace   | Tonsea                 | Kembuan      |
| <i>“Ai kedupa’anku Wenua Tanggari”</i>   | I like Tanggari, I always remember and never forget  | Tonsea                 | Tanggari     |
| <i>“Rumendem mbanua”</i>   | I love our village   | Tonsea                 | Tanggari     |
| <i>“mena’yal Makalonsouw; nyaku o pa’ar mena wea Makalonsouw”</i>  | I like to live in Makalonsouw village  | Tondano-Tolour         | Makalonsouw  |
| <i>“manape mano ure”</i>   | I was born in this village   | Tondano-Tolour         | Makalonsouw  |
| <i>“Makalonsouw ni’i dano, marualan pemali mali’an wia Makalonsouw”</i>  | It is something difficult to be forgotten in Makalonsouw.  | Tondano-Tolour         | Makalonsouw  |
| <i>“kapa’ar ku tantu kou nay a mbanua sei ya Wulurma’atus”</i>   | I like to live in Wulurma’atus village   | Kakas-Tolour           | Wulurma’atus |
| <i>“masembong-semboan, mamampokan, mamalo’loran”</i>   | “admonishing, be in good with others”  | Tountemboan            | Tumaratas    |
| <i>“yaku tou am Pinabéténgan, neaku ma katoro ma isya mang toturusan Pinabéténgan, neaku wo ca peini ni Pinabéténgan, ca ma isyam pusa ek”</i> | “I love and like to live in Pinabéténgan, never go to other place, this is my birthpace.               | Tountemboan            | Pinabéténgan |
| <i>“mentuwo Pinabéténgan wea yo makete-keterene’i”</i>   | “I like living in this village”  | Tountemboan            | Pinabéténgan |

The respondents also expressed their attitudes towards conserving the land and environment recognizing that “conserving” is a Western concept and word, and the social cohesions in their phrases in local languages, as detailed in Table 6.39 below.

**Table 6.39**  
Communities’ Expression of the Attitudes toward Conserving the Land and Environment  
in the Case Study Areas (Source: the Author)

| Phrases   | (English Meaning)   | Sub-ethnic language   |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| <i>nyaku pa'an menge jumaga umbanuaku kine jadian wo untoro si wongku</i>                             | What can we do to conserve the environment in this village                  | Tonsea                |
| <i>Jumaga umbanua</i>   | Keep and conserve to continue existence                                     | Tonsea                |
| <i>duka-dukaden umbanua</i>   | Keep the village safe   | Tonsea                |
| <i>wangun se tou se maesa-esa'an se mo'ormatan</i>  | Establish the unity and respect and honour amongst villagers                | Tondano-Tolour        |
| <i>Wangunen umbanua</i>   | Develop/raise this village  | Tombulu               |
| <i>imbanua ya isan, wea'in temi karunia ni kampung wia si Opo Empung</i>                              | Save and keep the environment in this village as a blessing from God        | Kakas/Romboken-Tolour |
| <i>"jagan urusen umbanua"</i>   | Save and keep this village  | Kakas-Tolour          |
| <i>jaganela wangune wiyen talun ni'in. Satoro jaga talun Makalonsouw wangun-wangunen tanaman kayu</i> | Keep the forest environment, keep Makalonsow by planting trees              | Tondano-Tolour        |
| <i>taruyan tu wale</i>  | keep the house/village  | Tontemboan            |
| <i>tumarui</i>  | Keep and look after the place   | Tontemboan            |
| <i>jumaga ando'ong, jumaga si ro'orongan, jumaga'an ni wanua</i>                                      | Keep and look after this neighbourhood and the village                      | Tontemboan            |
| <i>wangun-wangunen kua kio ke de lour or saloni ne tou balonto</i>                                    | To make Tondano a beautiful place, we keep and save the estuary of the lake | Tondano-Tolour        |
| <i>Kumajaga/kumaliara jumaga u lingkunganku wia'i</i>   | To keep the environment safe  | Tolour                |
| <i>Umbangunen um wanua</i>  | To build the place  | Tolour-Toundano       |

*Genius Loci*, the spirit of place or sense of place, to the Minahasans who live in Tondano and its surround, is expressed in their landscape language as “*Kina'kaaran natas koatan*” or “*Kaliling Keni*”, of which Indigenous Minahasans in other parts of the Minahasa region might use different terminology and have a different understanding. Thus, future research is still needed.

#### 6.6.3.4 Perception of the Power of Nature and the Wilderness

This section considers evidence of Minahasan people in interpreting their landscape and environment through their interactions with 'wilderness' or witnessing phenomena that have occurred in places of nature, including dense forests or hilly mountains. Spiritual landscape and wilderness are interconnected.

'Wilderness' is recognized as a Western concept and term, but the scope and intent of it is evidenced position in Minahasan culture. The power of nature and wilderness are considered as components of the cultural landscape to be analysed. Landscape and environment features and characteristics of the Minahasan region indicate that the landscape is a tropical rain forest, composed of heterogeneous layers of plants species and mountain ranges that encompass the region. For certain Minahasans who have a close contact with forests and landscapes, or who have experienced psychological connections (i.e. farmers, hunters, gatherers or others), these conditions have imbued and formed their myths and supernatural appreciations. In several cases people reported experiencing direct and indirect supernatural happenings in the wilderness, which have become storytelling for others.

However, the greatest value of 'wilderness' is its expression in the language of the landscape itself to the Minahasan people, in which they show respect to nature, and therefore are aware of the risk physical destruction which may occur when their actions damage the environment, for example by illegal logging, cutting trees and land clearance. The supernatural cases that were expressed by respondents as occurring in the forest, and also the folklores that are told about every forest in the Minahasa region give respect to these "guardians of nature" to engender positive values for people to better understand their land and environment; thus consciously and unconsciously they protect and conserve their forests and nature.

To support this inquiry, data was collected from respondents in the case study areas who had personal experiences and connections with forest landscapes, as this kind of belief is commonplace throughout many Indigenous societies in Indonesia (Siwu, 2002, p. 44). Siwu named them "the unably seen ones" while Geertz (1966) labelled them as "spirit beliefs" or "pre-literary religious beliefs". These beliefs, which are literally called 'spirits', are commonly found in every traditional society in Indonesia. The 'guardian spirit' called *panunggu* is, for example, the spirit that protects

forest-located sacred places including rivers, springs/water holes, big trees, big stones or any prohibited places.

- Certain Minahasans on the surrounds of the Lake expressed perceptions relating to myths and spiritual beliefs about spirit forces inside the forest. The tradition of respecting nature in Minahasa is called *sume'engket tela*, meaning that when passing through these areas people say *ehem* (voiced). It is believed that in some ritual processes the vision of a 'gnome' near the river appears. In the Minahasan perspective, when people disrespect nature by impolite behaviour, screaming or yelling, rebuking with dirty words, according to Elders' wisdom when entering the forest they could be kidnapped supernaturally by forest spirits called *lulu* and *taliong*. They also have a tradition to return a person back to his/her reality through a ritual in the Uluna Hills, which is believed to be a place occupied by *lulu*. Respondents offered evidenced of involvement in a rite conducted by Elders.

Certain Minahasan respondents also offered experience of supernatural experiences when they entered the forests in Lembean Mountain Ranges, Tombatu, Motoling and Toulumuten Hills to collect logs and timbers, as evidenced by respondents in Ro'ong as follows:

*"Saya, sewaktu di desa Tataaran Satu, ketika menyeberang sungai, terdengar seperti orang berteriak memanggil (bakuku) dan saya membalasnya uuuuuu. Tiba-tiba saya tersesat di daerah yang ada pohon mangga besar. Saya mengambil rokok dan melepasnya di sekitar tempat itu. Ada lulu yang menyebabkan saya tersesat sementara."* (Respondent 01, in Bahasa Indonesia)

(When I was in Tata'aran Satu village, one day I was passing a stream, I heard a voice yelling and calling me and I replied 'uuuuuu'. Suddenly I lost direction in a place where there was a big mango tree. I took a cigarette and put it on the ground. There was *lulu* who was causing me to get lost temporarily.)

In Minahasan tradition, if this situation occurs, a person should take a cigarette, smoke and put the cigarette somewhere near the place, while waiting for a few minutes to relocate one's self and after that, put out the cigarette. It is believed that this practice is a mark of respect to the guardian *lulu*. Also there is wisdom from the Elders reporting that people may avoid experiencing supernatural things by uttering this prayer:

*"I wa'aka waka cilaka, lindungen ni wia pa kelang-kelangan"* (meaning: "take away from evil people and do not leave us during our trip! – Respondent 09, Tolour Village).

Touliang Oki, Tounipus and Makawimbeng hills are remnant forest patches in the Lembean Hill zones where respondents recalled that Elders in the past had walked inside these forests without shoes or sandals.

In different cases, Watumea respondents recalled that some people disappeared in a forest for a time because of loss of consciousness. In the Pasot area one respondent reported that a person experienced severe disorientation before the community eventually found him. His personal supernatural experience of being controlled by the guardian spirit *lulu* has been a story repeated amongst his community. Some in this community still holds the belief about respecting forests, in particular when they pass by a river by "asking permission".

A respondent in Telap village expressed his story in relation to the forest 'guardian spirit' as follows:

*"Kami pernah berjalan di Louroki dan Itu tempat opo-opo. Lalu saya dengar itu ba-kuku (suara berteriak) bunyi wuuwww. Kalau dengar suara itu dialah si lulu. Lalu saya bilang ke teman saya Sonny: "tole adat! "Mari kita duduk-duduk dan beri dia rokok!" Teman saya membalas, "aah, itu cerita dulu-dulu! Saya juga berpikir begitu, Jadi tidak jadi melakukannya lalu kami berjalan lagi ...heee kami tembus di Tulap, padahal mau ke Eris, lalu saya berjalan dan merinding, dengan tiba-tiba saya dengar bunyi kolintang, hei, suaranya sedap didengar. Di Simpel, saya pegang teman saya itu, karena Lulu sudah mulai menguasai saya, saya pegang dia dan berkata, "Sonny, coba ngana lia itu lulu!"(Coba kamu lihat itu lulu) - Itu tuyul botak, saya melihatnya!. Lalu Sonny cuma membalas, "oh kita nda lia kua pa dia! Mari jo torang sambil berjalan. 'Saya tahan dia, "Eh dengar dulu, ngana ba dengar trus itu kolintang?' Dia bilang nda! Jadi cuma saya yang dengar. Begitu tembus di Tulap sudah di rumahnya Lasut. Karena saya banyak berdoa. Itulah cerita lulu".*

(“We have been walking in Louroki and it was a place of ancestors (*opo-opo*). Then I heard a louder sound bawled “wuuwww”. If people hear that sound, it was the *Lulu*. Then I said to my friend Sonny: “*Tole adat*, lets we have a break and give “him” cigarette”. My friend replied “ahh it’s an erlier story! I was thinking the same. So, we did not do that. Then we continue walked. Hey, we walked and eventually we reached Tulap instead of Eris as our destination. While we were walking, I felt eeried or frightened when suddenly I listened to the *kolintang* sound. I said “Hei, the sound was nice to hear”. In Simpel, I hold my friend’s hand because I felt *Lulu* had started to control my mind. While we were holding hand I said “Sonny, can you see the *Lulu*? I had seen him! He was a *Tuyul*, a bald short figure. Sonny just replied “Oo, I did not see him! Let’s go home! While we were walked back, I hold him and said “ehh listen! Did you hear the *Kolintang* sound? He said no! So, I was the only one heard that sound. When we arrived in Telap, we were at Lasut’s house. Because I was prayed all the way back home. This is my story of *Lulu*.”) (As narrated in Bahasa Indonesia and Manado Malay languages by Respondent 03 - Telap-Referred to Appendix 3 and CD Recording)

Learning from these respondents’ narratives and their personal experiences, it is evident that these episodes have influenced people who enter the forests and have indirectly shaped their views towards environmental ethics. It should also be noted that in Eastern cultures each ethnic group possesses an epistemology and metaphysical manifestation through symbolic mythology.

For example, local people in Telap are prohibited from cutting trees. In Rumambun Hill at *wawa amian* (eastern part of the village) when people want to get bamboo or *bulu rames* for daily living, they have a tradition of cutting the bamboo properly and at the right time to avoid plant diseases in order to maintain the forest and bamboo trees. However, when the community has disregarded these principles the soil becomes eroded. Thus, to aid environmental awareness the local government prohibits illegal tree cutting.

Four respondents in Pélélo'an have heard of narratives or stories derived from Elders relating to the wilderness, in particular certain sacred places and "guardians" in some inland forests and plantation areas. They tell of a guardian called *Siouw Kurur*, a manifestation of the *manguni/loyot* bird which is half human. *Siouw Kurur* is believed to bring good or bad to a situation. However, *Siouw Kurur* has been narrated differently and has different roles in past Minahasan histories.

*Siouw Kurur* was written about as a courier or messenger who helped the *Muntu-Untu* governments (Riedel, 1870; Schwarz, 1907, p. 116-7 and pp. 130, 188): Firstly, *Siouw Kurur* in the *Muntu-Untu Kumokombe* era in the 7th century had the epithet of *Maweris* and was described as being able to fly and run like the weris bird (*Gallirallus philippensis*) and his tomb was located in Pinaras. Secondly, *Siouw Kurur* in the *Muntu-untu Arur Krito* era in the 9th century was named *Rorot* (or sprinter). Third, *Siouwkurur* in the *Muntu-Untu Roring Tudus* era in the 13th century had the epithet of *Tumontulus* and had a long foot or giant steps, and his tomb was found in Sonder. Finally, *Siouwkurur Tjawajo Reges*, who existed in the *Muntu-Untu Lolong Lasut* era of the 15th century, was a flying horse, a wind horse or a fast horse rider during the Spanish occupation era; his tomb was laid at Kumaraka, Manado. Horses in the Spanish language are named *kabalo*, which the Tontemboan people called *Tjawayo*, and Tombulu people *Kawalo*.

The figure of *Siouw Kurur* also has the epithet *Sembilan Buku*, who was narrated amongst current Minahasans Elders and cultural activists as one of the nine ancestors who met at Watu Pinawéténgan and pledged together to build and protect the land, before he was eventually expelled from Minahasa to Siau, Bolaang Mongondouw, because of his mischievous behaviour (Interviews of *Tona'as* and other respondents, 2011).

The connections between past and current stories of *Siouw Kurur* are significantly different. However, interweaved within the story is the myth and history of this figure that has resulted in a cognitive story to the Minahasans in relation to the power of nature and the wilderness.



Another story recorded at the Pélélo'an village mentions a stony place called *leloangan ni mukur* or a place where refined spirits pass by in *Kinetor* and *Laedong*, that is perceived as a "door" through which ancestral spirits emerge in the visible world. Some of these community respondents expressed that they had experienced spiritual affairs both good and bad, and that they should be mindful when passing those areas.

- The Minahasans who live in the riverside areas possess different narratives. Seven respondents in Lininga'an noted experiences when interacting with forests in Mt Lembean and other hilly areas, particularly in Tounsukun when they went to take *bulu rames* (bamboo) for making traditional food. Two respondents recalled experiencing getting lost in Toka Solo, near the stream. These experiences are believed to occur because of *liong ni lulu*, a guardian spirit who makes people lost. To be released from this situation, one respondent recalled a message given to him by his Elders wherein he needs to smoke a cigarette and say "*lumingku nei'la*" while providing another cigarette and placing it on the path, saying "*tea pe manti-mantian kua se puyun, ada datang bae-bae mo ambe bulu*".

Five of ten respondents also reported hearing stories about the forests and mountains. These stories recalled personal spiritual experiences in certain places in the village and in the cultivated fields, and also when they enter the forest to get *bulu rames* (bamboo), hunting, *ba-tifar* (tapping *saguer* juice from the sugar palm tree), or working in the fields.

One respondent recalled the sounds of people playing *kolintang*. This episode occurred in a big tree in his private cultivation field in Kiriten; thus he perceives this place as sacred. Another respondent expressed a similar experience in hearing the sound of a flute in Saduan, followed by someone throwing a stone at him while he was working. Another respondent recalled an experience of going to a stream for bathing and seeing five short people with long hair, known as *tuyul* walking around a lemon tree. This episode happened at one o'clock. He remembered an Elder's message about not going to the stream at midday.

The above stories of the community in Kembuan provide evidence of connections of their cognitive and psychological experiences to the belief of the guardian spirit of *Siouw Kurur*, "a king of the jungle", who resided in big trees. His presence is believed to be manifested in birds or humans, and who utters sounds like "rurrr", or a scream-like sound falling like through branches. If people reply to the sound of *Siouw Kurur*, an episode may occur. The Makaweimbeng forest is

claimed to be a place where the devilish *Siouw Kurur* resides, while a good *Siouw Kurur* resides next to cultivation fields near the village; for example in the villages of Kiriten, Danoakel and Rendai Wale, people believe these spirits may not harm people if they are respected. People who enter the forest should pay respect to the environmental ethic in these areas (i.e. behave politely and do nothing harmful thing inside the forests). If they experience a 'guardian of nature', the response is to perform the ritual of burning a cigarette while uttering a wisdom phrase in the Tonsea language "*satoro dang wira ne kayu ya*" at that place.

In different cases, some people in Tanggari have experienced mythological beings when they captured fish in the river. A place called Dano Tu'a is claimed to be an eerie hunting place, and also in the Dewang and Saduan cultivation fields, where people hunt bats for food by installing traps. They have a belief linked to the signs of shaking trees or strong winds as being an unlucky day for any hunting activities. In the Pasong valley area, some people have experienced hearing the sound of bamboo music, and they claimed the place has its "guardians". Related to this phenomenon, people who have the ability to see "unseen spirits" are called *mepengelek* and those with an ability to hear "unseen spirits" are called "*materang*". Tanggari people still believe in the presence of and the signs of birds "*Koko Endo*" (*Sri Gunting*), which sound "*Ngeeekk*" (crying), meaning misfortune, or "*Kekekekek*" (laughing) meaning good fortune.

- The Minahasans who live near the mountainsides possess different perceptions and cognitions in their understanding of the 'language' of the mountain landscapes. To support this statement on this particular landscape feature, evidence in the form of narratives was collected from respondents who perceived the power of nature and the wilderness in the region in certain places that told of a person getting lost or losing their consciousness.

Makalonsow respondents possess a belief in the power of nature and the wilderness of Mt Makalonsow, which they claim hosts the guardian spirit of ancestor *Dotu Makalonsow's* residing place. Respondents have recalled interactions with the environment at Mt Makalonsow and Mt Pingkanbene when hunting, gathering logs, or taking some timbers for building a house or other purposes.

The case of a lost person once occurred in 1996. A respondent's grand child was lost when she went to the cultivation field in *Wanua Ure* (old village) near the forest. The story is told because

of *ni'iong ni lulu* or *ni pingkas ni lulu*; when *lulu* controlled the person he made her dumb. This girl remains lost in the forest.

Another case occurred 50 years ago, involving an old man who wanted to work in *sawah* (paddy area) and who walked from Tondano to the village. However, he was guided in his walk to the inland of the forest. On his way people questioned him and he replied that he wanted to go to *sawah*. Ultimately he was never found. Thus, based upon these narratives, Mt Makalonsouw is claimed as a sacred place, and an eerie and forbidden place because of the supernatural episodes recounted above.

Recently several respondents reported witnessing many people taking timbers from the forest in Lembean Mountains to make houses, which they perceive as an unwise action that leads to environmental destruction. They cleared most of the forest. A phenomenon of this forest clearance was its transformation to a barren landscape in the Lembean mountains. Villages of Tolour have named the place *toka rengis*.

Makalonsouw people believe in the presence of *Siouw Kurur* in the forests, which according to their ancestral creed is the "king of animals". One respondent reported experiencing hearing its sound several times and different types of sounds; for example, "Ssssst", "Hoi hoi hoi" followed by a person's name. People who know this story report feeling frightened.

In the forest of Mt Labo (*Toka Labo*), to Kolongan on the opposite side of the hill zone, one respondent experienced hearing sounds of flutes, bamboo music and also *kolintang* music.

The community in Ruruan narrate that Mt Masarang was claimed as a place for *Dotu Masarang*. Mt Masarang is previously known as *kawawayuan*, meaning eerie or a prohibited place, and it is believed that this place has guardian spirits residing in the forest who are able to control or dominate people. A respondent recalled an episode where a few people who entered the forest of Mt Masarang, in the day and night, experienced in the middle of the forest hearing a yelling voice. It is believed that when a person replies or answers such calls, the spirits come to control them and carry them to another place.

Several cases echoing these stories occurred in few years back in Mt Mahawu near Mt Masarang as recalled by one respondent;

- ❖ *"Beberapa orang memasuki hutan untuk mengumpulkan kayu. Ketika mereka akan pulang, salah satu teman wanita mereka hilang. Wanita itu seperti secara tidak sadar telah dikontrol oleh roh halus. Ketika masyarakat desa pergi mencarinya, dia sudah melihat mereka dari jarak dekat tapi tidak dapat berkata-kata dan mulutnya seperti tersumbat. Semua tempat di daerah gunung Mahawu telah dicari. Saya juga terlibat dalam pecaharian tersebut sepanjang malam hingga pagi hari. Masyarakat tidak dapat menemukannya. Tiba-tiba seseorang berseru "Dia sudah kembali! Wanita itu sebenarnya hanya berdiri di dekat jalan utama menuju desa. Malam itu dia bisa melihat orang-orang tapi mereka yang mencarinya tidak dapat melihatnya. Matanya dihalangi oleh seorang yang tinggi besar. Tua-tua tona'as di desa ini yang memiliki kemampuan supernatural "makatana" telah menolongnya mengembalikan dia melalui ritual kepada leluhur". (Respondent Rurukan – Indonesian Language)*

("Few of people entered the forest to gather logs. When they returned back home, their friend (a woman) lost. The woman was unconsciously being controlled by force spirit. When the woman was being searched by the community in the village, she has seen people in close distance; however she was being dumbled or could not speak. All places in Mt Mahawu have been searched. I was also involved in the action to search the woman during all night until the next day. They could not find her until suddenly someone said "The woman is back! The woman was in fact stood near the village. At the night before, the woman could see people; however, people could not see her. Her eyesight was blocked by a large-tall man. Elder *tona'as* in the village that have supernatural knowledge *makatana* helped to bring back the woman to the reality through a ritual to *opo-opo*. There is also a case where it was told a spirit of man called *makalululu* in Mt Masarang once controlled a woman. This force spirit is believed can make people disappear for a while" – Author translation).

- ❖ *"Saya ingat ada seorang yang hilang di gunung Masarang dan dia dituntun oleh seekor kucing hitam. Dia dicari orang-orang selama dua hari dan melalui sebuah ritual kepada leluhur dia ditemukan kembali. Orang tersebut menceritakan pengalamannya kepada masyarakat. Berdasarkan cerita-cerita yang ada masyarakat meyakini roh "Makalulu" dapat menyerupai manusia atau binatang" (Indonesian language)*

("I remember also a person was disappeared in Mt Masarang and he was led by a black cat. He was being searched for two days, and then through a ritual to *Opo Empung* he was returned. The person then told his experience to the community. Based upon his story, the community perceives the *makalulu* spirit can be looked like human or animal" – Author translation).

- ❖ *"Ada juga pengalaman saya ketika memasang perangkap tikus hutan di gunung Masarang. Ada sebuah lubang kaldera yang disebut andelang atau rumpi. Saya berjalan mengelilingi pinggiran lubang tersebut. Ketika saya akan pulang, saya tersesat. Saya teringat pesan orang-orang tua untuk mengambil dua batang tu'is dan meletakkan secara diagonal di tengah jalan. Saya melangkah melewati persilangan batang tersebut dan terus berjalan tanpa menoleh ke belakang. Tindakan ini maksudnya untuk memblokir jalan dari si "makalulu". Jadi, untuk memasuki hutan gunung Masarang dan Mahawu, ada pesan-pesan orang tua yang harus di ikuti agar selamat di saat memasuki hutan-hutan tersebut" (Respondent 03 Rurukan-Referred to Appendix-4.8).*

("I also have an experience when I installed traps to capture White Tail Mouse in Mt Masarang. There is a calderon hole called *andelang* or *rumpi*. I walked around the calderon's border. When I wanted to go back, I get lost. I remembered elders' wisdom to take two pieces of *tu'is* branch and put in diagonal position in the middle of path. I stepped into two times through the crossed plants and continued walking without turning back my head. This action meant to block the *Makalulu's* way. Thus, to enter the forests in Masarang and Mahawu, there are wisdoms from Elders that should be followed in order to be saved when enter those forests" – Author translation).

In terms of evidence based upon experiences that happened sometime in the past; a person whom was lost in a certain part in the mountainous wilderness such as Mt Soputan and was found alive at Mt. Lokon. One respondent narrated this episode as:

*"Dulu seorang wanita (Rina) pernah hilang di Gn Soputan, dia ditemukan di Gn Lokon. Waktu ditemukan dalam keadaan baik. Jadi "lulu" yang baik yang melakukannya. Sewaktu di tanya, dia menjawab yang menculiknya seorang oma. Ada juga "lulu" yang jahat. Seorang di daerah Kinilow ditemukan dalam keadaan sudah menjadi rangka bersama pakaiannya di Gn Mahawu".*

- ❖ ("Once a lady called Rina was lost in Mt Soputan and found in Mt Lokon. When she was found she was in good condition. It was happened because of a "good Lulu". When she was being asked, she answered that she was kidnapped by an elder woman. However, there is also a bad Lulu. A man was lost in Kinilow area and found his skeleton and cloth in Mt Mahawu" – Respondent 03-Roong).
- ❖ *"Dulu kalau berjalan di dalam hutan rimba bila melakukan kesalahan akan di bawa lari oleh "lulu". Saya bersama paman saya pergi mencari orang yang hilang di hutan, juga ada tua-tua yang tahu berbahasa Minahasa Kuno, dimana saya tidak mengerti. Mereka memanggil roh leluhur, akhirnya saudara kami itu ditemukan setelah hilang selama 4 hari dengan bantuan "Ritual Permohonan" di perbukitan Uluna karena di tempat itu banyak "lulu".*

(In the past, when people walked in the forest and made bad behavior they would be taken away by the "lulu". I was with my uncle went to search for the lost people in the forest, there were also the elders who know ancient Minahasan language, which I did not understand, They called the spirits of ancestors, then my brother finally was found after missing for four days by conducting "Ritual of Plea" at the Uluna Hill because there was a lot of "lulu" at that hill" – As narrated by Respondent in Rurukan – see Appendix 4.8).

Minahasan people in Kinilow describe that the condition of their village comprised patchy forests with many large trees, resulting in certain eeriness to this natural environmental setting, yet this forest mosaic does not exist today. Past landscape conditions have shaped the community's perception of their landscape, and have constructed similar narratives of guardian spirits *Siouw Kurur*, *makalulu* or other spirit forces.

In Wulurma'atus village, one respondent who is also a traditional healer recalled a story of a "sacred" majestic tree at edge of the village, near the foot of Mt Wulurma'atus that was used for healing purposes. Some Minahasan communities also have the belief of a guardian of nature (spirit of ancestors) who resides in the tree, and who makes the tree somehow appear and disappear; when this tree was being cut it suddenly oozed blood. However, the tree still exists today according to believers.

These narratives and experiences above clearly explain the perceptions and cognitive processes that have construed the *genius loci* concept of wilderness and power of nature in Minahasa.

To conclude, the Minahasan belief system assumes in their narratives that nature possesses power in sacred forests, spirit, and tree spirits; such narratives include guardians connected to their land, even though they are heavily influenced by Christianity. Kruyt wrote in 1906 that forest spirits were able to make people go insane or ill when someone felled a tree in which a spirit resided, or when people just walked through a particular section of forest (Kruyt 1906 cited in Boomgaard 1991, p. 39). However, people today disbelieve these narratives of 'guardian of spirits' because of the decreasing forest area that delimits thoughts that forests spirits keep people from damaging the forest.

From different perspectives, sacred forests and majestic places in the forests such as water falls, streams, ponds or trees have always impressed beholders. As in many cultures, the Minahasan's relationship with nature is expressed in their perception of the "living" spirits of landscape, as evidenced above, through which they clearly value the natural realm and its ability to invoke spirits. The Minahasans acknowledge that many forests are eerie, that they are unapproachable and cannot be inhabited by or even entered by humans. Unfortunately, there is a lack of recognition of such important places being noted and designated as part of land conservation and sustainability of the region, which is a useful objective they could perform.

The overall findings in this chapter are summarised and considered in Chapter 7 in terms of the implementation of *genius loci* and cultural landscape management of sustainable landscapes and environments in the region.

## CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

### 7.1 Defining the *Genius Loci* of the Minahasans

The results of this research on the *genius loci* of the Minahasans and their cultural landscape are discussed in this chapter. The ethnographic research upon which this thesis is based has focused upon the *genius loci* of the Lake Tondano catchment, mainly in the uplands of the Minahasa region. For over the last few hundred years the Minahasa region has increasingly witnessed European colonization, globalization and the massive development that subsequently occurred, all of which has radically altered the traditional Minahasan landscape. The introduction of new cultures has forced alteration of these uplands, creating a transformation of the Minahasan plateau that we experience today, though in a different context. The contemporary uplands of Minahasa are characterised by a fragmented agricultural landscape and contoured terrains.

Recognizing these contemporary landscape patterns of the region is essential in developing a deep understanding of the *genius loci* of the Minahasans in order to consider the cultural, physical landscape and biological components from which the place is constructed. These cultural landscape elements play important roles as the repertoire of available instruments to be used by the Minahasans.

*Genius loci* is used as a valid tool in this research through an ethnographic approach and is analysed based upon tangible and intangible cultural landscape components. Geertz (2000; 1973) interpreted cultural systems toward phenomenology through his several ethnographic works in Southeast Asia, and concluded culture is viewed as mental phenomena, which can or should be analysed by formal methods. Analyses of cultural landscape phenomena that are evidenced occurring in the case studies need to be understood and documented. Research on the Minahasans' cultural practices and distinct expressions of local culture that reflect local identity and traditional knowledge suggests that these are all interwoven.

This thesis concludes that the existence of *genius loci* in space, place and time plays a considerable part in the functions of Minahasan community life being which resolves and forms their interactions and values of particular landscapes and places. The Minahasans and their places co-exist and give

meaning to the people in their personal and social lives. *Genius loci* is defined and intertwined in the natural land and environment of this place and into Minahasan cultural practices, both in tangible and intangible forms. The Minahasans derive their cultural meaning and worth from this landscape, of which a large fragmented portion of this mosaic exists today.

To define and validate the *genius loci* of the Minahasans, the researcher reviewed the research questions that had been formulated to consider three main issues of *genius loci* in the Minahasan cultural landscape context, including the landscape history and meanings, and their contribution in landscape and environmental planning schemes.

### 7.1.1 *Genius Loci* Interpretation and Issues in the Minahasan Landscape

The first main question to answer is “How the essence of *genius loci* in the Minahasa region, Sulawesi Island is defined described and is differentiated?”

This study unpacks the essences, attributes and roles of *genius loci*, reveals where and when *genius loci* does occur in the Minahasan landscape, and describes the distinctive components that *genius loci* may have which differentiates this region from different and adjunct landscapes and places in the region. Three landscape components – lake, river and mountain – feature as the main characteristics that have been used as landscape categorization tools to investigate, explore and identify *genius loci* in rural settlements and in the regional landscape based upon a preliminary study on each place, and their potential valuable cultural possessions and values.

This thesis uses a basic qualitative analysis method and formulates findings in variables enabling a comparison of each selected village in the study areas. The Minahasans’ cultural landscape components are sought as part of their local distinctive that gives important values to their community in learning and developing their cultural legacy that may be passed on to the next generation. This can be seen as an active-dynamic process in a cultural system. Re-inventing and re-interpreting the past heritage is included in the researcher’s efforts to define *genius loci* through the lens of cultural landscape analysis. The essence of *genius loci* is tested in empirical data collection using qualitative methods through a series of interview questions searching Minahasan perceptions and their interplay with different places and environments, including cognitive acts on landscape features which result in the formation of local wisdoms, cultural ethics and cultural traditions.



- **Conclusion of findings I:** The existence of *genius loci*; the diversity, similarity and disparity.

This thesis concludes that the spirit of place or *genius loci* profoundly exists in tangible and intangible forms that are embraced by and embedded in the Minahasans through their personal experiences and their relationship with certain places in the landscape. The characteristics of places and environment both explicitly and implicitly construct local distinctiveness which contributes layers of local richness. As this research project used a combination of perspectives to study Minahasans' interactions in broader disciplines, *genius loci* can be evidenced from symbolic meanings of the past to the present as evidence, and of symbolic meanings that can be maintained and used to sustain the traditional Minahasan quality of life. It has been examined through the ethnographic study on the Minahasans that these are recognizable Indigenous perspectives and ideas of their past cultural landscape which has resulted in their socio-cultural and bio-cultural interactions.

The Minahasan's cultural landscape interactions are intertwined and have evolved over time and place and remain in part despite the influence of modern Western thought and Christianity. This Indigenous culture, despite acculturation and amalgamation of cultures, has resulted in a contemporary cultural landscape within which the spirit of place remains coherent to a majority of the Minahasans. This is diagrammatically expressed in Figure 7.1.

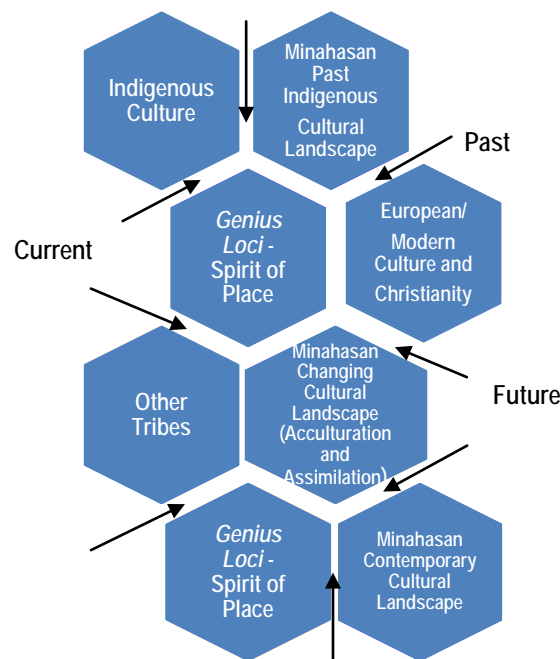


Figure 7.1  
Intertwined Minahasan Cultural Landscape Interactions  
(Source: the Author)

Minahasan people read, interpret, and use their landscape differently (from Western, transmigrated and adjacent Indigenous communities) in bio-cultural and socio-cultural interconnections from which their *genius loci* emerges and occurs in places. To acknowledge human interaction concepts with cultural landscape is to address the opacity of how the Minahasans value their landscape. Observations of cultural landscape patterns and the Minahasan phenomenon of *genius loci* that occurs in environments of living Minahasans in urban-rural settings is still distinguishable in their cultural practices and daily living patterns, as summarized in Table 7.1 and 7.2.

Qualitative assessment and scrutinization on each selected village is based on *genius loci* findings and the cultural landscape values. Hence, the results of this research may add to the body of landscape knowledge, and contribute to the regional landscape heritage and conservation field.

**Table 7.1**  
**Summative Assessment of the Qualitative Analysis Results of Genius Loci and Cultural Landscape Richness in the Case Study Areas**  
 ( Source: Author 2012)

| Study Areas                                     | Ro'ong   | Tolour   | Watumea  | Telap  | Pelelo'an  | Pulutan                                | Lininga'an   | Kembuan<br>-Tonsea<br>Lama                                  | Tanggari   | Makalonsouw   | Rurukan   | Kinilow   | Wulurma'atus-<br>Kakenturan  | Tumaratas   | Pinabétengan   |
|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| ENVIRONMENT /<br>LANDSCAPE<br>SETTINGS          | Lakeside                                       |  |  |  |  |  | Riverside  |   |  | Mountainside  |   |   |  |   |  |
| <i>Local Language Use (Nomenclatures)</i>       |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |   |  |   |   |   |  |   |  |
| Genius Loci                                     | (Tolour- Tondano)                              | (Tolour -<br>Tondano)                          | (Tolour)   | (Tolour)   | (Tolour -<br>Romboken)   | (Tolour-<br>Romboken)                  | (Tolour-<br>Tondano)   | (Tonsea-<br>Tondano)  | (Tonsea)   | (Tolour-<br>Tondano)  | (Tombulu-)  | (Tombulu)   | (Tolour-Kakas)   | (Tountemboan)   | (Tountemboan)  |
| Place Identity                                  | <i>Salundo'ong/<br/>do'ong</i><br><br>"Stream" | <i>Tou Lour</i><br><br>"Man of Water"          | <i>"Watu mea"</i><br><br>The Red<br>Stones   | <i>"Pinatula-pan<br/>Dano"</i><br><br>"two water<br>flows united"  | <i>Pelelo'an</i><br><br>"A place to<br>view the<br>scenery"  | <i>Pulut</i><br><br>"The Clay<br>land" | <i>"Lining'aan si<br/>koko ni<br/>Mamarimbing"</i><br><br>"a place where<br>people heard<br>the sound of<br>Manguni" | <i>Kembu'an</i><br><br>"The<br>abundant<br>Spring<br>water" | <i>"Tenga'ar"</i><br><br>"A place<br>people<br>listened to<br>the indistinct<br>sound of bird<br>in the mid-<br>day" | <i>"Makalo Siouw"<br/>The Nine<br/>Brothers</i><br><br><i>"Makalo'n<br/>seuh"<br/>"As far as the<br/>Eyes can see"</i><br><br><i>"Winowangan"<br/>A place to catch<br/>bats</i> | <i>"Ruruk"</i><br><br>"Handle of<br>Spear"<br><br>"A place to<br>collect<br>logs/wood"                    | <i>"Kilow-Kilow"</i><br><br>"A yellow<br>bird"  | <i>"Wulurma'atus<br/>"<br/>mountain<br/>ranges"</i><br><br><i>Kakenturan<br/>"The highest<br/>place"</i> | <i>"Mata'retes"<br/>"Wetes"</i><br><br>"The sound of<br>branches" | <i>"Weteng"<br/>"Pinerbagean"</i><br><br>"A place were<br>ancestors<br>divided the<br>Lands" |
| Settlement<br>Patterns                          | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Urban village<br>▪ gate     | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Lake Water<br>front village | ▪ Flat-Contoured<br>▪ <i>Tri matra</i><br>landscapes<br>(water-land-<br>hill)<br>▪ Lake Water<br>front village | ▪ Flat-Contoured<br>▪ <i>Tri matra</i><br>landscapes<br>(water-land-<br>hill)<br>▪ Lake Water<br>front village | ▪ Flat-Contoured<br>▪ <i>Dwi matra</i><br>landscapes<br>(land-hill)<br>▪ Lake Water<br>front village | ▪ Flat-Linear<br>▪ Rural Village       | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Urban village   | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Urban-<br>Rural<br>village               | ▪ Flat-<br>Contoured<br>▪ <i>Dwi matra</i><br>landscape<br>(land-hill)<br>▪ Hilly zone<br>▪ Rural village            | ▪ Flat-Contoured<br>▪ <i>Dwi matra</i><br>landscape (land-<br>hill)<br>▪ Valley zone<br>▪ Urban-rural<br>village  | ▪ Flat-<br>Contoured<br>▪ <i>Dwi matra</i><br>landscape<br>(land-hill)<br>▪ Hilly zone<br>▪ Rural village | ▪ Flat-<br>Contoured<br>▪ <i>Dwi matra</i><br>landscape<br>(land-hill)<br>▪ Hill zone<br>▪ Urban-Rural<br>village | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Rural Village<br>▪ highland zone  | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Rural Village<br>▪ highland zone               | ▪ Flat-linear<br>▪ Rural Village<br>▪ highland zone  |
| Communal Space                                  | <i>Kantor Kelurahan</i><br>(Public hall)       | <i>Kantor<br/>Kelurahan</i><br>(Public hall)   | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)   | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)   | <i>Kantor<br/>Kelurahan</i><br>(Public hall)   | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)     | • <i>Kantor<br/>Kelurahan</i><br>(Public hall)<br>• Large Open<br>Space  | • <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)                        | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public Hall)   | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public Hall)  | <i>Kantor<br/>Kelurahan</i><br>(Public hall)  | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)  | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)   | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)                                | <i>Balai Desa</i><br>(Public hall)   |
| Sacred Space<br>and Place:<br>Dwelling House    | <i>Sabua</i> (shelter)                         | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)                      | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)  | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)  | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)  | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)              | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)  | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)                                   | <i>Popollekou</i>  | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)   | <i>Terung</i>   | <i>Terung</i>   | <i>Sabua</i><br>(shelter)  | <i>Nibong<br/>Lawi</i>  | <i>Nibong<br/>Lawi</i>   |
| Sacred Space<br>and Place:<br>Traditional House | Few are extant                                 | Few are<br>extant                              | Significant<br>numbers are<br>extant   | Significant<br>numbers are<br>extant   | Few are<br>extant  | Few are<br>extant                      | Few are<br>extant  | Significant<br>numbers<br>are extant                        | Significant<br>numbers<br>are extant   | Few are extant  | Few are<br>Extant   | Few are<br>Extant   | Few are Extant   | Few are extant  | Few are extant   |

|  |  |  |  |  |  |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |   |   |  |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|---|--|
| The sacred places: Artifacts                 | Ancient grinder stone ( <i>lisung</i> )  | <i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)             | Heritage building  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)</li> <li>Ancient table stone</li> </ul>    | Natural sitting stones                   | Nil   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)</li> <li>Natural stone as symbolic stone</li> </ul>   | <i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)                | <i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Natural Stones (megalith)</li> <li>"Sarikat Forest" (community forest)</li> </ul> | Natural stone  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Waruga</i> (sarchopagi)</li> <li>Symbolic stone</li> </ul> | Natural Stones (Megalith stone)                               | Nil   | Natural stone (megalith stone)   |
| The sacred places: Archaeological Sites      | <i>Benteng Moraya</i> Precinct           | <i>Minawanua</i> Land                  | Nil  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Watu Pinatik</i></li> <li><i>Watu Wengkang-Gerungan</i></li> </ul> | Nil                                      | Nil   | Nil   | Nil                                       | Nil   | <i>Walewatu</i> precinct   | Nil  | Nil  | Nil   | Nil   | <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i> Precinct  |
| Traditional Folk-art                         | <i>Maengket-Tombulu</i>                  | <i>Maengket - Tolour</i>               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Sakalele</i></li> <li><i>Maengket</i></li> </ul> | Nil  | Nil                                      | Nil   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Maengket</i></li> <li><i>Sakalele</i> Dance</li> <li><i>Kolintang</i> instrument</li> <li><i>Masambo</i></li> </ul> | <i>Maengket</i>                           | Nil   | Nil  | <i>Maengket</i>  | Nil  | Nil   | Nil   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>Masambo Eroyor</i>,</li> <li><i>Mapitoria</i> (traditional poetry)</li> <li><i>Matoloke</i></li> <li><i>Kolintang</i> music</li> </ul> |
| Ethnoecology: Local Traditional Knowledge    | Traditional Farming system (subsistence) | Traditional Lake-Fishery (subsistence) | Farming system And Fish-breeding   | Traditional Farming system (subsistence and production)  | Traditional Farming system (subsistence) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Farming system (production)</li> <li>Crafts</li> </ul> | Semi-traditional Farming (production)   | Semi-traditional Farming (for production) | Traditional Farming (subsistence and production)  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Semi-traditional Farming (for production)</li> <li>Intercrop system</li> </ul>    | Farming production (horticulture)  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>traditional farming (subsistence intercrop system)</li> </ul> | Modern and traditional farming (horticulture) for production. | Modern and traditional farming (horticulture) for production. | Modern and traditional farming (horticulture) for production.  |
| Ethnoecology: Ethnobotanical knowledge       | Medicinal use (traditional spa therapy)  | Nil                                    | Medicinal use (traditional spa therapy)  | Nil  | Medicinal use (traditional healing)      | Nil   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional spa therapy and supernatural healing)</li> </ul>  | Nil                                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional spa therapy and healing)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional Supernatural healing)</li> </ul>                       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional Supernatural healing)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional Supernatural healing)</li> </ul>   | Nil   | Nil   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Medicinal use (traditional Supernatural healing) rite</li> </ul>  |
| Ethnoecology: Hunting and Gathering          | Nil                                      | Nil                                    | Nil  | Nil  | Nil                                      | Nil   | Exist   | Exist                                     | Nil   | Exist  | Nil  | Nil  | Nil   | Nil   | Exist  |
| Ethnoecology: Water Resources-Water Holes    | Exist                                    | Exist                                  | nil  | Exist  | Exist                                    | Exist   | Nil   | Exist                                     | Exist   | Exist  | Exist  | Exist  | Exist   | Exist   | Exist  |
| Believe and Spiritual System: Ancient Belief | Exist                                    | nil                                    | Exist  | Exist  | Exist                                    | Exist   | Exist   | Exist                                     | Exist   | Exist  | Exist  | Exist  | Exist   | Exist   | Exist  |
| Ceremonials, Rites and Festive               | Occur                                    | Occur                                  | Occur  | Occur  | Occur                                    | Occur   | Occur   | Occur                                     | Occur   | Occur  | Occur  | Occur  | Occur   | Occur   | Occur  |

|  |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |  |  |  |   |  |   |   |   |       |
|--|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|--|---|--|---|---|---|-------|
| Life Cycle (childbirth)  | Nil  | Nil   | Nil   | Nil   | Nil   | Nil   | Nil   | Nil  | Exist  | Nil  | Nil   | Nil  | Nil   | Nil   | Nil   |       |
| Family Clan and Social Traditions                                      | Exist  | Exist   | Exist   | Exist   | Exist   | Exist   | Exist   | Exist  | Exist  | Exist  | Exist   | Exist  | Exist   | Exist   | Exist   |       |
| The Sense of Place: Psychological Connection to Place                  | Strong   | Strong  | Strong  | Strong  | Strong  | Strong  | Strong  | Strong   | Strong   | Strong   | Strong  | Strong   | Strong  | Strong  | Strong  |       |
| The Sense of Place: Mental Map and Orientation and Spiritual Landscape | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Natural cave</li> <li>▪ Spring water Uluna</li> <li>▪ Battlefield site Minawanua</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Pine forest Apowen"</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Red-volcanic land</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Historical defenders' place</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Cultural Festival arena</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Lake</li> <li>▪ Clay land</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ River</li> <li>▪ Heart of the Tondano city</li> <li>▪ Historical Dutch heritage buildings</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ River</li> <li>▪ Japanese heritage caves</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ River</li> <li>▪ Electricity power station</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mount (Makalonsouw )</li> <li>▪ stone house 'walewatu'</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mount (Mahawu and Masarang)</li> <li>▪ Agriculture land</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mount (Lokon and Mahawu)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mount (Wulurma'atus )</li> <li>▪ Agriculture land</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mount (Soputan)</li> <li>▪ Land of Tomato</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Mounts (Soputan region)</li> <li>▪ Tonderukan Hill</li> <li>▪ Pinawetengan 'megalith' stone</li> </ul> |       |
| The Language of Landscape  | Occur  | Occur   | Occur   | Occur   | Occur   | Nil   | Occur   | Occur  | Occur  | Occur  | Occur   | Occur  | Occur   | Occur   | Nil   | Occur |

**Table 7.2**  
Summative Result of *Genius Loci* and Indigenous Culture in Minahasa

| <i>Genius Loci</i> and Indigenous Culture          | Language, Place and Ethnicity | Cultural association   | Interpretations, Meanings and Aims  | Relevant/Pertinent  |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Eluren Eng Kayobaan</i>                         | Tontemboan                    | Indigenous wisdom      | Philosophy of caring the earth / to live in peace and harmony                               | Environment: sustainability and cultural events                     |
| <i>Manéwas</i>                                     | Tontemboan                    | Indigenous ritual      | Worship and prayer ritual to God  | Environment: sustainable forest                                     |
| <i>Maengket</i>                                    | All sub-ethnics               | Origin dance           | <i>Paddy/wene</i> or plants harvest celebration through song and dance                      | Art and culture events  |
| <i>Mapalus</i>                                     | All sub-ethnics               | Indigenous activity    | Ethic of cooperation in agriculture practice  | Ethic and attitude toward mutual cooperation aid                    |
| <i>Tumani</i>                                      | All sub-ethnics               | Origin activity        | Open new land for cultivation   | Development planning  |
| <i>Posan Rumagés</i>                               | Tonsea                        | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual to communicate with God through the spirit of ancestors                              | Cultural attractions, searching seeking place and ritual materials. |
| <i>Posan Kuma'oko</i>                              | Toundano/ Tolour              | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual prayer to God for establishing a settlement/living place ( <i>'wanua'</i> )          | Re-establishing a place   |
| <i>Si Tou Timou Tumou Tou</i>                      | Tolour                        | Origin wisdom          | A philosophy of 'man is born to give live to others'  | Ethic and attitude in helping others                                |
| <i>Puté Waya</i>                                   | Tontemboan                    | Origin wisdom          | Philosophy of equal right and opportunity   | Democratic concept  |
| <i>Nuwu I Ngeluan</i>                              | Tountemboan                   | Origin wisdom          | Philosophy to be united before scatter/spread! If scattered, still remain unity             | The spirit of unity to all Minahasan's all over the world           |
| <i>Posan tawa'ang</i>                              | Tolour                        | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual of marking the boundary of property land, place/settlement                           | Land territory signifier  |
| <i>Tumalun</i>                                     | Tolour                        | Traditional activities | collecting wood/log in the forest for traditional cooking process and for medicinal purpose | Ethic and attitude toward conservation                              |
| <i>Palakat</i>                                     | All sub-ethnics               | Traditional activity   | Announcement for gathering the community  | Social attitude   |
| <i>Sumolo</i>                                      | Tolour                        | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual of thanksgiving after a new house is built   | Social attitude   |
| <i>Masambo</i>                                     | All sub-ethnics               | Traditional song       | Part of <i>Sumolo</i> ritual through the traditional song and dance                         | Social attitude   |
| <i>Rae'san</i>                                     | Tolour                        | Indigenous ritual      | Request blessing in marriage  | Cultural event  |
| <i>Posan Sumeré/orai</i>                           | Tonsea-Tolour                 | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual of chasing the bad spirit in a village   | Cultural event  |
| <i>Nuwu I Tua</i>                                  | All sub-ethnics               | Origin Wisdom          | Philosophy to unite and manage the land   | The spirit of being custodian of Minahasa Land                      |
| <i>Posan Sumempe</i>                               | Tolour-Tondano                | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual of asking guidance to God using traditional offering                                 | Cultural event  |
| <i>Posan Manganou</i>                              | Tontemboan                    | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual to pursue the ancestor's spirit for harvest crop purpose                             | Cultural event  |
| <i>Posan Mangelep</i>                              | Tonsea (Tanggari)             | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual of prayer (in agriculture practice)  | Cultural event  |
| <i>Tumutul si tu'a-tu'a /Matoropé si tu'a-tu'a</i> | Tolour/ Tontemboan            | Indigenous ritual      | Ritual to communicate with God through the spirit of ancestors                              | Cultural event (personal or groups)                                 |
| <i>Lumales waruga/mera waruga/Simoro waruga</i>    | Tonsea, Tombulu, Tolour       | Indigenous Ritual      | Ritual to re-locate and amend the the artefact  | Ethic and attitude toward cultural conservation                     |
| <i>Makéisan</i>                                    | Tolour-Tondano                | Indigenous custom      | Tradition of splashing each other with water to ask God for rainfall                        | Agriculture   |
| <i>Mekan/Kumaus</i>                                | All sub-ethnics               | Indigenous custom      | Gathering and have meal in 7 days seventh after interment ceremony                          | Family harmony and social attitude                                  |

| Table 7.2 (continued)                            |                               |                      |   |  |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------|---|--|
| <i>Panguluan</i>                                 | Tolour - Eris                 | Indigenous custom    | Tradition in building traditional house to put coin/money in between two plates and placed under the first stone      | Folk architecture                        |
| <i>Keko</i>                                      | Tolour - Watumea              | Indigenous custom    | Bring food (raw sugar and cakes) when a family member in a village die  | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Sakeian/Mesesakeian</i>                       | Tolour- Watumea and Liningaan | Indigenous custom    | Bring raw materials or cooked in an interment   | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Kera/Sosot/Sarapa</i>                         | Tolour                        | Indigenous tradition | Traditional spa using plants after childbirth   | Ethnobotanical practice                  |
| <i>Uru tradition (uru para and uru pangko)</i>   | Tolour-Telap                  | Indigenous culture   | Placing "tali ijuk" or palm sugar fiber in plantation area to avoid unwanted thief or a stranger entering the village | Environmental ethic (spirituality)       |
| <i>Pa'éréten/sombar/ika puru</i>                 | Tolour-Telap                  | Indigenous culture   | A red or white belt consist of nine   | Spiritual Connection (personal)          |
| <i>Sumakéi</i>                                   | Tolour-Telap                  | Indigenous custom    | Bring cooked chicken and fish and rice after funeral ceremony   | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Kumure</i>                                    | Tolour- Telap                 | Indigenous custom    | Bring cooked chicken and fish after funeral ceremony  | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Sibu or Sabé</i>                              | Tolour -Telap                 | Indigenous custom    | Capture "nike" fish at night in the lake  | Traditional natural resource utilization |
| <i>Palus tradition</i>                           | Tolour- Romboken              | Indigenous tradition | Mutual aids by bringing food (rice, fished and drink for marriage celebration   | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Wowa tradition</i>                            | Tolour-- Romboken             | Indigenous tradition | Mutual aids amongst the community by bringing food for marriage celebration   | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Penenga'an/tetengaan tradition</i>            | Tolour- Liningaan             | Indigenous tradition | Placing offerings to God fo building a house  | Belief system-spirituality               |
| <i>Sémpéh</i>                                    | Tolour- Liningaan             | Indigenous tradition | Traditional healing using cloth and waste cloth   | Belief system-spirituality               |
| <i>Pengeri'an</i>                                | Tonsea- Kembuan               | Indigenous tradition | Mutual unpaid work cooperation in building a house  | Social tradition                         |
| <i>Paséla tradition</i>                          | Tonsea- Ranggari              | Indigenous tradition | Planting tawa'ang as symbolic "guardian" of the village   | Spirituality                             |
| <i>Mangélot Ritual</i>                           | Tolour- Makalonsouw           | Indigenous tradition | Traditional healing using forest plants   | Ethnobotanical knowledge                 |
| <i>Maéngket Imbasan (Pisok and Lenso dances)</i> | Tombulu- Rurukan              | Indigenous art       | Traditional dance   | folkart                                  |
| <i>Mahzani tradition</i>                         | Tombulu- Rurukan              | Indigenous narrative | Narrative of romance, working and first stay in a new house in the form traditional song                              | Cultural event and ceremony              |
| <i>Tumo'tol um Balé</i>                          | Tombulu- Rurukan              | Indigenous tradition | Mutual aid in building a traditional house  | Social attitude                          |
| <i>Mangetumuzhu tradition</i>                    | Tombulu- Rurukan              | Indigenous tradition | Visit the family of the designate bride and bring property/wealth   | Social tradition                         |
| <i>Rumeta</i>                                    | Tombulu- Kinilow              | Indigenous tradition | Give offering for a plea in building a house  | Social tradition                         |
| <i>Ma'umper</i>                                  | Tontemboan- Pinabetengan      | Indigenous tradition | Offering to God for blessing  | Spirituality                             |
| <i>Masémbong/ se'sembongan</i>                   | Tontemboan- Pinabetengan      | Indigenous tradition | Mutual aid in building a traditional house  | Social tradition                         |

Source: Interviews with Elders, Cultural Activists, Farmers, Village Leaders and Traditional healers during fieldwork, April to June 2011 and July 2012.

The overall evidence of *genius loci* and of the Minahasan cultural landscape through this research has revealed that Indigenous culture in Minahasa is a complex phenomenon reflecting a number of similarities and differences; in some places *genius loci* is directly found in its connections to the land. Therefore, it can be generalized that *genius loci* is embraced and is embodied as “the spirit of Minahasa Land” to the living Minahasan today.

Minahasan’s possess ideas and creativity that have been handed down over generations in local communities who live in relative isolation from the pressures of contemporary communities and acculturation. In Pinabéténgan village for example, the current generation of community members appeared actively to be initiating cultural and art conservation through events and the sustenance of the Minahasan art production for markets, such as Pinabéténgan woven cloths (*batik work*) crafts, jewelry and symbolic paintings (Personal Observation). However, in other areas the case studies found that several of the traditions and wisdoms are slowly disappearing while some others remain integral to the community’s memory.

Landscape narratives and folklores document a pre-colonial and Indigenous culture, and attempts to unearth the positive values by local culture agencies and related parties offer a re-invigoration of contemporary Minahasan cultural systems.

- **Conclusion of findings II:** Based upon observations and interviews made with 282 respondents including Elders, farmers, cultural activists, village leaders and young Minahasans, it can be concluded from their responses that Minahasans express in their beliefs that the essential components to continue their cultural vitality is through conserving their cultural landscape traditions and local knowledge as follows: Firstly, by actively documenting their own possessions to conserve from their loss to the community. Secondly, they understand and are aware that contemporary youth represents a problematic link in the transmission of local Indigenous knowledge because of the multitude of cultural signals and distractions, such as popular entertainment, technologies and formal education. Finally, they recognize that the continuation of their cultural landscape (both tangible and intangible) is dependent to a significant extent upon their ability to apply and/or perform to audiences who live in the current social situation, and continue to practice their local traditional knowledge.



### 7.1.2 *Genius Loci* and Minahasan landscape connection and meanings

The second main research question was to answer “How does the landscape link and communicate with the Minahasa ethnic community?”

In thoroughly researching the landscape language-codes of Minahasan case study communities and assessing how these communities interpret landscape meaning, including the use of direct observation to understand their connectivity with everyday life using ethnographic strategies, the following the two sub-questions were devised:

- How does the phenomena of *genius loci* and “sense of place” evolve in time and affect one’s spirit, psyche, behaviour and social interaction?
- Can *genius loci* shape local identity?

This *genius loci* research is based primarily on empirical fieldwork descriptions and sought to document the material culture of the Minahasans, how it functions and how its appearance has changed.

This thesis attempted to document how the Minahasa ethnic community connects with their homeland by analysing the distribution of their cultural components in three landscape settings and tracing their historical progression. The empirical focus was on rural-regional sites and historically evolved or continuing landscapes. Manifestations of Minahasan culture can be seen from their landscape structure and functions, settlement patterns, and their local traditional knowledge that represents richness in ideas and value systems; it is important that this be explored and understood because of the cognitive associations of places, things and processes that reside in different sub-ethnic groups of the Minahasa. Thus, like the Australian Aboriginal, one needs to understand and appreciate each community or sub-ethnic group as an Indigenous culture, and not ‘Australian Aboriginal’ as a generic ethnic group. As also postulated by Cresswell (1996, p. 13) the concept that places and landscape are a combination of material and mental cognition.

This thesis demonstrates the interconnectivity of the Minahasans’ three fundamental ideas as values of their cultural landscape, as described in Figure 7.2. The substantive values (the material artefacts), with supporting traditional tools, and the symbolic values that are manifest through cognitive and cultural ideas (for which each of the different sub-ethnic groups may have different flair

or capability) that inscribes in different entities and processes of spatial outcomes and patterns that collectively shape their particular identity.

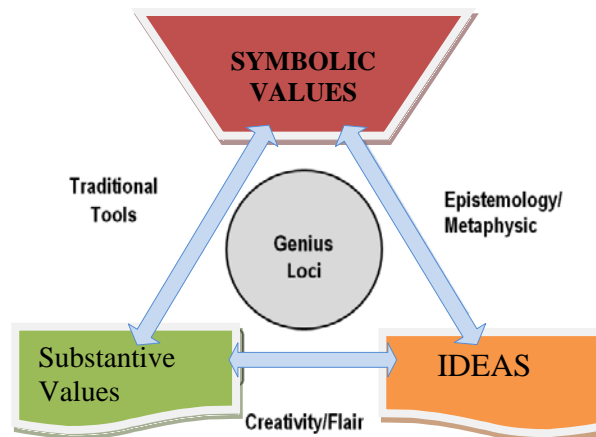


Figure 7.2  
Interconnection of fundamental values in Minahasan's Cultural Landscape function into *Genius Loci*. (Source: the Author)

Study of the Minahasans' cognitive and responses to their living place and landscape concludes that Elders (particularly men), traditional farmers and cultural 'practicioners' (spiritualists, healers and cultural observers) possess a deep understanding of their landscape that underpin responses and interactions with nature, land and biological components which then produce experiences, memories and connectivity, thus creating local traditional knowledge.

Using a multi-method qualitative approach generated new insights into a paradigm of a rich and diverse cognitive knowledge repository from respondents, particularly Elders, who are living Indigenous Minahasans. The richness of *genius loci* in each of the case study villages in the Minahasan rural-regional landscape is diverse (as summarized in Table 7.1) and most of these components of immense importance in shaping the Minahasan identity. Given that the village case study selection was random and unsubjective, the collective of this information and evidence is substantial. Combined with other villages across the traditional Minahasan landscape, it would appear that a vibrant Indigenous community is extant but hidden under the generic Indonesian milieu.

The Minahasans also interpret their land and environment differently through spatial and sensory means. Their perceptions and interactions with physical landscape are manifested and translated into ethnic languages which create landscape memory. Those vocabulary landscape interpretations, using their local languages, are able to bridge their cognitive senses in recognizing and marking landscape identity (as summarized in Table 7.3).

Table 7.3  
The Minahasans Cognitive Interpretation and Association with Landscape Features  
(Source: Interview Respondents 2011, Literature Reviews, Tondano Clan language Dictionary - Surabaya 2001)

| Physical Landscape Vocabulary<br>(Minahasan Text) | Landscape Translation/Meaning<br>(English Text)         |
|---|---|
| <i>Ataran</i>                                     | Cultivation area  |
| <i>Dano</i>                                       | Water   |
| <i>Dembet</i>                                     | Land opposite the river                                 |
| <i>Do'ong/salundo'ong</i>                         | Stream  |
| <i>Em-bereng</i>                                  | Dry land  |
| <i>Engkewong</i>                                  | Valley/gap  |
| <i>En-nuntuna</i>                                 | Top of hill or mount                                    |
| <i>En-salu, saluan</i>                            | Stream, water flow                                      |
| <i>Erekang</i>                                    | Land crack  |
| <i>Ingkiriw</i>                                   | Hillside  |
| <i>Ka'erisan</i>                                  | Sandy area or gravel                                    |
| <b><i>Kaliling keni</i></b>                       | <b>Sense of place (generates a sense of attraction)</b> |
| <i>Kayow</i>                                      | Protected forest  |
| <i>Kembuan</i>                                    | Springs/water holes                                     |
| <i>Kentur</i>                                     | Hill or mount   |
| <i>Ke'tana'an</i>                                 | Main land   |
| <i>Kuntung</i>                                    | Mount or hill   |
| <i>Lewang</i>                                     | Vale/dell   |
| <i>Leput</i>                                      | Water ways  |
| <i>Liang Rano</i>                                 | Spring Water/Water hole                                 |
| <i>Li'lik</i>                                     | Edge (of land)  |
| <i>Lour (oki)</i>                                 | Lake (small)  |
| <i>Mangindanau</i>                                | On the water (living place)                             |
| <i>Moinit</i>                                     | Hot spring water  |
| <i>Niaranan</i>                                   | Natural stairs at sloping area/hill                     |
| <i>Palelon</i>                                    | Scenery/view  |
| <i>Patulapen</i>                                  | Unified water flows                                     |
| <i>Pompang</i>                                    | The hole in the ground                                  |
| <i>Puser en tana</i>                              | Centre of the land                                      |
| <i>Rano</i>                                       | Water/lake  |
| <i>Ranowangko</i>                                 | Wide water flow   |
| <i>Rengis</i>                                     | Barren land   |
| <i>Rereghesan</i>                                 | A place for get some fresh air                          |
| <i>Ri'ang</i>                                     | Crevice   |
| <i>Ri'iping</i>                                   | Escarpment  |
| <i>Riwogha</i>                                    | Crumble soil  |
| <i>Riwosok</i>                                    | Sandy   |
| <i>Salosot</i>                                    | Small water hole  |
| <i>Saluan</i>                                     | The edge of water (flow)                                |
| <i>Sipat</i>                                      | Land border   |
| <i>Sumosor/en sosoran</i>                         | Ascent (go up land)                                     |
| <i>Talun</i>                                      | Forest  |
| <i>Tadeng</i>                                     | Undulate land   |
| <i>Tapa'an ne pesut</i>                           | Small Water fall  |
| <i>Tapa'an telu</i>                               | Three water falls                                       |
| <i>Tasik</i>                                      | Sea   |
| <i>Teberan</i>                                    | River   |
| <i>Teberan Oki</i>                                | Small River/Creek                                       |
| <i>Teberan Wangko</i>                             | Large River/Stream                                      |
| <i>Tewa/tumewape</i>                              | Cultivation field in far distance                       |
| <i>Tempang</i>                                    | Hollow/valley area                                      |
| <i>Tinegolan dano</i>                             | Two streams are crossing one another                    |
| <i>Tiwo</i>                                       | Grassy area/swamp (near lake)                           |
| <i>Toka</i>                                       | Mount   |
| <i>Tumani</i>                                     | Land clearance/Open a cultivation land                  |
| <i>Tunan</i>                                      | Water fall  |
| <i>Wukit</i>                                      | Hill  |

The image of place and landscape is embedded in the memory of the Minahasans through nomenclature. This study has revealed how the former Minahasans mapped their environment through their pre-colonial languages. Therefore, it is also necessary to conserve local languages to understand the environment from their perspective. Spatial and visual interpretation of their place-people relationship constructs cognitive maps. The Minahasan's place-tradition involved a set of cultural acts that united individuals with their environment. Learning how to communicate in a connected environmental sequence with signs, symbols and icons is also discussed in Broadbent (1980), Lynch (1960), Rapoport (1969), and Tyson (2001). A connected environmental sequence can be used in mapping a place to better understand the landscape as a whole. Mapping the Minahasans' cultural landscape provides a way of making sense of their place in the region and therefore makes sense of their human-ecological relationships.

Accordingly, this thesis suggests that sequences of places and the spatial patterns of the Minahasans that reflect their cultural-landscape history, landscape character and meaning, knowledge and experience, along with their environmental knowledge, may lead to the construction of a more comprehensive Minahasan awareness of place, and their shared sense of stewardship of their cultural properties and landscape towards conservation. The Minahasans' quality of living needs to be conserved in order to enhance their dwelling places and environment. Cultural landscape analysis in both the tangible and intangible can determine the phenomenon of the *genius loci* in and of places to be well-integrated in future planning and development.

- **Conclusion of findings III:** *Genius loci* in connection to the Minahasan's spirit, behaviour and social interaction is defined in the way people memorize and have connections and relationships with particular natural "sacred" and built places in the landscape, but can also be determine their current tangible and intangible cultural landscape.

The Minahasan's *genius loci* and sense of place occurs in the more remote landscapes in their region and is embedded into their human soul and spirit. Evidence from this research demonstrates a socio-cultural evolution that has historically led to changes in traditions and customs since the influence of Western culture. However, assimilation and amalgamation with new cultures has involved a transformation of Minahasan culture, but has not eradicated their Indigenous culture. Rather, the transformative contemporary culture encourages Minahasans to remain attached to their past cultural identity. The past *genius loci* is adhered to in their current cultural landscape phenomenon because Minahasans still have a strong bound with places that

contain *genius loci*. For example Watu Pinawetengan, and its surrounds, demonstrates a robust and strong *genius loci* phenomenon everyday.

Living Minahasans also possess their own local knowledge, which may benefit scientists in the field of ethno-science, ethnobotany or other sciences, to enable a deeper study of folk classifications to obtain insights into different cultures. Pepper, Perkins, and Youngs (1984) suggests that "ethno" in most cases enjoins objective to Western epistemology; however, research inquiry has little considered ethno-philosophy and ethno-history. Noting this perspective, the researcher has documented that the Minahasans and their ethno-philosophy and ethno-history is integral with their contemporary living activities and relationships, as can be traced through the diversity of their traditional ecological knowledge applications.

Ethno-phenomenology defined in this research has evidenced that this phenomenon appears or occurs in the community, or with individuals, and is embodied in their ideas and reality. This ethno-phenomenology research has also explained why such phenomena are disappearing.

Jantsch (1972 in Berkes, 1999) has argued that traditional ecological knowledge is integrative and involves synthesis and coordination because of its richness in local knowledge, resulting in transdisciplinarity and thus, a need for future study in this field.

The researcher suggests that this ethno-science can be part of cultural landscape studies through a multi-disciplinary approach when scientists are interested in studying particular culture from the inside-out. This is similar to the conclusion that Tuan drew in *Topophilia* (1974).

Research on the Minahasans' Indigenous knowledge of natural resources and their exploitation also demonstrates that their ethnoecology is considered part of their *genius loci* approach in tracing their spirit of place. As Cordell (1995) has suggested, there is a need to expose more researchers to the intellectual root of the local *genius* of traditional ecological knowledge to benefit ethno-science. Noting this perspective, the researcher proposes that traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) becomes a folk-science of an ethnic community.

Cultural landscape investigations about the Minahasans in this thesis have revealed that their *genius loci* is connected to places and the three domain landscape features in the inland Minahasa region (Lake, mountain and river). However, the surveys and observations undertaken on the Minahasan's cultural landscape component, including their ethnoecological practices, has

raised the spectre that these relationships and connections face disappearance or threat in each of the village because of mis-management or lack of attention and concern from government(s). Thus, it is considered important to conserve the Minahasan's cultural landscape, their Indigenous perspectives and local traditional knowledge applications to enhance their current living styles and cultural continuity. Thus, can *genius loci* shape the Minahasan's local identity?

- **Conclusion of findings IV:** A multi-disciplinary approach was applied using culture as an analysis instrument respecting anthropological, architectural and landscape architectural discipline views. This research concluded there are a number of cultural landscapes and the phenomenon of *genius loci* of the Minahasans is embodied in places in non-urban areas (rural landscapes). Certain places may contain strong *genius loci*, while others have none or are less evident (as described in Figure 7.3). The reason for the latter is because of the lack of understanding of place values. Places that have significant cultural landscape components and possess strong spiritual connections to communities in relationship with their past, and where people come for pilgrimage reasons, may contain *genius loci*. Observation made through qualitative work supports the need for a greater understanding of places and respect in favour of socio-economic and cultural elaboration.

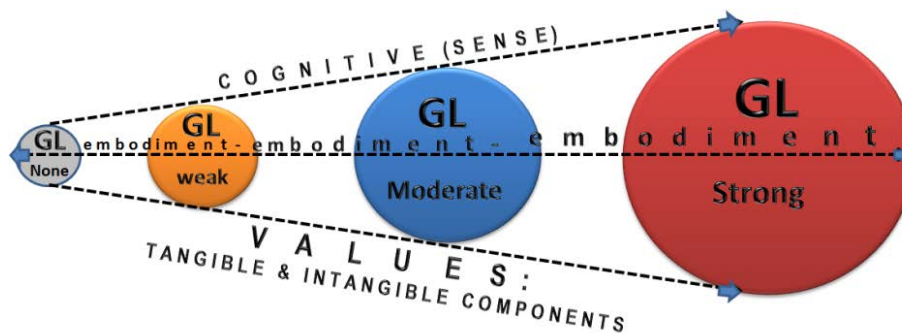


Figure 7.3  
*Genius Loci* and its atmosphere of place on each site based upon values  
 and the Minahasan's cognitive interpretation  
 (Source: the Author)

This research has revealed the phenomena of *genius loci* in the Minahasan's landscape lives in the land and in dynamic structures and functions through their interactions with landscape settings. Thus, the phenomena of *genius loci* of place for the Minahasans occur whenever

people-place events exist and occur in such places. Interactions between *genius loci* components reflect place character.

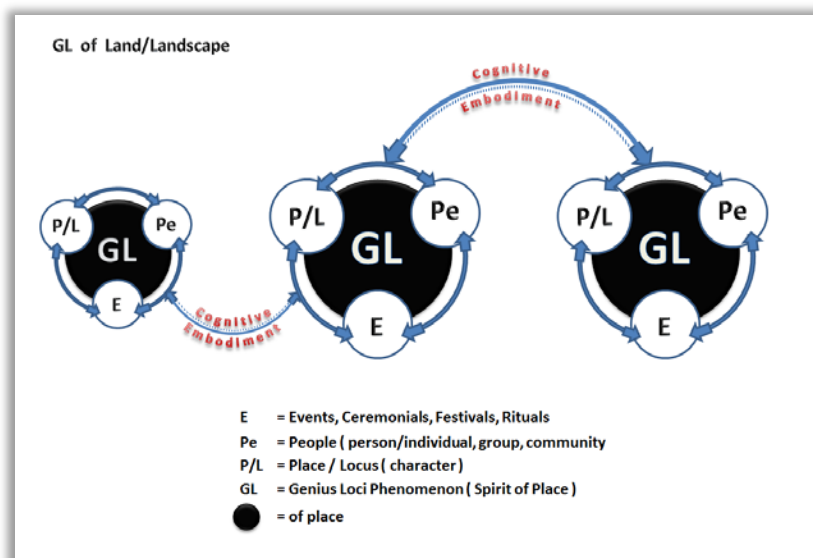


Figure 7.4  
 The *Genius Loci* components of a Place  
 (Source: the Author)

The Minahasan settlement structure and their socio-cultural phenomenon exist because of a long evolutionary process of adaptation, transformation and cycle of actions which the local community lives. The cultural historical context signifies the changing process of adaptation to land.

In determining the Minahasan's identity of significant places it necessary to examine environmental, settlement and rural-regional characteristics. *Genius loci* or spirit of place can be appreciated as a conceptual idea that reveals the cultural landscape of the Minahasans.

The place and environmental concepts of Norberg-Schultz (1980;1963), Rapoport (1994), Relph (1976; 2008; 2009), and Tuan (1974) coincide with the findings of this research and appear to reinforce the philosophical perspectives on place, *genius loci* and the position of anthropology in this inquiry.

In rural-regional landscapes, determining the character of place that contains *genius loci*, understanding of and acknowledgments of the place's meanings and values is important. According to Norberg-Schultz (1980), landscape has structure and meaning, in which modes of natural understanding determines the character of natural places and which define basic human attributes and behaviour. The phenomenology of architecture, as proposed by Norberg-Schultz

also occurs in rural settlements and countrysides (landscape regions) as a fundamental philosophy when it concerns particular qualities of place that enable valid generalizations about environmental character. The natural form of place is constructed from the comprehensiveness of the local circumstances resulting in a particular identity. Built environment is represented by settlements in various sizes and types. Settlement patterns in the study area imply that they serve as *locus* where environmental character is explained spatially through place and its associated properties. For example, Martin (2000) has argued that character embodies a general atmosphere and a form of spatial defining element in which landscape also possesses character. Settlement areas in the rural-regional landscape of Minahasa demonstrate the delimiting features of landscape and the shape character of villages including tangible and intangible culture which can be articulated and delineated in landscape configurations and integrated in place management planning .

In the Roman's *genius loci* beliefs, every person identified with several Gods and their relationship with certain places had a *genius* or custodian relationship which gave life and determined character or essence (Ibid). From the Minahasans' perspective, the Roman idea of *genius loci* can be translated into the Minahasan spiritual landscape where there is a continuation of dependency between Minahasans and their land through spiritual connections with places that contain *genius loci* and with their past pre-colonial heritage that makes a place 'sacred' and unique possessing individual characteristics. The concept of *genius loci* that embodies a relationship between people and place (including pilgrimage routes), quests for God(s), somewhere to contemplate, or simply to visit and re-connect with, all of this was extensively evidenced in the Minahasan areas where observation and research occurred.

A conclusion is that *genius loci* and their specific characters which are embedded in places can shape the Minahasan locality. Places always contain cultural symbols as part of systems of knowledge in human culture and civilization of all nations. The essence of a symbol is to help people understand cultural landscape components, which give meaning to people who are using such symbols in expressing their identity. This research suggests that to comprehend *genius loci* and the Minahasan's vocabulary of cultural symbols, one needs to see them through the context of the pre-colonial and contemporary ways these symbols were/are being used, and the connectiveness of these symbols with *genius loci*, recognising that not all cultural symbols from the Minahasans' past generations are relevant in present situation. One might argue that pre-colonial symbols do not need to be applied in this modern era because they have lost their



meanings. However, the researcher reviewing the Minahasa has concluded that cultural symbols are important in the maintenance of Minahasan culture and civilization and that *genius loci* is interwoven into the community.

By conserving the existence of cultural symbols and their related historical connections, the Minahasan community continually maintains their ethnic identity. Symbols are not only a means of transformation, but also embody the essential noble values of their culture. In researching the essential cultural symbols, they can be traced through the Minahasan ethno-philosophy, ethno-history, folklore and narrative, and by direct observation, all of which are essential in determining the meanings of symbols. However, it should be noted that there are always different opinions in interpreting the meaning of cultural attributes based upon self-perspectives. Cultural symbols play pivotal roles in the manifestation of *genius loci* in and of a place in Minahasa. Markers and pre-colonial symbols of the Minahasans have demonstrated their existence in the places that the Minahasan people acknowledge as holding their own unique possessions.

### 7.1.3 *Genius Loci* and Environmental Planning

The third main research question was to answer “How does the spatial phenomenon of *genius loci* evolve over time and affect the Minahasan community’s spirit, psyche, behaviour and social interaction?” and the following two sub-questions were devised:

- What is the best way to translate the knowledge of *genius loci* to inform better environmental planning for the Minahasa Region and Indonesia?
- What is the best way to document and conserve *genius loci* and develop new strategies for landscape relevant heritage conservation?

The *genius loci* of Minahasa, as part of cultural landscape analysis, can determine the Minahasan’s relationship to the current environment characteristics. *Genius loci* concepts are spiritually and more attuned to the Minahasan’s living quality than Western or Indonesian generic concepts. From a holistic perspective, the *genius loci* concept benefits the local community and could be recommended for integration into local/state (and potentially national) place planning and management initiatives both in schemes and plans (rural or urban).

- **Conclusion of findings V:** The *genius loci* of this Minahasa is found to occur in the “sacred” places in *toka* (forests), *talun* (hills), *kuntung* (mount) and many other natural landscapes (refer to Table 7.3) with many through oral tradition regulatory mechanisms and narratives that explain custodial patterns, obligations and relationships to nature. The narratives gained in this research from 144 Elder’s responding in connection to their personal or group experiences is evidence that the narratives remain and that these Minahasan “sacred laws” continue to serve as natural resource and land use planning and management guidelines for the Minahasan communities in the present day. These cultural ethics and norms are based upon their beliefs that environmental attitudes inform their actions in nature. *Genius loci* can be harnessed as an Indigenous management tool, because it offers alternative attitude towards environmental custodianship.

The three main landscape components, including bio-cultural environments, in which the Minahasans continue to live and work have been analysed in this research using ethnographic approaches. In addition, there is a growing interest by some housing agencies in applying local knowledge to the building of vernacular houses to devise a prototype Minahasan traditional house, as well as furniture for markets as found in particular places near to the mountains, such as in Mokobang, Woloan, Leilem, and Touliang Oki which demand more timber. Based upon observations, forests around these places are critical because the continuous of exploitation of timber for housing production. This phenomenon and the dependency on the forest as an economic resource coincide with regional conservation projects involving replanting trees. Hence, the conservation of traditional skills can be linked to the sustainable conservation of forests.

The Minahasan’s Indigenous heritage landscapes includes protected forests, settlements, agroforestry lands including community forests (*hutan pasini* or *sarikat*), intercropping dry lands (*kobong kering*) and home gardens (*pekarangan*). Traditional agroforestry systems have long been practiced amongst Minahasan traditional farmers to increase their income, or solely for subsistence, while stabilizing the forest ecosystem and preventing the forests from inappropriate damage and deforestation.

Increased population and development through modern and global influences in the Minahasa region will continue and will occupy more landscape spaces around and within Minahasan living places. These influences lead to landscape change and threaten to bring about the disappearance of local

traditions amongst the community. Therefore, conserving the Minahasan cultural landscapes and their traditional ethnoecological knowledge are crucial for the Minahasans to sustain their landscape cultural identity.

The *genius loci* and cultural landscape of the Minahasa is best described in Figure 7.5.

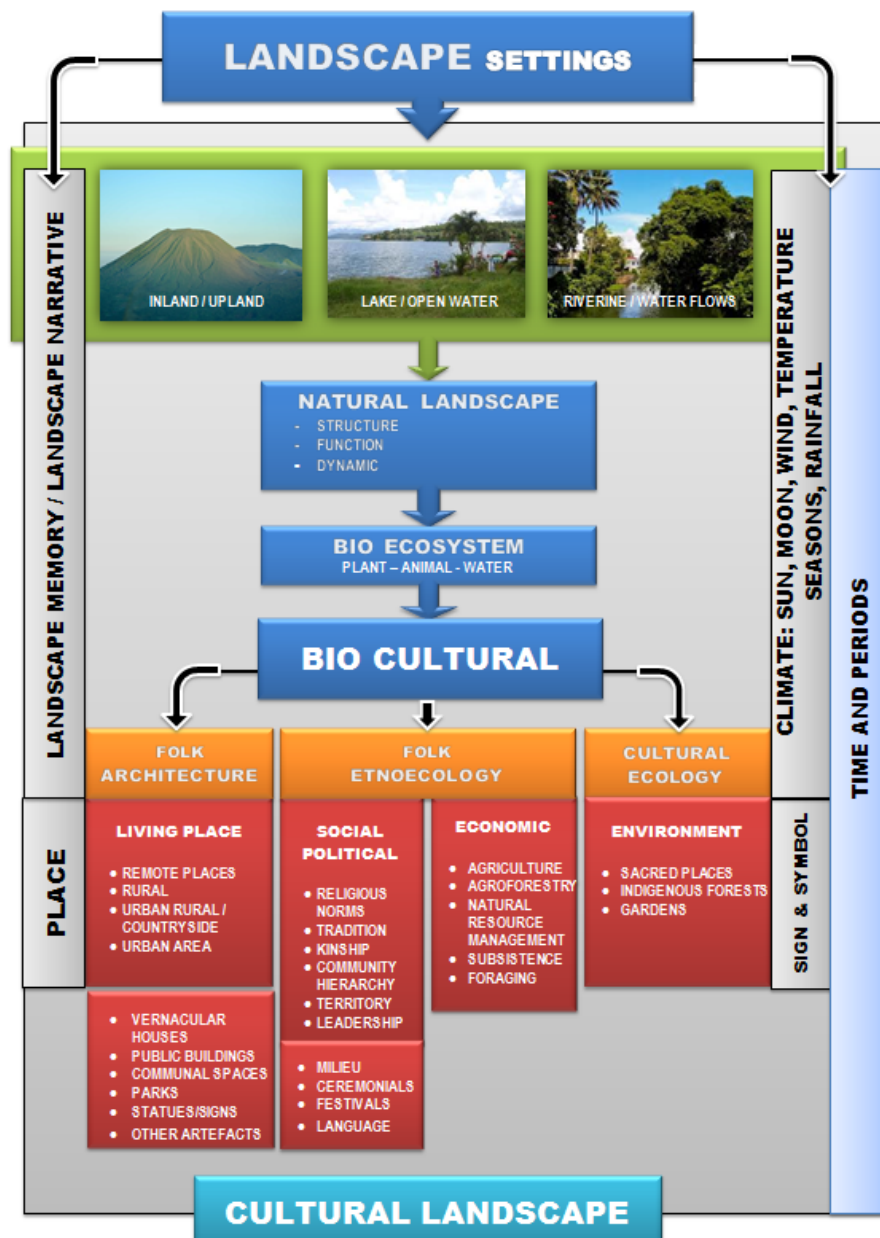


Figure 7.5  
Three landscape settings in analysing and understanding *Genius Loci* of Minahasa  
(Source: the Author)

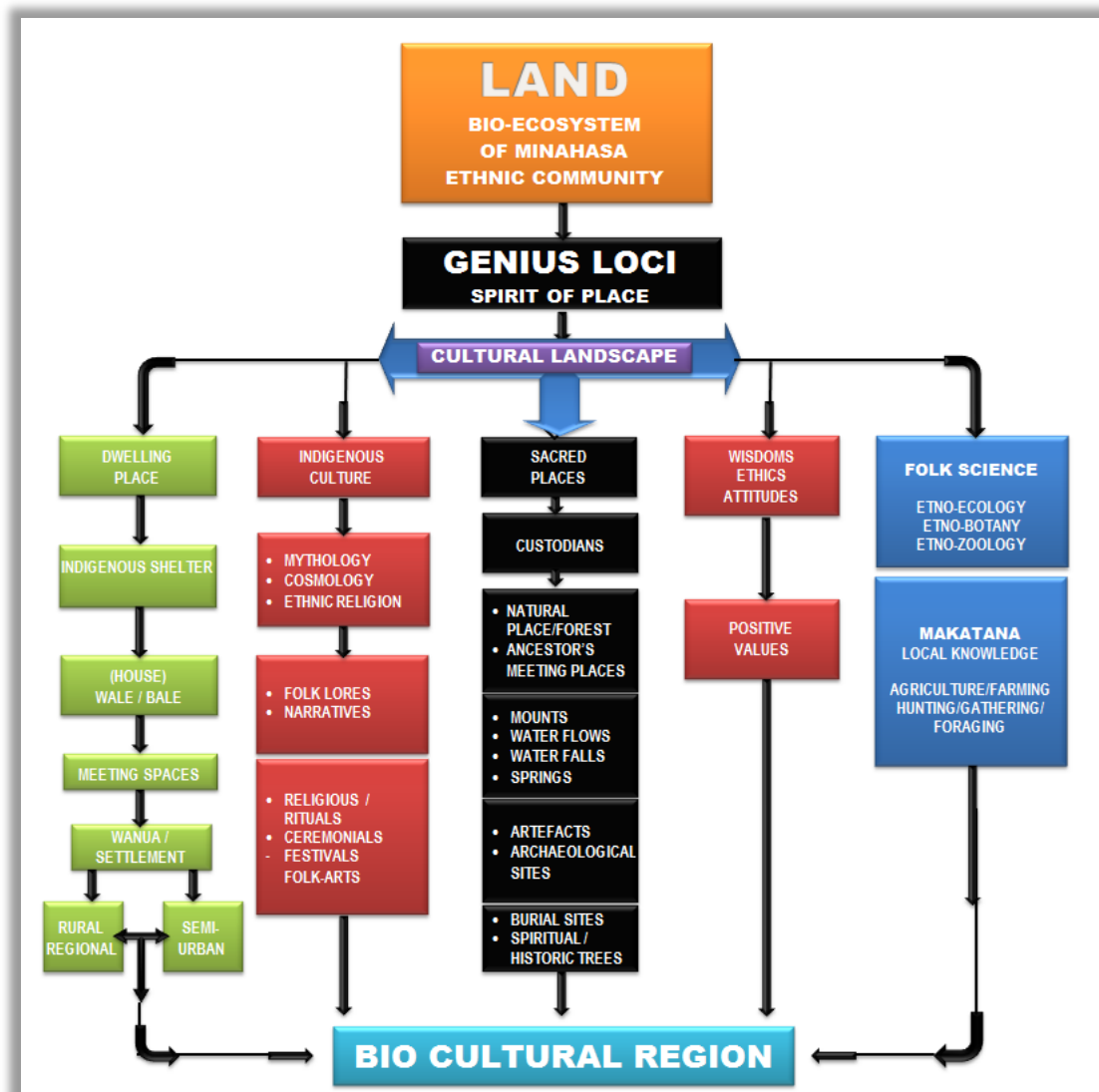


Figure 7.6  
Schema of *Genius Loci* of the Minahasa  
(Source: the Author)

In conclusion, this thesis involves a compilation of information obtained from literature review, direct observations and empirical interviews gained from fieldwork, and group discussions, which are qualitatively described, analysed and further categorized, classified, compared, verified and interpreted based upon insider perspectives and the researcher's background knowledge. Findings and results of this research validate that a holistic Minahasan perspective of *genius loci* exists, that this structures the prevailing character or atmosphere of place, and that this continuing cultural landscape reinforces local ethnoecological knowledge to the Minahasans. From these findings, the

researcher hopes these conclusions can offer a major contribution to regional place planning and management, and its incorporation into regional landscape planning in Minahasa and in Indonesia in the future.

## 7.2 Recommendations

The Minahasan landscape, with its rich identity and intermingling of spiritual “sacred” landscapes has produced a symbiotic relationship between nature and culture. This continuing cultural landscape is the result of cerebral and spiritual constructs moulded by traditional ethnoecological knowledge. As part of managing the cultural landscape, this thesis offers a novel approach to conserving *genius loci* to delimit global change impacts and to conserve, acknowledge and promote local culture, traditional knowledge and the spiritual fulfilment of the Minahasan community.

This thesis concludes that *genius loci* is a valid concept for the recognition and safeguarding of intangible heritage that involves both natural and cultural property. Accordingly, this thesis provides recommendations based upon foregoing analysis and offers ideas and points of view from ethnographic and landscape studies approaches.

### 7.2.1 Implementation of *Genius Loci*

- *Genius loci* can be implemented to address the issues of threatened Indigenous cultures and the cultural landscape of the Minahasan people. *Genius loci* concepts can help in validating that the Minahasans, who currently play a pivotal role as *Masyarakat Adat* or *Komunitas Adat* in the region, can be incorporated as guidelines by regional and provincial governments in their strategic and statutory plans and policies.

The Minahasan identity is underpinned by a deep understanding of *genius loci* and a correlation of factors involving cognitive-functional processes that shape their unique cultural systems as described in Figure 7.7.

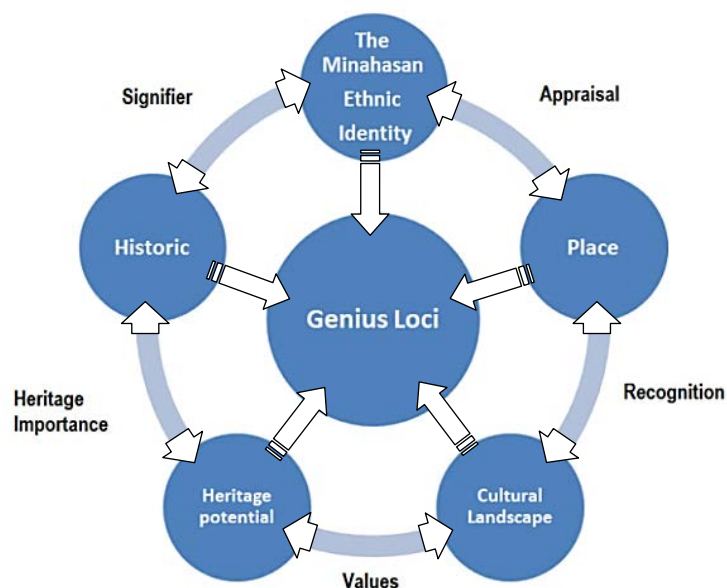


Figure 7.7  
Factors in cognitive-function processes in determining *Genius Loci* of Minahasa  
(Source: the Author)

### 7.2.2 Conservation of *Genius Loci*

- In conserving the *genius loci* of the Minahasa, the Minahasans should articulate, understand and acknowledge that their valuable cultural landscape possessions includes its bio-cultural richness, their traditional agriculture and agroforestry systems, and their traditional ethnoecological knowledge, all of which needs to be integrated into cultural conservation planning. Landscape conservation plans based upon local knowledge, practices and innovation systems are likely to have greater success in conserving local landscapes (while also providing for livelihoods) than those based on conventional conservation approaches. The former should be adhered to by multi-level formal governance agencies and parties in the region.
- While the living Minahasans maintain a strong contemporary Christian belief system that interweaves traditional pre-colonial Minahasan beliefs, the challenge in protecting *genius loci* and sacred natural sites reveals a fascinating difference in theology, and therefore a

psychological understanding on *genius loci* in regard to sacred sites is needed. For example, in the Christian traditions protecting nature is a natural expectation of people's role before God as guardians and stewards of creation; conversely, in other religions like Hinduism and Buddhism they have a belief that they are protected by nature (Palmer & Finlay, 2003, Palmer & Palmer, 1997). Thus, it is suggested that the Minahasan needs to define sacred sites from a theological point of view to outline their position on respecting and protecting those sites that are either sacred to other traditions and/or which they share with other traditions. The recent destruction of artefacts have given rise to conflicting opinions because of misunderstandings about the role of places containing pre-colonial history; some groups and people have clearly voiced strong connections to these places (as occurred in *Watu Pinawelaan* and *Watu Kameya*, Tomohon in 2012). Accordingly, further analysis on the role of religions is considered important.

- Internationally, sacred sites with *genius loci* are being declared as protected or cared for as sustainable natural landscapes through national and or international heritage instruments. For example, the British government has been considering sacred places and lands since 1997 as part of their legislative conservation obligations, which formally reinforces that landscapes can be a sacred lands or places (Palmer et al. 1997). Other examples, such as the 2006 WWF – International and ARC – UK (Alliance of Religions and Conservation, United Kingdom) discussed in research report *Beyond Belief* (Dudley, et al., 2005), point to the role of faith in protecting culturally rich natural sites and the role of church in protecting nature, as evidenced at Visby in August 2007 (ARC, 2014). These examples can inspire the Minahasans to place more care upon their own valuable cultural landscape heritage. A statement by some Minahasan communities that custodians of traditional sacred sites can arise as “a voice of land” for biodiversity and conservation concerns can bring together custodians to better protect their homeland.

### 7.2.3 Planning and Management Policy Initiatives

- *Genius Loci* and the cultural landscape of the Minahasa ethnic community contain a particular sustainable land-use regime subject that is responsive to and determined by the characteristics and limits of the natural environment it has been established within; it has specific spiritual relationships to nature. Therefore, to establish an informed planning

and management analysis framework to protect cultural landscapes is important in conserving this sustainable land-use, including its applied traditional skills.

- From a landscape conservation strategy perspective, *genius loci* may serve as a conceptual framework analysis tool for spatial planning and management, both in rural-regional and urban-regional landscapes; for example, when initiating an inventory of cultural resources and landscape heritage mapping that designate valuable places containing *genius loci*. At this point, the use of any technical tools and software like GIS, satellite imagery and GPS for accuracy in execution is necessary, and thus requires more scientific experts.
- Cultural mapping is a useful tool for socio-economic and cultural development that involves documenting a place containing the cultural resources of a community. In cultural mapping, the community and their traditional skills and resources, as well as other intangible phenomenon such as *genius loci* and social values are recorded. Social value richness, subjective experiences, and readings and interpretations are all important cultural components to be accommodated in cultural maps as part of cultural inventories. Cultural values of place are cultural identification, and hence can offer the foundations of concern and interest in cultural tourism planning, eco-tourism strategies, thematic architectural planning and cultural industries development.
- In supporting cultural resource mapping as well as establishing and enhancing community information, more technical expertise in managing data and information will be required. For example, using qualitative data software programs to analyse massive volumes of information. It is also important to increase the community's confidence in sharing and presenting valuable cultural information they have in order to build their self-appreciation and capability in managing their own properties.
- As part of landscape conservation and management, the IUCN (1994) has identified the benefits of a protected landscape:
  - Conserving nature and biodiversity;
  - Conserving human history in structures and land use patterns;
  - Maintaining traditional ways of life;



- Offering recreation and inspiration;
- Providing education and understanding; and
- Demonstrating durable system of use in harmony with nature.

The holistic approach above can be adopted in co-operation with multi-level governance parties in projects that are open to the public as a necessary aim towards successful cultural landscape conservation.

Overall, to incorporate the the *genius loci* concept into a holistic planning approach will benefit the development of a geo-cultural region system for the Minahasans, who need an integrated planning and management regime to inform local, regional, and provincial governance, and which involves a bottom-up and top-down co-active management process from multi-level parties (the community, professionals, academia).

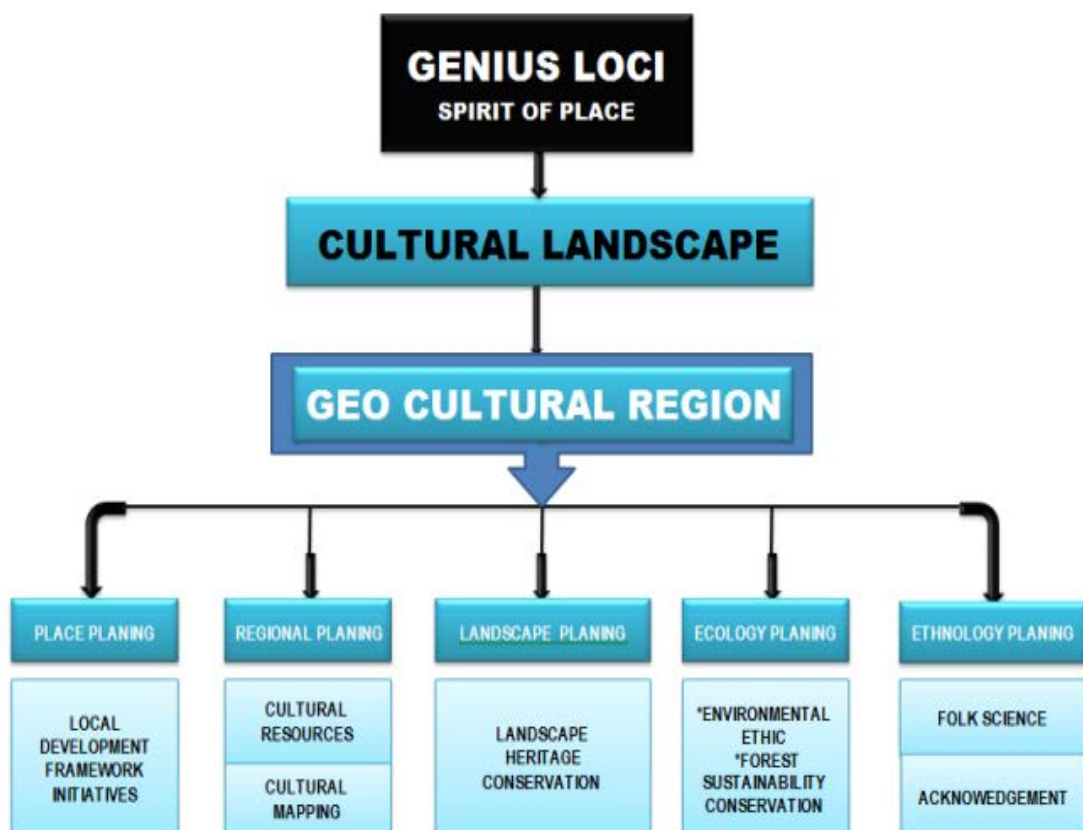


Figure 7.8  
*Genius Loci* and geo-cultural region planning initiatives for Minahasa.  
 Source: the Author

#### 7.2.4 Cultural Landscape Management in Indonesia

In terms of sustainable development at a national level in Indonesia, the national government has regulated with relevant new policies for cultural landscape conservation, such as *National Law No. 26/2007* and *National Government Decree No. 26/2008* concerning spatial planning and the establishment of National Strategic Areas for conservation of critical cultural landscape (The Government of Bali Province, 2009). These legal instruments demonstrate that the Indonesian government supports and is seeking to ensure the conservation and enhancement of cultural landscapes and will nominate sites across the provinces in Indonesia. At provincial and regency level, such policies are important as being the basis of planning and management plans, particularly for the Minahasa in terms of cultural landscape conservation. Thereby, the *genius loci* of the Minahasans may have the opportunity to be recognized, acknowledged and nominated as part of Indonesian heritage values in the future.

## CHAPTER 8 THE CONCLUSIONS

As presented in Chapter 1, this research was conducted to address three main research questions:

- How is the essence of *genius loci* in the Minahasa region, Sulawesi Island, defined, described and differentiated?
- How does the landscape link and communicate with the Minahasa ethnic community?
- How does the spatial phenomenon of *genius loci* evolve over time and affect the Minahasa ethnic community's spirit, psyche, behaviour and social interaction?

Further, with the objectives to:

- investigate the existence, essence and the role of *genius loci* in nature and environment through Minahasans' relationship with 'landscape';
- seek to understand how *genius loci* embraces landscape and community and therefore can act as a tool for sustainability;
- seek links between landscape and community occupancy, enabling the unrevealing of *genius loci* from the fabric of landscape, therefore creating a sense of possession and a stronger communal identity;
- examine how *genius loci* can be translated as a vehicle to enhance local knowledge and culture to better inform the environmental planning agendas; and
- to analyse the documentation and conservation of *genius loci* in Indonesia, and develop a new strategy for heritage conservation in the future.

While these research questions and objectives have been responded to in discussions in Chapter 6, the following provides an overarching conclusion from the research.

### 8.1 Conclusion

*Genius loci* or spirit of place is an ancient concept about valuing the land that may have many important implications for planning development and contemporary design, but it also may contribute to knowledge development. It may well be an important key to human health and creativity, as well as to better planning and health.

*Genius loci* and 'sacred places' are universally comprehended by cultures around the world as those similar found in the Minahasa region. There is growing evidence of recognizing the unique qualities of many of these places. Recognizing them and planning to ensure their protection will honour traditional cultures, and will assure that the contemporary Minahasan people may continue to benefit from their power.

This thesis sought to trace the validity of this ancient concept through an ethnographic landscape analysis. The Minahasa ethnic community, like other Indigenous communities around the world, possesses an Indigenous culture and ancient belief system – including its power and spirit – that remains extant in particular places. This concept is universal, but it is also common that spiritual powers, which are seen as keystone of traditional cultural systems in Minahasa have often been seen as unimportant to contemporary Minahasans. Moreover, some Minahasan people who have been influenced by modern culture still see sacred places as being more relevant to the past or to other cultures, rather than to contemporary society in general.

Incorporating *genius loci* into planning and management is very important because there is very little research on this topic amongst professionals (urban planners and designers, architects, landscape architects) or scholars. The uniqueness of *genius loci* is usually only recognized generally through the cultural arts. However, the characteristics of folk art, for instance, can actually be generated from a geographic region through Indigenous art of the spirit of that place, such as carvings, drawings, paintings, ceramic craft, sculpture, narratives, songs, poetry and dances, all of which are inspired by this spirit of place. Indigenous people, or locals, are not encumbered by the constraints of intellectual reasoning because they undertake these crafts by channeling their expression of unconsciousness and deriving it from the spirit of the land.

Connectivity and experience of place occur in multi-faceted ways. A place is influenced by culture, personal uniqueness and modality of awareness. Certain places may have sensory processes through which people perceive earth and nature, perhaps rather more than modern science and psychology are willing to admit. This research reveals that the Minahasans and their pre-colonial traditions affirm many senses in perceiving places. Hence, there is a need for better planning and management of the region by incorporating this ecological consciousness and more "inner" relationship into planning processes.

For better planning and management, place and its unique *genius loci* should be considered. For example, the built environment can serve as an amplifier of the powers of a place without negating the influence of locality. In addition, a "lack of feeling" connected to a place, especially a place where the community lives, works, and interacts with others, can be an important source of mental and physical stress. People need to feel peaceful where they are, and maintain a psychic connection with a place of natural beauty if they do not reside in one.

From the perspective of architecture, the Minahasan's apply pre-colonial philosophical ideas to develop post-colonial architecture. Yet contemporary Minahasans still adopt traditional methods (in building a house and also in housing construction/structure) and vernacular architecture style into modern private and public buildings. As Frank Lloyd Wright expressed: "*Architecture and design that honors the spirit of place and gives it meaning and form expresses beauty and nourishes health and creativity. Architecture is ultimately a ritual in structural materials*" (Wright in Laseau et al. 1992, p. 165)

It has been concluded there are many places in the Minahasa region that embody *genius loci*, such as the *genius loci* of Tonderukan Hill precinct where the sacred stone *Watu Pinawetengan* exists. The Minahasan people become "a voice" for the spirit of their region in contemporary society. Such places are inspired by "a sense of wonder" in nature.

The *genius loci* concept is less understood by contemporary Minahasan people, which presents a 'conflict of interest' about the value and potential of places between pre-colonial or traditional places and modern places. The challenge here is to bridge the gap of perspectives with respect and co-operation between traditional and modern cultures, which is the only path that can lead to greater harmony and understanding.

The existence of agricultural lands and ordinary home gardens with herbs, spices, flowers and trees, and also forest gardens in the inland region, supports the ecological balance and has become an important characteristic in Minahasa land that creates a psychological anchor for the Minahasans' mental health.

Lessons learned from Minahasan ethnoecological practices are summarised by three features: the diversity of their Indigenous systems, the ethic values of sacred ecology, and the importance of community-based participation in managing local resources.

By rediscovering the Minahasans' wisdom about *genius loci* or the spirit (atmosphere) of place, a place can be better managed and translated into practical concepts that can guide contemporary people to live in harmony with the earth, as well as showing their respect for pre-colonial traditions. Learning to plan and design with respect for the unique spirit of each place is a touchstone of responsible eco- that respects traditional cultures and provides important benefits to modern culture.

## 8.2 Future Research

*Genius loci* is potentially a new headway in cultural studies, architectural studies, landscape and environmental studies, anthropological studies and other related disciplines, as questions have arisen from this research, for examples in:

### 8.2.1 Pilgrimage

*Genius loci* can include a pilgrimage journey to particular places that are important for humans to respect nature and the place's spirit. To understand and appreciate this is to better understand its values in human life. Pilgrimage may be one of the most important ways to discover a meaningful place, to maintain health, to be inspired, as well as to build reverence for nature.

Andriotis (2008) has widened the phenomenological study on sacred place based on self-evidence using core elements of authenticity; spirituality; culture; environment; secular and education. Later, Andriotis extends his empirical perspective on pilgrimage in the landscape context, which this finding can be used in landscape heritage studies (Andriotis, 2011).

### 8.2.2 Eco-Tourism Planning

- The *genius loci* concept and its ideas are potentials for developing a viable eco-tourism industry in the region. Eco-tourism benefits both sustainable traditional living environments and resource management. In eco-tourism planning strategies, it is necessary to recognize the Minahasan's bio-ecosystem and landscape components and the tangible and intangible cultural landscape attributes to address environmental and economic issues in the region.

- Alternative relevant planning and management concepts suggested for the eco-tourism industry include:
  - Initiating a precinct plan for places that contain *genius loci*;
  - Initiating an eco-village plan (for sustainable living environment and traditional ethnoecological skills);
  - Initiating an eco-museum (or eco-musée) plan for the conservation of significant artefacts and archaeological sites or *in situ* conservation ( this would need co-operation amongst landscape architects, anthropologists and archaeological agencies at province and national level); and
  - Establishing a living museum (drawing upon the community's vibrance and vitality, their social traditions and other intangible cultural phenomenon).
  
- Managing visitors and their tourism activities is important. This needs to incorporate the community, cultural agencies (for instance, village cultural groups) and local governments to ensure that they are equipped with tourism maps, cultural protocols as to respecting the Minahasan cultural traditions, places and artefacts, and relevant information and background about cultural objects or destination places that are in the public domain and are able to host visitations.

### 8.2.3 Traditional Ethnoecological Knowledge

Ethnoecological knowledge that is included in this *genius loci* research and summarized in this thesis indicate the use of of Indigenous knowledge. The increased interest in this field in recent years reflects the need for ecological insights from Indigenous practices in using natural resources as well as the need for developing a new paradigm in ecological ethics gained from Indigenous wisdom. As has been discussed, sustainability and conservation is the most useful way to include Indigenous-Ethnoecological knowledge that is complementary to Western scientific knowledge. It may not be possible or desirable to synthesize or be easy to combine the two. Hence future studies in this area remain a challenge to scholars.

These research findings are also coherent with the historical and evolutionary view of Indigenous resource management and are seen as adaptive responses that have evolved over time, not as

mere tradition. Scholars have paid little attention to the evolution of traditional knowledge systems, on which the ethnoecology is based. Evidence of Minahasans' adaptive responses are resulting in a change in management practice and a worldview may be explained through social learning and a cultural evolution based upon their local knowledge and oral history.

### 8.3 Final Note

This research has constructed conceptual frameworks for planning and management of a particular place or region based upon the concept of *genius loci*. The approach, however, can be applied to other communities that potentially possess cultural components on which this research is based. Nevertheless, *genius loci* is still a relevant topic for scholars of any background who wish to more rigorously search for the true spirit of a place.



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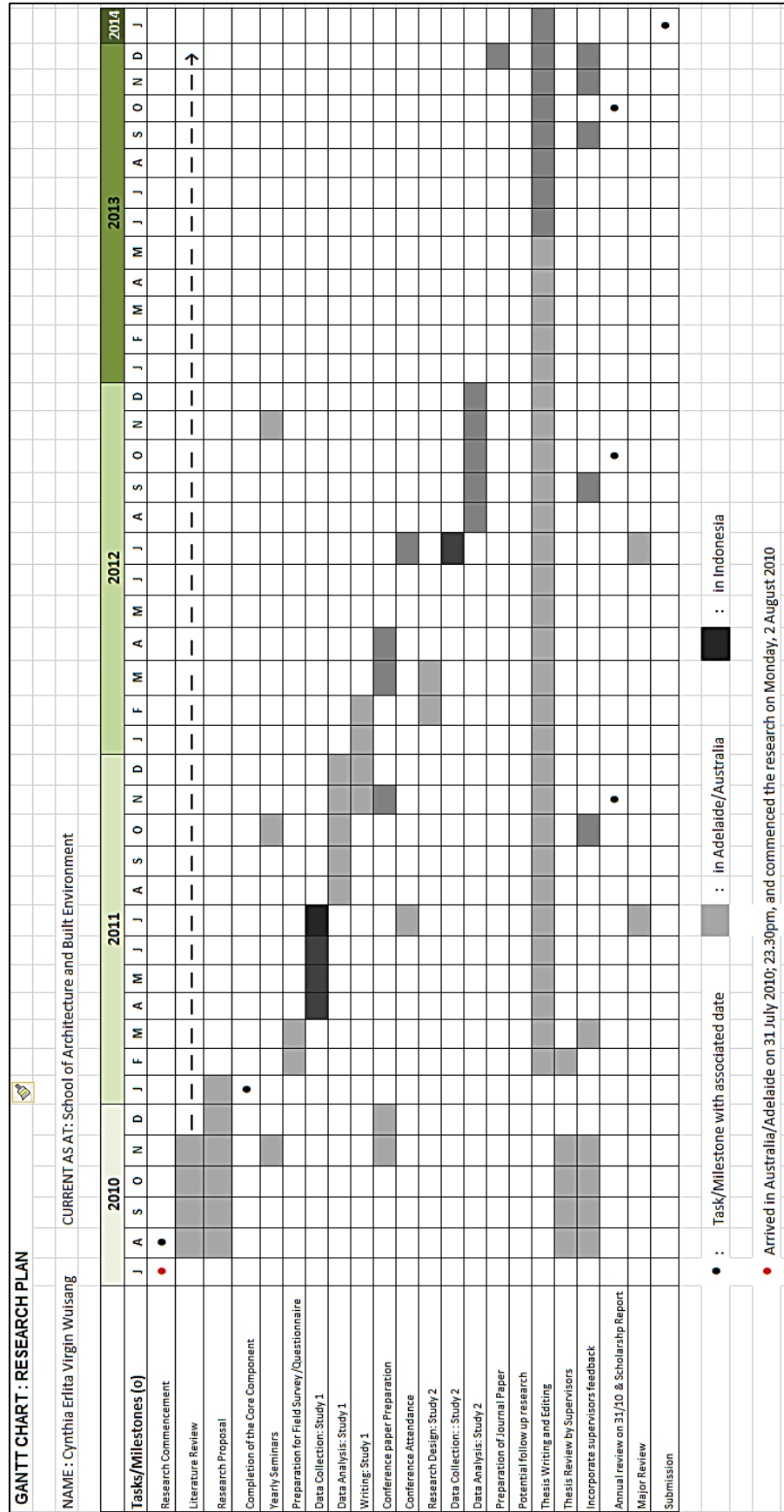
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# APPENDICES

## PART 1

Appendix 1

Appendix 1.1 Gantt chart: Research Plan





## Appendix 1.2 Ethic Clearance Approvals

### Appendix 1.2.1 Information Sheet

School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design



### **A Study of the Local Culture and Environmental Knowledge of the Minahasa Ethnic Community in North Sulawesi, Indonesia**

#### **INFORMATION SHEET – NOTES FOR PARTICIPANTS**

---

This research project aims to investigate *genius loci* (sense of place) in nature and environment through the human relationship with the 'landscape' of Minahasa and seeks to ascertain how *genius loci* embraces Minahasa and its community and therefore can act as a tool for enabling and managing sustainability. This research seeks to examine how *genius loci* can be translated as a vehicle to enhance local knowledge and culture to better inform government's environmental planning agendas. To achieve the purpose of the study, we invite you to participate in the interviews and questionnaire survey to indicate your opinions.

The research seeks to document your interpretations and perceptions of *genius loci*, local cultural attributes, sense of place (memories and experiences of places), beliefs and spiritual life, and traditional environmental knowledge, as well as your role in sustaining the landscape and the environment in the region.

The interviews surveys include yes-no questions and open-ended questions. They will take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Your participation and information will be important part of the research project and dissertation to be submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It will be a valuable record of the dissertation entitled "Defining Genius Loci and Qualifying Cultural Landscape of The Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia".

Your participation is voluntary. You may withdraw from the survey whenever you desire by simply advising the researcher of your intention to do so.

After the interview and questionnaire survey, the data obtained will be anonymously code-recorded by the researcher. The results of all surveys are confidential and will only be seen by the researcher. In the survey you do not need to give your name when completing the survey form. The information obtained from the survey will be discussed with the researcher's supervisors, and/or other post-graduate students in the School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design at The University of Adelaide. If you wish, a summary of the interview and questionnaire will be forwarded to you for confirmation of accuracy.

This project has received Ethics Approval from the University's Human Research Ethics Committee. Information about the Independent Complaint Procedure and the role of the Human Ethics committee is provided on a separate sheet.

For any further information, please do not hesitate to contact us:

**Assoc.Prof. Dr. Veronica Soebarto**  
(Supervisor-PI)

**Assoc.Prof. Dr. David Jones**  
(Supervisor-CI)

**Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**  
(Researcher)

Ph. +61 8 8303-5695, Fax +61 8 8303-4377

Email: veronica.soebarto@adelaide.edu.au

Ph. +613 5227 8330

Email: david.jones@deakin.edu.au

Ph. +61 430 98 1971(Aus), +628152309144 (INA)

Email: cynthia.wuisang@adelaide.edu.au

I am looking forward to receiving your positive reply and I do appreciate your participation in this research project.

Yours Sincerely,  
Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang

School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design



## Studi Mengenai Budaya Lokal dan Pengetahuan tentang Lingkungan di dalam Masyarakat Minahasa di Sulawesi Utara, Indonesia

### LEMBAR INFORMASI – CATATAN UNTUK PESERTA RISET

Proyek penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki *genius loci* (perasaan atau spirit dari suatu tempat) di alam dan lingkungan melalui hubungan manusia dengan 'lansekap' Minahasa dan berusaha untuk memastikan bagaimana *genius loci* ini telah merangkul Minahasa dan masyarakatnya dan karenanya dapat dijadikan alat untuk mencapai pembangunan yang berkelanjutan. Penelitian ini juga ditujukan untuk mengkaji bagaimana *genius loci* bisa diterjemahkan sebagai wahana untuk meningkatkan pengetahuan lokal dan budaya untuk dapat memberikan informasi yang lebih baik kepada pemerintah tentang agenda untuk perencanaan lingkungan. Untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian, kami mengundang Saudara/i untuk berpartisipasi dalam wawancara dan survei kuesioner untuk mengajukan pendapat Saudara/i.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendokumentasikan interpretasi dan persepsi tentang *genius loci*, atribut budaya lokal, perasaan tentang sesuatu tempat (kenangan dan pengalaman), keyakinan dan kehidupan spiritual, dan pengetahuan lingkungan tradisional, serta peran Saudara dalam mempertahankan lansekap dan lingkungan di wilayah tersebut.

Wawancara dan survei dalam bentuk kuesioner akan meliputi pertanyaan 'ya-tidak' dan 'terbuka'. Wawancara dan survei ini diperkirakan akan berlangsung selama 30 hingga 45 menit.

Partisipasi dan informasi yang Saudara/i berikan akan menjadi bagian penting dalam penelitian dan penyusunan disertasi yang akan di ajukan untuk memenuhi gelar Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). Partisipasi dan data yang diberikan akan menjadi dokumen penting dalam disertasi berjudul "*Defining Genius Loci and Qualifying Cultural Landscape of The Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia*".

Partisipasi Saudara/i bersifat sukarela. Saudara/i dapat mengundurkan diri dari survei apabila Saudara/i menginginkan, cukup dengan memberitahu peneliti niat Saudara/i untuk mengundurkan diri.

Setelah survei wawancara dan kuesioner, data yang diperoleh akan didokumentasi dengan menggunakan simbol oleh peneliti dengan tanpa nama/identitas. Hasil survei bersifat rahasia dan hanya akan dilihat oleh peneliti. Dalam survey ini, Saudara/i tidak memberikan nama pada saat mengisi formulir survei. Informasi yang diperoleh dari survei akan didiskusikan dengan pembimbing disertasi dan atau mahasiswa pasca sarjana dari *School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design, The University of Adelaide*. Jika Saudara/i inginkan, ringkasan dari wawancara dan kuesioner akan disampaikan kepada Saudara/i untuk konfirmasi akurasi.

Proyek ini telah mendapat persetujuan dari komite Etika Penelitian Manusia di Universitas (*the University's Human Research Ethics Committee*). Informasi tentang prosedur pengeluhan independen dan peranan Komite Etika Penelitian (Human Ethics committee) telah disediakan dalam lembar terpisah.

Untuk informasi selanjutnya dapat menghubungi kami:

**Assoc.Prof. Dr. Veronica Soebarto**  
(Pembimbing Utama)  
**Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**  
(Peneliti)

Ph. +61 8 8303-5695, Fax +61 8 8303-4377  
Email: veronica.soebarto@adelaide.edu.au  
Ph. +61 430 98 1971 (Aus), +62 8152309144 (INA)  
Email: cynthia.wuisang@adelaide.edu.au

Saya menunggu tanggapan positif Saudara/i dan saya sangat menghargai partisipasi Saudara/i dalam proyek penelitian ini.

Hormat kami,  
Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang

## Appendix 1.2.2 Consent

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM  
FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE PARTICIPANTS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

|    |   |
|----|---|
| 1. | I, ..... <i>(please print name)</i><br>consent to take part in the research project entitled: <b>A Study of the Local Culture and Environmental Knowledge of the Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia</b> |
| 2. | I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled: <b>A Study of the Local Culture and Environmental Knowledge of the Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia</b>                       |
| 3. | I have had the project, so far as it affects me, fully explained to my satisfaction by the research worker. My consent is given freely.   |
| 4. | I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will not be divulged.   |
| 5. | I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and I realize this project will not affect me now and in the future.   |
| 6. | I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.  |
|    | .....<br><i>(signature)</i> <span style="float: right;"><i>(date)</i></span>  |

## WITNESS

I have described to .....*(name of subject)*  
the nature of the research to be carried out. In my opinion she/he understood the explanation.

Status in Project: **Researcher – PhD Candidate**

Name: **Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**

.....  
*(signature) (date)*

## THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

**FORMULIR PERSETUJUAN STANDAR  
BAGI PESERTA DALAM PROYEK PENELITIAN**

1. Saya,.....(Mohon Nama dituliskan)

menyetujui untuk berpartisipasi di dalam proyek penelitian berjudul: ***Studi Mengenai Budaya Lokal dan Pengetahuan tentang Lingkungan di dalam Masyarakat Minahasa di Sulawesi Utara, Indonesia***. Saya mengakui bahwa saya telah membaca lampiran informasi penelitian berjudul: ***Studi Mengenai Budaya Lokal dan Pengetahuan tentang Lingkungan di dalam Masyarakat Minahasa di Sulawesi Utara, Indonesia***

3. Proyek penelitian ini dan efeknya terhadap saya telah dijelaskan sepenuhnya oleh peneliti kepada saya. Persetujuan saya diberikan secara bebas.

4. Saya telah dinformasikan bahwa, meskipun data yang diperoleh selama penelitian dapat dipublikasikan, identitas saya tidak akan dimunculkan dan keterlibatan saya dirahasiakan.

7. Saya memahami bahwa saya dapat mengundurkan diri dari proyek penelitian setiap saat dan hal ini tidak akan mempengaruhi diri saya, sekarang dan di masa yang akan datang.

8. Saya menyadari bahwa Saya harus menyimpan salinan formulir persetujuan, setelah selesai diisi, beserta lembaran lampiran Informasinya.

.....

(tanda tangan) (tanggal)

**SAKSI**

Saya telah menjelaskan kepada ..... (nama peserta riset)

alasan penelitian yang akan dilakukan. Saya berpendapat bahwa yang bersangkutan memahami semua penjelasan yang diberikan.

Status dalam proyek: **Peneliti Utama – Kandidat PhD**

Nama: **Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**

.....

(tanda tangan)

.....

(tanggal)

### Appendix 1.2.3 Complain

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

*Document for people who are participants in a research project*

#### CONTACTS FOR INFORMATION ON PROJECT AND INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS PROCEDURE

The Human Research Ethics Committee is obliged to monitor approved research projects. In conjunction with other forms of monitoring it is necessary to provide an independent and confidential reporting mechanism to assure quality assurance of the institutional ethics committee system. This is done by providing research participants with an additional avenue for raising concerns regarding the conduct of any research in which they are involved.

The following study has been reviewed and approved by the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee:

Project title:

**Research on Local Culture and Environmental Knowledge of  
The Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia**

1. If you have questions or problems associated with the practical aspects of your participation in the project, or wish to raise a concern or complaint about the project, then you should consult the project co-ordinator:

*Name: Associate Professor Dr. Veronica Soebarto*

*Telephone: + 618 8303-5695*

*Name: Associate Professor Dr. David Jones*

*Telephone: +613 5227 8330*

2. If you wish to discuss with an independent person matters related to
  - making a complaint, or
  - raising concerns on the conduct of the project, or
  - the University policy on research involving human participants, or
  - your rights as a participant

contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on phone (08) 8303 6028

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

*Dokumen untuk peserta proyek penelitian*

KONTAK UNTUK INFORMASI PROYEK PENELITIAN DAN PROSEDUR PENGADUAN INDEPENDEN

Komite Etika Penelitian Manusia (*The Human Research Ethics Committee*) diharuskan untuk memantau/mengawasi proyek-proyek penelitian yang telah disetujui. Bersama dengan bentuk pemantauan lainnya, perlu adanya mekanisme pelaporan secara bebas rahasia dan tertutup untuk memastikan jaminan kualitas sistem dari komite etika secara institusional. Hal ini dilakukan dengan membuka kesempatan bagi peserta penelitian untuk mengajukan pendapat/keprihatinan sehubungan dengan penelitian yang melibatkan mereka.

Study berikut ini telah ditinjau, pertimbangkan dan disetujui oleh the *University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee*:

Judul proyek Penelitian:

***Studi Mengenai Budaya Lokal dan Pengetahuan tentang Lingkungan di dalam Masyarakat Minahasa di Sulawesi Utara, Indonesia***

1. Apabila Saudara/i memiliki pertanyaan dan masalah yang berhubungan dengan aspek-aspek praktis dari partisipasi Saudara/i di dalam proyek penelitian ini, atau ingin mengajukan pendapat/keprihatinan atau keluhan tentang proyek penelitian ini, silakan menghubungi Koordinator proyek:

*Nama: Associate Professor Dr. Veronica Soebarto*

*Telephone: + 6188303-5695; email: veronica.soebarto@adelaide.edu.au*

*Nama: Associate Professor Dr. David Jones*

*Telephone: +613 5227 8330; email: david.jones@deakin.edu.au*

2. Jika Anda ingin berdiskusi secara terpisah dengan pihak tertentu hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan
  - mengajukan keluhan, atau
  - mengajukan keprihatinan atas pelaksanaan proyek penelitian, atau
  - kebijakan universitas dalam penelitian yang melibatkan partisipasi masyarakat atau perorangan, atau
  - hak-hak Saudara/i sebagai peserta:

Silakan hubungi Sekertaris Komite Etika Penelitian Manusia (*the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary*) telepon +61 8 8303 6028.

## Appendix 1.2.4 Letter of Approval from Human Research Ethic Committee



RESEARCH BRANCH  
RESEARCH ETHICS AND COMPLIANCE UNIT

SABINE SCHREIBER  
SECRETARY  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
SA 5005  
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 3329 9228  
FACSIMILE +61 8 3329 7280  
email: s.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au  
CRICOS Provider Number 00129P

09 March 2011

Associate Professor V Soebarto  
School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design

Dear Associate Professor Soebarto

**PROJECT NO: H-045-2011**  
***Defining genius loci and qualifying cultural landscapes of Minahasa ethnic  
community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia***

I write to advise you that on behalf of the Human Research Ethics Committee I have approved the above project. Please refer to the enclosed endorsement sheet for further details and conditions that may be applicable to this approval.

**The approval expiry date for this project is: 31 December 2011**

Where possible, participants taking part in the study should be given a copy of the Information Sheet and the signed Consent Form to retain.

Please note that any changes to the project which might affect its continued ethical acceptability will invalidate the project's approval. In such cases an amended protocol must be submitted to the Committee for further approval. It is a condition of approval that you immediately report anything which might warrant review of ethical approval including (a) serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants (b) proposed changes in the protocol; and (c) unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. It is also a condition of approval that you inform the Committee, giving reasons, if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.

A reporting form is available from the Committee's website. This may be used to renew ethical approval or report on project status including completion.

Yours sincerely

 **PROFESSOR GARRETT CULLITY**  
Convenor  
Human Research Ethics Committee

## Cover Page of Ethic Approval



RESEARCH BRANCH  
RESEARCH ETHICS AND COMPLIANCE UNIT

SABINE SCHREIBER  
SECRETARY  
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
SA 5005  
AUSTRALIA  
TELEPHONE +61 8 3528 8006  
FACSIMILE +61 8 6300 7323  
EMAIL s.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au  
CRICOS Provider Number 00123A

Applicant: Associate Professor V Soebarto

School: School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design

Project Title: *Defining genius loci and qualifying cultural landscapes of Minahasa ethnic community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia*

---

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

Project No: **H-045-2011** RM No: 0000011101

APPROVED for the period until: **31 December 2011**

It is noted that this project will be conducted by Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang, PhD candidate.

Refer also to the accompanying letter setting out requirements applying to approval.

PROFESSOR GARRETT CULLITY  
Convenor  
Human Research Ethics Committee

Date: 9 MAR 2011



## Cover Sheet of Ethic Approval

PROJECT NO: H/045/11

7 FEB 2011 - RM: 1119/

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE  
ETHICS APPLICATION COVER SHEET

SUMMARISING THE PROTOCOL AND INCLUDING INVESTIGATORS' SIGNATURES

**COVER SHEET AND APPLICATIONS MUST BE TYPED**

Applications will be considered according to requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

An application should include: (1) this **cover sheet**; (2) the proposal addressing the **list of headings**; (3) participant **information sheet**; (4) participant **consent form**, and (5) **independent complaints procedure statement** (please access these online at <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/ethics/human/guidelines/applications/>).

Submit **ELEVEN** copies of the application to the Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee, Research Ethics and Compliance Unit, Research Branch, Level 7, 115 Grenfell Street, The University of Adelaide SA 5005 Ph. (08) 8303 6028, Fax (08) 8303 7325, email [sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au](mailto:sabine.schreiber@adelaide.edu.au)

Please attach this to the front of the application.

|  |
|--|
| <p><b>APPLICANT Name</b> include title Professor/Dr/Ms/Mr and Position</p> <p>(A) Dr. Veronica I. Soebarto (PI) Associate Professor<br/>(B) Dr. David S. Jones (CI) Associate Professor</p> <p>If this is a student project the principal supervisor is to be the applicant.</p>   |
| <p><b>DEPARTMENT</b> including campus/institution contact address</p> <p>(A) School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design, The University of Adelaide, SA 5005<br/>(B) School of Architecture&amp; Building, Deakin University, Geelong Vic 3217</p>  |
| <p><b>Phone No and email address</b></p> <p>(A) Ph. +61 8 8303-5695 Email: <a href="mailto:veronica.soebarto@adelaide.edu.au">veronica.soebarto@adelaide.edu.au</a><br/>(B) Ph. +61 3 5227 8330 Email: <a href="mailto:david.jones@deakin.edu.au">david.jones@deakin.edu.au</a></p>  |
| <p><b>OTHERS INVOLVED</b></p> <p>Mrs. Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang<br/>School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture and Urban Design<br/>Ph.D candidate<br/>If this is a student project please indicate name/department/candidature</p>  |
| <p><b>PROJECT TITLE</b></p> <p>Defining Genius Loci and Qualifying Cultural landscapes of The Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia</p>   |
| <p><b>LOCATION OF RESEARCH</b><br/>Central Minahasa Region, North Sulawesi Province, Indonesia</p> <p><b>DATE PROJECT TO BEGIN</b><br/>April 2011 (Interviews in the Minahasa Region)</p> <p><b>ESTIMATED DURATION OF PROJECT</b><br/>3 months</p> <p><b>SOURCE OF FUNDING</b><br/>Local Government of North Sulawesi Province and of Central Minahasa Region (for Flight Tickets and local Field Trip only)</p> |

**AIMS OF PROJECT** please give concise description in lay terms

The project will document and analyse the concept of *genius loci* (sense of place) as it relates to the landscape of Minahasa in the North Sulawesi Province of Indonesia, and seeks to qualify the contribution of *genius loci* to better inform environmental planning systems in the region with the potential of implementation in other parts of Indonesia. This project will examine the participants' interpretations of *genius loci*, which are expected to demonstrate the important role *genius loci* can have in shaping the identity of their region that presently hosts a multi-cultural and multi-religious society.

The aim of the field work is to interview participants, in particular the local communities, farmers, fruit harvesters, and village leaders in the Central Minahasa Region. The local communities will be interviewed to gain their perception on *genius loci* and landscape meaning while the interviews with farmers and fruit harvesters are to gather ethnocological information and local traditional environmental knowledge.

**PLAN/DESIGN OF PROJECT** brief description in lay terms

The proposed participants will be informed with the Information Sheet, Consent Form and Independent Complaints Procedure Statement. All documents will be sent to the village leaders after the researcher has arrived in the research location. The village leaders will be asked for his/her help to distribute the documents to the community. This will be followed up with personal communication and interviews which will be recorded. A summary will be made available to the participants to confirm the accuracy of transcripts. Participants may withdraw from the interview if they like to.

**PARTICIPANTS**

**Source:** Local communities who live in areas surrounding Lake Tondano, Tondano catchment areas and mountainsides including communes/families, farmers, fruit harvesters, elder peoples, leaders of the villages and social and cultural activists in the region:

- Commune/Family/household - Parents in the family
- Farmers - Agriculture/farming/rice field
- Fruit harvesters
- Elder peoples
- Leaders of the villages
- Social and Cultural activists

**Age range:** 18 years and above

**Selection criteria:**

- Families who have own livelihood or run their home economic or home industry
- Farmers and fruit harvesters with more than 15 years sustaining their production
- Elder people (usually older than 60 years old)
- Leaders of each selected village located around lake Tondano, Tondano catchment areas and mountainside.
- Social and cultural activists of every village and in the region

**Exclusion criteria:** Nil

**ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS OF PROJECT**

**Nil**

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| Will drugs be administered to participants?   | YES / NO |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If so give name of drug(s)</li> <li>• Dosage:</li> <li>• Method of administration</li> </ul> |          |
| Is this administration for therapeutic purposes?  | YES / NO |
| Will the project be conducted under the<br>Clinical Trials Notification (CTN) Scheme?   | YES / NO |
| Clinical Trials Exemption (CTX) Scheme?   | YES / NO |
| Is Commonwealth Department of Health permission required?   | YES / NO |
| If so, has permission been obtained?  | YES / NO |

## SIGNATURE OF ALL INVESTIGATORS NAMED IN THE PROTOCOL

Dr Veronica Soebarto

Dr David Jones

Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang

## Appendix 1.2.5 HREC List of Headings

### THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE LIST OF HEADINGS APPLYING TO ALL APPLICATIONS

Guidance information for completion of this form is notated in (*italics*) under each heading. Please complete all headings.

#### APPLICATIONS MUST BE TYPED

1. TITLE  
Defining Genius Loci and Qualifying Cultural landscapes of The Minahasa Ethnic Community in the North Sulawesi, Indonesia

2. INVESTIGATORS & QUALIFICATIONS  
*(Provide brief details of the researchers' previous experience with the specific research techniques that will be used in this study. If this study involves direct contact with participants, give details of the research student's experience and/or training in conducting research of this kind.)*

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Veronica Soebarto**  
B.Arch.Eng. (Univ. of Indonesia); M.Arch. (Texas A&M); Ph.D. (Texas A&M)

**Assoc.Prof. Dr. David. S Jones**  
MLArch (Univ. of Melbourne), PhD (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

**Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**  
B.Arch. (Univ. of Sam Ratulangi, Indonesia); M.UrbHabMgt (Univ. of Adelaide)

Previous publications that employed research techniques that will be used in this study:

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Veronica Soebarto**  
Williamson, T. Soebarto, V and Radford, A. (2010) Comfort and Energy Use in Five Australian Award-winning Houses: Regulated, Measured and Perceived, *Building Research & Information* 38 (5): 509 – 529.  
Nguyen, V. H., and Soebarto, V. (2003) Gaps in Understanding Sustainable Housing: Case Study in Adelaide and Hanoi, *Architectural Science Review* 46 (4, December): 369-374.  
Soebarto, V.I. (2003) The Importance of Human Aspects in Achieving Sustainable Environmental Architecture. *Architecture and the Sun, International Seminar on Sustainable Environmental Architecture IV Proceedings*, Trisakti University Press, Trisakti University, Jakarta, Indonesia, pp 17-28. – Keynote Speaker

**Cynthia Erlita Virgin Wuisang**  
Wuisang, C.E.V and Jones,David.S (2010). Greenways and Environmental Planning in South Australia: Recent Precedents and the Aldinga Scrub Study. Paper is published in the Proceeding 47<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS (IFLA) WORLD CONGRESS; HARMONY AND PROSPERITY: TRADITIONAL INHERITANCE AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT, 28 - 30 MAY 2010, SUZHOU, CHINA  
Wuisang, C.E.V, Makalew, F, and Kawuwung, Y (2009). Urban Heritage Conservation: a Case of Tondano Town. Paper is published in the Proceeding The 10<sup>th</sup> International Seminar on Environment and Architecture (SENVAR) and The 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on Engineering, Environmnet, Economic, Safety and Health (CONVEESH), 26-27 October 2009, Manado – Indonesia  
Wuisang, C.E.V, Syafriny, R, Sangkertadi (2009). Perception of Urban Community Concerning the Existence and Performance of Public Open Spaces. Paper is published in the proceeding *The 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference on QiR (Quality in Research)*, 3-6 August 2009, at the University of Indonesia, Depok -Indonesia  
Wuisang, C.E.V and Jones, David.S (2011).Urban Heritage Conservation Planning in Manado City, Indonesia. Accepted for the Proceeding of the International Conference of IFLA Asia Pacific Region, Bangkok Thailand, 19-22 January 2011.

3. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
  - Aims (*What research hypothesis is being investigated? What benefits does the study aim to produce?*)

This research project aims to investigate genius loci (sense of place) in nature and environment through the human relationship with the 'landscape' of Minahasa and seeks to ascertain how genius loci embraces Minahasa and its community and therefore can act as a tool for enabling and managing sustainability. This research seeks to examine how genius loci can be translated as a vehicle to enhance local knowledge and culture to better inform government's environmental planning agendas. The interview and questionnaire survey findings will help

demonstrate the important role *genius loci* can have in shaping the identity of the local and the region that presently hosts a multi-cultural and multi-religious society, as well as determining the validity *genius loci* can serve as a component of the cultural landscape system.

Rationale (*Explain your research methodology and its appropriateness to achieving the study aims. Provide evidence that the sample size is adequate to establish a valid research result.*)

Ecosystems and landscapes in *Minahasa* are considered relevant to investigate the interactions between inhabitants and their environment. The landscape characteristics imbue multi-diverse myths, beliefs, local wisdoms, and traditions to the *Minahasa*. It is argued in this research that *genius loci* may occur in relation to these myths, beliefs and traditional knowledge. Hence, the *Minahasa* region with its unique demographic history allied to its important belief systems makes it an important study site for empirical research into *genius loci*. The *Minahasa*'s cultural-landscape values are relevant and important to keep alive and be continued by generations today and in the future. This is because cultural values of the *Minahasa*, for instance ethics and attitudes, have gradually changed since European colonial influences; today the *Minahasa* also faces major global issues, which are also influencing their social behaviour (Masinambouw 1991, Siwu, 2000).

There is a lack of empirical studies on *genius loci* in Indonesia and in particular the *Minahasa* Region, hence the existence of *genius loci* and its connection to story, memory, and sense of place, and identity of *the Minahasa* and their land is an important concern amongst the local communities.

An interview method has been chosen to develop essential data for analysis. Community interpretations and perceptions of *genius loci*, local cultural attributes, sense of place (memories and experiences of places), beliefs and spiritual life, and traditional environmental Knowledge, as well as the community role in sustaining the landscape and the environment in the region will be analysed and compared to define *genius loci* in the *Minahasa* region. This survey will gather data from a range of community perspectives in different locations.

#### 4. BACKGROUND

In most countries, notably Indonesia, people are justly proud of their dignity and commitment in respecting diversity and multi-cultureless. Over the past century, cultural aspects have become very important to people's being. Culture reflects and portrays deep meaning to people in actualizing their lives through their interaction processes with other people and nature. Actualization is mirrored in civilization processes and thus, creates different kind of cultures. Cultural aspects are identified in various forms; for instance, livelihoods, belief systems and religions, languages, technologies as well as settlement patterns, artifacts, architecture, cultural practices and societal norms (Koentjaraningrat 1991). Nature complements and shapes culture creating strong inter-relationships. Strong inter-relationships between people and their environment occur in places or lands where nature and people meet. Hence, culture binds people and place.

Landscape and culture, two different realms bundled together, are often called a 'cultural landscape'. This entity is as result of the impact of human activities on the natural environment. Cultural landscape is defined as a geographic area which includes culture and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with persons or communities, a historic event, and activity and/or exhibit cultural and/or aesthetic values (Riesenweber 2008, p23). Some scientists view cultural landscapes as the translation of social and cultural beliefs and values into a visible form, with the landscape communicating naturally. Therefore, it is clear that culture is implicitly and explicitly expressed in landscape and that humans hold a key position in its formation and continuity.

*Genius loci* in this research context will be identified as "vernacular landscape" which illustrates ethics and values towards the land, and reflects patterns of settlement and development over time. Distinctively, little research about *genius loci* in Indonesian landscape knowledge has been undertaken. Hence, it is still unclear as to how to determine the existence, essential qualities and role of *genius loci* as an intangible cultural place.

Definition of place and cultural significance according to Australia ICOMOS' Burra Charter is "*an area, land, landscape, building or other work, and may include components, contents, spaces and views*" (Australia ICOMOS 1999, p2). Thus, cultural significance in relationship to aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generation is embodied in the place as fabric, use, and setting as well as in associations and meanings. Global changes in multi-dimensional aspects of place worldwide have had a radical bearing on the appearance of landscapes. On one hand local people are keen to maintain the existing patterns of land to signal their sense of possession, on the other hand there is a desire to introduce new systems informed by new technologies, economic conditions, and enlarged knowledge bases. For local people, traditional and all cultural properties are strongly connected with land patterns and also their dominant settlement places. Pressures and

demands of globalization are influencing people's paradigms to change their customs. For inhabitants, to achieve this change involves a modification to their existing patterns of land implicating a change in life cycle. This demonstrates that life, soul, beings and experiences are central and this repetitive phenomenon is essential in building a sense of possession. The relationship between sense, experience, belief and spirits of place is well integrated. Spirits of place or *genius loci* is connected to people's spiritual systems. They are interpreted as the particular structure of mind of each individual endowed by nature.

The idea of sustainable development is generally considered as distinct from the idea of restoring or preserving nature, which Indonesia and several countries in the world have been signatories to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development in 1992. Sustainable development seeks to interlace humans and nature, while restoration (especially at the large scale) often allows nature to be addressed separately, sometimes out of remorse for the damage caused by humans (Nadenicek *et al* in Conan 2000). In terms of attaining sustainable natural resource development, the opportunities of *genius loci* and traditional ecological knowledge documentation may help to achieve a sustainability in which most Indigenous and/or local communities are situated in areas where the vast majority of the world's genetic resources are found and where many species have been historically cultivated and used in a sustainable way for thousands of years. The skills and techniques of these Indigenous communities provide valuable information to the global community and can be a useful model for environmental policies. The international community has recognized this close and traditional dependence of Indigenous communities on biological resource in the Declaration's curatorship preamble.

Hence, an attempt for suitable methods to assist in finding comprehensive ways to understand the multiple meanings and values of *genius loci* embedded in the Minahasa landscape of Sulawesi in Indonesia is deemed necessary and is the subject to be pursued in this research.

## 5. PARTICIPANTS

**Source:** Local communities who live in areas surrounding Lake Tondano, Tondano catchment areas and adjacent mountainsides including communes/families, farmers, fruit harvesters, elder peoples, leaders of the villages and social and cultural activists in the region

### Number

Commune/Family/household - Parents in the family: up to 150

Farmers of agriculture/farming/rice field: up to 15

Fruit harvesters: up to 15

Elder peoples: up to 80

Leaders of the villages: up to 25

Social and Cultural activists: 10

**Age range** – 18 years and above

**Selection & exclusion criteria** (*How and by whom will screening be conducted?*)

- Families who have own livelihood or run their home economic or home industry
- Farmers and fruit harvesters with more than 15 years sustain their production
- Elder people (usually older than 60 years old)
- Leaders of each selected villages located in the surrounding of Lake Tondano, Tondano catchment areas and mountainsides.
- Social and cultural activists of every village and in the region

### *PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT*

- *Procedures (Please explain how you will recruit volunteers onto the study. How will people be approached and asked if they are willing to participate? How and by whom will names and contact details be accessed?)*

After receiving approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee, the proposed participants will be informed with the Information Sheet, Consent Form and Independent Complaints Procedure Statement. All documents will be sent to the village leaders after the researcher has arrived in the research location. The village leaders will be asked for his/her help to distribute the documents to the community. This will be followed up with personal communication and interviews which will be recorded. A summary will be made available to the participants to confirm the accuracy of transcripts. Participants may withdraw from the interview if they like to.

- *Material (Provide a copy of any advertisements, flyers or other material to be used.)*  
Not applicable
- *Payment (Provide details of and the rationale for any payment or reimbursement to participants.)*

No payment to participants

7. PRELIMINARY STUDY (if any)

The preliminary study or early stage of this research is conducting the existing literatures and continue to review the existence and meaning of *genius loci* and develops a conceptual framework about cultural landscape systems. Review begins with a brief discussion of landscape and meaning in order to understand the link between people, nature and landscape. Anthropological sciences are important here in outlining the processes to determine or define *genius loci*. The review continues to look at lessons learnt from developed and developing countries through various case studies that seek to define and express *genius loci* more precisely in scientific literature. The review continues with empirical studies in Indonesia and examine the reasons why to conduct research on *genius loci*. This is done first, by tracing the meaning, existence and essence of *genius loci* as well as the connections between landscape and community towards *genius loci*. Second, discusses ethnoecological systems in the subject region. Finally, the review discusses the applicability of *genius loci* for sustainability planning in Indonesia.

8. STUDY PLAN & DESIGN

*(Include a detailed description of all planned interactions between researchers and study participants. Include a copy of any questionnaires or interview schedules to be used.)*

The first instance, the researcher will introduce herself to the participants and explain the significant contribution that the participants can make in the project. Participants will be informed how he or she was chosen to participate. After a brief introduction, the researcher will begin the interview. All interviews will be conducted in "*Bahasa Indonesia*" but in certain communities the local language will be used to avoid misunderstanding of the questions.

The researcher also will interactively involve with people by talking, watching their activities and participate in their activities. The researcher will accompany the local people and participates in their activities.

The researcher in some stage will walk in the field or in the forest with informants/participants, listens to them and asks them about their activities while taking notes. This technique is very time-consuming, but allows informants to explore their natural state, which minimizes the risk of misidentification. It also offers an excellent context for the interview.

Other technique that will be employed is interviewing participants by using of a number of interpretations on nature components in the landscape, using available landscape pictures (set by the researcher).

In the artifact interview the researcher will ask the Informants – for example while visiting them at home - about the plants or animals which are employed in the manufacture or preparation of particular items, like parts of the house, tools, etc.

The researcher conducts the interviews with a group of informants. Group discussions can produce a wealth of data and lead to discovery new topics and questions. Some people will be more willing to share their knowledge in a group environment, though some others may be reluctant to disclose certain types of knowledge in front of other community members.

This research project will use several interview techniques, including:

- *Informal interview, which* has no structure and the researcher, simply makes notes during or after casual conversations.
- *Unstructured interview, which* has the appearance of a casual conversation, but the actors involved know that it is an interview. It develops within the framework established by the researcher.
- *Semi structured interview, which* uses a list of questions and topics that need to be covered as a guide, but allows the researcher to be flexible in actually conducting the interview. As the discussion gets under way, new lines of inquiry may arise naturally while some of the prepared questions will fall to the wayside.

Tentative Semi structure interview examples:



- What are the values of the land Minahasa to you as a Minahasan?
- What is the local identity do you know exists in your area, which perhaps is used as a symbol and/or recognized as Minahasa Region identity? (it can be an area ,elements of nature or intangible like local wisdoms)
- Do you value the important place in the Minahasa, which builds your strong memory and sense of belonging as a Minahasan since your childhood?
- Do you appreciate the important place you mention as a cultural identity in your region?
- Do you interact with other people or community in the entirely Minahasa land?
- How do you interact with the landscape in your area or entirely Minahasa Landscape?
- How important the Land of Minahasa is, in particular your area/village and in the surrounding, as part of the land of Minahasa?

9. DRUGS – Not applicable

10. EFFICACY

*(What is known from previous studies regarding the safety and effectiveness of the proposed intervention?)*

Research on *genius loci* has been conducted in a few countries, offering some good exemplars that demonstrate translations of 'spirit of place'. Example in Australia describes landscape stories and meanings (Jones 1993), sense of places (Marshall 2010) and the *genius loci* of landscape (Seddon 1979) also involve anthropological dimension of Indigenous peoples and local communities. Lessons from North America and Europe have shown significant contributions in developing new paradigms in protecting culture, landscape and nature (Lippard 1997; Spirn 1998; Waterson 1990; Loukaki 1997; Krauss 2005). Some of the research have used same method of interviews and such research provide useful comparisons to conduct more rigorous enquires about *genius loci* to a landscape or region that has been chosen.

11. DATE OF PROPOSED COMMENCEMENT

April 2011

12. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

*(Provide a clear description of any potential risks to participants (including physical, emotional, social or legal) and the steps that will be taken to address these risks.*

*Outline the protocol that will be followed in the eventuality of any adverse event(s).*

*Provide details of procedures to maintain participant confidentiality during data collection and reporting of results.*

*Describe how you will you provide detailed information about the study to people and how and when consent will be obtained.*

*Include a participant information sheet and a consent form. Information and consent guidelines plus a consent form template can be downloaded from <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/ethics/human/guidelines/applications/>*

There will be no manipulation or experiment on the subject. Therefore, is it presumed that there will be no foreseeable risks to participants because it is a low risk research project.

13. SAFETY & ECOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

- Radiation, toxicity, biodegradability *(Where radiation exposure is an aspect of the proposal, researchers must comply with the Code of Practice for the Exposure of Humans to Ionizing Radiation for Research Purposes (2005) <http://www.arpansa.gov.au/pubs/rps/rps8.pdf> and provide specific information set out in Clause 2.1 of the above Code.)*

Not applicable

- Researcher safety *(Is there any possible risk to the health or safety of the researcher(s)? If so, what precautionary measures will be taken?)*

There is small possible risk to the safety of the researcher. Some the research locations are in the mountainsides which are slippery and also have active volcanoes. Precautionary measure is to monitor and keep informed of the early awareness given.

14. RESEARCH DATA RECORDING & STORAGE

*(Provide details of how the data will be recorded, eg audiotape, videotape, or written notes. Describe how, where and for how long the data will be stored.)*

The interview and questionnaire will be recorded using written notes and a digital voice recorder. All the data will be stored in portable/external drives until the thesis has been completed.

15. ANALYSIS & REPORTING OF RESULTS

*(Describe how the data will be analysed and who will have access to the research data and results. How will the results be published? Will participants receive the results?)*

The data will be coded and noted to be included in the analyses. The participants will not be given the results (unless requested).

16. OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION

None

17. OTHER ETHICS COMMITTEES TO WHICH PROTOCOL HAS BEEN SUBMITTED

*(If the project involves research conducted overseas, give details of any local ethics clearance procedures that apply to it.)*

None

18. PROPOSED FUNDING SOURCE

*(If researchers will receive any personal payment for conducting the study, this must be disclosed to the Committee.*

*If the study has a commercial sponsor, this must be mentioned on the participant information sheet.)*

Local Government of North Sulawesi Province and or Government of Central Minahasa Regency.

19. REFERENCES

Jones, David S (1993).Traces in the country of the white cockatoo (chinna junnak cha knaek grugidj): a quest for landscape meaning in the Western District, Victoria, Australia: a dissertation in landscape architecture, volumes 1- 4, University of Pennsylvania, USA

Lippard, Lucy R. (1997). *The lure of the local: senses of place in a multicentered society*, The New Press, NY

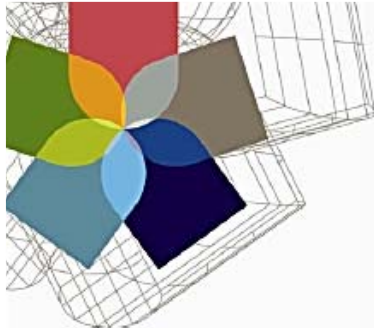
Marshall, Nancy. (2010). Layers, Lenses, and Landscapes, paper presented at International Conference Arte-polis 3 – Creative Collaboration and the Making of Place, Asian-African Conference Hall, Merdeka Building, Bandung, Indonesia, 23-24 July 2010

Seddon, George (1979). The genius loci and Australian landscape, *Landscape Australia* No.2, Pp.66

Spirn, Anne W. (1998). *The language of landscape*, Yale University Press, London

Waterson, R. (1990). *The living house: an anthropology of architecture in South-East Asia*, Oxford University Press, Pty Ltd

## Appendix 1.2.6 Supervisor's Letter for Conducting Fieldwork



### Faculty of Science and Technology

Associate Professor David Jones  
 Director – Planning Program  
 School of Architecture and Building  
 Geelong Waterfront Campus  
 Victoria 3217 Australia  
 Telephone 03 5227 8763  
 Facsimile 03 5227 8341  
 E [david.jones@deakin.edu.au](mailto:david.jones@deakin.edu.au)  
Deakin University CRICOS Provider Code: 00113B

### To Whom It May Concern

I wish to confirm that I am a supervisor of Ms Cynthia Wuisang's doctoral candidature at the University of Adelaide.

Ms Wuisang is investigating the Minahasan cultural relationship to their traditional landscape to better understand how to manage these landscapes and ensure the cultural richness and spirit continues. No research has been previously undertaken with this ethnic community in Indonesia on this topic.

As part of this investigation Ms Wuisang needs to undertake field work over a period of 3 months in the traditional lands of the Minahasa surrounding Lake Tordano on Sulawesi Island in Indonesia.

To enable a quality investigation and primary research documentation Ms Wuisang is in need of funds to assist her field work including travel and accommodation around the Lake Tordano region.

I would strongly support her application for funds to support field investigation, and would encourage your organisation to support her endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Dr David Jones  
 MPIA CPP, AAILA RedgLandArch, Micomos

## Appendix 1.2.7 Letter of Support from Dean of Faculty to Conduct Fieldwork Research to High Risk Destination



23 March, 2011

Professor James **McWha**  
Vice-Chancellor & President  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE SA 5005

FACULTY OF THE PROFESSIONS  
PROFESSOR PASCALE QUESTER  
EXECUTIVE DEAN  
ROOM 4, LEVEL 11, NEXUS 10 TOWER  
10 PULTENEY STREET  
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE  
SA 5005  
AUSTRALIA  
TELEPHONE +61 8 8303 3986  
FACSIMILE +61 8 8303 4383  
Execdean.professions@adelaide.edu.au  
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

Dear Professor **McWha**,

**Re: Ms Cynthia Wuisang (School of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Urbane Design)**

In accordance with the Travel and Entertainment Policy, Ms **Wuisang**, from SALUD has request permission for travel to a high risk destination – Northern **Selawesi** in Indonesia.

Ms **Wuisang** has a need to travel to Northern **Selawesi** at this time in order to collect data as part of her research into the *genius loci* (sense of place) in nature and environment through the human relationship with the 'landscape' of **Minahasa**. The data collection will involve landscape observations and interviews with locals.

This trip has been risk assessed and the risk assessment is attached to this memo. Indonesia is currently a high risk due to the very high threat of terrorist attack.

The control measures in place for this travel include:

- Ms **Wuisang** has been briefed about the specific risks in staying in high profile accommodation in Jakarta's CBD.
- Movement has been registered with DFAT – Smart Traveller
- Required vaccinations have been arranged prior to departure.
- Ms **Wuisang** has been provided with the latest information from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) detailing the potential risks and will continue to monitor relevant media.
- Contingency arrangements are in place for Ms **Wuisang** to remain in contact with the University and advise of changes to planned itinerary.

Prudential Services have advised that this travel is covered by our travel insurance as it is under a Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) level 4 travel warning. (Only level 5 areas being excluded at this time)

Given the control measures in place and the importance of this work I request that approval be granted for this travel request.

Please contact << Insert Faculty contact here >> if you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Pascale Quester  
Executive Dean

## Appendix 1.2.8 Approval letter to Travel to a High Risk Destination

DIVISION OF SERVICES AND RESOURCES  
FINANCIAL SERVICES



### REQUEST FOR APPROVAL TO TRAVEL TO A HIGH RISK DESTINATION

#### Purpose of Form

Version 1.2  
(c) 2008

This form is to be completed by University business travellers to seek authorisation for travel to international countries where the Department of Foreign Affairs & Trade have issued an advisory stating the destination carries a level 4 (reconsider your need to travel) or 5 (do not travel) warning. The form needs to be approved by the University's Vice Chancellor & President prior to the travel occurring. Please lodge the form with your School / Branch Administrator when complete and if possible, scan and attach the document to your Travel Requisition in the Expense Management System.

| 1. TRAVEL REQUESTOR DETAILS  |   |               |            |
|--|---|---------------|------------|
| Name of Requestor  | CYNTHIA ERUTA VIRGIN WUISANG  | Employee ID   |            |
| Faculty / Division   | SALUD (PHD STUDENT)   |               |            |
| School / Branch  | THE PROFESSIONS   |               |            |
| Email Address  |   | Contact Phone |            |
| 2. TRAVEL DETAILS  |   |               |            |
| Destination/s for Requested Travel   | MINAHASA REGENCY, NORTH SULAWESI, INDONESIA   |               |            |
| Proposed Dates of Travel   | 3/04/2011 TO 3/07/2011  |               |            |
| Current DFAT Warning Level   | Level 4 -   |               |            |
| Purpose for Travel<br>(please attach any supporting documentation)                                       | Fieldwork Research 1: collecting Primary Data<br>(Observations & Interview communities) |               |            |
| Traveller's Signature  |   | Date          | 22/03/2011 |
| 3. SUBMIT TO HUMAN RESOURCES (OH&S)  |   |               |            |
| Risk assessment has been completed and documented as per attachments.                                    |   |               |            |
| Signature<br>Manager, Health Safety & Wellbeing  |   | Date          | 25/3/2011  |
| 4. SUBMIT TO EXECUTIVE DEAN OR VICE PRESIDENT FOR CONSIDERATION  |   |               |            |
| The following have been considered and I now provide the following comments as part of my consideration: |   |               |            |
| Risk Assessment for the proposed travel  |   |               |            |
| Insurance Options  |   |               |            |
| The degree to which the proposed travel is essential   |   |               |            |
| It is recommended that this request be approved / not approved   |   |               |            |
| Name   |   | Position      |            |
| Signature  |   | Date          |            |
| 5. VICE CHANCELLOR AND PRESIDENT   |   |               |            |
| The proposed travel is approved / not approved.  |   |               |            |
| Signature  |   | Date          |            |
| 6. NOTIFY APPLICANT and submit to Records Management Office (RMO)  |   |               |            |

The current official version of this form is maintained on the Financial Services website. If this form has been downloaded or printed, it may not be the current official version.

Page 1 of 1

## Appendix 1.3 Interview Question Design, Strategy and Processes during Field study I

**FIELD STUDY 1: THE GENIUS LOCI RESEARCH**  
 Week 2 April – Week IV June 2011  
 Location: Minahasa Region-North Sulawesi, Indonesia

**Identifying Indigenous Landscape; the Landscape Structure and the Landscape Meaning**

Using several qualitative methods, this project will use an ethnographic approach to investigate the concept of ethnicity and geographical location; a phenomenology approach to investigate the interpretations and experience of the Indigenous Minahasan peoples with their land; and, field research through participant observation and grounded theory using coding and memoing (Trochim, William.M.K 2006, Malonda, B.F 2010)

When using the participant observation method, the researcher will directly observe the current landscape in the Minahasa Region including:

c. Identifying the landscape structure (Patches, Edges and Corridors) including:

- Landscape Boundary (Edge): territorial boundaries of the ancient Minahasa
  - Landscape pathways(Corridor): (tracing the spread of tribal and pathways through the landscape story; and,
- Sites/Places (Patches): (the sacred sites and the ceremonial sites).

As part of observations on location with the Minahasa, a sketch of map will be produced as part of the participant interviewed graphically articulating their knowledge of the history of the Minahasan culture and their landscape.

d. Identifying the existence of *Genius Loci* both tangible and intangible. *Genius Loci* components will be identified through the Minahasa Ethnic Community's spiritual connection to country, origin and lure, the community's social connection to country, identity of landscape, individuals, families and clans), biodiversity and totemic identity, and traditional environmental and landscape knowledge.

The components of *Genius Loci* observational research in the field include:

- Traditional boundaries:
  - natural boundaries,
  - language boundaries, and
  - Invented boundaries, which are created through myth and story.
- Pathways: in related to food, water and shelter linking origins and destinations;
- Ceremonial areas: for instance the "*Watu Pinawetengan*" Ancient Stone at *Pinabetengan* Village (the ritual of worshipping the God called "*opo wananatas*" or "*opo empung*");
- Biodiversity: Interpretations of seasonality and changes in the nature and the presence of totemic species and their habitats (for instance, *Sulawesi scops Owl (Otus manadensis)*, locally named "*Manguni*" and in ancient Minahasa language called "*Makasiouw*" or "*Totosik*");
- Battlefields sites (between Europeans and or tribes):
  - The Minawana Land Tondano (Moraya Fortress-battles between Minahasan patriots and the Bolaang Mongondow tribe),
  - Catalina Landing site (*Pendaratan di Catalina*) - First arrival of Dutch in the Minahasa
  - Other sites associated with battles

- Spiritual landscapes: Including cultural lore, sense of belonging, history and connection to country.

Research on Genius Loci; including ethno-ecology, of the Minahasa community will be obtained by interviewing approximately 280 people (with the target of 20 people for each village), consisting of several groups:

1. Elder People Group (5 elders; male and female as key informants in each village);
2. Men and Women leaders in a family/household in the village (5 people of each visited villages)
3. Religious leaders ( Approximately 2 person);
4. Cultural activists (approximately 2 person);
5. Leader of the Village and
6. Farmers (approximately 50 farmers in the region: 5 farmers in each village)

#### **Tangible Cultural Landscape Components:**

1. biodiversity and totemic identity: Species richness and local endemic plants and animals;
2. traditional environmental practices: agricultural practices include horticulture, medicinal;
3. Natural landscape characteristics: a range of landscapes of settlements (rural landscapes), the lake, mountains, river landscapes, agriculture landscapes, forest landscapes, and other natural landscapes;
4. Ceremonial areas;
5. Climate interpretations of and responses to nature, including the presence of totemic species and their habitats;
6. Battlefields sites between European and or tribes; and,
7. Spiritual landscapes (include places rich in cultural lore, sense of belonging, history and connection to country)

#### **Process of collecting data:**

The data will be collected in each village over a period of 5 days. About 20 people are to be interviewed in each village.

The variable of *genius loci* of the Minahasa Ethnic community will be sought during the conduct of the interviews using the prompt and probes approach (Robinson, J.P 2000 and Wilson, M 1996).

#### **Data Collection Methods**

To collect data, the researcher will use Purposive Sampling Method (Tongco, Ma.D.C 2007), and select key informants. Key informants will be divided into 6 groups. Each Group of Elders consist of males and females and include the Leader of house also select males and females.

## THE GENIUS LOCI RESEARCH

### IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW TO ELDER PEOPLE AND TO LEADER OF A HOUSE SEMI-STRUCTURED TECHNIQUE

Before conducting interviews, for the participants, the researcher will:

- introduce herself and her assistants;
- provide an introduction explaining the research project purpose;
- Make a personal approach; and, ask the permission for their time to be interviewed twice over a period of two days.

The Participant will be asked to:

- complete and sign the consent form, including reading the information sheet and complaint sheet;
- prepare for the researcher's recording tools (supporting tools include tape recorders, digital camera, paper, stationary, maps and some pictures);
- commence conversations while setting up the recording devices;
- commence interview with the informant;
- participant in the interview over a period of approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour; and
- At the end of the conversations, the researcher will make summation of the interview for endorsement by the participant.

## Interview question design

### Part A. The Tangible Human Made Phenomenon (Character): (63 Questions)

#### Participant details:

Name:

Age:

Family:

Occupation:

#### Topic 1

##### Cultural attributes; Art Festival (Traditional songs and dances)

1. What traditional songs or myths are important to the Minahasa? Give examples and what is the language of the songs?
2. What kind of activities in this village occurs in association with the practice of traditional singing of the Minahasa?
3. Are the songs still sung today?
4. How important are these traditional songs to the Minahasa people?
5. Do you have any suggest about preserving these traditional Minahasan songs?

#### Topic 2

##### Cultural attributes; traditional settlements/indigenous architecture

1. When was this village formed or established?
2. Do you know about the Minahasan traditional house?
3. What activities occure when people build traditional house? Are there any rituals?
4. What are the traditional skills, practices and tools used to build traditional houses?
5. What is important about raditional house of Minahasa and what is of importance to you about these houses?
6. How can we maintain these traditional houses for future generations?
- 7.



**Topic 3****Cultural attributes; public spaces/communal space**

1. What kind of places and buildings are used for public or communal meetings in this village? Were different places and buildings used in the past?
- 2A. Do you remember examples of village meeting occurring in this village?
- 2B. What are the activities and reasons why when the community is gathering together?
- 3A. Are there traditional tools used by the people in this village?
- 3B. How are people told about meetings in this village?
4. Are the public or communal places in this village endured until now?
5. How do the villagers use communal space in the village?
6. Do you have any suggest about the future of village communal spaces?

**Topic 4****Cultural attributes; private/home gardening**

1. Do you have a backyard and a frontyard in your lot/parcel?
2. What kinds of plants do you plant?
3. Do you have a private/ large garden which you plant fruits or vegetables?
4. Where is it located? Do you cultivate your private land for your own use or for the market?
5. Are traditional practices used in your garden/private to develop and maintain soil and food production?

**Topic 5****Cultural attributes; place names**

1. Do you know meaning of this village's name?
2. Do you know when the village's name was established?
3. Who gave this name to this village?
4. Are there any meanings or reasons for this name to be used at this place?

**Topic 6****Cultural attributes; artefacts in the village**

1. What are the cultural artefacts of this village? Where are they located?
2. What is the history and significance of these artefacts?
3. What importance are these artefacts to the village people?
4. How can we preserve these artefacts for future generations?

**Topic 7****Cultural attributes; the sacred sites**

1. What places in this village are special, sacred, holy or have a special relationship with God or spirits? Where are these places?
2. What are the stories your parents or grandparents told you about these sacred sites in this village and or surrounding this place?
3. If people in this village think the place is sacred, what are the activities associated with the place?
4. What tools are used by people associated with activities at these places?
5. How do you interact with the place?
6. Whats is your personal association to these sacred sites/places?
7. How do we maintain these sacred places?

**Topic 8****Cultural Attributes; ritual/ceremonial activities**

1. What ritual or ceremonial activities or events occur in this village? Where and when do they occur?

2. What ritual and ceremonial activities occurred during your parents or grandparents' years that do not occur today?
3. What is the purpose of these rituals or ceremonies?
4. Do these rituals or ceremonies still occur today?
5. What rituals are important to this place?
6. What rituals and ceremonies, do you believe are important to the Minahasa and should be continued?

**Topic 9**  
**Cultural attributes;**  
**Totemic animals; occurrence and its pristine habitats**

1. What are the totemic animals of the Minahasa?
2. Do you know the story about the owl or other animal species which are used as symbols by the of Minahasan people?
3. Do you have any personal experiences with animal bird? Or have you ever seen these birds? How many times and where? (informant will be assisted with some pictures)
4. If you have no experience about this bird, have you ever heard from your parents or grandparents or other family members, the Minahasan story about this animal?
5. What is the significance of this bird to you and people in this village?
6. Do the sounds of bird mean anything good or bad than anything good or bad?
8. The term of '*Manguni*' is taken from which ancient Minahasa language?
9. Do you know the special sound this bird makes and the meaning of it in this village?
10. What kind of cultural activities are associated with the sound of this bird?
11. Are there any tools linked to this bird's sound? For instance a ritual, ceremony or other?
12. Manguni is a symbol of Minahasa Land. How important is it to protect this bird and its habitat?
13. Where does this bird commonly live?
14. How important is this totemic species to the Minahasa?

**Topic 10**  
**Traditional Ethno-Ecological Knowledge**  
**(Questions are made separately)**

## II. The Tangible Natural Phenomenon (meaning)

**Topic 11**  
**Vegetation; medicinal use and traditional or ritual use**

1. Do you know any plants used for medicinal use? (This question will be assisted with pictures and or list of local plants). What role do these plants serve?
2. Where are these medicinal plants grown?
3. Do you plant medicinal plants in your garden?
4. Which plants are used for ceremonial or ritual events?
5. How important is the conservation of native plants for the Minahasa?

**Topic 12**  
**Drinking water resources**

1. Where is drinking water obtained in this region?
2. How do you get clean fresh water?
3. Is there any river or creek near this village that has drinking water?
4. How difficult is it to obtain water supplies? If yes, how do you solve the water problem?
5. What are the activities do the community use to save water resources? For example, keeping the forest green or planting vegetation to maintain the land health and soil fertility?

6. What tools are used to preserve drinking water?
7. Do you have any suggestions for conserving water sources in the future?

**Topic 13**  
**Topography and orientation**

1. What land or environment is important to the Minahasa? Is it Tondano Lake, sacred places or other places?
2. What important places are associated with Minahasa when people think about Minahasa?

**PART B**  
**I. The Intangible Human Made Phenomenon (character)**  
**(56 Questions)**

**Topic 1**  
**Connection with birthplace or place – sense of place**

**Experience:**

1. How long have you lived in this village?
2. Have you ever travelled out of this village and stayed for a long time in other place? If yes, when, where, and for how long?

**Feeling:**

3. How do you feel when you remember your birthplace? Do you miss this place and want to go back to it?
4. Tell me about your feelings of living in this village?
5. Are there different feelings between other places and your birth place?
6. Do you feel proud of your birthplace and do you feel proud of Minahasa Land and culture? Can you tell me the reasons why?

**Knowledge:**

7. How well do you know about your birthplace in terms of its culture and spirit? Can you describe the land and the environment of your birthplace?

**Topic 2**  
**Connection to memory of places; childhood, young and current age**

**Childhood:**

1. What are the special things that you remember about your birthplace when you were a child? For example, the places you used to play at with families, relatives and/or neighbour?
2. What were your activities? Did you play games or just visit the place or do other things?
3. Do you remember the kind of your childhood games? For example playing kite, or others.
4. What tools were used to make these toys and games?
5. Are the games still commonly used by children in this village?
6. What is your perception of the importance of these play this activities to children in the future?

**Young:**

7. When you were young what activities did you do each day?
8. Do these activities still occur amongst young people in this village today?
9. Do you value these activities for young people leadership and community responsibilities in the future? Do you have any suggestions?

**Current age:**

10. What is important value about your birthplace now? Do you feel proud of your place?
11. Do you have any expectation about developments or changes that have occurred to your birthplace?

### Topic 3 Genealogy and Social values and connections

1. Do you know and remember your family tree?
2. Do you know all of your families live or stay in this village?
3. How do you maintain your family relationships? Do you have any family gatherings?
4. How important do you believe is the continuation of family relationships?
5. Do you know of any kind of social tradition that still occurs in this village? If yes please mention the example?
6. Is there any old tradition or custom that has disappeared from use?
7. What are the important social activities in this village?
8. Whats tools are used to support these social activities?
9. What social activities are bounded the Minahasa Land, which until present are still being use by the Minahasan people?

### Topic 4 Language boundaries

- 1A. Do you know about any ancient languages of the Minahasa?
- 1B. Have you been used your local language since your childhood?
2. Do you know when people started using the common language in this village?
3. The Minahasa have several local ancient-languages like "tombulu", "tolour", "tontemboan". Do you understand more than one language?
4. Do you like using this language? Have you ever taught it to your family?
5. Do you know the reason why the languages are named? Are the languages associated with place and territory in Minahasa?
6. Is the language you use still commonly used in this village or other places in Minahasa? If yes, in what way?
7. Do you know the meaning of "*Spirit of place*" in your language?
8. How important do you believe is the conservation of the ancient languages of Minahasa?

### Topic 5 Believe and Spiritual systems

1. Do you know of any belief systems other than the five acknowledged religions in our country?
2. Do you know of any belief systems in this village or in Minahasa Land of the past? For example Minahasa ancient beliefs?
3. If yes, what kind of beliefs system are they? Are some people still using these systems for any purposes? For example in managing environment or other things
4. Are you still actively involved in the religious activities in this village?
5. If yes, what kind of religious activities are you involved in?
6. How important are the ancient belief systems for contemporary Minahasan people and for Indigenous people in Minahasa?
7. Are these ancient belief systems good things to maintain?
8. Do you know about any story or myth about the Minahasa Land?
9. If yes, what kind of myth or story? For example a story that associates with good and bad things like the night sound of birds, taboo sites, or people who disappear in the jungle?
- 3A. Tell me story if you have experienced or heard it anywhere in this village or in Minahasa Land?
- 3B. Who did you hear from this myth or story from?
- 4A. Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?
- 4B. Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?
5. Do you know any natural signs in Minahasa Land? Is the nature used by people for activities? For example cultivation?
6. What are the tools associated with these natural signs?
7. How important are these Minahasan Spiritual systems?

**Topic 6**

**Spiritual landscape - sense of belonging**  
(Through the landscapes of settlements (rural landscapes), the lake, mountains, rivers, agriculture, forests, and other natural landscapes)

1. How well do you know the environment of your village?
2. What do you feel when you enter this environment? For example when you have a walk.
3. Have you ever expressed the environment of your village or Minahasa Land through poems, writings or pictures? Or is there any member of your family who has done this?
4. Has the past of the environment in this village changed since your childhood?
5. What activities in this village are associated with the environment or forests?
6. What tools are used to support these activities?
7. Are there special places in the landscape or environment that you visit? If yes, where and why?

**Topic 7**

**Battlefield sites (European and or tribes)**

1. Do you know the story about the European occupation of Minahasa?
2. Were your parents/grandparents directly involved, fought in the battle or defended themselves from European soldiers in Minahasa Land?
3. If yes, when and where did they fight or defend in Minahasa Land?
4. Do you know any famous patriotists of Minahasa from this village? Or could it be your family ancestors?
5. Are there other places that people claim as battlesites in Minahasa Land?
6. Do you know of any places the Minahasa people used to hide and seek refuge from the European colonizers?
7. How important are these battlefield sites to the Minahasa?

**Topic 8**

**Climate interpretations**  
(whether and seasons and changes in the nature, the presence of totemic species and their habitats)

1. What are the two common seasons in the Minahasa land?
2. How do changes in micro-climate or local climate affect your activities?
3. What kind of activities is dependent upon local climate? For example crops or cultivated plants.
4. Has the climate or its seasons changed over the past few years?
5. As a farmer or fruit harvester do you use a climate calendar in your planning?

## II. The Intangible Natural Phenomenon (Meaning) (14 Questions)

### Topic 9

#### Land boundaries and ancestor's pathways (Through myth and stories)

1. What is actually the boundary of Minahasa Land in our province? (This question will be assisted by showing a map)
2. Do you know the first story of the Minahasa ancestors and the term "*Wulur ma'atus*" mountainous in which they lived and spread out through the Land?
3. Do you know the meaning of *Wulur ma'atus*? What language is linked to this name?
4. When was this term first used?
5. Minahasa Ethnic ancestors tell about "*Toar and Lumimu'ut*" as part of Minahasan myth history believing that they lived in this mountain. Do you know this story? (This question will use map or a piece of Map for explanation)
6. Where is the place *Wulur ma'atus* in the Minahasa Landscape? (assisted with a current map of Minahasa)
7. Do you know of Minahasa stories that tell of ancestors whom migrated from one place to another place in this region?
8. Do you know any special routes, tracks or pathways they made?
9. Did your parents or grandparents ever tell you these stories?
10. Do you know of any Minahasan story about the Minahasa settling around Tondano Lake?

### Topic 10

#### Landscape language; wilderness and power of nature

1. Have you heard of any Minahasan story that tells of wilderness, and the disappearance of people in the forests or mountains, rivers or other places in the Minahasa region?
2. If yes, which places and where?
3. Do you know of the places that the God called "*opo wananatas*" or "*opo empung*", and God's descendants called '*opo wailan*', lived?
4. How do you feel when you look at the mountains or forests of Minahasa?
5. Have you ever entered a jungle or climbed a mountain of Minahasa? Have you ever felt lost inside the jungle or on the mountainsides?
6. Do you know any story that tells of people lost in the forests or mountains, and how they found their way back home?
7. What are your perceptions about wilderness in Minahasa Region?

### TOPIC 10

#### Tangible Human made phenomenon (Character)

#### ETHNO-ECOLOGY INTERVIEW TO FARMERS SEMI-STRUCTURED TECHNIQUE

Participants will be selected based on information given by the village Head. Village profiles (*profil desa*), include community social structures, family/household, occupation, including their occupation as farmers, for instance rice/paddy, maize/corn, flowers and trees (decorative crops), horticulture crops (fruits and vegetables) as well as animal husbandry, and hunting and fishing.

In the field, the researcher will undertake participant observation including:

1. Observing farmer's activities and when they are not working in their farmland
2. Observing the landscape and its surrounding
3. Taking notes and pictures
4. Conducting interviews (interviews can be done in the field or at home, depend on preference).

Leading questions concerning local land use and traditional agricultural practices include:

- What is the structure of this agricultural landscape?
- What kind of traditional agricultural and land use management practices are applied?
- What are the farmer's interpretations of nature and environment and how do they interact with the landscape features in the village?
- What local knowledge on the ecology of the forests and landscape in the region is important?
- How important is natural resource management in the region including land use and spatial planning?

## TRADITIONAL ETHNOECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE

Participant's details:

Name:

Age:

Family:

Occupation:

### Topic 10A

#### The structure of rural agricultural landscape

1. Describe the land and the environment of your village?
2. What are land uses in this village?
3. What natural resources are found in this village? Or what is commonly cultivated?
4. Do you farm more than one parcel of land? Is it inherited from your parents or grandparents?
5. What is your main crop? Is it for subsistence farming?
7. Do you sell this crop to support your family economy?
8. How do you cultivate this land? Do you have fallow land (unproductive land)?

### Topic 10B

#### Traditional agricultural practices and land use management

1. Do you use traditional practices or new farming technology systems?
2. Based on your experience, what kind of traditional agricultural practices do you use?
3. Can you give an example of your traditional cultivating and cropping system? For example distance/space between each seed or plant, period of cultivating and or others.
4. What tools do you use to support your traditional practice?
5. How does climate or seasonality influence when to cultivate or crop?
6. How do you manage your farmland?
7. How does drainage work on your farmland?

**Topic 10C**  
**Interpretations of nature and interaction with the landscape**

1. Are natural signs important in your farming practices and in land use management?
2. Do you use other alternative natural sources around this village/area if in one period of time your farmland is not productive?
3. If yes, what sort of natural resources and where do you obtain these resources?
4. Do you look for other natural resources in other regions?
5. Have you ever walked to the surrounding village?
6. What is important about your surrounding environment? Do you know of any special site or natural element along any way or track?

**Topic 10D**  
**Local knowledge on ecology of the forests and landscape  
in the occupied region**

1. Do you know the type of the landscape and forest surrounding this village? If yes can you describe it at glance?
2. Do you sources items and or food from the forest to support your activities? For example, plants for medicinal purposes, hunting animals or others?
3. If yes, what type of species of plants/animals do you obtain? (in local name or Bahasa)
4. Do you know of any wild animals that are protected by Indonesian or Minahasan law?
5. Does community ever try to conserve the land and forest in the village surrounds?
6. If yes, what activities occur?
7. What lands are claimed by the community as customary lands? If yes where?
8. How important are customary lands to this village?
9. What tools or actions are used to protect these customary lands?

**Topic 10E**  
**Expectations of natural resource management  
(Including land use and spatial planning)**

1. What are the environmental issues in your region?
2. How important is it to save or conserve the natural resurces, including the land and the environment?
3. Is long-term environmental protection important to your region?
4. Would you consider using Modern technologies for your farming practices in the future?
5. Do you think it is important for the government to help farmland conservation as well as helping to manage your region in a sustainable way?
6. Is there a Minahasa word for 'conservation'?

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN MY RESEARCH PROJECT



**Part C**  
**INTERVIEW TO THE VILLAGE LEADERS**  
**USING UNSTRUCTURED TECHNIQUE**

Issues to be discussed or asked:

- Sustainability in the village (ecological sustainable way in the village)
- Government points of view in decision-making and their efforts to conserve the cultural and social values of the village,
- Short and long-term environmental conservation measures in the village and the surrounding environment based upon existing policy and decision-makers

**Part D**  
**INTERVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS/PRIESTS**  
**USING UNSTRUCTURED TECHNIQUE**

Issues to be discussed or asked:

- Contemporary Minahasa Identity
- Religion and Customary law
- Religion and Contemporary Minahasan Culture
- Religion and Contemporary Rituals in Minahasa
- Religion and Contemporary Myths or stories in Minahasa

**Part E.**  
**FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION TO THE CULTURAL ACTIVISTS**  
**USING SEMI-STRUCTURED TECHNIQUE**

If an interview to a cultural activist in each village has not been undertaken, the FGD will be used as an alternate method by inviting several cultural activists in Minahasa to discuss:

- Shaping Minahasa Identity: Past – Present and Future of Minahasa Land
- Tangible Cultural Landscapes : Strategies in Preserving Cultural attributes
- Intangible Cultural Landscapes: Contemporary Beliefs, Spiritual and social systems and the strategies to maintain the local wisdom and knowledge of the Minahasa

**Researcher Observation Check List**  
**Land use functions at Rural-regional Landscape of Minahasa**  
**In case Study Area and Selected Villages**

Name of the Village: .....

District: .....

| No | Land Use  | Thick Box | Location | (Detail) |
|----|---|-----------|----------|----------|
| 1  | Agriculture land ( <i>sawah</i> )   |           |          |          |
| 2  | Plantation Area ( <i>kobong kering</i> )  |           |          |          |
| 3  | Ranch and pasture or grassland  |           |          |          |
| 4  | Agro-forestry: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Home gardens,</li> <li>• Heterogenous forest</li> <li>• Homogenous forest</li> <li>• Garden forest</li> </ul> |           |          |          |
| 5  | Indigenous forest/wild forest   |           |          |          |
| 6  | Settlement  |           |          |          |
| 7  | Recreation and tourism area   |           |          |          |
| 8  | Wildlife conservation area  |           |          |          |
| 9  | Water conservation area   |           |          |          |
| 10 | Street corridors  |           |          |          |
| 11 | Pond, fish pond   |           |          |          |
| 12 | Marsh/swamp   |           |          |          |

## Appendix 1.4 Coding the Interview Question Design

Coding the Interview Questions design for *Genius Loci* research in Minahasa  
(Source; Author 2010)

| Phenomenological in and of place (Analysis Components) | (Themes/Coding)   | Research Questions  |
|--|---|---|
| The tangible human made dimensions                     | Connection with the place – sense of belonging (Sense of Place)                   | <p><u>Experience:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived in this village?</li> <li>• Have you ever travelled out of this village and stayed for a long time in other place? If yes, when, where, and for how long?</li> </ul> <p><u>Feeling:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do you feel when you remember your birthplace? Do you miss this place and want to go back to it?</li> <li>• Tell me about your feelings of living in this village?</li> <li>• Are there different feelings between other places and your birth place?</li> <li>• Do you feel proud of your birthplace and do you feel proud of Minahasa Land and culture? Can you tell me the reasons why?</li> </ul> <p><u>Knowledge:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How well do you know about your birthplace in terms of its culture and spirit? Can you describe the land and the environment of your birthplace?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Connection to memory of places; childhood, young and current age (Sense of Place) | <p><u>Childhood:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the special things that you remember about your birthplace when you were a child? For example, the places you used to play at with families, relatives and/or neighbour?</li> <li>• What were your activities? Did you play games or just visit the place or do other things?</li> <li>• Do you remember the kind of your childhood games? For example playing kite, or others.</li> <li>• What tools were used to make these toys and games?</li> <li>• Are the games still commonly used by children in this village?</li> <li>• What is your perception of the importance of these play this activities to children in the future?</li> </ul> <p><u>Young:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When you were young what activities did you do each day?</li> <li>• Do these activities still occur amongst young people in this village today?</li> <li>• Do you value these activities for young people leadership and community responsibilities in the future? Do you have any suggestions?</li> </ul> <p><u>Current age:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is important value about your birthplace now? Do you feel proud of your place?</li> <li>• Do you have any expectation about developments or changes that have occurred to your birthplace?</li> </ul> |
|  | Cultural attributes; Traditional songs/myth songs                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What traditional songs or myths are important to the Minahasa? Give examples and what is the language of the songs?</li> <li>• What kind of activities in this village occurs in association</li> </ul>  |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | <p>with the practice of traditional singing of the Minahasa?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Are the songs still sung today?</li> <li>• How important are these traditional songs to the Minahasa people?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggest about preserving these traditional Minahasan songs?</li> </ul>  |
|  | Cultural attributes; public spaces/communal space                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What kind of places and buildings are used for public or communal meetings in this village? Were different places and buildings used in the past?</li> <li>• Do you remember examples of village meeting occurring in this village?</li> <li>• What are the activities and reasons why when the community is gathering together?</li> <li>• Are there traditional tools used by the people in this village?</li> <li>• How are people told about meetings in this village?</li> <li>• Are the public or communal places in this village endured until now?</li> <li>• How do the villagers use communal space in the village?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggest about the future of village communal spaces?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Cultural attributes; the sacred sites                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What places in this village are special, sacred, holy or have a special relationship with God or spirits? Where are these places?</li> <li>• What are the stories your parents or grandparents told you about these sacred sites in this village and or surrounding this place?</li> <li>• If people in this village think the place is sacred, what are the activities associated with the place?</li> <li>• What tools are used by people associated with activities at these places?</li> <li>• How do you interact with the place?</li> <li>• What is your personal association to these sacred sites/places?</li> <li>• How do we maintain these sacred places?</li> </ul>  |
|  | Cultural attributes; traditional settlements/indigenous architecture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When was this village formed or established?</li> <li>• Do you know about the Minahasan traditional house?</li> <li>• What activities occur when people build traditional house? Are there any rituals?</li> <li>• What are the traditional skills, practices and tools used to build traditional houses?</li> <li>• What is important about traditional house of Minahasa and what is of importance to you about these houses?</li> <li>• How can we maintain these traditional houses for future generations?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Cultural attributes; artifacts in the village                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the cultural artifacts of this village? Where are they located?</li> <li>• What is the history and significance of these artifacts?</li> <li>• What importance are these artifacts to the village people?</li> <li>• How can we preserve these artifacts for future generations?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Cultural attributes; totemic animals                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the totemic animals of the Minahasa? For example owl, bird, or others?</li> <li>• Do you know the story about the owl or other animal species which are used as symbols by the of Minahasan people?</li> <li>• Do you have any personal experiences with manguni bird? Or have you ever seen these birds? How many times and where? (informant will be assisted with some pictures)</li> <li>• If you have no experience about this bird, have you ever heard from your parents or grandparents or other family members, the Minahasan story about this animal?</li> <li>• What story do you remember?</li> <li>• What things are associated with this bird in this village?</li> <li>• What is the significance of this bird to you and people in this village?</li> <li>• Do the sounds of bird mean anything good or bad than anything good or bad?</li> </ul> |

|                                      |   |  |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
|                                      | Cultural attributes; private/home gardening       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you have a backyard and a front yard in your lot/parcel?</li> <li>What kinds of plants do you plant? Do you plant medicinal plants?</li> <li>Do you have a private/ large garden which you plant fruits or vegetables?</li> <li>Where is it located? Do you cultivate your private land for your own use or for the market?</li> <li>Are traditional practices used in your garden/private to develop and maintain soil and food production?</li> </ul>  |
|                                      | Cultural attributes; place names                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know meaning of this village's name?</li> <li>Do you know when the village's name was established?</li> <li>Who gave this name to this village?</li> <li>Are there any meanings or reasons for this name to be used at this place?</li> </ul>  |
|                                      | Cultural Attributes; ritual/ceremonial activities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What ritual or ceremonial activities or events occur in this village?</li> <li>Where and when do they occur?</li> <li>What ritual and ceremonial activities occurred during your parents or grandparents years that do not occur today?</li> <li>What is the purpose of these rituals or ceremonies?</li> <li>Do these rituals or ceremonies still occur today?</li> <li>What rituals are important to this place?</li> <li>What rituals and ceremonies, do you believe are important to the Minahasa and should be continued?</li> </ul>   |
| The intangible human made dimensions | Believe systems                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know of any belief systems other than the five acknowledged religions in our country?</li> <li>Do you know of any belief systems in this village or in Minahasa Land of the past? For example Minahasa ancient beliefs?</li> <li>If yes, what kind of beliefs system are they? Are some people still using these systems for any purposes? For example in managing environment or other things</li> <li>Are you still actively involved in the religious activities in this village?</li> <li>If yes, what kind of religious activities are you involved in?</li> <li>How important are the ancient belief systems for contemporary Minahasan people and for Indigenous people in Minahasa?</li> <li>Are these ancient belief systems good things to maintain?</li> </ul>  |
|                                      | Spiritual systems                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know about any story or myth about the Minahasa Land?</li> <li>If yes, what kind of myth or story? For example a story that associates with good and bad things like the night sound of birds, taboo sites, or people who disappear in the jungle?</li> <li>Tell me story if you have experienced or heard it anywhere in this village or in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>Who did you hear from this myth or story from?</li> <li>Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?</li> <li>Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?</li> <li>Do you know any natural signs in Minahasa Land? Is the nature used by people for activities? For example cultivation?</li> <li>What are the tools associated with these natural signs?</li> <li>How important are these Minahasan Spiritual systems?</li> </ul> |
|                                      | Social values and connections                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know of any kind of social tradition that still occurs in this village? If yes please mention the example?</li> <li>Is there any old tradition or custom that has disappeared from use?</li> <li>What are the important social activities in this village?</li> <li>Whats tools are used to support these social activities?</li> <li>What social activities are bounded the Minahasa Land, which until present is still being use by the Minahasan</li> </ul>   |

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
|  |  | people?   |
|  | Language boundaries                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know about any ancient languages of the Minahasa?</li> <li>Have you been used your local language since your childhood?</li> <li>Do you know when people started using the common language in this village?</li> <li>The Minahasa have several local ancient-languages like "tombulu", "tolour", "tontemboan". Do you understand more than one language?</li> <li>Do you like using this language? Have you ever taught it to your family?</li> <li>Do you know the reason why the languages are named? Are the languages associated with place and territory in Minahasa?</li> <li>Is the language you use still commonly used in this village or other places in Minahasa? If yes, in what way?</li> <li>Do you know the meaning of "<i>Spirit of place</i>" in your language?</li> <li>How important do you believe is the conservation of the ancient languages of Minahasa?</li> </ul> |
|  | Individual, families and clans                     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know and remember your family tree?</li> <li>Do you know all of your families live or stay in this village?</li> <li>How do you maintain your family relationships? Do you have any family gatherings?</li> <li>How important do you believe is the continuation of family relationships?</li> </ul>  |
|  | Spiritual landscape - sense of belonging           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>How well do you know the environment of your village?</li> <li>What do you feel when you enter this environment? For example when you have a walk.</li> <li>Have you ever expressed the environment of your village or Minahasa Land through poems, writings or pictures? Or is there any member of your family who has done this?</li> <li>Has the past of the environment in this village changed since your childhood?</li> <li>What activities in this village are associated with the environment or forests?</li> <li>What tools are used to support these activities?</li> <li>Are there special places in the landscape or environment that you visit? If yes, where and why?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Climate interpretations                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>What are the two common seasons in the Minahasa land?</li> <li>How do changes in micro-climate or local climate affect your activities?</li> <li>What kinds of activities are dependent upon local climate? For example crops or cultivated plants.</li> <li>Has the climate or its seasons changed over the past few years?</li> <li>As a farmer or fruit harvester do you use a climate calendar in your planning?</li> </ul>  |
|  | Battlefield sites (European tribes, and or groups) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know the story about the European occupation of Minahasa?</li> <li>Were your parents/grandparents directly involved, fought in the battle or defended themselves from European soldiers in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>If yes, when and where did they fight or defend in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>Do you know any famous patriotisms of Minahasa from this village? Or could it be your family ancestors?</li> <li>Are there other places that people claim as battlesites in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>Do you know of any places the Minahasa people used to hide and seek refuge from the European colonizers?</li> <li>How important are these battlefield sites to the Minahasa?</li> </ul>   |

|                                 |   |   |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| The tangible natural dimensions | Traditional boundaries: natural boundaries and pathways     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is actually the boundary of Minahasa Land in your province? (This question will be assisted by showing a map)</li> <li>• Do you know the first story of the Minahasa ancestors and the term "<i>Wulur ma'atus</i>" mountainous in which they lived and spread out through the Land?</li> <li>• Do you know the meaning of <i>Wulur ma'atus</i>? What language is linked to this name?</li> <li>• When was this term first used?</li> <li>• Minahasa Ethnic ancestors tell about "<i>Toar and Lumimu'ut</i>" as part of Minahasan myth history believing that they lived in a mountain in Southern Minahasa. Do you know this story? (This question will use map or a piece of Map for explanation)</li> <li>• Where is the place <i>Wulur ma'atus</i> in the Minahasa Landscape? (assisted with a current map of Minahasa)</li> </ul> |
|                                 | Presence of totemic species and its pristine habitats       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have you ever, seen <i>Manguni</i> in this village or in the surrounding environment? (assisted with some pictures)</li> <li>• The term of '<i>Manguni</i>' is taken from which ancient Minahasa language?</li> <li>• This bird is a night bird, have you ever seen it in the daylight?</li> <li>• Do you know the special sound this bird makes and the meaning of it in this village?</li> <li>• What kind of cultural activities are associated with the sound of this bird?</li> <li>• Are there any tools linked to this bird's sound? For instance a ritual, ceremony or other?</li> <li>• <i>Manguni</i> is a symbol of Minahasa Land. How important is it to protect this bird and its habitat?</li> <li>• Where does this bird common live?</li> <li>• How important is this totemic species to the Minahasa?</li> </ul>          |
|                                 | Vegetation; medicinal use and traditional or ritual use     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know any plants used for medicinal use? (This question will be assisted with pictures and or list of local plants). What role do these plants serve?</li> <li>• Where are these medicinal plants grown?</li> <li>• Do you plant medicinal plants in your garden?</li> <li>• Which plants are used for ceremonial or ritual events?</li> <li>• Can you recognize the environment or places these plants normally grow? For example "<i>Tomohon city</i>" is famous with pine and flowers</li> <li>• How important is the conservation of native plants for the Minahasa?</li> </ul>  |
|                                 | Water holes   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Where is drinking water obtained in this region?</li> <li>• How do you get clean fresh water?</li> <li>• Is there any river or creek near this village that has drinking water?</li> <li>• How difficult is it to obtain water supplies? If yes, how do you solve the water problem?</li> <li>• What are the activities do the community use to save water resources? For example, keeping the forest green or planting vegetation to maintain the land health and soil fertility?</li> <li>• What tools are used to preserve drinking water?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggestions for conserving water sources in the future?</li> </ul>  |
|                                 | Topography and orientation                                  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What land or environment is important to the Minahasa? Is it Tondano Lake, sacred places or other places?</li> <li>• What important places are associated with Minahasa when people think about Minahasa?</li> </ul>   |
|                                 | Invented boundaries and pathways (Through myth and stories) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know of Minahasa stories that tell of ancestors whom migrated from one place to another place in this region?</li> <li>• Do you know any special routes, tracks or pathways they</li> </ul>   |

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| The intangible natural dimensions  |  | <p>made?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Did your parents or grandparents ever tell you these stories?</li> <li>• Do you know of any Minahasan story about the Minahasa settling around Tondano Lake?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Language use boundaries                                      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know about any divisions of tribal territory of the Minahasa in the past? (in 1600s to 1900s) (will be assisted with map of past tribal division)</li> <li>• Were any of these divisions linked to local language boundaries?</li> <li>• Do you know the boundary of your language do you currently use? (This question will be assisted with source of information or map of past language boundaries)</li> </ul>  |
|  | Landscape language; wilderness and power of nature           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have you heard of any Minahasan story that tells of wilderness, and the disappearance of people in the forests or mountains, rivers or other places in the Minahasa region?</li> <li>• If yes, which places and where?</li> <li>• Do you know of the places that the God called "<i>opo wananatas</i>" or "<i>opo empung</i>", and God's descendants called '<i>opo wailan</i>', lived?</li> <li>• How do you feel when you look at the mountains or forests of Minahasa?</li> <li>• Have you ever entered a jungle or climbed a mountain of Minahasa? Have you ever felt lost inside the jungle or on the mountainsides?</li> <li>• Do you know any story that tells of people lost in the forests or mountains, and how they found their way back home?</li> <li>• What's your perceptions about wilderness in Minahasa Region?</li> </ul> |
| Ethnoecology; Traditional Environmental Knowledge – TEK and practices (applied to farmers) | The structure of rural agricultural landscape                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Describe the land and the environment of your village?</li> <li>• What are land uses in this village?</li> <li>• What natural resources are found in this village? Or what is commonly cultivated?</li> <li>• Do you farm more than one parcel of land? Is it inherited from your parents or grandparents?</li> <li>• What is your main crop? Is it for subsistence farming?</li> <li>• Do you sell this crop to support your family economy?</li> <li>• How do you cultivate this land? Do you have fallow land (unproductive land)?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Traditional agricultural practices and land use management   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you use traditional practices or new farming technology systems?</li> <li>• Based on your experience, what kind of traditional agricultural practices do you use?</li> <li>• Can you give an example of your traditional cultivating and cropping system? For example distance/space between each seed or plant, period of cultivating and or others.</li> <li>• What tools do you use to support your traditional practice?</li> <li>• How does climate or seasonality influence when to cultivate or crop?</li> <li>• How do you manage your farmland?</li> <li>• How does drainage work on your farmland?</li> </ul>   |
|  | Interpretations of nature and interaction with the landscape | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What natural signs or climatic factors such as temperature, humidity, rain and wind occur in this region?</li> <li>• Are natural signs important in your farming practices and in land use management?</li> <li>• Do you use other alternative natural sources around this village/area if in one period of time your farmland is not productive?</li> <li>• If yes, what sort of natural resources and where do you obtain these resources?</li> <li>• Do you look for other natural sources in other regions?</li> <li>• Have you ever walked to the surrounding village?</li> <li>• What is important about your surrounding environment? Do you know of any special site or natural element along any</li> </ul>   |



|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
|  |   | way or track?  |
|  | Local knowledge on ecology of the forests and landscape in the occupied region        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know the type of the landscape and forest surround this village? If yes can you describe it at glance?</li> <li>• Do you sources items and or food from the forest to support your activities? For example, plants for medicinal purposes, hunt animals or others?</li> <li>• If yes, what type of species of plants/animals do you obtain? (in local name or <i>Bahasa</i>)</li> <li>• Do you know of any wild animals that are protected Indonesian or Minahasan law?</li> <li>• Does community ever try to conserve the land and forest in the village surrounds?</li> <li>• If yes, what activities occur?</li> <li>• What lands are claimed by the community as customary lands? If yes where?</li> <li>• How important are customary lands to this village?</li> <li>• What tools or actions are used to protect these customary lands?</li> </ul> |
|  | Expectations of natural resource management (Including land use and spatial planning) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the environmental issues in your region?</li> <li>• How important is it to save or conserve the natural resources, including the land and the environment?</li> <li>• Is long-term environmental protection important to your region?</li> <li>• Would you consider using Modern technologies for your farming practices in the future?</li> <li>• Do you think it is important for the government to help farmland conservation as well as helping to manage your region in a sustainable way?</li> <li>• Is there a Minahasa word for 'conservation'?</li> </ul>   |
|  |   | •  |

Appendix 2  
Demographic Background of Respondents

NOTE:

This appendix is included on pages 414-430 of the print copy of the thesis held in the University of Adelaide Library.

## Appendix 3

### Table Summary of Raw Material Data Analysis of Transcript Interview (Original Language)

(Referred to Appendix Part 2 in CD)

Appendix 3.1 Summary Respondent of Ro'ong and Tolour Villages

Appendix 3.2 Summary Respondent of Makalonsouw Villages

Appendix 3.3 Summary Respondent of Kembuan – Tonsea Lama Villages

Appendix 3.4 Summary Respondent of Watumea Villages

Appendix 3.5 Summary Respondent of Telap Villages

Appendix 3.6 Summary Respondent of Pélélo'an Villages

Appendix 3.7 Summary Respondent of Lininga'an Villages

Appendix 3.8 Summary Respondent of Rurukan Villages

Appendix 3.9 Summary Respondent of Kinilouw Villages

Appendix 3.10 Summary Respondent of Pulutan Villages

Appendix 3.11 Summary Respondent of Tanggari Villages

Appendix 3.12 Summary Respondent of Wulurma'atus and Kakenturan Villages

Appendix 3.13 Summary Respondent of Tumaratas Villages

Appendix 3.14 Summary Respondent of Pinabéténgan Villages

## Appendix 4

## Transcript Analysis; Resume (Researcher's Notes) based upon Respondents' Answers.

(Sample of Ro'ong and Tolour Villages Interview data)

| <b>Phenomenology in and of place<br/>The tangible human made components</b> |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| (Themes/Coding)   | Research Questions  | Resume<br>(Researcher Notes)  |
| Connection with the place – sense of belonging (Sense of Place)             | <p><u>Experience:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How long have you lived in this village?</li> <li>• Have you ever travelled out of this village and stayed for a long time in other place? If yes, when, where, and for how long?</li> </ul> <p><u>Feeling:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do you feel when you remember your birthplace? Do you miss this place and want to go back to it?</li> <li>• Tell me about your feelings of living in this village?</li> <li>• Are there different feelings between other places and your birth place?</li> <li>• Do you feel proud of your birthplace and do you feel proud of Minahasa Land and culture? Can you tell me the reasons why?</li> </ul> <p><u>Knowledge:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How well do you know about your birthplace in terms of its culture and spirit? Can you describe the land and the environment of your birthplace?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Experience and Feeling</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Few of respondents are indigenous Minahasa – born in the village - , others are from other village in the same region and one is born out of Minahasa because of parent's job in other islands in Indonesia.</li> <li>• Majority of respondents have travelled around the region (Kotamobagu, Manado) and Indonesia (Java, Borneo/Kalimantan, Papua, because of their job and events (as army, teacher, or others)</li> <li>• Four respondent used to work actively so they would not remember to go back home. 3 Respondents were not feeling like home, they have a strong connection to the village, to their birthplace. Other reason because of the hot weather, while in the village or region is fresh and cold.</li> <li>• Respondents are likely to feel comfortable and secure in their own place, which they feel part of the community.</li> <li>• Respondent felt different stay in other places used to recollect their paddy farms and the community.</li> <li>• They proudly live in their homeland; the nature and the lake even though there feel difficult in facing veryday life. Few stated that they 'placenta' (when they delivered to the world) were buried there.</li> </ul> <p><b>Knowledge about the village :</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Experience when joined their parent in the traditional music and dance; <i>MAENGGKET</i> and <i>MASAMBO</i></li> <li>• Experience in socializing those traditional dances and songs, played and had a walk as well as figured out the certain place; Tewasen, Minawanua, an historical site near the lake. The site is an archaeological site which has significant artifacts called Warua or Waruga. The site also a former village before the Tondano Town is established.</li> <li>• Respondents can describe the village in the past; the community's live being as farmer and fisherman, eating corn and cassava as primary food.</li> <li>• Past condition of the village; dry area until 1950<sup>th</sup> with paddy-wet- filed and plantation.</li> <li>• Traditional housing with high columns. Housings are surrounded by palm sugar trees (<i>Pohon Seha</i>) and</li> <li>• Many open areas huge front yard for playground. After cropping the paddy field is used as playground. No certain open space.</li> <li>• Places that used to be used for playing and festivals; end of the village near the lake estuary, Eastern part of the village.</li> </ul> |

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| <p>Connection to memory of places; childhood, young and current age (Sense of Place)</p> | <p><b>Childhood:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the special things that you remember about your birthplace when you were a child? For example, the places you used to play at with families, relatives and/or neighbour?</li> <li>• What were your activities? Did you play games or just visit the place or do other things?</li> <li>• Do you remember the kind of your childhood games? For example playing kite, or others.</li> <li>• What tools were used to make these toys and games?</li> <li>• Are the games still commonly used by children in this village?</li> <li>• What is your perception of the importance of these play this activities to children in the future?</li> </ul> <p><b>Young:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When you were young what activities did you do each day?</li> <li>• Do these activities still occur amongst young people in this village today?</li> <li>• Do you value these activities for young people leadership and community responsibilities in the future? Do you have any suggestions?</li> </ul> <p><b>Current age:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is important value about your birthplace now? Do you feel proud of your place?</li> <li>• Do you have any expectation about developments or changes that have occurred to your birthplace?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Childhood</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kind of activities; chasing each other in the lake water, play in between the bamboo, swimming. Helping parents planting and watering plants and bailed water using bamboo. Children in the past also hunted for fishes in the canals. When rain season came, in the grassy area came up <i>gurame</i> fish to the open water. They also hunted <i>Kabos</i> fish in the puddle area near <i>pohon rumbia</i>.</li> <li>• Kind of traditional games; <i>Skop Blek game, Kokotrek game, Piong (gasing) game, Batu Bal game, Wiouw (kemiri) game, kasti game, Patok game, Rope Jump game</i>. The tools are made from wood, candlenut fruit, rope, coconut shell (umpai-Tolour language).</li> <li>• Interesting game for children in Tolour village called "<i>manikep</i>" or "<i>mengikan</i>". It's a traditional way to catch fish by making a trap in the grasses.</li> <li>• Few of the traditional games are rarely occurring amongst modern children and some others are disappeared. Main influence is lost of playgrounds and the village situation (overflow from the lake).</li> </ul> <p><b>Young</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Sports activities</li> <li>• Went to the lake for fishing and sell it.</li> <li>• Leader in the religious organizations</li> <li>• Joined military (ABRI)</li> <li>• Actively in the art and music; <i>Maengket</i> traditional dance and <i>Kolintang</i> instrument music.</li> <li>• Others used to go with their parents, listening to their parents and friends talked about Minahasan (Tondano) storytelling and history and sang traditional songs. <i>Masambo</i> is one of the simple one.</li> </ul> <p><b>Current</b></p> <p>Important values of the land; as a recollection, beloved place</p> |
| <p>Cultural attributes; Traditional songs/myth songs</p>                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What traditional songs or myths are important to the Minahasa? Give examples and what is the language of the songs?</li> <li>• What kind of activities in this village occurs in association with the practice of traditional singing of the Minahasa?</li> <li>• Are the songs still sung today?</li> <li>• How important are these traditional songs to the Minahasa people?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggest about preserving these traditional Minahasan songs?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traditional songs in <i>Maengket</i> dance in Tombulu ethnic language</li> <li>• Few still remember the songs such as; <i>Opo Wananatas, O Ina ni Keke, O Minahasa, Esa Moka genangku</i>.</li> <li>• One of the elder in Tolour Village is actively creating religious songs in the local (Tondano) language and forming a choir and give training.</li> <li>• Traditional musics in the past; Kolintang music, Clarinet music, Shell (<i>bia</i>) Music, Bamboo Suling music.</li> <li>• In the past traditional songs are sung by farmers while cropping in the paddy field.</li> <li>• Began in 1990th the traditional songs in the community are slowly disappeared.</li> <li>• Mostly elder generation love the traditional songs</li> <li>• Traditional song is important for maintaining the existence of Minahasan and its identity.</li> <li>• The role of family/parent, stakeholders, teachers (in the school curriculum)</li> <li>• Conserving by Initiate to create traditional songs, for instance <i>Maramba</i> and perform in the congregation (church) and the community.</li> </ul>   |
| <p>Cultural attributes; public spaces/communal space</p>                                 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What kind of places and buildings are used for public or communal meetings in this village? Were different places and buildings used in the past?</li> <li>• Do you remember examples of village meeting occurring in this village?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past the community gathering in the front yard of the village leader called "<i>Kumtua</i>" or in the communal building (<i>balai pertemuan kampung</i>), or in the church. In the past there was no public building, commonly people gathering in a traditional building called <i>bangsal</i></li> </ul>   |

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|   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the activities and reasons why when the community is gathering together?</li> <li>• Are there traditional tools used by the people in this village?</li> <li>• How are people told about meetings in this village?</li> <li>• Are the public or communal places in this village endured until now?</li> <li>• How do the villagers use communal space in the village?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggest about the future of village communal spaces?</li> </ul>   | <p>or <i>sabua</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aims for gathering people; cooperation for cleaning the environment or announcement of departed.</li> <li>• Traditional announcement is called <i>palakat</i> using bamboo and then it changed the tool using tetengkoren (a traditional tool called tong-tong, made from iron). A person called <i>pala</i> (<i>kepala lingkungan</i> or <i>kepala jaga</i> or in Minahasan terminology called <i>teterusan</i>) announces the news using local ethnic Tolour/Tondano language.</li> <li>• <i>Palakat</i> still occur until 1970<sup>th</sup></li> </ul> <p>For maintaining the culture and recognition palakat is important to keep exist.</p>   |
| <p>Cultural attributes;<br/>the sacred sites</p>                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What places in this village are special, sacred, holy or have a special relationship with God or spirits? Where are these places?</li> <li>• What are the stories your parents or grandparents told you about these sacred sites in this village and or surrounding this place?</li> <li>• If people in this village think the place is sacred, what are the activities associated with the place?</li> <li>• What tools are used by people associated with activities at these places?</li> <li>• How do you interact with the place?</li> <li>• What is your personal association to these sacred sites/places?</li> <li>• How do we maintain these sacred places?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Ro'ong Village</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the past, an old big tree like <i>Pohon Beringin</i> (<i>Ficus Benjamina</i> – family Moraceae) is used to do ritual to call their God, Opo Empung. Its taboo or prohibited for Children to play there or touch the tree. It is also called "kalewo'an". The ancestors of the village believe there are guardian spirits reside the tree. The sacred bird Manguni occurred there occasionally. In the hot season the ancestry went there to do the tradition of baku sirang or makeisan.</li> <li>• A place in Paddy field called <i>kayu Rempeng</i> in the western part of the Tondano River, which is now covered by grasses and disregarded by the community. The place in the past is used by ancestry to call God/Opo Empung, through the ritual to ask for rain. The tradition is called "baku sirang". The ancestors applied themselves with <i>wiwingkol</i> or <i>peporongan kokong</i> (ikat kepala-Indonesian language) when they wanted to fight or battle between tribes. They also prepared stone wrapped with the red material or cloth. Called <i>ereten</i> (origin from <i>eret</i> means belt. It is for avoiding enemy or demonic things.</li> <li>• A spring or water resource in Uluna, Koya, a place which the elders of the village to do ritual tradition. Respondent had experience went there and an elder-through the ritual-bathing her in the water in order to get invulnerable or immune.</li> </ul> <p><b>Tolour Village</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Based upon story-telling, water is deem important to the past community especially elders to connect with God and ask for something (rain, blessing).</li> <li>• Minahasan people (certain people in the community) have ability or power to make rain occur in certain area. Elders in the past afraid to do evil or mistake things, there fore they can ask God to fulfill their requests. In the past there is no religion but the people knew there is God.</li> <li>• Some elders have ikat pinggang for protecting themselves from demonic or harm things.</li> <li>• Minawanua is a place commonly used in the past by the elders of Tolour Village and other people in relation to their belief to Opo Empung. There is a huge tree in Tabokan and they made ritual there. Story derived from past elders, said that when they asked for the rain, they did the tradition of baku sirang under the tree. When they came back the rain was occurred. In the ancient era the elders are so closed relationship with their God.</li> </ul> |
| <p>Cultural attributes;<br/>traditional settlements/indigenous architecture</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• When was this village formed or established?</li> <li>• Do you know about the Minahasan traditional house?</li> <li>• What activities occur when people build</li> </ul>  | <p><b>Ro'ong Settlement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In 1930<sup>th</sup> people inhabited place surrounding the stream. The place they called Salundo'ong, which means stream. In the beginning the settlement is called Do'ong. In 1940<sup>th</sup> the area was covered by trees</li> </ul>  |

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|   | <p>traditional house? Are there any rituals?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the traditional skills, practices and tools used to build traditional houses?</li> <li>• What is important about traditional house of Minahasa and what is of importance to you about these houses?</li> <li>• How can we maintain these traditional houses for future generations?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Vernacular Architecture and the tradition in establishment of the house</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Few of vernacular architecture or traditional Minahasan housing exist in Roong village</li> <li>• Respondents can describe simple method of the construction and the element of the house. A simple traditional house is made of bamboo and it strengthens with <i>juk robe</i> or <i>gomutu robe</i>.</li> <li>• Indigenous tradition in a house making include Provide a chicken and <i>tawa'ang</i> plant while praying in Tondano language (<i>Makatana</i> language).</li> <li>• There was a ritual called <i>Masambo</i> dance</li> <li>• In <i>masambo</i> tradition, the elders did the ritual of <i>sirang gunting</i> by using liquor called <i>cap tikus</i>, which is made of palm sugar tree (<i>pohon seho</i>). The liquor is splashed into each of 4 main columns at the corner. The aim of the ritual is based upon the elder's custom in the past. It was for making <i>medokokong</i> or made it stronger to the column. Also after install the roof they put a flag on the top, which means the house construction is finished.</li> <li>• The traditions occurred until 1980<sup>th</sup>.</li> <li>• The house is a family heritage which is built by <i>mapalus</i> tradition.</li> </ul> <p><b>Tolour Settlement</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• People live in this area for almost a century.</li> </ul> <p><b>Vernacular Architecture and the tradition in establishment of the house</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First stone is placed by certain elders after singing and praying.</li> <li>• The house is arranged based upon the elder's experiences.</li> <li>• Few of the rules in building a traditional house, for instance if displaced the main column or <i>tiang raja</i> would caused difficulty in occupant's life. Second, a house should be made from a good quality of woods for its resistance and based upon the thought, to take a wood from the forest is according to the moon period.</li> <li>• Personage people and the community of the village are invited and the elders did the praying ritual to <i>Empung Renga-Renga</i> in Tolour ethnic language.</li> </ul> |
| <p><b>Cultural attributes; artifacts in the village</b></p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the cultural artifacts of this village? Where are they located?</li> <li>• What is the history and significance of these artifacts?</li> <li>• What importance are these artifacts to the village people?</li> <li>• How can we preserve these artifacts for future generations?</li> </ul>   | <p><b>Artifacts:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Old traditional house in Roong Village</li> <li>• <i>Lisung</i>, a traditional tool made from stone ( for threshing paddy or coffee) and its taken from under water of Tondano lake in a place near Pelelo'an Village. It was once taken from its place in the house (by former Governor) but the tool appeared again or existed again in supernatural way.</li> </ul> <p><b>Achaeological and Historical sites</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minawanua, the first settlement in Tondano. It has many patrimonies inside of the <i>waruga</i> stone ( primordial burial tradition in Minahasa )</li> <li>• Respondent found jewelleryes (bracelet and ring made from brass) when working in the paddy field in Minawanua area.</li> <li>• When respondent was childhood, a visit to Minahasa from the Queen of The Dutch caused the <i>waruga</i> are being moved to Sawangan by the government (officers from the Culture and Art Division. Witness of this case can be asked to <i>Tona'as</i> Aso in Roong.</li> <li>• Moraya Fortess in Minawanua area (a place defense of Minahasan warriors from The Dutch's attack during</li> </ul>   |

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|   |   | <p>Tondano Wars occurred in 18<sup>th</sup> Century.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Personal patrimonies or heirloom (a relic handkerchief and stick, an antique-cana bottle, lisung, traditional house, farmland)</li> <li>• Togela-Tobeke-Tambelang a -three in one- meeting place for farmers, which flow spring form Tondano Lake.</li> </ul>   |
| Cultural attributes; totemic animals        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the totemic animals of the Minahasa? For example owl, bird, or others?</li> <li>• Do you know the story about the owl or other animal species which are used as symbols by the of Minahasan people?</li> <li>• Do you have any personal experiences with manguni bird? Or have you ever seen these birds? How many times and where? (informant will be assisted with some pictures)</li> <li>• If you have no experience about this bird, have you ever heard from your parents or grandparents or other family members, the Minahasan story about this animal?</li> <li>• What story do you remember?</li> <li>• What things are associated with this bird in this village?</li> <li>• What is the significance of this bird to you and people in this village?</li> <li>• Do the sounds of bird mean anything good or bad than anything good or bad?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Particular Species that have been regard as a special symbol in which the Minahasan believe has spiritual significant are a bird called Manguni (in Tolour /Toundano Language is known as Loyot. Manguni appear in certain areas. Such as in <i>Tewasen</i> trees area, in Minawanua Land.</li> <li>• <i>Manguni</i> also found in other hills like, Tounsukun.</li> <li>• 2 Respondents who are also still working as farmers found <i>Manguni</i> in paddy area (captured by accident in the snare)</li> <li>• Other name of manguni; <i>Loyot, Manguni Makasiouw</i></li> <li>• Myth, story and experience with <i>Manguni</i>; 1. The bird brings signs or messages to the people or group or community about good or bad things through its sound (when people have a trip, in the battle situation, in changing in season. In the past Manguni bird is being used to predict the candidate to become a new Village leader. It also gives sign of a death about to happen to the next day.</li> <li>• Sound of <i>Kiik</i> and <i>Oooot Oooot</i> are believed important meaning to certain people as a warning.</li> <li>• Respondent experienced the sound in the past</li> <li>• Other species of deer is seen in Minawanua in 1980<sup>th</sup>, which came from Tonsaru hill.</li> <li>• Other species of birds occure near until now inTolour Village and the surrounding for example Weris, Ringkeng, Pokok, Rebang and <i>Ponombalan</i>, as well as <i>Tengor, Suminsim Labole</i>. All in local name. Species of snakes appeared in the paddy area; Paddy snake (<i>ular sawah</i>), Black snake (<i>ular hitam</i>) and <i>Tourere</i> (small snake).</li> </ul> |
| Cultural attributes; private/home gardening | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you have a backyard and a front yard in your lot/parcel?</li> <li>• What kinds of plants do you plant? Do you plant medicinal plants?</li> <li>• Do you have a private/ large garden which you plant fruits or vegetables?</li> <li>• Where is it located? Do you cultivate your private land for your own use or for the market?</li> <li>• Are traditional practices used in your garden/private to develop and maintain soil and food production?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The majority of respondent have a home garden, which they plant local trees as well as medicinal plant and daily plants for spices</li> <li>• Example of local plants; Karimenga, se'utan <i>lemon ikan</i>, meispel trees, tome-tome trees, bombongan tree, amu tree (sukun). Saketa leaves (Jarak plant).</li> <li>• Front yard and back yard is utilized for daily need and for sustain life.</li> </ul>  |
| Cultural attributes; place names            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know meaning of this village's name?</li> <li>• Do you know when the village's name was established?</li> <li>• Who gave this name to this village?</li> <li>• Are there any meanings or reasons for this name to be used at this place?</li> </ul>   | <p><b>Ro'ong</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Place name is based upon the land feature; a water flow come from Uluna area, flowing thurgh the middle part of the village, so the elders named it Do'ong. In 1940<sup>th</sup> the government changed the name to Ro'ong.</li> <li>• Other version in determining the village name; the condition of the village in the past was a swamp area near the estuary area of Tondano Lake, which is closed to Minawanua land (the oldest settlement). In the past the area was found many <i>rero'ongan</i>, a coop for chicken to spawn.</li> </ul> <p><b>Tolour</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Based upon the village history, name of the place</li> </ul>   |



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|   |   | <p>Tolour origin from Tou= man/people and Lour=water. This area in the past was a swamp area. Few of the habitants that used to catch fish, saw that this place can be stayed. The area was huge and unity with the Kiniar Village until 1950.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Other meaning of Tolour: "man on the water"..<i>orang di atas air..</i> in the past the habitants used to live on the water near the estuary of the lake.</li> <li>• Places surrounding Tolour are named respectively, Totontok, Apouwen (a place with grows many trees), Lelema, Sipokok, Louroki, Tounsukun, Toulumuten, Serawet, Tounipus, Ketama and Touliang Oki.</li> <li>• Places name in the hilly area respectively; Marawas, makawembeng, Papakelan, Tewo Oki, Tounsukun, Toulumuten, Serawet, Tounipus and Ketama</li> </ul>  |
| Cultural Attributes; ritual/ceremonial activities                                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What ritual or ceremonial activities or events occur in this village?</li> <li>• Where and when do they occur?</li> <li>• What ritual and ceremonial activities occurred during your parents or grandparents years that do not occur today?</li> <li>• What is the purpose of these rituals or ceremonies?</li> <li>• Do these rituals or ceremonies still occur today?</li> <li>• What rituals are important to this place?</li> <li>• What rituals and ceremonies, do you believe are important to the Minahasa and should be continued?</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Six respondent have never seen directly a customary traditions</li> <li>• Wedding custom tradition existed in 1965<sup>s</sup> and began to disappear in 1990<sup>s</sup>. The tradition include; <i>maso minta, antar harta</i> (household appliances and land property).</li> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> and <i>Tumani</i> traditions occurred in the past. <i>Mapalus</i> tradition is working together in the plantation area (<i>kobong kering</i>) and <i>tumani</i> means land clearance for plantation.</li> <li>• The tradition of offering food to God and gods called <i>ba-ator</i> (<i>Malay Manado</i> language) occurred in the past.</li> <li>• Ceremony of collecting plants for medicinal use and bring it to <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i></li> <li>• <i>Tumalun</i> tradition in Tolour Village; collecting logs or timbers in the forest for medicinal use or building a house. However <i>tumalun</i> in recent day is destroying the forest</li> <li>• treatment tradition</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Phenomenology in and of place</b><br><b>The intangible human made components</b> |   |  |
| (Themes/Coding)   | Research Questions  | Resume (Researcher Notes)  |
| Believe systems   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know of any belief systems other than the five acknowledged religions in our country?</li> <li>• Do you know of any belief systems in this village or in Minahasa Land of the past? For example Minahasa ancient beliefs?</li> <li>• If yes, what kind of beliefs system are they? Are some people still using these systems for any purposes? For example in managing environment or other things</li> <li>• Are you still actively involved in the religious activities in this village?</li> <li>• If yes, what kind of religious activities are you involved in?</li> <li>• How important are the ancient belief systems for contemporary Minahasan people and for Indigenous people in Minahasa?</li> <li>• Are these ancient belief systems good things to maintain?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Ro'ong</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Belief system in the past include the creed of the power of relic object (<i>pusaka</i>), that gives immune to the body and can be use to protect from harmful things</li> <li>• Belief on nature signs convey through animals</li> <li>• Ritual of a possession or patrimony to make as <i>sombar</i> or <i>pegangan</i> (<i>can be a stone, knife, handkerchief or a prayer in ancient Minahasa Language</i>). In certain case, it follows with bathing ritual to make immuneto the body, commonly at the spring or <i>mata air</i>. The elder can ask the 'sacred bird' Manguni for affirmation.</li> <li>• Sombar should be heated on ember each month using incense (<i>mandi pusaka</i> or <i>ba-fufu</i>).</li> </ul> <p><b>Tolour</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Five respondents are reluctant to talk about belief system in the past.</li> </ul> <p>A belief occurred in the past to the elders. They made offerings and ritual to call <i>Opo Wailan</i> and make requests to <i>Opo Empung</i> for healing from sickness. In offering tradition they preapare things include <i>sosiru</i> (<i>tapisan beras</i>), banana leaves, cigarette, glasses made from bamboo and fill with <i>saguer</i>. During the ritual they used ginger and <i>lemon suwangi</i>.</p> |
| Spiritual systems   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know about any story or myth about the Minahasa Land?</li> <li>• If yes, what kind of myth or story? For</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 of 11 respondents did not respond to the question about myths in Minahasa</li> <li>• Myth story that Tondano Lake in the past was a</li> </ul>  |

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|                                | <p>example a story that associates with good and bad things like the night sound of birds, taboo sites, or people who disappear in the jungle?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tell me story if you have experienced or heard it anywhere in this village or in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>• Who did you hear from this myth or story from?</li> <li>• Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?</li> <li>• Do you know of any Minahasan activities or ritual customs that are carried out for good outcomes?</li> <li>• Do you know any natural signs in Minahasa Land? Is the nature used by people for activities? For example cultivation?</li> <li>• What are the tools associated with these natural signs?</li> <li>• How important are these Minahasan Spiritual systems?</li> </ul>   | <p>mountain and then erupted.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The myth of evil spirits, which is believed occur anywhere and disturbing occupants in the house. The Community belief in the nature signs or alert through sacred birds.</li> </ul>   |
| Social values and connections  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know of any kind of social tradition that still occurs in this village? If yes please mention the example?</li> <li>• Is there any old tradition or custom that has disappeared from use?</li> <li>• What are the important social activities in this village?</li> <li>• Whats tools are used to support these social activities?</li> <li>• What social activities are bounded the Minahasa Land, which until present is still being use by the Minahasan people?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> occurred in agricultural practice.</li> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> in building a house</li> <li>• Tradition of announcing in ethnic language called "<i>palakat</i>" occurred in the past.</li> <li>• <i>Mapalus</i> Tradition in the misery because of their lost, to bring <i>pinang</i> and cigarette.</li> </ul>  |
| Language boundaries            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know about any ancient languages of the Minahasa?</li> <li>• Have you been used your local language since your childhood?</li> <li>• Do you know when people started using the common language in this village?</li> <li>• The Minahasa have several local ancient-languages like "<i>tombulu</i>", "<i>tolour</i>", "<i>tontemboan</i>". Do you understand more than one language?</li> <li>• Do you like using this language? Have you ever taught it to your family?</li> <li>• Do you know the reason why the languages are named? Are the languages associated with place and territory in Minahasa?</li> <li>• Is the language you use still commonly used in this village or other places in Minahasa? If yes, in what way?</li> <li>• Do you know the meaning of "<i>Spirit of place</i>" in your language?</li> <li>• How important do you believe is the conservation of the ancient languages of Minahasa?</li> </ul> | <p><b>Ro'ong</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2 respondents have not being asked (not applicable).</li> <li>• 2 respondents can speak Tondano language but not fluent.</li> <li>• 2 respondents know more than 2 ethnic languages (Toundano and Tonsea languages)</li> <li>• Expression of 'sense of place'; "saya cinta tempat kelahiranku ini, Ro'ong" in Tolour language <i>nyaku kumepa'ar ma'nak wia tampaku</i>. Other respondent's express "saya cinta Minahasa" or "<i>nyaku pa'ar Minahasa</i>."</li> </ul> <p><b>Tolour</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• All respondents have been speaking Tolour ethnic language since childhood. Tolour language is no longer a common language for communication in the village.</li> <li>• Tolour ethnic language comprises of Tondano language, Romboken and Kakas language, and Eris language.</li> <li>• <b>Sense of place expression</b>; "I like to stay in Tolour" in Minahasan language/Tolour "<i>nyaku pa'ar wia tampaku Tolour</i>". "A place to remember and pleasing" "<i>tampa yi'ei maka'aruyen</i>".</li> <li>• Tolour language is being maintain through the church congregation and the community</li> </ul> <p>Tolour language is to be maintained as a language code.</p> |
| Individual, families and clans | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know and remember your family tree?</li> <li>• Do you know all of your families live or stay in this village?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family clan is maintained in harmonious way through "<i>Rukun Keluarga</i>" tradition. The purposes of <i>Rukun Keluarga</i> are to strengthen the family relationship, through <i>arisan</i> and worship services.</li> </ul>   |

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|  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do you maintain your family relationships? Do you have any family gatherings?</li> <li>• How important do you believe is the continuation of family relationships?</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rukun Keluarga is conducted once a month. If a family lost amember (passed away), there is a tradition to have lunch called <i>mekan or kumaus</i>. In the past togetherness is occurred when all sit together and eat corn-rice on the banana leaves and drink <i>saguer/tuak</i> or liquor made from palm sugar (<i>aren</i>) in the coconut shell (<i>tempurung</i>) or bamboo glass.</li> </ul>  |
| Spiritual landscape<br>- sense of belonging                              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How well do you know the environment of your village?</li> <li>• What do you feel when you enter this environment? For example when you have a walk.</li> <li>• Have you ever expressed the environment of your village or Minahasa Land through poems, writings or pictures? Or is there any member of your family who has done this?</li> <li>• Has the past of the environment in this village changed since your childhood?</li> <li>• What activities in this village are associated with the environment or forests?</li> <li>• What tools are used to support these activities?</li> <li>• Are there special places in the landscape or environment that you visit? If yes, where and why?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Respondent's response are based on what they see the village, comparing the past and present situation include the changing environment and development</li> <li>• The quietness and healthy whether in the village</li> <li>• The changing open spaces in the village in the past and the present</li> <li>• The dissapearence of certain fish and plant species in the lake</li> <li>• Certain landscape and places are significant as peculiar features: The three spring waters in the edge of the lake, The Natural Cave in Uluna and the Moraya Fortress in between Roong and Toubeke areas, and Apowen area in Tolour.</li> <li>• These unique places to the community have special meaningness and connectectness since they were childhood. The places are well-known amongst the community.</li> </ul> |
| Climate interpretations  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the two common seasons in the Minahasa land?</li> <li>• How do changes in micro-climate or local climate affect your activities?</li> <li>• What kinds of activities are dependent upon local climate? For example crops or cultivated plants.</li> <li>• Has the climate or its seasons changed over the past few years?</li> <li>• As a farmer or fruit harvester do you use a climate calendar in your planning?</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Weather in the past was constant so, the community, particularly farmers used to use whether calendar to manage their crop and production.</li> <li>• Climate and whether in present days significantly changing and unpredictably</li> <li>• The pattern of weather in the past resulted in nomenclature of <i>Timu</i>=north, <i>Amian</i>= east, <i>Talikuran</i>=south and <i>Sendangan</i>=Barat in the village. The unbalance ecology of environment and the forest have led to the changing weather condition in this present.</li> </ul>   |
| Battlefield sites<br>(European tribes, and or groups)                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know the story about the European occupation of Minahasa?</li> <li>• Were your parents/grandparents directly involved, fought in the battle or defended themselves from European soldiers in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>• If yes, when and where did they fight or defend in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>• Do you know any famous patriotisms of Minahasa from this village? Or could it be your family ancestors?</li> <li>• Are there other places that people claim as battlesites in Minahasa Land?</li> <li>• Do you know of any places the Minahasa people used to hide and seek refuge from the European colonizers?</li> <li>• How important are these battlefield sites to the Minahasa?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 respondents described the significant memorable battle places between tribes and European are in Minawanua, Tondano, and Moraya Fortress, man-made caves as refugees places or entrenchment during the battles and wars are in particular hills in the surrounding lake.</li> <li>• 6 respondents have no applicable answers.</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Phenomenology in and of place<br/>The tangible natural components</b> |   |   |
| (Themes/Coding)  | Research Questions  | Resume<br>(Researcher Notes)  |
| Traditional boundaries: natural boundaries and                           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is actually the boundary of Minahasa Land in your province? (This question will be assisted by showing a</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minahasa land is encompassing the border of Poigar River adjacent to Bolaang Mongondow regency in the Southern.</li> </ul>   |

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| pathways  | <p>map)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know the first story of the Minahasa ancestors and the term "<i>Wulur ma'atus</i>" mountainous in which they lived and spread out through the land?</li> <li>Do you know the meaning of <i>Wulur ma'atus</i>? What language is linked to this name?</li> <li>When was this term first used?</li> <li>Minahasa Ethnic ancestors tell about "<i>Toar and Lumimu'ut</i>" as part of Minahasan myth history believing that they lived in a mountain in Southern Minahasa. Do you know this story? (This question will use map or a piece of Map for explanation)</li> <li>Where is the place <i>Wulur ma'atus</i> in the Minahasa Landscape? (assisted with a current map of Minahasa)</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The elders of Ro'ong Village have their myth about their ancestors <i>Toar Lumimu'ut</i>.</li> <li><i>Toar</i> and <i>Lumimu'ut</i> are 2 tribes who occupied Minawanua, they wandered and hunted in the surrounding lake and they battled each other. This battle caused the MtTondano erupted and formed the Tondano Lake.</li> <li>Other respondent have different version about their ancestors. Minahasan ancestors Lumiang and Lumambot are originally from China. There is a folk song "<i>Lumiang Lumambot; seopota sewaki lumiang lumambot, wo mei</i>", which means their ancestor <i>Opo Tondano</i> was from China.</li> </ul>  |
| Presence of totemic species and its pristine habitats   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have you ever, seen <i>Manguni</i> in this village or in the surrounding environment? (assisted with some pictures)</li> <li>The term of '<i>Manguni</i>' is taken from which ancient Minahasa language?</li> <li>This bird is a night bird, have you ever seen it in the daylight?</li> <li>Do you know the special sound this bird makes and the meaning of it in this village?</li> <li>What kind of cultural activities are associated with the sound of this bird?</li> <li>Are there any tools linked to this bird's sound? For instance a ritual, ceremony or other?</li> <li><i>Manguni</i> is a symbol of Minahasa Land. How important is it to protect this bird and its habitat?</li> <li>Where does this bird common live?</li> <li>How important is this totemic species to the Minahasa?</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8 of 11 respondents have seen the bird called <i>Manguni</i>.</li> <li><i>Manguni</i> was occasionally captured in the paddy area near Tewasen, Minawanua. They also appear in the village.</li> <li><i>Manguni</i> is called '<i>loyot</i>' ini Tolour language. The elders also called this bird "<i>manguni makasiouw, siouw</i> means nine kinds of sounds.</li> <li>The sounds of manguni are believed bring good and bad messages to a person or community. Based upon personal experiences in the past, the sound 'Oooot' means good thing will happen and 'Kiiik' sound means bad sign or danger (to delay the trip or a demise).</li> <li><i>Manguni</i> can be called to appear or come to a certain person. In a ritual of <i>sosoringan</i> in Minahasan-Tolour ethnic -tradition, the elder or tonaas call the <i>Manguni</i> and suddenly the bird can perch on the soldier of <i>tonaas</i>/elder.</li> <li>Another similar bird called <i>totosik (Tito rosenbergi)</i> its sound 'totosikkk' is associated with the tradition of hunting <i>babi utang</i> (wild pig that live in the forest, usually eaten as food) in the forest or plantation areas.</li> </ul> |
| Vegetation; medicinal use and traditional or ritual use | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do you know any plants used for medicinal use? (This question will be assisted with pictures and or list of local plants). What role do these plants serve?</li> <li>Where are these medicinal plants grown?</li> <li>Do you plant medicinal plants in your garden?</li> <li>Which plants are used for ceremonial or ritual events?</li> <li>Can you recognize the environment or places these plants normally grow? For example "<i>Tomohon city</i>" is famous with pine and flowers</li> <li>How important is the conservation of native plants for the Minahasa?</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7 of 11 respondents recognize specific plants (in local name) for traditional healing purposes, which are still being used until present day.</li> <li>Based upon methods derived from the elders in the past, traditional practices using local plants still occur in the village.</li> <li>Common plants such as <i>se'sepanga</i> leave, guava leave (<i>daun jambu</i>), nutmeg fruit, have been using, as well as any grasses that believed can stop bleeding when a person accidentally cut by sharp objects.</li> <li>Traditional practice for example having a traditional spa in 10 days after delivered a baby is called "<i>mandi kera</i>". A midwife called <i>biang kampung</i> in Tolour Village might use 24 kinds of plants for instance, <i>Tewa'ang, banana, lemon suwangi (popontolen)</i> and others.</li> </ul>   |
| Drinking water resources                                | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Where is drinking water obtained in this region?</li> <li>How do you get clean fresh water?</li> <li>Is there any river or creek near this village that has drinking water?</li> <li>How difficult is it to obtain water supplies? If yes, how do you solve the</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There is a water resource in Uluna near the village. Most of community use wells and also water supply.</li> <li>In 1980s the community utilized the stream that pass through the village as water drink.</li> <li>The community in Tolour commonly using the lake for daily need as well as water drink and others prefer to buy spring water. In the past the lake water was</li> </ul>   |

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|  | <p>water problem?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the activities do the community use to save water resources? For example, keeping the forest green or planting vegetation to maintain the land health and soil fertility?</li> <li>• What tools are used to preserve drinking water?</li> <li>• Do you have any suggestions for conserving water sources in the future?</li> </ul>   | directly utilize for drink  |
| Topography and orientation   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What land or environment is important to the Minahasa? Is it Tondano Lake, sacred places or other places?</li> <li>• What important places are associated with Minahasa when people think about Minahasa?</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the local community's mind they remember the Lake, paddy area (agriculture lands), Tondano River. Those Landscape features have peculiarity in its character and embrace their life until the present.</li> <li>• The community has strong orientation to Minahasa land through the traditional songs and dances, the natural environments, and the traditional food.</li> <li>• Birthplace is a main factor that people in the village can actualize and express their live being and to relize themselves as "who am I and where do I come from". In Minahasan slogan "<i>sei re'er</i>".</li> </ul>  |
| <b>Phenomenology in and of place</b><br><b>The intangible natural components</b> |  |   |
| (Themes/Coding)  | Research Questions   | Resume<br>(Researcher Notes)  |
| Invented boundaries and pathways<br>(Through myth and stories)                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know of Minahasa stories that tell of ancestors whom migrated from one place to another place in this region?</li> <li>• Do you know any special routes, tracks or pathways they made?</li> <li>• Did your parents or grandparents ever tell you these stories?</li> <li>• Do you know of any Minahasan story about the Minahasa settling around Tondano Lake?</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Only respondents of Roong Village responded to the questions.</li> <li>• Respondent partially know about Minahasan ancestors <i>Toar Lumimu'ut</i>, which derived from the Minahasan legend that the ancestors, <i>Toar and Lumimu'ut</i>, both had wandered separately through the northern and southern part of the lake, while each of them carried a plant stick called <i>tu'is</i>.</li> <li>• Pinabéténgan village in the past is recognized was a place of ancestors, which they met there and divided the Minahasa Land. Later they opened the new lands for plantation.</li> <li>• Based upon past history book the respondent have read, the secret of Minahasa was from Tontolok Village which occupied by Bolaang Mongondow ethnic. Bolaang Mongondow ethnic came from Lembeh Island and stayed in Makawembeng hill and then they went down to occupy the surrounding lake Tondano. This story is related to the term of "sawoniwul" or the soup of putrid – kabos- fish".</li> </ul> |
| Language use boundaries  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Do you know about any divisions of tribal territory of the Minahasa in the past? (in 1600s to 1900s) (will be assisted with map of past tribal division)</li> <li>• Were any of these divisions linked to local language boundaries?</li> <li>• Do you know the boundary of your language do you currently use? (This question will be assisted with source of information or map of past language boundaries)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 9 repondent s are not applicable for the questions.</li> <li>• The ethnic division occurred in <i>Watu Pinawetengan</i>, a place which the elders/ancestors are united become <i>Minaesa</i>. <i>Minaesa</i> means united.</li> </ul>  |
| Landscape language; wilderness and power of nature                               | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Have you heard of any Minahasan story that tells of wilderness, and the disappearance of people in the forests or mountains, rivers or other places in the Minahasa region?</li> <li>• If yes, which places and where?</li> <li>• Do you know of the places that the God</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The mountainous landscapes and the wilderness in Minahasa have sometime engendered a person to get lost or loose his/her consciousness.</li> <li>• A person lost in certain part in the wilderness such as Mt Soputan occurred in the past and the peson found alive in Mt. Lokon. She told a story that she was being kidnapped by a good guardian called "<i>lulu</i>", which was</li> </ul>   |

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|  | <p>called "<i>opo wananatas</i>" or "<i>opo empung</i>", and God's descendants called '<i>opo wailan</i>', lived?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How do you feel when you look at the mountains or forests of Minahasa?</li> <li>• Have you ever entered a jungle or climbed a mountain of Minahasa? Have you ever felt lost inside the jungle or on the mountainsides?</li> <li>• Do you know any story that tells of people lost in the forests or mountains, and how they found their way back home?</li> <li>• Whats your perceptions about wilderness in Minahasa Region?</li> </ul> | <p>an elder woman. On the other story, a man lost in Kinilow and found already dead in Mt. Mahawu, which some people assumed he was being kidnapped by an evil <i>lulu</i>. Other case also occurred in Dumoga; a person had disappeared for 40 years and virtually found. His hair and beard was became long</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 5 of 11 respondent had experiences entered the forest in Lembean mountain ranges, Tombatu, Motoling, Toulumuten hills to collect log and timbers.</li> <li>• Personal experience of temporarily lost direction when passing the stream. Respondent heard someone's calling and he replied. After replied he lost orientation when standing in the big tree. The tradition in Minahasa if the case is occurred, the person should burn a cigarette and put somewhere near the palce. It is a belief that because of a guardian called <i>lulu</i>.</li> <li>• Perception of the community related to myth and supernatural ways.</li> <li>• Respect a place in Minahasan tradition for example "<i>sume'engket tela</i>" or ask permission to pass the area by sounding "<i>ehem</i>". It is narrated that in someways appeared a vision of 'gnome' near the river.</li> <li>• Unrespect to nature, according to Minahasan elders wisdom, for example doing unpolite actions; screaming or yelling, rebuking with dirty words when entering forest could be kidnapped supernaturally by "<i>lulu</i>". To ask the person to come back they made a ritual in Uluna Hills, which is believed by elders of Tolour ethnic as a place occupied by <i>lulu</i>. Respondent had seen the ritual.</li> <li>• Touliang Oki, Tounipus and Makawimbeng are remnant forest patches in Lembean Hill zones, whilst Ketamang area has been cleared for trees plantation.</li> <li>• Elders in the past used to walk in the forest with no shoes or sandal.</li> </ul> |
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## Appendix 5

### Appendix 5.1 Sample of Transcript Translation and Analysis (Based upon cultural landscape knowledge)

#### Model of Interpretation Analysis of an in-depth Interview transcript (Semi-Structured) (Transcript translation – by Researcher/Author)

(Researcher interpretations are indicated in **Underlined bold-italic**)

#### Respondent of Makalonsouw Village

Respondent code: **Makalonsouw-04**  
(Referred to Original Recording available in CD)

Healer, Farmer, Cultural Subject : Yorisen Hans 'Busu'  
Age : 59 years  
Interviewer : Author  
Assistant/language interpreter : Max Lesar  
Time : 26 April 2011 Afternoon  
Duration : 1. Hour 42 minutes 37 seconds  
Languages used by respondent : Tolour sub-ethnic (TL),  
Manado Malay (MM) and  
*Bahasa Indonesia* (BI)

#### NOTE:

This figure/table/image has been removed to comply with copyright regulations. It is included in the print copy of the thesis held by the University of Adelaide Library.

Respondent (right), interviewer (middle),  
assistant/interpreter (left)

#### Interview Transcription:

Interviewer: Now I want to ask you,...What is your name?

Respondent: It is only my nick name!...I have two names, Hans and Yorisen. Few times I got sick so they called me that. According to my parent's tradition that a name should be changed into sounds ugly name (**Self-experience and family tradition in a belief system**). In the past they called me Hans. After that they called me 'BUSU', it's a nick name and until now they called with that name. In the church people called me Yorisen.

Interviewer: How old are you?

Respondent: In July will turn into 59.

Interviewer: are you originally born here?

Respondent: sure, I was born here.

Interviewer: Can you tell me about Makalonsouw. It is said that this place is not the origin place.

Respondent: The actual story of Makalonsow was previously located up there (in the hilly area).The previous name was *Wanua Ure* or "Old Village (**History of the Village**). The reason to move here because the condition of the area was in sloping area and it used to experience sag (**the Landscape Characteristic**)

Interviewer: Do you know when the old village was build?

Respondent: I am not sure about the old village. We moved here because my parents saw that this place is good (**Landscape Characteristic**).

Interviewer: When you stayed in the old village do you realize the situation?

Respondent: Yes, I knew little about it. We moved here when the battle happened between PERMESTA army and Java army. (**Memorizing the battle history and connectedness**)

Interviewer: Do you know why they named Makalonsouw?

Respondent: the term *Wanua ure* it means Makalonsouw, the name of Makalonsouw is then recognized. People just said it 'the old village'. In here, this place called *Wanua weru* or "the New Village". The name remains the same 'Makalonsouw'. If we tracing from its name Makalonsouw, people said there was 9 persons who built the old village. After I heard based upon the language, the meaning of Makalonsow is "*Malonsor*"- or "*Malonsor-lonsor*" (**Knowledge of History**)

Interviewer: Was in *Wanua ure* inhabit many people?

Respondent: In there, many people stayed; however, few of them moved to Bolaang Mongondow and did not return here (**Migration to other region occurred**). The old village was big and the boundary of the village was approximately 1 km, because we measured the length. The houses were close one another, and few were distance. Some of the

houses were located in the valley or hollow area and near the water flow. So the village was rounded (*Picturing the old settlement*)

Interviewer: Do you know the name of the valley near this village?

Respondent: The valley is the Makalonsouw Village. There are two water flows, which then united into one flow. It meets exactly in the entrance area of the village. So the water flow breaks into three in the middle of the area and become one at the end of the entrance there. The water flows are from Pakewa, Louroki and Pulutan. They united into one stream called Louroki stream (*Describing the settlement and environment Characteristic*)

Interviewer: When you were child, do you remember the traditional games you used to play?

Respondent: We played the fruit called candle nut *kamiri*, in our language called *wiouw*. In the past there was no *paddy* or plantation area. Only after the new village was built, people cultivated *paddy* (*memory, connectedness and traditional game*)

Interviewer: What about the playground?

Respondent: it was only in the new village. In the old village we did not play in that place.

Interviewer: When you were teenager, what were your activities?

Respondent: I was leading them (the young people) to work in the farms (traditionally using hoe-*paco*). We called it "sumesuweng" a person who leading the job division. I used to do *mapalus*, supervising and managed the job of the group. So, we were competed in working, if people were working slowly, they used to pay 5 *rupiah*. After distributing the job - in one group there were 20 people - after finish, the money collected was used for party and dance (*Social Cooperation*)

Interviewer: Do you remember the song and music being used in the party? Tell me the kind of songs when you used to do *Mapalus*?

Respondent: Mainly I sang like: *ungku wanua ku rawoi, takar tinayanan u* (it means sweating and tired and sometimes talk about love) (*memory and connectedness*).

Interviewer: was the song quite longer?

Respondent: It was a kind of dancing song, so it took a long duration. I remember the song called '*sepasang rusa jantan*' (a couple of dears). In the past I used to be a hunter, and used a gun. The Army division gave responsible to me to look after this place. I had four guns to use for security (*Experiences and tools for hunting*). As a hunter, sometimes I chaptured a deer and '*babi utang*' (a forest pig). I had experience hunting a big deer, 8 people was trying to lift the deer. It was happened in 1969. Recently, the deer is extinct they are still appear but is rarely. They appear in Tounipus area (in between Makalonsouw and Touliang Oki) (*Hunter experiences and hunting places*).

Interviewer: We come back our conversation about the song... so, what is your other activity?

Respondent: We used to use *sitar* (*juk*), I sang while played sitar. It was my hobby. Today, I still sing in the church. It was lovely (*tools for traditional song*).

Interviewer: In the past when do people used to gather? Was there any huge building or space?

Respondent: No, it was only from house to house or there was a big shelter or big knock down shelter, which after the event it was being splitted off (*Communal place and space*). Mainly it occur when making a birthday party and after doing *Mapalus*. Today, the community is lack of attitude. In the past we encouraged people to do it (*Recent Social Condition*)

Interviewer: If any, what sort of event does the community interested?

Respondent: Well, when celebrating the independent day, they do *Panjat Pinang* game (*Annual Activities in the Village*) A person who know the exact day when this village was built is the former village leader (*Kumtua*). First leader was my wife's Father – Opa Sampow Mamuaya – He took the leadership position for a long period.

Interviewer: In the past how did people build a house?

Respondent: In here, I have never seen directly. After I understand, it was built by calling the elders and prayed for the house. But now priest substitute they role. In the past the "guru jemaat" used to do that (*Ritual tradition in building a house*).

Interviewer: to build the house, where do people take the material?

Respondent: In the past, commonly the house was a kind of hut or shelter (*gubuk*). The material was taken from the forest. They took the material for roof, using wood and circle-beam wood. They used wood called *Wanga* (a wood with cork in the inner side of the wood, then it being subducted ( *teto* ) to make walls and floor, and also make ceiling, which they called it *para-para* (*Material and tool for building a house*).

Interviewer: According to Om Busu, it is good to maintain the traditional Minahasan house?

Respondent: Oh, sure, it is originally Minahasan, so it is good to be used continually. It is a tradition to the Minahasa (*Personal opinion for maintaining the culture*).

Interviewer: Does Om busu actively involed in the arts? Do you know *Cakalele* dance?

Respondent: I was actively doing *Cakalele* dance. I joined the Liningaan *Cakalele* group, I was partnering with Om Youtje. I used to play the *Cakalele*, our group attended the competition, and few times we won the competition (*A Cultural Subject or Cultural activist*). But actually that competition is not the unique of *Cakalele*. We used to practice martial art (*kungfu*) at *perguruan Garuda Putih*, our teacher was Ko Sheng. We fought and defenced each other using sword and cleaver (*Culture attributes and assimilation with other culture*). The story in the past was my grandfather led



a *Cakalele* group of Tondano. (*Inherit the knowledge from the family*). In the past, Tondano was only had 11 villages, my grand father's name was YORISEN, he inherited his name to me. It taught about fighting each other, to prepare to battle each other. Lifting the cleaver and yelled "*I yayat Usanti*". (*Cultural knowledge*)

Interviewer: Do you still keep the attributes of *Cakalele*?

Respondent: Oh.. I have given it to others. Materials to use for making hat or to put in the head are made from *burung taon*, a bird with long yellow mouth. I hunted in the forest, it still abundant. For making the hat itself, we took the feathers of that bird. If I could not get the bird, I substituted with the feathers of chicken. We also used Eagle feathers; however, the good one is the "*Burung Taon*" because the bird is attractive. For the cloth of *Cakalele* we use wood. Another attribute is the head of monkey, which also taken from the forest. *Cakalele* dancing does not use special shoes, but sometimes they use sandal shoes. All attributes should be light materials. When using stones, I used to use light materials, but for ather attribute was original because I have my previous belief about using original attributes, but now I left that belief. But the unique is the cloth model (*Cultural attributes, tradition, and the knowledge*)

Interviewer: Can you tell me the spiritual things in the past?

Respondent: Actually, in the past I used to be a healer for good purposes to cure people by using plants ingredients for traditional practices, which was taken from the forest (*Cultural object and traditional healing practice*). I remember the formula/ mixed-plants were made from woods called *walisu* (there were 9 kinds of *walisu*: we called it *balisu api* or Fire *Balisu*, *balisu air* or Water *Balisu*, *balisu gousan*, and others). The branches that I chose were like skin type, with different leaves. It healed, it worked! Basically, it is not a problem of doing that, but after I learn the Bible, the Healing method can not be used because it against the Word of God, in terms of idolizing or worshipping it (*Self-conflict between traditional practice and Christianity faith*). I made medicines for healing fever. I boiled water, put all the mixed-plants into the water until it became reddish, and I gave it to the patient. The thing that indicated a wrong way was the plants material was being offered to 'gods', whereas, God has given that, but I was offered it to the "unseen spirits" (like I was idolize them) (*Traditional Practices, materials and methods and spiritual healing method*) In the past, I did ritual by putting incenses (*kemenyan*) on the table, I put the medicine plants as well and then I smoked it (*fufu*) in every full moon/lunar coming (I did at home). The plants materials are endure because the wood was plenty and I use it many times. So, I did rituals to heal people (*Indigenous Method, Indigenous Culture*).

Interviewer: What is the purpose of the ritual actually? Is it asking for blessing it or the materials are being blessed first?

Respondent: Yes, I think so. Which actually asking to *Opo Empung Mananatas* (*Tradition: Ritual Purpose*)

Interviewer: Maybe it is not wrong with the ritual because it is a belief before the European Missionary brought Christianity in Minahasa.

Respondent: O, I still believe, My Father in Law is actively involved in the church. In the past, it was not prohibit.

As a healer, I did an investigation to the patient and I used pair of stones, I put in a glass of water, the stones will arise in the water, if those stones were in standing position, it meant the person will continue to live. The stones were heavy (*Explained the Minahasan's ancient culture and method*). That was a wrong way to me. Because God said I have idolized other gods, even I never harm people (*Christianity Perspectives*).

Once in a time– I was being called to leave this medical practice - when I used to heal people in Touliang Oki. I checked the patient using my stones; the stone was waft without standing, which means she would be died. At that time there were 3 healers there as well. I was the fourth one to come there. They said, "You could not touch her, because her soul was out of her body! But because I was being called to heal, so I should do that, even though the condition of the patient was worst. And then I checked it using my method. And It was true that she was about to die. (*Medicinal practice Experience*) After that I came back home by walking. I past by the church there was a service in the village. I sat near to Youtje's house, I felt very sad because I knew that the patient would die (*Personal emotion*). The child has a family relationship with me. Then I went to that church, I felt being called by myself. I had my own desire to go. When I arrived there, I prayed and asked God but not asked to the priest. Because I am a healer I said, "according to what I use, this person will die, but if something wrong with the tool, she would not die because You God make her alive at this moment"! And when I prayed, I saw a light appeared and was coming unto me. It was about 10pm. Then I said, "If the child is healed, I will stop using my tool for healing people". Because, I belief my healing tools have indicated this child would die. But God gave me guidance. At that time I did not know much about Word of God. My prayer was if the child was being healed, it was because God healed her (*Spiritual experience in Christianity*). Then after that I stopped using my healing materials (*Impact on the spiritual experience to a personal decision*). Many times I experienced the same thing.

Continue to the story, after that, the family came to me saying that the child was healed. They said *si le'osow = she/he* was healed. Then I said, "It is not because of me". I went back to the patient's house again and the 3 healers or *tona'as* said I was so powerful. Then I said, , "I am not healing this child but God has done, so it is not my medicine, because if based upon my medicine this child is about to die and you said that to me, is that right?", but this is a miracle from GOD". (*Faith experience and evidence*).

And I was directly put away the traditional medicinal tools. I got a vision, which from above came a light to me when I was prayed. I prayed sincerely. It happened in 1980. I believe that because the light was entered into my body and I felt shaken at that moment. I was being released from occultism. We called it *sampetan*=to release or the set the

- body free from the supernatural power (*Spiritual Experience*). Until now the child is still alive and got married with several children.
- Interviewer: In related to ancient traditions, where are in this village, places that people think are sacred?
- Respondent: Yes, places called *Walewatu*, *Pepera'an*, *Keko'an*, and *Parigi* for getting fresh water, that called *Teneman*, means =soaking (if people sick they come and soaking or bathing there. (*Knowledge of genius loci*)
- Interviewer: Are there any belief at *Teneman* or *parigi* or do you think those are unusual?
- Respondent: the water is fresh and clear, it is good because it is clean water for drink. It is natural water well. In the past, if people came there, it was prohibited because in certain circumstances, there was a mysterious snake appeared (*Sacred place*). This is a story from our elders and ancestors (*Narrative*)  
Based upon the story, when people go there, they should respect because the mysterious snake is sometimes appear, with standing position. Some people have seen the snake. One of them said to me that, but the person has died. He experienced it to me (*Personal experience with the sacred place*).
- Interviewer: Any other places? People said the *Teneman* is so deep?
- Respondent: because there is a belief. In my view, I had not tested it, I only watched without touched deeply the water. I used to use the water but was never investigate the depth of the water. In the past I was afraid to measure the depth of the water hole but now I am not anymore. My opinion is that everything in this nature is made by GOD. He made everything. So we will not be worry or scared. In the past I was scared because I believe it and every sacred place I respected because people said there were "unseen spirits" occupied the place. In recent day, whatever and where ever I go my secure is in GOD (*Personal Opinion of the supernatural thing*)
- Interviewer: What about *Keko'an* object is there any experience with the place?
- Respondent: When I was practiced as a healer (*dukun*), I came and drank the water at the place. It was because of my belief. Our ancestors had a tradition of "*Baku sirang*" in there asking their God for rain (*Activities or Cultural tradition in the past*). Yes, because my parents told me the story, so I believed. The tradition of "*Baku Sirang*" was not happened in Minawanua, but in here in this place *Keko'an*. The ancestors were watering each other or showering each other while asking for rain.
- Interviewer: So there were two versions of the story?
- Respondent: Yes, but as far as I know, it occurred here. I don't really know about the story happenend in Minawanua, I only knew that there are *warua*2 in *Minawanua* and it was a burial sites, but in this village there is no *Warua*, but only *Walewatu*. So, at *keko'an* it was only a tradition of "*baku sirang*" and gathering for drinking liquor called *saguer* or coffee.
- Interviewer: And what about in *Walewatu*, do you have spiritual experiences with? Or is there any rituals occur there recently?
- Respondent: For the people of this village they rarely do rituals. It is only people from outside came there. They purpose to get a guidance, to obtain certain woods to heal patients (*Traditions occurred in a place*).
- Interviewer: Is that because of a belief that plants grow around the place can be used for healing?
- Respondent: When I was practiced as a healer, the Makalonsow's ancestors said that all plants can be used for healing (*Ethnobotanical practice*). Because, there was trees grew around the *Walewatu* stone, which people were trying to cut. It names *tali kunet*. It then ever appeared/came out from the tree, a kind of blood spots (*A belief about Spirit of Place*). But in recent days when I trim the tree, I could not find any blood spots ha..ha..ha (Om Busu laughed). In Mt. Makalonsouw there are many spiritual things has occurred.
- Interviewer: So, in your opinion; in *Walewatu*, plants that grow near the place can heal people? And so, it is believed that "the unseen spirits" are residing there?
- Respondent: Yeah, people do not know the origin story. I have asked my parents and other elders; "what is our Opo Makalonsouw looks like? A human or not? Some of the elders said 'He' is not a human!. This is the story that in *Walewatu*, certain people came and being tranced (*Spiritualist's practice*). They believe the spirits came into the body. (*A belief system of the existence of 'Guardian' Spirit of Place*). But for me it was devil's work (*Spiritualism vs Christianity*). I know that the place sounds scary. But after I learn the bible, everything belongs to our GOD, everywhere to go, covering ourself in the name of GOD, and never be afraid. I believe the Words of God (*Christianity persepectives*).
- Interviewer: In the past, what is Om Busu's belief about the stones' power?
- Respondent: I did have a personal belief because I was a healer in the past. I did ritual there. (*Respondent has a role as Traditional healer*). When I do the ritual and asked for the rain to stop and move to other place then it was happened! (*Ability and Experience*) But after I learn the Words of God, it was a devil's works because they have been given power without opposing the Power of God. So, when I use my power and knowledge, the devil is powerful. Only by believing it, I can get it. That's my experiences. Whenever I still believe, I got the results when I did ritual for healing and asking to the gods.
- Interviewer: What about *Pepera'an* stone, do you have any personal experiences there?
- Respondent: For *pepera'an*, I just became a guide for people to go there. They were from Kampung Jawa village and they wanted to ask something. At that time I still believe to those kinds of things. They asked for blessing in *Pepera'an*, and it was happened. The devil made miracles. So I only took them there. (*Witness and experience in tradition*)

- Interviewer: What is the myth or legend about the place? Why it is called *pepera'an*?
- Respondent: *Pepera'an* hmm, there was a lady called *Pingkan Moghogunoi* and her husband *Matindas*; they did cooking (*songara*) in the place. **(History and Knowledge of folklores)**
- Interviewer: people said there is a hole on the stone. Do you have any personal story about that?
- Respondent: As far as I know, the place *pepera'an ni matindas* and *Pingkan Moghogunoi* were used for their resting place. Only people from outside village come and see The *Walewatu* and *Pepera'an*.
- Interviewer: Om Busu, have you ever walked around of these forests?
- Respondent: Many times I entered the forests **(Activity and experience)**. There is a water fall in the forest, which is beautiful. I have suggested to the village leader to make the place for tourism purpose. It is located behind the hill near to Rerer district. The place is quite far from here. People say it Kawiley. **(Knowledge about Natural landscape, Eco-Tourism and personal voice)**
- Interviewer: do you have a garden in the forest?
- Respondent: I still have a parcel, which at the moment I am planting cloves. Other parcel I have inherited to my sons. I sold the clove to support my family **(Subsistence farming)**. Beside cloves, I plant Vanilla and flower called *Anturium*. I plants vanilla quite much but the market price is low, so, I change to cultivate plants that can produce well **(Land use, Subsistence, ethno-ecology)**.
- Interviewer: Do you have any other heritage items beside your parcel land and gardens?
- Respondent: I have garden and Sawah. I only have a piece of parcel, which someone working on it and we devide the crop together **(Ethno-ecology, land use)**
- Interviewer: do you like hunting? Can you tell your experience in hunting?
- Respondent: When I did hunting, I went at night time. I brought head-light storage battery and, weapon. But previously, I used fire gun. In hunting animals, I used wind-gun. I hunted animals such as, forest mouse with a white tail "*tikus ekor putih*", bats / *kelelawar* and animal called *tebung* (similar to *kus-kus-Pallanger ursinus*- but quite small), and kuse. I got kuse many times. My *Kabasaran* cloth was made from kuse's skin. Other animals are *burung taon*, bird called *kum-kum*, I shot them when they were sleeping. It is easy to catch them in the night and they would not run **(Subsistence, ethno-ecology, the use of animals as cultural material, and ethnoecological knowledge)**
- My hunting place are Lembean forest, Rerer forest, Kolongan forest, and Kombi, forest, sometimes I passed the plantation area because they clearance the forest and replace with agriculture plants. We were hunting the forest mouses **(Respondent's Hunting areas)**
- Interviewer: In surrounding of this village still quite patchy, according to Om Busu, it is needed to conserve the caught wild animals?
- Respondent: actually, it is needed and it is suggested to not to catch all the extinct animals, for example Kus-Kus is prohibited. When we went to Gorontalo for hunting, they asked not to hunt the Kuse otherwise we would get fine. Also, *burung Taon* is prohibited. So, it is from the community's awareness not to do it. Until now, I still do hunting but only to catch the forest mouse **(Environmental Ethic and Awareness)**
- Interviewer: Can I ask about *Manguni*, is the bird still appearing in this place?
- Respondent: O, it is plenty, yes, in the same places. It is a symbol of Minahasa. In this village is still appearing, even near to my house there are 2 *Manguni* birds appeared. **(Totemic species and knowledge)**
- Interviewer: What kinds of *Manguni* are there? Do you have any experience with *Manguni*? People said this bird gives signs. Do you have ever heard its sounds?
- Respondent: It sound when singing nicely, it means good thing. This is my experience. If it sounds like *Ooot...ooot* (with a long sounds), for example when I wanted to do hunting, I would get something, but if it was only sound *Oot..Oot* (with short sounds) it means even though the prey was so closed, I would not successes captured any animals. That's my experience. Other sound is *totosik* or *Kiik*. **(Personal experience with the Symbolic Species)**
- There is also a bird called *Siouw Kurur*, based upon the belief system here, our ancestor called as a 'King of all Animals'. **(Myth and belief system)**. The bird is small, but even its body is small, it can frighten people. We called it "*ba spok*". If people believe on the bird, it could harm people. But, for me I do not meet the bird anymore. In the past I met *Siouw Kurur* many times in the forest. It deceit me, and suddently sounded behind me. It said *Sst sst sst*.and then *Hoi Hoi Hoi Hoi* (it sounds like people was calling me). Yeah, if we do not know about it, it can be scary thing. **(Experience and witness with wild animal)**
- In the past, when I still following the elders tradition, *Siouw Kurur* was a King of Animal **(Myth and tradition)**, I have seen the bird, it is small, has brown, black, white and other color spots, with a strong and bright eyes **(Knowledge of wild animals or description)**
- For *Manguni* bird, they are several types. Perhaps it is one of them. It is a small bird, at night it acts by dropping the branches to show its existence. But now it is not happen. People said if we tease it, the bird will angry. I remember when I spent a night in the forest for hunting, in 1970, the bird was subject to still frighten people, but nowadays it is not happened again. To my mind, the bird was being used by the devil. But the devil is defeated. Because, how come there is a bird that sounds calling like a human? **(Modern and religion perspectives)**

Continue, in the past I have a testimony or experience; when I looked after the farm, there were forest pig (*Babi Utang*) entered the farm. They wanted to eat the corn. Then again the *Siouw Kurur* appeared. My parents said to the bird, "Chase away the Forest Pig !!! And the bird did that. I heard the sound "*Hus Hus Hus*". Eventually, until the corn ready to crop, the pig never entered the farm anymore. So, people called the bird a king of animals, even its body is small. However, I said, the animals can be used by devil. (According to the Word of God, there is a verse said about a person who traced by devils, and when God talked to the devil, and cease from the man's body, the devil asked to enter to the flock of pig and God permitted to devil to enter into to body of those pigs) (*Experience with the myth story of the bird Siouw Kurur as a Guardian Spirit and compare to the Biblical words*)

When I was hunting using the fire-gun, there is a pig which cannot be killed because of something in its body. People called it *kalong (rante babi)* This thing is believed and is being hunted to use for personal protection.

Interviewer: Some people in this village said they still hear voices in *Walewatu*.

Respondent: It is *Siouw Kurur*. O'.. no..Its not in *Walewatu*.

Interviewer: I mean the sounds of tambourine music.

Respondent: Yes, it is not. But the sound came from other side of Mt.Makalonsouw or behind the mount and continued to the beach). Oo,... I have heard that. It went through the Kolongan beach. The sounds like people play the flute using shells, and tambourine and *Kolintang*. Yes, I have heard the sounds. It came from the hill with the valley, continue to the beach area. The name of the mount is *Toka Labo*. The corridor is length enough, and I even many times heard the sounds there. How can I hear the sound now, I only pray and ignore it, and the sound suddenly disappeared. Therefore I never experience anymore. (*Experiencing weird thing in the forest*)

Interviewer: regardless the religion, is there any belief in this village which still believe that the Mt.Makalonsouw is sacred?

Respondent: Mostly people in this village still believe it. But to me personally, devil can occupy or stay everywhere. To my own belief, what ever it is, even though the place is a mystic place, I never feel afraid because my belief is Christian. People in here still believe that, if they do wrong, they can be easily experience bad conditions whenever they do not obey the rules. The person is easy to be used by devil (*Christianity values of the respondent*)

Interviewer: Do they have special thing?

Respondent: There are some of healers (*dukun*) practice different healing methods. My belief (through my teacher/*Opo*) at *Walewatu*, the stone is believed can be helpful. Some facts happened, which I could believe it. It was being visible. Amongst healers are also tried to test their supernatural power each other, who hold the most powerful cloth. (*Conflict between the groups*)

Interviewer: Are people here are using Tolour language? Does Om Busu fluent in using Tolour language? Do you teach it to the family?

Respondent: I do not teach the language anymore. Basically the language is good to maintain, because in where ever places if we are using the language means good thing. I am still using it when I walk to the farm and garden. (*Skill, experience and suggestion*).

Interviewer: What is the Tondano Language in saying to keep and to protect?"

Respondent: *oi pejaga'anku* = I am keeping it

Interviewer: what about 'If you have a strong connection with this place, which make you want to stay here' or 'because you love this place, you want to stay here'.

Respondent: *pé lelo'lelon te'* it means I keep remembering this place. *Ku malelo'mu maki Makalonsouw*. (*Memory and Sense of Place*)

Interviewer: What makes you memorize very well when people say about Makalonsouw?

Respondent: this village is my "place of birth" (*Connectedness and sense of belonging*)

Interviewer: What about Minahasa as a whole?

Respondent: Minahasa also is Tondano

Interviewer: It means a place as well?

Respondent: When people ask 'where are you from'? I will say I am from Minahasa.

Interviewer: Which part of Minahasa?

Respondent: I will say 'from Tondano' (*Feeling, Sense of Place, and homeland*)

Interviewer: Om Busu, do you know your family clans?

Respondent: I know, we have Maringka's family gathering (from my father's side), Rambitan's family gathering (from my mother's side), Sampouw's family gathering (my wife's family), and also family of Imbing (*Family Clans and Socio-cultural Interaction*)

Interviewer: When Om Busu notices the weather, how is the condition recently?

Respondent: Basically, I notice is different from the past. It is far more different. In the past, the weather can be easily to predict. When the rain or hot season about to come. In the past, every 10 years we used to experience a long summer for about 9-10 months. But now the weather is unpredicted. Its been years since then, we are not experience anymore. It is the wather cycle. In the past the rain comes in May and December. The wind is unpredicted as well. I the past there was a South Wind flow throught his area, but now it happened a West Wind, which caused rain (*Seasonal Calendar and experience, Opinion*)

- Interviewer: Is this village a refuge place?  
**Respondent:** O.. We moved from here to Liningaan, Tondano when the Permesta War happened.
- Interviewer: When talking about Minahasa, do you know the boundary of the region?  
**Respondent:** As far as I know, Minahasa region covers Amurang and the border of Poigar. But now Minahasa is divided into several regencies. (*Knowledge about the region*)
- Interviewer: Do you know the first settlement in Minahasa?  
**Respondent:** I only know and have heard that early settlement is in here, Makalonsouw. They were from Liningaan, came here to open the farm, also people from Tandengan. They met here and made this village. That is all I know. (*Limited knowledge of earliest settlement in the region*)
- Interviewer: About the legend of the Minahasa, Toar Lumimu'ut, Which version do you believe or make sense?  
**Respondent:** I really do not understand about that. If the ancestors show me the truth then I believe it. But people said they were (Toar and Lumimu'ut) from Mongolia, but I am not really sure (*Limited knowledge of the Primordial ancestor*). The information about origin of Makalonsouw is from the words *makalo siouw* which means they are not totally humans. To my mind and what I search about it, it's a devil works). Then I thought our ancestors were wrong! In this place I have heard and followed when I was a healer, someone showed me that in Makalonsouw, *Opo makalonsouw* was not totally a human. They were 9 brothers; include *Opo makalonsouw*, *Remera'apus* and others (*Myth, History and knowledge*)  
 People here said that when person sink in the river, it was because of Opo from here.
- Interviewer: What about the issue of "people disappear in the jungle"? Is there any story about it in this area?  
**Respondent:** There were a man died in this forest, but I did not know where he came from. Makalonsouw in the past is frightened because of things weird occur in this village. (*People in the village experiencing bad things*).
- Interviewer: It was the fact because people experience that.  
**Respondent:** Many people experience it because they still believe it. My personal thought, what ever happened, just surrender to God and ask His protection and strength where ever we go. I am not afraid of the taboo places. In the past I was aware made mistake or broke the rules because something bad could happen to me. I am moving with my faith, so if bad things happened I feel secure (*Christian perspectives*)
- Interviewer: How long have you experience these spiritual things?  
**Respondent:** When I was young until I was 20 and got married. So, it was about 5 to 6 years I became a healer. Before I became a healer, I used Bible and then after that I idolized gods... (*Spiritual experience*)
- Interviewer: can the practice of healing using medicine plants be maintained?  
**Respondent:** Yeah..it is actually can be used because God created the plants as medicine (*Universal view and Christianity view*)
- Interviewer: Ok..why people named the other hills surrounding this village as Toka Solo and Toka Rengis?  
**Respondent:** Yes, in the southern side of Taler and Kiniar villages. For Toka Solo, it took from a resin trees (*damar/kayu agatis*), which our ancestors used it and I also have noticed that in the past they used when it was lack of kerosene. They took the sap and burned it to make lamp. They called the tree as Solo (*Landscape appearance, environmental service and ethno-botanical use*). About *Toka Rengis*, .....when people see the hill, it looks like it was being burnt; *Rengis* means scorched. And it looks bare. But now the trees are growing, so it is not a *toka rengis* anymore (*Landscape change*).
- Interviewer: What about *paddy* area, what are the reasons people give name on each *kobong*?  
**Respondent:** There are *Tounsukun*, *Louroki* (still part of Makalonsouw area), *Lelema* (near Tondano), and *Linouran*. Why people named the place Louroki, because when the flood come from the three creeks, the *paddy* farmland area turned into a "lake". *Lour*=lake *oki*=small, *Louroki*=small lake (*Agriculture landscape*)

## Appendix 5.2 Interview Transcript (Original) at Makalonsouw Village - Tondano

### Kode Responden: **Makalonsouw 04**

(Mengacu pada Rekaman Wawancara – terlampir pada CD)

Nama: Hans Yorisen 'Busu'  
 Pekerjaan/aktivitas: Tukang *ba-ubah*, petani dan penggiat budaya  
 Umur: 59 tahun  
 Pewawancara: Cynthia  
 Waktu: 26 April 2011  
 Durasi: 1 jam-42 menit-37 detik  
 Siang  
 Metoda: Wawancara Mendalam (In-depth) dengan Teknik Semi-Struktur

Bahasa yang digunakan oleh responden adalah:

Bahasa Tolour (TL), Manado Malayu (MM) dan Bahasa Indonesia (BI)

### Salinan Rekaman Wawancara:

Pewawancara: Sekarang mau tanya dulu...(skip).....Om Busu pe nama ? ... (skip)...

**Responden:** Dan itu cuma nama samaran...(skip).....Kita pe nama dua, Hans deng Yorisen. Memang dulunya sebenarnya Hans... cuman kita banya kali dapa saki...nyanda! ... (tertawa) kong dorang bilang (skip suara pewawancara).....kong kata tradisi orang tua dulu (skip suara pewawancara) ganti nama yang jelek!

Pewawancara: Ohhh bagitu!!!!

**Respondent** Kong dong ganti nama yang bagitu kata!...jadi..nama samaran! Iyo! Sampe sekarang yah dijuluki itu trus itu...memang kalu di gereja kita pe nama dipanggil Yorisen ...iyoo..bagitu..! Yorisen

Pewawancara: So umur brapa skarang?

**Responden:** So.... 59.

Pewawancara: Somo amper lansia ini (tertawa)

**Responden:** Somo 59 kote ini ...ini taon,.58 kita ini! Nanti genap 59 di bulan Juli.

Pewawancara: Trus...memang lahir disini kang? Atau dari luar kong kamari?

**Responden:** Ohhh... lahir di sini!

Pewawancara: Asli ini! Ini baru bilang asli orang Minahasa. Boleh stou Om Busu cerita tentang yang Om Busu tahu tentang ini Makalonsouw, katanya dulunya bukang disini?

**Responden:** Sejarah ini sebenarnya Makalonsouw di atas..di..dong bilang makalonsouw lama! Wanua Ure!..depe arti kampung lama dang!. Kong orang tua bilang pindah disini!

Pewawancara: Alasan pindah kenapa?

**Responden** Alasan pindah sini karena disana ..emm...banyak jurang-jurang...ba tubir-tubir dang! Karena itu kebanyakan tanah longsor gitu! Sering ba longsor.

Pewawancara: Itu Kampung yang lama Om Busu tau kapan dia terbentuk? Biar Cuma dengar-dengar pa oma opa?

**Responden:** Odoh....Nda hafal itu kampung lama! Iyo...jadi kong pindah disini orang tua lia disini bagus. Yang termasuk sponsor itu ada pindah disini Yos Sampouw.

Pewawancara: Waktu masih di kampung lama masih kecil?

**Responden:** Iyo...masih kecil!

Pewawancara: Mar so sadar dang..so tau atau mangarti keadaan?

**Responden:** Iyo mar memang so tau sadiki dang!...kan itu so pindah disini lei kong datang itu pergolakan Permesta.  
(Skip) .....

Pewawancara: Mo tanya kiapa kase nama Makalonsouw? Dari Wanua Ure kong jadi Makalonsouw?

**Responden:** Wanua ure ini...itu juga Makalonsouw, tapi Wanua ure ini kampong lama!

Pewawancara: Belum dikenal nama makalonsouw?.

**Responden:** Oh sudah!...sudah dikenal! Wanua ure Bahasa sini kwa! Kalu Bahasa torang wanua ure itu kampung lama! Ini wanua baru dang!...bagitu!...ure = lama!

Pewawancara: Kalau baru?

- Responden:** Weru!!...iyo bagitu!...namanya Makalonsouw. Makalonsouw itu kalau memang mo telusuri depe kata-kata yahhh...Makalonsouw itu...emmm  
ada yang mengatakan dorang ada sembilan orang yang membentuk itu kampung. Setelah kita dengar apa artinya Makalonsouw itu *malonsor-* atau Malonsor-lonsor.
- Pewawancara:** longsor-longsor...sering longsor?
- Responden:** Kira-kira bagitu....tapi ada juga yang mengatakan Makalonsouw....dorang ba tamang sambilan (9) yang bentuk itu! Kira-kira!!!
- Pewawancara:** Tapi orang asli sini kang dorang?
- Responden:** Iyo...iyo!!!! Kalau kita dengar di ape asal-usul pertama kali, bagitu!!!Kog dorang nama akang Makalonsouw. Tapi setelah kita dengar,..tau apa artinya makalonsouw,..itu "malonsor! Malonsor-lonsor...bagitu! Tapi kalau kita dengar laeng orang dorang ad aba tamang sambilang!!!
- Pewawancara:** Waktu dulu...mula-mula di *Wanua ure* ...banya yang masyarakat disitu? Atau masih sedikit..boleh hitung dorang ke KK?
- Responden:** Disana tu banya mar disini! Disana lebi banyak karena disana ....itu orang disana so pindah ka Bol-Mong sana! Sampe skarang so nyanda bale tu laeng! Jadi sebenarnya disana banyak! Itu tu kampung lama itu besar, dia pe perputaran kampung kira kira satu kilo lebih, ...kampung samua toh! Dia melingkar! Jadi tu perkiraan itu yah satu kilo sekian!!! karna waktu torang ukur itu jalan, itu kan torang dapat itu satu kilo lebih! Torang yang ukur tu jalang toh!
- Pewawancara:** Baku-baku dekat tu rumah-rumah dulu atau baku-baku jauh?
- Responden:** Ada tu dekat! Ada tu jaoh! Kalau dia di lereng sebelah itu dekat noh!. Cuma di ape tengah tu baku jaoh!. Maksud dang...dia kan baku mangada..dia ..gunung toh bagini!...(skip .....) Ada lembah di bawah ...iyo..ada air toh dibawah! Jadi kalau disini itu baku jaoh! Jadi dia...tu kampung ba lingkaran bagini! (menjelaskan sambil memakai bahasa tubuh)
- Pewawancara:** Kampung lama musti ja gambar...dia ba lingkaran! (sambil membuat gambar/sketsa kampung lama)  
Lembah di sebelah Makalonsouw apa ?
- Responden:** Bagian lembah itu so itu tu kampung Makalonsouw. Iyo... Ada *kali* kua dia! *Kali* itu ada dua! (*kali* = sungai) ..dari dua sumber kong jadi satu aliran. Begitu! Dia..Baku dapa di persis permulaan makalonsouw mo nae. Itu depe sumber air!...(skip).....Jadi ini jalur air ini ..tiga menjadi satu! Dia dari sana..dua menjadi satu!..nahhh..sampe disini jadi tiga! Sampe di kampung baru ini jadi tiga! Nah..aDari tiga ini kong jadi satu lagi di ujung permulaan masuk kampung. Bagitu! Jadi dia termasuk menyatu itu Aer dari Pakewa, deng Louroki deng Pulutan so jadi satu! (Louroki semua).Bagitu depe cara...(Skip.....).jadi tiga jalur..jadi satu ulang..jadi Louroki samua itu. Bagitu depe asal usul.
- Pewawancara:** Bagitu tu desa kang...nah ini mo tanya pa Om Busu waktu kecil masih inga ja ba bermain apa? permainan tradisional dulu noh?
- Responden:** (Skip).....Torang bilang kua itu *kamiri (wiouw)*. Itulah yang paling sering torang bermain!
- Pewawancara:** Bermain maso-maso utang nyanda? Bermain di padi-padi?
- Responden:** Torang kan dulu di atas blum ada tanaman padi. Nanti dapa padi disini. (Skip).....
- Pewawancara:** Yang Om Busu inga skali cuma itu main kamiri kang...kase maso di lubang!..
- Responden:** Iyo..kase di lubang...
- Pewawancara:** .....(Skip).....Kong itu tanpa bermain dimana? Di kampung lama?
- Responden:** Oh nda...so disini! So dikampung baru. Kita kan di kampong lama masih kecil! Blum bisa bermain yang babagitu. Paling Cuma bermain sembarangan-lah. Kalau di kampung baru kita so tau! Jadi so mulai bermain,
- Pewawancara:** Kalau so remaja kita pernah .....Itu pemuda-pemuda kita ja kepalai itu pemuda ba pacol ba cangkul!. Jadi dang kalau torang disini "sumesuweng" tukang bagi pa orang-orang dang!..Ba *mapalus* ...jadi kita yang termasuk yang bagi-bagi pa orang-orang itu tugas.....(skip).....Jadi torang baku rebe bakerja, kalau ta tinggal musti dapa sangsi...bagitu! ....(skip)..... bayar uang...sekian...pada waktu itu..yah kalau kita nda salah lima perak. Itu lima perak itu masih besar..masih bisa pigi belanja dang! Waktu itu lima perak masih terpakai! ... (skip)....Nah,,setelah takumpul itu doi,,setelah abis so kebagian....(skip)....dorang kua ada banyak..perkiraan satu kelompok ada 20 orang, jadi setelah selesai itu uang pake di menyanyi, dulu jaman itu masih ba-dansa dansa.
- Pewawancara:** Berarti inga tu lagu ja kase manyanyi deng itu musik ja pake, ..(tertawa)..lagu apa? Kan itu termasuk lagu tradisional? Coba..lagu apa kote lagu-lagu tradisional dulu yang masih inga!
- Responden:** Ahahahha.....(tertawa panjang) Ohh....itu kebanyakan yang kita nyanyikan itu "*ungku wanua ku rawoi, takar tinayanan u*" ..dia pe-arti memang....
- Pewawancara:** Tau ba Bahasa ...masih lancar toh? Tau ba Bahasa Tondano ?
- Responden:** *Rawoi* itu Bahasa Tondano...so ba suar kecape'an begitu! Manyanyi kua bagitu sedikit menyentil cinta) ..(sambil menyanyikan lagu tersebut)..bagitu!
- Pewawancara:** Depe bait panjang?

- Responden:** Oh nda! Panjang!! Itu kan lagu dansa, ..(skip)..... Masih inga juga itu 'sepasang rusa jantan'. Nah itu lagi noh,..pernah!
- Pewawancara:** Kiapa rusa? Pernah lia rusa dang dulu disini?
- Responden:** Banyak!..Dulu kita ini pemburu rusa tapi pake senjata api. Senjata api itu dari Kodim kita dipercayakan untuk mengamankan sini jadi kita ada senjata di rumah! Mar bukung di rumah sini! ..(skip)..... Ada empat senjata yang dipercayakan untuk kami..untuk mengamankan,..pada waktu itu so G.30S. ....Oh. ja dapa rusa noh..(skip).....torang dapa lima! Kalu babi utang banyak!. Pernah dapa rusa yang sangat besar, delapan orang angkat nda mo ta angkat!...(skip)..... ya tahun 1969 kote! ....(skip).....Kalu babi utang laeng. Rusa skarang masi ada tapi sadiki dia,..(skip).... di bagian Tounipus (antara Makalonsouw - Touliang Oki).
- Pewawancara:** Bale di dansa-dansa..itu kesenian kan? Berarti lagu dengan depe tari?.
- Responden:** Iyo...lagu pake sitar! (juk), kita yang kuti gitar..orang-orang tua deng itu anak-anak muda ba dansa. (Skip)..... Iyo..Gitar, Juk..itu yang torang pake noh. Kebanyakan kita tu penyanyi-lah dan skalian rmain! Memang kita pe hobby. Sampe skarang kua kita suka-suka manyanyi di greja. Jadi dulu kita nyanyi untuk dunia,..sekarang kita so malas..skarang untuk Tuhan komang! ...rohana....hahah tertawa...kalu dulu memang yah ..rame – lah.
- Pewawancara:** Dulu kalu ba kumpul dimana? Nyanda ada bangunan luas kong boleh ta kumpul samua?
- Responden:** Cuma dari rumah ke rumah ..lengkali ada bangsal...kalu ada acara-acara beking bangsal toh! ....(skip).....cuma bangsal biasa ..Cuma sabuah besar yang setelah itu abis acara di bongkar! Bagitu!.
- Pewawancara:** Tapi lokasi dimana? Yang paling besar?
- Responden:** banyak..di jalan-jalan di tengah! .....(skip).....Kebanyakan acara ulang tahun, abis ba mapalus bagitu! deng acara-acara masyarakat desa. Tapi skarang sudah so mulai ilang karena dulu torang yang sponsor. Skarang so jarang!
- Pewawancara:** Kalaupun ada misalnya kegiatan apa yg masyarakat samua tertarik mo iko? Kalu 17-an bagitu?
- Responden:** Yaa kalu 17 bagitu memang ..(skip)..... rupa nae pinang bagitu..
- Pewawancara:** Kalu kua tahu ini kapan ini Makalonsouw terbentuk, somo beking depe perayaan terbentuknya desa kang?
- Responden:** Oh iyo...mar kita lei..so kurang tahu. Yang bisa tau itu termasuk pemerintah yang mantan-mantan kumtua dulu! Dulu kua Kumtua! Salah satu itu,..mar sudah so meninggal kita. Pokoknya kumtua pertama kali di Makalonsouw...(skip).....waktu Pusat maso sini tahun 60-an! ... (skip)....Opa Sampow Mamuaya, dia yang pertama kali kumtua disini! Di Makalonsouw..ooh lama skali!.berapa periode staw...kong taganti!
- Pewawancara:** Mo tanya pa Om Busu kalu ba bangun rumah disini bagimana? Kalu ba bangun rumah Minahasa kan ada gambaran seperti apa toh?
- Responden:** Hmmm....memang tradisi disini membangun rumah yahh...sembayang! Dulu lei bagitu! Biar Cuma jemaat dipanggil untuk sembayang! Perletakan batu bagitu! Kalu dulunya saya bulum pernah liat. Tapi setelah saya tau dan mengerti cuma pangge guru jema'at atau tua tua kampung untuk sembahyang akang, itu mo badiri akang dang! Skarang so pendeta-pendeta. Kalu dulu cuma guru jemaat. Guru jema'at dulu kwa bulum sekolah pendeta! Cuma jemaat bisa tapi dipercayakan untuk memimpin!
- Pewawancara:** Kalu ba bangun rumah ba ambe bahan dimana? Dari utang?
- Responden:** Oya pertama kali disini umumnya *gubuk*, jadi... ambe di utang..deng itu di ape atap ambe di utang, pake kayu-kayu berbentuk kayu bulat, .....(skip).....deng itu *Wanga*, dia bukan kayu..mo bilang sama dengan bulu nda juga! Karna dia depe di dalam ada gabah...rupa gabus di dalam toh?.. kalu bulu kan kosong! (kayu yang didalamnya rupa gabus yang di *teto* untuk beking dinding dan lante) Bagitu...Oh besar dia..tinggi dan ba lebar dia! ... (skip)... ada juga depe plafon beking pake bahan itu, pada waktu itu! Torang kua disini cuma ja bilang itu *para-para* (tertawa).....(skip).....kalu rumah ini so termasuk modern depe kayu-kayu!...(skip)....
- Pewawancara:** Menurut om Busu ini rumah Minahasa patut dilestarikan atau nyanda?
- Responden:** Oh memang ini model asli minahasa jadi tetap itu torang pake! ....(skip)..... Jadi torang kebanyakan sini pake itu khas Minahasa punya! Termasuk dang yang kebiasaan dari Minahasa. Bagitu!!!
- Pewawancara:** Dorang bilang Om Busu jaga ba Cakalele?..Coba carita Kamari ,..kapan mulai aktif ba cakalele? ..(tertawa)...
- Responden:** Kita nanti aktif ba cakalele waktu di kelompok Liningaan, ...iyo sama-sama deng Youtje!...Torang satu paar!. Kalu torang main ,..torang yang baku paar baku potong!!
- Pewawancara:** Ada depe cerita dang itu Cakalele? Kan tari perang toh? Tarian history dang bagitu?
- Responden:** Iyo tari perang! Memang itu Youtje yang kuasai itu! Kita yang Cuma bermain! Termasuk ba iko pertandingan, berapa kali dapa nomor satu karena pertandingan itu sebenarnya bukan khas cakalele torang katu so latihan lain! Torang so laithan kungfu. Jadi torang pergunakan di Cakalele...jadi nomor satu!! Jadi baku potong nda baku kena toh!! Cuma tangkis-tangkis! ... (skip)... torang dulu kua perguruan Garuda Putih, torang pe guru Ko Sheng. Jadi waktu pergunakan itu di Cakalele ..torang baku potong deng Youtje lengkali patah-patah, baku potong tangan kosong deng peda!..Youtje kebanyakan pake peda! Iya,..Golok! Memang depe itu memang sejarah dulu kita pe tete dia kepala kabasaran di Tondano. Jadi Tondano pada waktu itu baru sebelas kampung, kita pe tete ada kase nama pa kita Yorisen. Kita pe tete di ape nama Yorisen! Dia itu kepala Kabasaran Tondano! ... (skip)...itu baku bakalae, siap bertempur kalu ada musuh datang kong baganggu,..yah torang siap tempur!! Bagitu! Angkat tu Golok..I yayat Usanti!!



- Pewawancara: Kalu itu depe atribut-atribut ada dimana?
- Responden: Oh..kita so kase pa orang. Dari kita so mengundurkan diri!
- Pewawancara: Beking bagaimana? Rupa menarik dia pe topi-topi?
- Responden: Di ape topi-topi ada itu bahan-bahan banyak dari bulu *burung taon*, yang depe mulut dang panjang toh? Jadi depe mocong panjang, torang ambe taruh disini (kepala).. (skip)...Kita pi tembak ...di utang, Oh..masih banya. ... (skip)...kalu bulu-bulu laeng dia pe *pila-pila*... (skip)...ada juga yang pake bulu ayam. Kalu rupa yang di Tondano kan dorang nda bisa ke hutan! Dorang pake bulu ayam. Kalu torang pake bulu burung Elang juga, tapi kebanyakan kua itu bulu burung taon karena itu yang bagus... (skip)... Deng dia pe baju torang pake kulit-kulit kayu. .... (skip)....Kalu kalung-kalung itu kepala-kepala yakii!... (skip)..... Cakalele nda ja pake alas kaki, kalu musim panas di aspal panas skali! Jadi kalu berat, menekan sekali di jalan toh?..jadi torang ambe itu kecil! .... (skip).....Iyo pakaian! Dari kayu. Kalu batu-batu, ada yang asli ada yang ...rupa torang karna kita kan golongan pantekosta jadi kita pake cuma gabus-gabus supaya dapa lia bagus ... tu laeng asli. Kita dulu ada kepercayaan itu kong tinggalkan itu. .... (skip).....
- Pewawancara: Coba Om Busu carita itu spiritual jaman dulu?
- Responden: Sebenarnya kita dulu orang obatan, toh? Baik!...iyo,.. menyembuhkan orang!... Pake ramuan-ramuan dari hutan. ... (skip)...Depe campuran ada tu ... (skip)....ada itu *walisu* (walisu ada sembilan rupa bukan cuma satu!; ada itu walisu api, walisu aer, walisu gousan, Yah banyak-lah, di ape arti walisu itu!), ... (skip)...sedangkan kayunya ada rupa-rupa depe kayu..dia pe satu daong tapi ada berapa rupa kulit, jadi ..itu yang kita pake-pake dulu. Tapi Itu dulu kua menyembuhkan orang... (skip)... Cuma, memang sebenarnya itu nda apa-apa tapi itu sudah dipersembahkan! Setelah kita menyelidiki Firman itu nda bisa!!! Nah,...dulu beking itu kase minum for anak! For panas... (skip)...Rubus dulu air panas kong taru akang itu (ramuan) jadi merah kong kase minum pa ade!. .... (skip)...Cuman itu depe kesalahan itu bahan-bahan ...ehmm dipersembahkan! Termasuk so minta-minta, padahal memang Tuhan so beri itu, tapi karena kita termasuk pergunakan,..orang ada tunjuk,.. so persembahkan itu pa "yang so nyanda dapa lia" (berhala bagitu).
- Pewawancara: Om Busu ja beking itu ada depe ritual bagitu? Kase persembahkan dimana? Bole stow carita sadiki?...
- Responden: Kita dulu ja ...kita sandiri yang kase kemenyan kong fufu...di rumah...dia tiap bulan purnama bagitu noh!. (repeat words-skip).....Itu lama mo abis karna ada itu kayu yang panjang-panjang kan bukan cuma satu kali pake!. .. (skip)... untuk perawatan orang-orang termasuk anak kecil, orang tua, yah tidak memilih.. pokoknya dipakai umum.
- Pewawancara: Maksud itu ritual supaya itu ramuan itu diberkati? Minta berkat?
- Responden: Iyo kira-kira bagitu-lah. Yang sebenarnya,... (skip).....
- Pewawancara: Mungkin juga nyanda salah karna itu kepercayaan sebelum ada agama.
- Responden: Oh kita percaya, kita pe papa mantu berjemaat. Pada waktu dulu nyanda di larang... (skip)... Noh kita ada *pemeriksaan* orang kalu somo meninggal. ... (skip)...Nah itu dulu ada batu! Yang salah disitu itu batu!! Di temukan batu ada dua, satu paar, kita taruh di gelas, itu batu dia timbul, kalu dia berdiri berarti masih hidup.... (skip)....Berat. yah batu lah!! Itu yang disalahkan!..setelah saya menyelidik, itu yang salah karna Tuhan bilang nimbole menyembah ilah lain. Kita so menyembah ilah lain jadi...bagitu! Nah...Jadi pada waktu itu kita tinggalkan... Memang waktu itu kita blum pernah kase jaha orang. Bae samua! ... (skip).... Pada waktu itu ...memang ...so panggilan Tuhan kita kase keluar itu! Kita merawat itu orang di Touliang Oki,.. (skip).. kita periksa so bagitu,.. (skip).. Memang waktu itu dukun ..ada tiga disitu! Bukan cuma kita,..keempat dengan kita! Orang-orang jagoan samua!. Dorang bilang so nimbole kore karena dia (orang pe jiwa) so bajalang!!.... (skip)... Karna kita di panggil jadi kita laksanakan. Walaupun dia bagitu. Setelah itu kita periksa betul somo mati. Nah begitu! Kong kita bale disini jalan kaki pulang, sampe disini ada kebangunan KKR Pantekosta disana, kong kita dudu-dudu di sebelah Youtje pe rumah, yah...murung-murung karena itu anak kita tau somo mati, anak itu ada hubungan sudara deng torang. Setelah itu kita pigi di KPR. Kita memang terpanggil, sebenarnya nda suka pigi tapi kita ada keinginan mo pigi KPR. Sampe di sana,..setelah kita sembahyang sungguh-sungguh kita tanya langsung pa Tuhan, bukan tanya Gembala ato pendeta, karena kita merawat orang sakit. Kita bilang: "sesuai kita pe pegangan orang ini somo mati, tapi kalu salah kita pe pegangan dia hidup, Tuhan kase hidup pada saat ini, dia makan seperti biasa". Dia so dua minggu nda ba making itu anak!. Kong kita sementara sembahyang .. kita liat terang datang pa kita, begitu,..nah setelah itu perkiraan so jam 10, kita bilang: "kalu dia sembuh itu anak kita kase keluar itu pegangan", kita pe *dukun* ini dang, karena sesuai kita pe pegangan kita pe kepercayaan anak ini somo mati. Jadi Tuhan kase petunjuk, kita pada waktu itu belum talalu menyelidiki Firman Tuhan, kita pe sembahyang waktu itu klu anak itu hidup berarti Tuhan ada kase hidup... (skip).. Jadi kalu dia hidup kita tinggal itu pegangan karna dia so tunjukan somo mati .. (skip).... Setelah itu datang dia pe keluarga,.. bilang "so bae kata itu anak, depe bahasa *si le'os sow* = so bae. Kita bilang "bukang kita yang kase sembuh". .. (skip)...kita trus pigi sampe disana itu tiga Tonaas bilang kata kita jago, tapi kita bilang, "bukang kita yang sembuhkan..TUhan yang jago! tapi Tuhan yang kase sembuh, jadi bukan kita pe obat, karna sesuai kita pe obat bilang somo mati, ngonj juga kan bilang bagitu?". "Tapi ini Mujizat Tuhan, sembuh!

- Trus kita kase kaluar kita pe pegangan. Mar memang kita ada tutup mata mar kita ada penglihatan dari atas turung pa kita itu terang, ..kita rasa lain dang! kita sembahyang sungguh-sungguh....(skip)... Kejadian itu tahun 80-an,...(skip)... kita memang percaya langsung karena kita ada liat terang itu maso pakita, jadi kita gemetar pada waktu itu. Kita *sampetan*=mo kase kelar ato pelepasan....(skip)....
- Sampe skarang ada tu anak masih hidop so punya brapa anak....(skip)....
- Pewawancara: Berkaitan dengan itu spiritual,...kepercayaan kuno, di desa ini tempat-tempat mana yang dianggap keramat?
- Responden: Ya.. itu yang *di walewatu, pepera'an, keko'an*, dan itu ja timba akang air ....(skip)... *teneman*, iyo..yah artinya ada tono akang, (kalu ada orang saki ,...depe kepercayaan ja se mandi disitu)....(skip)...
- Pewawancara: Ada kepercayaan disitu ... ada aneh2 disitu?
- Responden: Kira-kira!...Iyo,..Aneh-aneh disitu yah... termasuk... cuma dia pe depe air jernih, termasuk indah dapa lia itu air, karena termasuk air bersih air minum, itu memang alami....(skip).... Dulu kalu mo pigi situ keramat, karena kebanyakan ada *ular-ular* aneh yang nda pernah dilihat (itu cuma cerita orang tua dulu)....(skip)....
- Kalu pigi situ musti hormat karna ada tu aneh-aneh,..ular pende ba muncul lengkali ular itu badiri. Ada orang yang pernah melihat ular itu badiri. ....(skip)....Dia bilang bagitu (orang itu so meninggal, torang pe papa pertama dia mengalami secara pribadi). ..itu tu aneh-aneh disitu!
- Pewawancara: Ada lagi aneh-aneh yang laeng? Katanya parigi itu sangat dalam?
- Responden: Itu karna ada kepercayaan disitu. Kalo itu kita bulum pernah pigi test, cuma liat, mar kita nimau kore itu parigi. Ambe air pernah, mar kalu mo periksa kedalaman blum pernah. Kita tako waktu dulu, kalu skarang nyanda. Kita pe prinsip samua yang ada di alam Tuhan yang buat, Tuhan yang punya! apapun Tuhan yang beking. Jadi torang nda mo tako-tako. Mar...Kalu dulu kita percaya itu, samua itu tampa yang keramat kita izin karna dorang bilang "ada tu nyanda kelihatan disitu". Mar skarang apapun dimanapun kita pe andalan Tuhan. Bagitu!!! (skip)..
- Pewawancara: Kalo yang *Keko'an* ada pengalaman pribadi? (skip)..
- Responden: Kita dulu waktu dukun pernah disitu!...datang minum-minum disitu, karena itu termasuk kita pe kepercayaan. Karena sesuai orang tua dulu tu orang tua cuma mo *baku sirang* disitu ...turun hujan!! ....(skip)...Ya karena kita pe orang tua yang cerita jadi kita percaya, bukan di Minawanua, tapi di sini di *keko'an* itu mo pi baku sirang minta ujang tu orang2 tua dulu....(skip)..
- Pewawancara: Jadi ada dua versi?
- Responden: Mar, yang kita tau di sini, kalu Minawanua nda nintau, karena tu *warua-warua Minawanua* termasuk orang-orang yang dikuburkan disitu! Kalu ini nda ada orang dikuburkan, di walewatu juga...(skip)....Jadi di keko'an cuma tradisi baku sirang, ba minum2 ....saguer atau kopi juga ada...(skip)....
- Pewawancara: Kalu yang *di walewatu* ada depe pengalaman spiritual? Atau pernah orang beking ritual apa saja di situ?
- Responden: Memang masyarakat sini kadang, cuma yang dari luar datang kamari. Datang situ dulu ...untuk cari petunjuk, cari kayu-kayu disekitar situ untuk merawat orang!
- Pewawancara: Apakah karena dipercaya bahwa kayu-kayu yang tumbuh disekitar walewatu bisa menyembuhkan?
- Responden: Dulu waktu saya disitu, semua tanaman bisa menyembuhkan kata leluhur..orang tua-tua, karena dulu disitu .. pernah dorang potong depe nama *tali kunet*,...(skip)... pernah keluar noda darah, tapi skarang kita pernah pangkas nda ada noda darah (hahaha.....Om Busu tertawa lepas)...Jadi, Iyo,..Ini cerita dulu!! ..(skip)...Banyak yang mengalami tapi yang diujung Makalonsouw banyak cerita yang begitu! ..(skip)... Kalu di Gn. Makalonsouw banyak kejadian.
- Pewawancara: Jadi yang di *walewatu* tanaman disitu bisa menyembuhkan, jadi dipercaya ada yang berdiam disitu?
- Responden: Ya ..orang yang tidak tau asal usul, karna kita ada tanya-tanya leluhur/kita pe orang tua-tua "wujud apa tu Opo makalonsouw? manusiakah ato nyanda?", ada yang bilang dia bukan manusia!....(skip)....Tapi,.. Begini, disitu dorang ..(itu orang-orang yang tertentu yg datang) dorang rupa kesurupan, ada banyak, ....berarti dorang percaya ada yang *ba maso* berarti iblis!!!! Bukan Tuhan!!!!, so itu disitu memang angker no, tapi kita setelah menyelidiki Firman Tuhan, samua Tuhan punya! Jadi dimana-mana kalu torang alaskan dalam nama Tuhan Yesus nda mo tako-tako. ....(skip)...Kita percaya Firman Tuhan.
- Pewawancara: Dulu, apa om Busu pe kepercayaan mengenai batu itu dang?
- Responden: Oh memang kepercayaan di batu itu juga...kita dulu memang ada kepercayaan ehmm pribadi, karna kita yahh dulu memang dukun. ....(skip).... kita dulu, kalu kita bilang tu ujang ka sana ...ka sana, betul!!!, iyo bagitu!! Jadi kita percaya. tapi setelah kita menyelidiki Firman Tuhan ..iblis pe penipuan!! karena iblis juga diberi kuasa, tapi nda mo lawang kuasa Tuhan!! Tapi iblis ada kekuasaan!! Jadi kalu torang Cuma mo lawing deng torang pe tenaga atau ilmu, itu iblis nda mo kalah!! Kalu torang bage deng "dalam nama Yesus" nah Kalah dia!! Asal kan nama Tuhan Yesus! Mar kalu torang mo dasarkan pada pribadi yang kuat ..nda!!! Dia ada kuasa,..jadi dia bisa menyembuhkan orang juga, bisa! Asal percaya karea kita da alami dulu. Iyo,..Di akhir jaman itu benda mati akan bicara (kalo torang menyelidiki Firman!)....(skip)....
- Dulu waktu kita pe kepercayaan itu memang katu ...percaya skali ..ada dia depe hasil.Yah soal penyembuhan .. dikabulkan, bagitu! ..iyo.. di *walewatu*.
- Pewawancara: Kalu di *pepera'an* pernah ada pengalaman pribadi di situ?

- Responden:** Nah kita pernah cuma antar-antar orang di sana, ada yang dari kampung Jawa dia mo minta segala esuatu, waktu kita masih pegang kepercayaan itu...(repeat words-skip)...., dorang minta di *pepera'an* itu, dia kase katu (iblis beking mujizat)...(skip)...Cuma itu..Kalu kita pribadi nda pernah! cuma antar orang!
- Pewawancara:** Apa yang terjadi atau ada legenda di tempat itu? Kiapa disebut *pepera'an*?
- Responden:** *Pepera'an* ada kata ada itu disana nama *Pingkan Moghogunoi* dan itu *Matindas* dorang pi ba *songara* apa-apa (milu)...disitu.
- Pewawancara:** Dorang bilang kata ada depe lubang disitu...oma bilang! Ada cerita khusus disitu ..versi orang sini?
- Responden:** So lia?...(skip)...Nda ada ..Cuman kita tau itu *pepera'an ni matindas dan Pingkan moghogunoi* ..iyo,...tampa-tampa "rest" (istirahat) disana!. Iyo!
- Pewawancara:** Masih ada tempat yang dianggap angker atau sakral?
- Responden:** Oh cuma tiga!...(skip)..yah termasuk di gunung-gunung ..(skip)...kebanyakan yang dari luar cari itu Walewatu dan *Pepera'an* itu!
- Pewawancara:** Om Busu pernah maso kaluar utang sekitar sini?
- Responden:** Ohhh iyo! Banya kali maso utang, ada tu air terjun di utang, bagus sekali. Kita ada usul itu, di balik gunung sebelah menurun kearah Rerer, agak tinggi. Jaraknya jao skali, dorang bilang Kawiley, masih Minahasa.
- Pewawancara:** Punya kobong di utang?
- Responden:** Masih ada! sementara kerja ba tanam cingkeh! Ada tu so kase bagi pa anak-anak. Cengkih di jual tapi for bantu anak anak. Selain Cengkih ada Vanili dan Anturium. Dulu banya vanili mar karna harga vanili murah cari yang ada penghasilan.
- Pewawancara:** Warisan keluarga selain tanah deng kebun?
- Responden:** Kebun dan sawah! Sawah cuma sepenggal, orang garap akang dan bagi hasil. Kita juga coba kerja di tambang.
- Pewawancara:** Suka berburu? Bole cerita pengalaman berburu?
- Responden:** Kalu berburu waktu malam, pake senter kepala, akki, senjata angin. Dulu pake senjata api. Kalu berburu hewan pake senjata angin, hewan2 seperti *tikus ekor putih* (sementara makang kong tembak), *kelelawar* deng itu *tebung* (agak kecil dari kuse-sejenis *kus-kus*), kuse (banyak kali dapa), (termasuk kita pe baju kabasaran yg kita kase pa dorang). Selain itu *burung taon*, *burung kum-kum*, dorang katu sementara tidor kong tembak. Kalu malam beberapa kali tembak nda mo lari.
- Tempat berburu di hutan Lembean, hutan Rerer, Kolongan, Kombi, lengkali lewat perkebunan karena hutan sini dorang so olah tu laeng. Torang pi cari tikus.
- Pewawancara:** Disini masih ba utang, menurut om Busu perlu nda dilindungi itu hewan-hewan yang ditangkap?
- Responden:** Memang katu perlu dan memang katu dianjurkan semua tu hewan-hewan langka jangan di ambil, seperti *kus-kus* nimbole. Torang pernah pi Gorontalo nimbole temba itu Kuse mo dapa sangsi karna langka. Sedangkan *burung Taon* juga nimbole, kurang masyarakat pe kesadaran. Sampe skarang masih berburu tapi cuma tikus ekor putih.
- Pewawancara:** Mo tanya kalu *manguni* masi ja dapa lia? Di tempat yang sama?
- Responden:** Ohh ..banya, iyo di tempat yang sama. Itu burung lambang Minahasa, sedang di sini ada, di dekat situ, ada dua.
- Pewawancara:** Jenis yang bagaimana? Ada pengalaman deng manguni? Kan dorang bilang itu burung pemberi tanda? Pernah dengar depe suara?
- Responden:** Depe suara kalu dia ba bunyi tre..bagus...ini kita pe pengalaman, kalu ba bunyi Ooot..ooot (suara panjang), kalu kita mo bajalang musti dapa (tangapan/buruan), kalu dia cuma *Ot ..Ot* (suara pendek) biar so dekat tu mo tembak nda mo kena. Itu pengalaman. Ada juga bunyi *totosik* deng *Kiik*.
- Deng ada lagi itu dorang bilang *Siouw Kurur*, dia, kalu kepercayaan di sini, torang pe dotu-dotu bilang, dia raja binatang. Burung itu kecil, tapi biar kecil dia mo se tako akang samua, sedangkan orang dia se tako akang. Di *ba-spok* bagitu. Kalo memang percaya. Dia memang dusu butul. Kalu kita nda lagi. Dulu kita sering kali baku dapa deng *Siouw Kurur* di utang. Dia bage di sebelah kurang kage so di blakang pa kita. Dia bilang *Sst sst sst*.lalu *Hoi Hoi Hoi Hoi* (ba bunyi rupa suara orang ba pangge-pangge). Iyo, memang kalu nintau, mo rasa tako. Dulu waktu kita masih ikuti tu orang tua tua, dia raja binatang. Kita pernah liat mar kecil, ba belang-belang coklat, rupa2 warna, matanya terang menyala.
- Manguni kua brapa rupa, mungkin dia salah satu manguni. Dia burung kecil, biar malam dia se ciri akang kayu. Skarang so nyanda. Dorang bilang kalu gara dia marah, mar kita nda, torang bermalam di hutan ba-tembak. Sekitar taon 1970an burung itu masi ja kase tako orang, skarang so nyanda. Menurut kita dia rupa di pake iblis. Skarang iblis so kalah. Karena mana mungkin ada burung ba pangge rupa orang.
- Kong ...torang dulu, kita masih sempat saksikan, waktu ba jaga kobong, ba maso babi utang mo ambe milu. Kong datang tu *Siouw Kurur*. Kita pe orang tua bilang pa *Siouw Kurur*: "user akang tu babi utang"! Kong dia kase user butul, memang kita dengar depe ba user ba bunyi *Hus.. Hus*. Akhirnya sampe ba kering itu milu nda pernah babi utang maso lagi di kobong. So itu dorang bilang dia raja binatang, biar kecil. So itu kita bilang, binatang bisa di pakai iblis/setan. (Sesuai isi firman Tuhan ada ayat yang menyebutkan tentang orang kerasukan setan dan waktu percakapan Tuhan dengan Iblis, setelah Tuhan mengusirnya dari orang itu, Iblis minta masuk di kawanan ternak babi, Tuhan bilang boleh..lalu iblis itu maso pa babi).

- Dulu waktu torang pake senjata api, ada tu babi nda ja dapa deng senjata babi karena ada *sesuatu*, ada tu dong bilang *kalong (rante babi)*, itu no. Kecuali skarang, bage dalam nama Yesus.
- Pewawancara: Ada tu dorang cerita masih ja dapa dengar suara-suara di *walewatu*?
- Responden: Dia itu *Siouw kurur*. Oh bukan!!... di *Walewatu*
- Pewawancara: Yang suara-suara musik ba tambor?
- Responden: Bukan di walewatu tapi dari Gn.Makalonsouw ini di arah sana ka pante. Oo.. kita so pernah dengar itu. Dia tembus ke pante Kolongan. Itu suara suara rupa ba suling pake tu bia besar deng itu tambor deng kolintang, pernah dengar. Itu gunung dia pe lereng baku sambung sampe di pante. Nama gunung itu *Toka Labo*. Dia panjang, itu pernah bahkan sering kita dengar suara-suara itu. Bagaimana ta mo dengar lagi skarang karna kita berdoa kong user, itu suara langsung ilang. Jadi so nyanda lagi.
- Pewawancara: Terlepas dari agama, apakah sistim kepercayaan yang menganggap gunung ini sakral masih dipercaya orang2 sini?
- Responden: Kebanyakan orang sini masih percaya. Tapi kita pribadi di mana-mana tempat ada iblis. Kita pe keyakinan, apapun biar dia angker kita nda tako karena kita pe kepercayaan Kristen. Orang sini masih banya percaya itu, dorang nimbole tasalah, kalu dorang salah melangkah, kalu nda iko peraturan dia akan manfaatkan atau pake.
- Pewawancara: Dorang ada pegangan?
- Responden: Ada rupa-rupa dukun, depe cara rupa2, kita pe kepercayaan disitu melalui ada guru itu batu, tapi bukan umumnya. Kita ada kelompok, dulu batu itu bisa dipercaya, beberapa fakta yang dipercaya, dia nyatakan. sedang dukun dulu baku-baku coba, mana itu kuat, berarti iblis to?
- Pewawancara: Orang sini pake bahasa Tolour kang? Om Busu masih lancar bahasa Tolour? Ja kase ajar anak-anak?
- Responden: So nda lagi se ajar. memang bahasa itu bagus skali mo jaga karena dimana mana tampa kalu baku bahasa bagus skali. Biar nda se blajar kita ja pake bahasa kalu ba jalang di kobong.
- Pewawancara: Bahasa Tondano 'menjaga/melindungi'?
- Responden: *Oi pejaga'anku* = kita ja jaga
- Pewawancara: Kalu ada ikatan batin deng ini tampa sampe kita suka tinggal sini? Kita cinta skali, mo suka di sini trus.
- Responden: *Pé lelo'telon te'* artinya kita cuma inga-inga, *Ku malelo'mu maki Makalonsouw*.
- Pewawancara: Apa yang om Busu dapa inga kalu bilang Makalonsouw?
- Responden: Kampung noh, kita pe tanah kelahiran.
- Pewawancara: Kalu Minahasa secara keseluruhan?
- Responden: Minahasa,.... Tondano!
- Pewawancara: Berarti.. tempat kang?
- Responden: Kalu orang tanya orang mana (asal mana)? kita bilang Minahasa, minahasa mana? Kita bilang Tondano
- Pewawancara: om Busu masi tau silsilah keluarga?
- Responden: Masi tau, ada rukun Maringka (papa), rukun Rambitan (mama), rukun Sampouw (iko Maitua), Imbing juga.
- Pewawancara: kalu om busu ja lia bagaimana itu cuaca sekarang?
- Responden: Memang kita liat ini so beda jao deng dulu. Kalu dulu bisa dapa tau itu ujang dan panas. Dulu tiap 10 taon ada panas panjang sampe 9-10 bulan. Skarang so nda menentu. Skarang sebenarnya so lewat it masa panas panjang itu. So brapa tahun nda ada bagitu lagi. Itu depe siklus. Depe ujang dulu cuma Mei dan Desember jadi so laeng. Angin juga so nda menentu. Dulu ada angin Selatan. Skarang angin Barat trus jadi ujang trus. Skarang so nyanda menentu.
- Pewawancara: Dulu makalonsow tempat mengungsi?
- Responden: Oh io. Torang yang kaluar dari sini ke Tondano – Liningaan waktu Permesta. Dulu orang-orang Liningaan datang buka kobong kong batanam di sini.
- Pewawancara: Kalu bilang tanah Minahasa itu depe batas sampe dimana?
- Responden: Yang kita tahu Minahasa itu sampe di Amurang dan perbatasan Poigar (batas Bolmong). Cuma Manado tu kota. Skarang so berbage.
- Pewawancara: Pemukiman mula-mula di Minahasa om Busu tau?
- Responden: Kalu kita dengar pemukiman/kampung mula-mula cuma di Makalonsouw yang kita tau. Dorang dari Liningaan kong datang ba kobong di sini deng itu di Tandengan, ketemu di sini, setelah banya takumpul dorang beking kampung. Jadi cuma itu yang kita tau.
- Pewawancara: Mengenai legenda asal Minahasa Toar Lumimu'ut? Versi mana yang om Busu percaya?
- Responden: Kita le nda talalu paham. Kalu Orang tua se tunjung baru kita percaya. Dorang bilang asal Mongolia, tapi kita nintau persis itu. Tapi cuma itu yang kita dengar dari orang tua.  
Keterangan tentang makalonsouw ini asal kata *makalo siouw*= cuma dorang nda manusia (tapi menurut yang kita telusuri itu iblis). Kong kita pikir2 salah ini orang tua2. Disini kalu kita pernah dengar dan ikuti dulu (waktu kita masih dukun ada tu ada kase tunjung pa kita bagini; di Makalonsouw, tu Opo makalonsouw ini bukan orang/manusia seutuhnya, dorang kata ada 9 basudara termasuk *Opo makalonsouw*, *Remera'apus* dan lainnya. Dorang bilang itu jaga kase tenggelam anak di kuala katanya *opo* dari sini.
- Pewawancara: Mengenai isu-isu orang ilang..pernah ada pengalaman orang hilang di gunung ini?

- Responden:** Ada itu da mati akang di gunung ini tapi nintau dari mana. Dulu ini makalonsouw beking2 tako depe cara sini karena banyak aneh aneh.
- Pewawancara:** Itu fakta juga karena banya yang mengalami.
- Responden:** Banyak yg alami karena masih meyakini. Kita pe pendapat apapun serahkan pa Tuhan di manapun minta kekuatan dimanapun juga torang pigi akang. Itu tanpa2 keramat kita nda tako. Dulu kita nimbole tasalah, kalu salah melangkah pasti jadi sesuatu. Kita skarang melangkah deng iman, jadi biar ada sesuatu merasa aman.
- Pewawancara:** So semua so bacarita terutama pengalaman spiritual , berapa lama ?
- Responden:** Waktu itu nyong nyong sampe so berumah tangga sampe umur 20. Jadi sekitar 5-6 tahun jadi Dukun. Kita dulu pake firman Tuhan setelah menyembah kita lepas.
- Pewawancara:** Sebenarnya itu ramuan bole dipertahankan
- Responden:** Memang katu boleh no, Tuhan da ciptakan itu sebagai obat katu.
- Pewawancara:** kiapa dorang cumu-cumu itu *Toka Solo, Toka Rengis*?
- Responden:** Iyo itu di sebelah Selatan (wilayah Taler Kiniar). Kalu Toka Solo itu kenapa dinamakan itu karena ada kayu damar/agatis ambe2 akang getah, dulu orang2 tua dulu (kita so riki kemari), kalu nda ada minya tanah, ambe itu, lalu bakar dan kase menyala for beking lampu. Tu kayu torang kase nama *Solo*. Kalu Toka Rengis, dia saban kali mo lia kesana ta angus ta bakar mar nda di bakar kelihatan seperti terbakar. *Rengis*=angus. Ba bota. Mar skarang so ja bertumbuh itu kayu2 di sana, jadi so bukang toka rengis lagi.
- Pewawancara:** Kalu daerah persawahan ada orang kase nama?
- Responden:** Ada itu Tounsukun, Louroki (masi Makalonsouw), Lelema (dekat Tondano), Linouran. Louroki kiapa kase nama itu karena kalau dia banjir ini tiga kuala sama deng danau di kobong pece sana. *Lour*=danau *oki*=kecil, *Louroki*=danau kecil

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