

# The Pattern of Minahasa Chinatown Settlement in Colonial Era: Urban Archaeology Study

Irfanuddin Wahid Marzuki

Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, Jl. Pingkan Matindas No. 94 Manado

\*Corresponding author. Email: [irfan.balardo@gmail.com](mailto:irfan.balardo@gmail.com).

## ABSTRACT

Minahasa is located in North Sulawesi that has various ethnic and culture. The indigenous inhabitants are from some sub ethnics such as Tonsea, Tombulu, Tondano or Tolour, Totemboan (Tompakewa), Tonsawang, Ponosakan, Ratahan (Pasan), and Bantik. Besides Minahasan other ethnic also exist such as Chinese, Arabic, Javanese, Ambonese, Bugis, Makassar, Ternate, and many others who live in Minahasa. The immigrants built their own settlement based on their origins and still recognized from their toponyms such as: Java Kampong, Chinese Kampong, Ternate Kampong, Bugis Kampong, and etc. It was predicted that China arrived in Minahasa in around 1655 to build a fort namely de Nederlandsche Vasteigheid, and located in swam areas by Tondano lake. Later, the chinese community was not only situated in Manado but spread to Minahasa outback (Tondano, Tomohon, and Langowan). From a short observation, there was a different pattern of Chinatown settlement in Minahasa. This research aimed at reconstructing the settlement patterns of Chinatown and finding out the adaptive strategy of the Chinese in Minahasa, during colonial era. The research method was inductive using urban archaeology approach. This research underwent some steps which were; data collection, analysis, interpretation, and conclusion. Based on the recent archaeological findings, it was known that there was cultural acculturation between Minahasa and China. The culture combination and settlement pattern had distinctive difference in one town to another. The difference was related to Chinese strategy dealing with colonial government policy that forbade Chinese sellers to be an agent or dealer in Minahasa.

**Keywords:** Chinatown, adaptive, Minahasa, Urban Archaeology.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Minahasa is the name for both an ethnic and area in North Sulawesi Province. As an ethnic, Minahasa is not that familiar among public. People know Manado more than Minahasa though Manado is a mere town in Minahasa area. This is also supported by the present historic data informing that Manado has been more known to the world than Minahasa. Even, the name of *Landstreek van Manado* had been used in an official colonial document before changed into Minahasa on October 8, 1789 (Godee Molsbergen, 1928; Henley, 1993; Pantouw, 1994; Schouten, 1998). Therefore, the word Manado has been used and popular among Indonesian when referring to Minahasa or North Sulawesi. The word Minahasa stems from the word *Mina* and *Esa* which means a united ethnic/become one (Henley, 1993; Palar, 2009; Schouten, 1998). One Minahasa ethnic consists of eight sub ethnics and languages which are Tonsea, Tombulu, Tondano, or

Tolour, Totemboan (tompakewa), Tonsawang, Ponosakan, Ratahan (Pasan) and Bantik (Penyusun, 1978). Besides the mentioned sub ethnics, there were also immigrants that had lived for long time, namely: Chinese, Arab, Sangir, Bugis, Makassar, Jawa, Ternate, Tidore, Bolaang Mongondow, and Gorontalo. Those immigrants mostly lived in Minahasa coastal areas and built ethnic-based settlements. The evidence of the settlements can be found from the toponim of the kampongs that still exist in Minahasa today such as: Chinatown, Arab kampong, Javanese Kampong, Ternate kampong, Bugis and Sangir Kampongs.

The Minahasan settlements during colonial time were mostly in hilly and remote areas, not along coastal areas. The Minahasans were not really interested to live near beach or coastal areas for some reasons: a) the unfortunate climate (hot, humid, and swampy), b) sandy lands and less fertile, c) not safe, as pirates of Mangindano and Tobelo kept disturbing d) the

Minahasans mostly were farmers. (Bhatta, 1958). Moreover, the king of Bolaang Mongondow made his kingdom expansion to control the land and people of Minahasa while making them slaves and workers (Pangemanan, 2004; Riedel, 1869).

The immigrants in Minahasa were classified into two groups, those who came by themselves and those who were brought by the colonial government. Those invited to Minahasa were divided into two categories which were workers and political prisoners. The latter were the colonial political prisoners exiled from Minahasa such as Kyai Modjo and his followers in Tondano, Tubagus Buang and his followers in Tomohon, Imam Bondjol in Pineleng, and Gusti Sekar Kedaton (the Queen of Hamengkubuwono V) in Manado.

The research on the settlement of Chinatown in Minahasa during colonial era is interesting as the settlement was not really prominent. Meanwhile, the terms Tondano Chinese, Tomohon Chinese, Amurang Chinese are more familiar to Minahasan in their daily life. The research problem is stated as: "what is the pattern of the china town and how was the adaptive strategy of Minahasan Chinese during colonial?" This research is aimed at finding out the patterns of Chinatown and the adaptive strategy applied by Chinese in Minahasa during colonial era based on archaeological findings

## 2. METHODOLOGY

This research used descriptive method using the study of urban archaeology. The urban archaeology is explained as studying urban physical archaeological remains while focusing on the urban components including urban planning with its background concept, and its society's live (Adrisijanti, 1997, 2000; Nurhadi, 1995) (Nurhadi, 1995). The ontological base for urban archaeology is the archaeological remains taking a form of physical facilities mostly buildings, road network, rest of settlements, and production facility (Nurhadi, 1995). The study unit of the urban archaeology includes physical environment, archaeological remains, toponyms, and historic source. The physical environment as the unit of study covers topography which determines the choice for location of a city, of a settlement, and of the connection with buffer zone (Penyusun, 2008b) This archaeological research studied the remains of Chinatown settlements in Minahasa. The toponyms study can reveal the functional relation between certain societies with their profession and origins, thus the heterogeneity of the society in the past will be known (Adrisijanti, 1997, 2000). The study of historical source on archives, maps and pictures from the past can function as the framework base of the urban study.

The object of this research was the Chinatown area in Minahasa which are Manado, Amurang, Tondano, and Tomohon. The initial stage covered preparation, data collection, data analysis, and conclusion. During preparation, a library study and early observation were conducted. After the library study and data collection, theoretical framework and study approach were selected. The approach and theoretical framework would be the basis for research operations. The data collection covered primary data collection which were archaeological remains from colonial era as the secondary data such as papers, archives, pictures, aerial images, and also map of location.

## 3. DISCUSSION

According to Indonesian Dictionary, settlement refers to an area or place to live or to stay (Penyusun, 2008a). The pattern of settlement deals with shapes and distributions of buildings in one settlement (Adrisijanti, 1997; Willey, 1968). the pattern of settlement is the way people situate themselves in an area where they stay and deal with arrangement and disposition of other buildings (Parson, 1972). The main discussions of the settlement patterns study are the distribution of buildings, the activities of the humans settling in, and the relations among the settlements (Adrisijanti, 1997).

The pattern of traditional urban society in Indonesia depends on type of the city. The structure of rural city settlement shows the people's concept on universe. King and his wife/queen are seen as the core of the universe and guardian that keep balance. The settlements of commoners were situated around the palace. The settlement of coastal area, and of the rulers were located around harbor in which the people's settlements were ethnically classified, such as Arab kampong, Chinese kampong, Keling kampong, Bugis kampong, Makassar kampong, and etc (Menno, 1994). Meanwhile, the pattern of settlement during colonial was centered in public park wherein the houses of rulers (local and colonial), offices, worship buildings (mosque and church), prisons, and banks were also located. It was obvious that the colonial government attempted to make public park/*alun-alun* as the center structure of urban settlement (Wiryomartono, 1995). In addition, the colonial houses (residents or their assistants) would always beside the local ruler (kings or mayor), and near to public park/*alun-alun*. The location of government officers would be on the second ring, while the commoners were in the next ring squeezed between road networks and other facilities (Menno, 1994).

The ethnical division by colonial was caused by Chinese rebellion in 1740, which then, forbade the Chinese to stay inside the city wall, and were obliged to live in a cluster outside the city while always being watched by soldiers (Leushuis, 2014). The rule was also applied to other ethnics (Arab, India, and

indigenous). To strengthen this situation, in 1830, the acts regulating such ethnical division among colonial society and urban planning were issued (Leushuis, 2014). Chinatown mostly became the center of development as it was the hub of marketing and was densely populated (Handinoto, 1999). The Chinatown was the area whose people, style of the building, social structure and environment stemmed from Chinese culture (Lilananda, 1998). In general, Chinatown has the following elements:

- a) Temple, as the main element
- b) Market as the meeting point between Chinese community and the locals.
- c) Dock or pier (if near to beach or a river) as a connector between inside and outside areas.
- d) Position, facing direction to building and road as the main access (Tjahjono, 1999).

### 3.1. Manado Chinatown

Manado Chinatown was initially provided for Chinese brought by the colonial government as workers, building fort *De Nederlandsche Vastieghed* around 1655 (Toar, 1978). They then started to stay and build their own houses around the fort, across the European housing and bordered to Tondano river by north (Nas, 2007; Parengkuan, 1986) (picture 1). Their housing area was then known as Chinatown (Gunawan, 2013). The Chinese in Manado were mostly from Hokkian, Canton (Kwongfu), Hakka (Keh) and Hainan (Adrianus L.G. Waworuntu, 2017). The description of Manado Chinatown in 1864 according to (Graafland, 1991), Two beautifully carved gates welcome whoever entering the area of Chinatown.



**Figure 1** The condition of Chinatown of Manado in 1870 (source: [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/788821?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=5548c7dcb48ea5d9f034&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=1](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/788821?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=5548c7dcb48ea5d9f034&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=1)), and present situation (the writer's document).

The gates are three tiers whose roof protruding in a spiral shape with paper and fabric decoration, while houses stand close each other and stamped with big Chinese characters on their doors. Based on ANRI map data of 1865, the Manado Chinatown was the most densed settlement in Manado (Pict 2). By that time, mostly the land in Manado was still empty. The settlement was located around Fort *Amsterdam* for Dutch, *borgo* (European and local descents), and China.

The Minahasa settlement was still in the area of Minahasa remote area, thus not located around its coastal area.



**Figure 2** The condition of chinatown in Manado in 1865 (source: ANRI map collection).

The Chinatown was known with *Letter G*. the leader of Chinese community during colonial era was *Kapitein der Chinezen*, meanwhile the leader of Manado Chinatown was a *Wijkmeester* ranked as *Luitenan*. They were appointed and laid off by the letter of Manado resident. In 1840s it was known two figures of *Bestuur over Vreemde Oosterlingen* from Manado Chinese those were: The Tjientjo as a *Kapitent*, and Pauw Djoe as a *Luitenant* (an interview with Adrianus Kojongian, on March 7, 2017). The Manado Chinese were around 1.601 people in the late 1868. the Chinatown even was once hit by big fire. The fire was so big that it almost engulfed the whole settlement on September 1880 (an interview with Adrianus Kojongian on March 7, 2017). Today, the Chinatown settlement is divided into Pinaesaan, Calaca, and Wenang village. The word Calaca in Manado means swamp (Taulu, 1978).

One of the prominent elements in Chinatown is a temple which is considered as a holly and sacred building in addition to have an important role in every sacred ceremony of Chinese (Tjahjono, 1999). Only in Indonesia the word "klenteng" is used to name the temple, and this is related with the sound of a chime used in religious events (Setiawan, 1982). The oldest *klenteng* in Manado is *Klenteng Ban Hing Kiong* built in 1819, located in the center of the present Chinatown (nowadays it is included into Calaca village) with coordinate 01°29'42" N and 124°50'37" E (Picture 3). The initial building was simply a wooden made plus rumbia leaves for the roof. It then was transformed into a concrete building whose ornament, statues and decorations were directly delivered from China/Tiongkok (Gunawan, 2013). The *klenteng* is equipped with *Kong Tek Su* (literally an ash house) built in 1893. The name of the temple: Ban Hin Kiong comes from Chinese words. *Ban* means much; *Hin* means blessings; *Kiong* means a palace. Therefore, *Ban*

Hin Kiong is a much-blessed palace or a worship house ([www.manadokota.go.id](http://www.manadokota.go.id), retrieved on November 2, 2019).



**Figure 3** Klenteng Ban Hin Kiong 1900an (source: [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/886547?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=fae896edcd3a7a1079b0&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=4&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=2](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/886547?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=fae896edcd3a7a1079b0&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=4&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=2)), and present condition (doc. Writer).

### 3.2. Amurang Chinatown

Amurang is a coastal area located around 60 km to the south of Manado and became the capital district of Amurang during colonial era. The Amurang Chinatown during colonial was located in the southern part of *borgo* (Descendants of Indo mixed with Dutch) and European headed by a Chinese lieutenant. According to Cornelis Elias, a Chinatown is well known as *Chinese Civic* (Marzuki, 2019), which is now a part of Buyungon area. Unfortunately, the information on the existence and the condition of Amurang Chinatown during colonial era was not available in written sources. However, there was *Algemeen Verslag* (a report of Manado Resident) from 1849-1852 informing the existence of Chinese and the number of Amurang people.

Based on *Algemeen Verslag year 1849-1852* from ANRI collection, the number of Amurang people were as follows:

**Table 1.** The number of Amurang people year 1849-1874

Year	Number of people							Total
	Europe	Christian Borgo	Islam Borgo	Chinese	Christian	Alifuru	Slaves	
1849	109	425	48	40	-	-	19	641
1851	74	417	62	34	-	-	19	600
1852	48	522	39	28	-	11	19	667
1874*	8	777	97	156	57	-	-	1.095

Note \* according to Graafland, 1991:281

Meanwhile according to the note (of Bleeker, 1856), who visited Amurang in 1856, the locals were only 12 people, and the rest were immigrants (Europe, *borgo*, and China). Considering the above data, it is interesting to observe factors that affected the change of the number. The number of European became a few, even only 8 people in 1874, while the number of Christian *borgo* and China rocketed significantly.

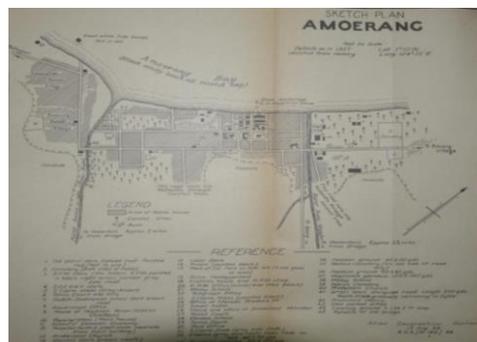


**Figure 4** The Chinatown gate in Amurang by 1927 (source: [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/914062?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=222e420c8124ba1b89f0&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=1&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=5](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/914062?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=222e420c8124ba1b89f0&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=1&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=5)).

The number of Chinese in Amurang in 1974 were 156 people (Graafland, 1991). The fact that Amurang pier became more famous was the reason people kept

coming to stay in Amurang to seek for a job or to trade. The locals seemed to live in Amurang city in 1852 (Marzuki, 2019). One of the Chinese leaders in Amurang was Jap Ban Goan appointed as a *Lieutenant der Chineezzen* of Amurang in 1894 ((an interview with Adrianus Kojongian, on March 7, 2017). Meanwhile, in 1928 the Amurang Chinese were 800 people (Gunawan, 2013).

The existence of Chinatown in Amurang was not only indicated by the written source but also by the old photograph collection of KITLV. One of the pictures shows the welcome gate of Chinatown in 1927 (Pict 4).



**Figure 5** A map of Amurang in 1937 (source: Allied Geographical Section South-West Pacific Area Terrain Study No. 83, Manado(Celebes) 1944).

The other data is a map illustrating the condition of Amurang city in 1937, showing Chinese school had already existed in Buyungon (Pict 5). The Chinese school proved that Amurang Chinese were many and established as they could afford to build their own school. Nowadays, this school is well maintained although still keeping its original style. Interestingly, the building now functions as a house for the family of Sri Setyowati and as a station of Subdenpom VII/1-4 Unit Satlak Hartib Amurang with coordinate 01<sup>o</sup>11'01" N and 124<sup>o</sup>34'14" E (Pict 6). The building was previously an empty one and owned by a Chinese family in Manado.



**Figure 6** One of Chinese burial in Amurang 1851 (left)(source: Gunawan, 2016), eks Chinese school in Buyungon (right)(source. Writer document).

The worship building in Buyungon (*Chinese Civic*) is a temple/*klenteng* which is simply made from wood. That building does not longer existed and no information wherever it is now (predicted that it used to be in the present Amurang market). In fact, the location has now become densely populated settlement (an interview with Cornelis Elias, on Agustus 24, 2016). another archaeological remain proving the existence of Chinese is a burial. One of the tombs was written 1851 (Pict 6). The burial location is in the north part of Buyungon, at a hill. The pattern of Chinatown in the Minahasan coastal area did not follow the pattern that

Johannes Widodo (1996) and Rosiana (2002) had explained, which commonly was like their ascendant in China (Rosiana, 2002; Widodo, 1996). Normally, the pattern of Chinese settlement in coastal city has some qualities, among others are a) having two zones, maritime zone for goods and fuel transportation plus land zone for humans activities, b) the border between public and private room is blur, c) no terrace between house and road d) a front wooden door can be transformed into a shop. However, only in some parts of Minahasa (Manado and Amurang) could this situation be found because of its geographical condition (Pict 7). in the other hand, the transportation line of maritime zone in Minahasa did not use a river, thus all activities used land space.

### 3.3. Tondano Chinatown

Tondano is the second largest city in Minahasa and a capital city of *walak* Tondano before the arrival of European in Minahasa. Tondano was a fertile land and the surplus area for coffee and rice (Hickson, 1889; Marzuki, 2019), and was one of the most populated densed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Bleeker, 1856; Henley, 2005; Limadharma, 1987). Tondano traditional settlements were irregular stilt houses in swamp areas near Tondano lake before being evicted and managed by Resident Nelson during 1810-1812. The new settlement of Tondano was officiated in 1812 by Resident Nelson in a traditional ceremony led by *Waliam* Tulus, *Tonaas* Matulandi, *Korengkeng*, and *Roeroe* (Wewengkang, 1995). This new settlement then became the present Tondano town and did not undergo necessary change. The people of Tondano were mostly originally from Minahasa, and almost no other ethnic among them in 1800s. Based on the data of *Algemeen Verslag in 1849-1852* from ANRI collection, the number of Tondano people were as follows:

**Tabel 2.** Number of Tondano people during 1849-1852 (source: *Algemeen Verslag year 1849-1852*).

Year	Number of people							
	Europe	Christian borgo	Islam Borgo	China	Christian Locals	Alifuru	Slave	Total
1849	11	-	-	-	6342	6332	1	12686
1851	18	-	-	-	9184	3627	-	12829
1852	18	-	-	-	9548	3205	3	12774

The arrival of Chinese in Tondano has not yet been clearly determined, however, it happened in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, presumably. This is based on the birth year of the first generation of Tondano Chinese who was born in China during 1850-1890 (Gunawan, 2015). mostly they were from Kanton and Tiongkok. They came to Tondano and rented the lands of the Tondano people to live on. The Chinese then got married to Tondano women and mingled with the inhabitants. In daily life, children nurturing was dominated by women,

which explains why language use and Chinese tradition subtly disappeared among the Chinese in Tondano (Gunawan, 2015). In the beginning, the Chinese immigrants in Tondano were not a trader but a carpenter and shoe man. The increasing demand on home utilities and on shoes, made the Chinese immigrants in Tondano grow significantly.

Klenteng/a worship building could not be found in Tondano as the Chinese mingled with and most of them married to Minahasan. The religion brought from their

motherland was slowly altered to Christian. Even, the respect toward the ancestors as what Chinese usually does traditionally was conducted at houses, and eventually disappeared among Tondano Chinese (Gunawan, 2015).

### **3.4. The Settlement of Tomohon Chinese**

Specifically, the settlement of other ethnics was not found in Tomohon though some groups of Chinese traders had played important role (Graafland, 1991). The Chinese community had come to Tomohon in 1850s both as a seller and a farmer who then introduced how to plant vegetables in Kakaskasen (Kojongian, 2006). Those traders did not build their own settlement but marrying local women of Tomohon.

The traders then started using local title and wife's family surname. most of them lived in Kakaskasen area and now Kakaskasen I is known for its Tomohon Chinese descendants (Renwarin, 2007). Houses still using Minahasan architecture which makes Chinese identity invisible.

Tomohon was the center for teaching and spreading Christianity and Catholics during Colonial era. Colonial established some schools and sinode center as well as missionary center in Tomohon (Marzuki, 2019). The development of Christianity and Catholics affected the belief of Chinese who had married with Tomohon women. Many of the Chinese converted to either Catholics or Christianity so that the worship at Klenteng was not detected in Tomohon. Chinese burial in Tomohon was not found either as Chinese were also buried in Minahasa burial.

### **3.5. Adaptive Strategy of Minahasan Chinese Settlement**

The adaptive strategy of Minahasan Chinese settlement was different from coastal to rural area. The Chinatown in the remote area of Minahasa was not found as there was only a few Chinese who lived separately (not in the same settlement). Palar (an interview on February 27, 2016) and Parengkuan (an interview on February 24 2016) agreed that Tomohon and Tondano Chinese got married to locals and mingled with them.

In general, the Chinese community in Minahasa can be classified into two groups:

- a. The original Chinese that still holding dear family originality, ancestor tradition, Konghucu, and mostly stay in coastal areas.
- b. The Chinese who had mingled with Minahasan mostly use family name or their mother's surname who happened to be indigenous such as

Waworuntu, Sondakh, Inkiriwang (Gunawan, 2013).

The Chinese settlement was classified into two types: rural and urban settlement. However, public are more familiar to urban settlement of Chinese (Tjahjono, 1999). This research found some differences with what Tjahjono had found. It was found that there was no a specific Chinatown in both rural and urban areas of Minahasa. This is mostly caused by the fact that Chinese had mingled with Minahasan locals and built their houses in Minahasan architecture instead of in Chinese architecture. The influence of Chinese architecture was a few and finally disappeared. This is different from what happened in coastal towns (Manado and Amurang). One of the unique culture of China is an altar table inside houses used to pay an honor to their ancestral spirit. This element of culture was not found among Chinese community in Minahasa. In the early years this table was still seen in Minahasan Chinese community, however; it finally gone together with the change of the religion that the Chinese held (Gunawan, 2015). Chinese settlements were only found in coastal towns: Manado and Amurang. In the two towns the Chinese community still preserving the tradition and architecture of China in some ways. Although the houses were built with Minahasan architecture, the inside part of the house still preserve the Chinese cultural elements, for instance, the Chinese altar table.

The adaptive strategy was applied as there was a by Colonial forbidding Chinese to do a trading or being a dealer in Minahasa. The rights to do a trading or being a dealer was given to borgo people (breeding of Minahasa and Dutch), however, these people were innately not interested in doing such business. Therefore, this was only for short (Parengkuan, 1986; Watuseke, 1962). Instead, the borgo people loved being a clerk, a fisherman or a farmer more than being a seller and this situation gave Chinese a chance to be both a trader and a dealer.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

In Minahasa, the China settlement or Chinatown in rural area is different from the one in coastal areas. The difference is mostly as a result of adaptive strategy of Chinese community. The pattern of settlement in coastal areas has similarities with that of Chinatown in that the settlement is ethnic based. Meanwhile, the Chinese burial is located near a market and river while in the capital city lays a temple. There is also a burial which is located far enough from a hill. Choosing a market is under stable as mostly the Chinese is a trader. As Minahasan Chinese mingled with locals and married to the women, the architecture of buildings is accordance with Minahasan traditional architecture. The

architecture is in line with that of Minahasan instead of choosing to keep preserving or mixing the Chinese and Minahasan style. This strategy is chosen to anticipate the regulation of Dutch colonial.

The archaeology proof during colonial in Minahasa indicates that the China settlement or Chinatown in coastal areas was different from that in rural areas. The proofs in coastal areas are more various such as settlement, worship building/*klenteng*, houses with Chinese architecture, and burial. Meanwhile, the archaeological proofs among Chinese communities in Minahasa were not that many, only a burial which is partly mixed with Minahasan burial.

## REFERENCES

- [1] *Algemeen Verslag year 1849-1852, Arsip Nasional Collection.*
- [2] *Allied Geographical Section South-West Pacific Area Terrain Study No. 83, Manado(Celebes) 1944.*
- [3] *ANRI map collection*
- [4] Adrisijanti, I. (1997). *Kota Gede, Plered dan Kartasura Sebagai Pusat Pemerintahan Kerajaan Mataram Islam(±1578-1746)*. Yogyakarta.
- [5] Adrisijanti, I. (2000). *Arkeologi Perkotaan Mataram Islam*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Jendela.
- [6] Bhatta, M. J. (1958). *Tinjauan Tentang Tempat Kediaman Orang Jang Beragama Islam di Minahasa*. Jakarta, Indonesia.
- [7] Bleeker, P. (1856). *Reis door de Minahasa in 1855, Vol I*. Batavia: Lange & Co.
- [8] Godee Molsbergen, E. (1928). *Geschiedeniss van de Minahassa tot 1829*. Weltevreden: Landsdrukkerij.
- [9] Graafland, N. (1991). *Minahasa Negeri, Rakyat, dan Budayanya*. Jakarta: Pustaka Utama Grafiti.
- [10] Gunawan, H. (2013). *Yok Tjæ dan Chung Hwa Menelusuri Jejak-Jejak Komunitas Tionghoa Manado*. Yogyakarta: PT Kanisius.
- [11] Gunawan, H. (2015). Sejarah Perkembangan Komunitas Tionghoa Tondano hingga Awal Abad 20. In *Bunga Rampai Sejarah : Merajut Peristiwa dan Masyarakatnya* (pp. 1–70). Yogyakarta: Kepel Press.
- [12] Handinoto. (1999). Lingkungan “Pecinan” dalam Tata Ruang Kota di Jawa pada Masa Kolonial. *Dimensi Teknik Sipil*, 27(1), 20–29.
- [13] Henley, D. (1993). Nationalism and Regionalism in Colonial Indonesia: The Case of Minahasa. *Indonesia No. 55, The East Indies and the Dutch*, (55), 91–112.
- [14] Henley, D. (2005). *Fertility Food and Fever Population, Economy, and Environment in North and Central Sulawesi, 1600-1930*. Leiden: Leiden Press.
- [15] Hickson, S. (1889). *A Naturalist in North Celebes*. London: John Murray.
- [16] Kojongian, A. (2006). *Tomohon Kotaku*. Tomohon: Dinas Pendidikan Nasional.
- [17] Leushuis, E. (2014). *Panduan Jelajah Kota-Kota Pusaka di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak.
- [18] Lilananda, R. P. (1998). *Inventarisasi Karya Arsitektur Cina di Kawasan Pecinan Surabaya*. Surabaya.
- [19] Limadharna, H. K. (1987). *Tanam Paksa Kopi dan Monetisasi Petani Minahasa, 1822-1870*. Jakarta.
- [20] Marzuki, I. W. (2019). Perkembangan Struktur Tata Ruang Kota Pantai dan Pedalaman Minahasa Provinsi Sulawesi Utara tahun 1789-1945. In *Disertasi*. Yogyakarta.
- [21] Menno, S. dan M. A. (1994). *Antropologi Perkotaan* (2nd ed.). Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.
- [22] Nas, P. J. (2007). Miniatur Manado Citra Suatu Hunian Pinggiran. In *Kota-Kota Indonesia Bunga Rampai*, hlm. 640-658. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press. (pp. 640–658). Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- [23] Nurhadi. (1995). Arkeologi Kota Sebuah Pengantar. *Bulletin Arkeologi Amoghapasa*, 2(1), 3–10.
- [24] Palar, H. (2009). *Wajah Lama Minahasa*. Bogor: Yayasan Gibbon Indonesia.
- [25] Pangemanan, H. H. (2004). *Politik dan Perubahan Masyarakat di Bolaang Mongondow 1895-1942*. Yogyakarta.
- [26] Pantouw, B. (1994). *Beberapa Perubahan Kebudayaan di Minahasa Tengah 1829-1859 Suatu Kajian Sejarah Berdasarkan Tulisan-tulisan J.G.Schwarz*. Jakarta.
- [27] Parengkuan, F. E. . (1986). *Sejarah Kota Manado*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Proyek Inventarisasi dan Dokumentasi Sejarah Nasional.
- [28] Parson, J. (1972). Archaeological Settlement Pattern. *Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol.1*, 127–150.
- [29] Penyusun, T. (1978). *Sejarah Daerah Sulawesi Utara*. Jakarta.
- [30] Penyusun, T. (2008a). *Kamus Bahasa Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Bahasa.
- [31] Penyusun, T. (2008b). *Metode Penelitian*

- Arkeologi* (2nd ed.; Nanik Harkatingsih, ed.). Jakarta: Puslitbangarkenas.
- [32] Renwarin, P. R. (2007). *Matuari Wo Tonaas Jilid I Mawanua*. Jakarta: Penerbit Cahaya Pineleng.
- [33] Riedel, J. (1869). *Het Oppergezag der Vorsten van Bolaang over de Minahasa*.
- [34] Rosiana, M. (2002). *Kajian Pola Morfologi Ruang Kawasan Pecinan (Studi KasusK Kawasan Pecinan Semarang)*. Semarang.
- [35] Schouten, M. J. (1998). *Leadership and Social Mobility in A Southeast Asian Society Minahasa 1677-1983*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- [36] Setiawan, E. dkk. (1982). *Mengenal Klenteng Sam Poo Kong Gedung Batu Semarang*. Semarang: Yayasan Klenteng Sam Poo Kong Gedung Batu.
- [37] Taulu, H. . (1978). *Sejarah Minahasa*. Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- [38] Tjahjono, V. (1999). *Permukiman Cina dan Keberadaannya dalam Tata Ruang Perkotaan*. Jakarta.
- [39] Toar, D. (1978). *Orang Cina di Manado*. Manado.
- [40] Watusuke, F. . (1962). *Sedjarah Minahasa*. Manado: Jajasan Penerbit Merdeka.
- [41] Wewengkang, S. H. (1995). *Sejarah Perkembangan Pemerintahan Wilayah Tondano (1945-1991)*. Manado.
- [42] Widodo, J. (1996). *The Urban History of Southeast Asia Coastal City*. Tokyo.
- [43] Willey, G. R. (1968). Settlement Archaeology an Appraisal. In *Settlement Archaeology* (pp. 208–226).
- [44] Wiryomartono, B. (1995). *Seni Bangunan dan Seni Binakota di Indonesia Kajian mengenai Konsep, Struktur, dan Elemen Fisik Kotasejak Peradaban HinduBudha, Islam hingga Sekarang*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Internet.
- [45] [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/788821?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=5548c7dcb48ea5d9f034&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=12](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/788821?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=5548c7dcb48ea5d9f034&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=6&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=12)
- [46] [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/886547?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=fae896edcd3a7a1079b0&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=4&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=2](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/886547?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=fae896edcd3a7a1079b0&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=4&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=2)
- [47] [https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/914062?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=222e420c8124ba1b89f0&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=1&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=5](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/914062?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=222e420c8124ba1b89f0&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=1&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=5)
- [48] [www.manadokota.go.id](http://www.manadokota.go.id), retrieved on November 2, 2019
- [49] Adrianus Kojongian, on March 7, 2017
- [50] Cornelis Elias, on Agustus 24, 2016