








Waruga: A Stone Coffin in Minahasa, North Sulawesi

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Abstract. North Sulawesi is a land bridge that connects Austronesian culture and Sulawesi. This area is the home to megalithic sites, heritages of Austronesian-speaking people, found mostly in Minahasa. One of the artifacts is a tomb coffin or famously known as Waruga. It is an invaluable heritage and once functioned as a burial structure in Minahasa long time ago. The waruga is the prove of the Minahasan skills in expressing their activity particularly in burial activity. As the sufficient information on Waruga has not been enough, the research on Waruga is of importance. This article is the study on the characteristic and on the spread of waruga. The data was collected by using literary study from previous research while the site tabulation of the total number of waruga was based on administrative area and on the site map. This article is a potential source of knowledge on megalithic culture in Indonesia which serves as a national identity and a pride for next generations.

Keywords: Austronesia · artifact · megalitics · waruga · Minahasa

1 Introduction

North area of Sulawesi has bridged Sulawesi and Philippine land during Pleistocene era and home to animal migration and the culture of Austronesian-speaking people from Asia to South through Philippine and Sulawesi (Austronesian speaking culture) to come. This is proven by the findings of extinct ancient animals' remains such as ivory and molar of *Stegodon* (ancient elephant) in Pintareng (Sangihe Island), Besoa (Central Sulawesi), Cabengge (South Sulawesi) [1], dan Ensa, North Morowali (Central Sulawesi) [2].

Minahasa is located in the northern part of Sulawesi Island, between 0°51' and 1°51'40" degrees North and between 124°18'40" and 125° 21'40" East longitude. Minahasa has a volcano cluster which makes it potentially fertile land. The geomorphology shows it has low and high areas with the volcano cluster whose height is above 1000 mdpl. This geographic condition has supported Minahasa to be residential area since ancient time. The proofs of the ancient life in the Northern Sulawesi are found in Leang Saru, Leang Tuo Manee, Passo, and..... The dating report of shells at Leang Sarru site, Salibabu island, Talaud suggests that the areas have been inhabited since 31.000 ago [3, 4]. Furthermore, Leang Tuwo Maneé, Arangkaa, was inhabited 4000 years ago

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[4], and Passo, Kakas sub district, Minahasa was inhabited 6000 years ago [5]. Minahasan civilization continued to Megalithic period. The previous archaeological research shows that the spread of megalithic artefacts is numerous and dated back from different old of ages. One of them is waruga, the stone coffin, menhir “tumotowa”, pestle and mortar stone, which dated back from 2.400 years ago to the early years of 20th century in Minahasa [5].

The research on megalithic tradition has been long started, particularly the study on reconstructing and finding the life style as well as understanding the process of cultural changes during the megalithic era. The research has been more focused on specific megalithic artifacts only found in Minahasa by; [6]–[11]. Data collection on Waruga was not started only until North Sulawesi Bureau of Archaeology initiated it and created the data inventory of the waruga spread in Tondano, Minahasa Regency and its surrounding in 1993. The survey and excavation were further conducted in Woloan village, Tomohon District (Tomohon Regency at the present) in 1995. The research found burial treasures such as rings, bracelets, comb, necklace, beads, household appliances, weapons, and some fragments of human skeleton as well as teeth inside waruga [12]. A more intensive research with excavation research was conducted in megalithic site of Loloh Village, Tombariri District, Minahasa regency in 2001. The research found the burial treasures in waruga such as ceramics. It also found the spread of stone coffin or 53 warugas [13]. The research in northern Minahasa informs that almost every village or hamlet in this area has such megalithic artefacts which resulted in the more intensive research since 2006 to [4, 14]–[16].

The research on waruga gives an important meaning to the history and culture of Minahasan people. Waruga is seen as an important burial facility for megalithic culture as it is the manifestation of their respect to the ancestors in addition to their cultural identity. Though the research on waruga has been conducted numerously, the existence of Waruga has not been vastly known among Indonesians, especially among people in North Sulawesi. It is then urgent to introduce waruga to public. This paper will elaborate the characteristic and the spread of waruga in Minahasa, North Sulawesi. This paper aimed to provide information on waruga as a part of Minahasan culture. Therefore, this paper can potentially serve as the source of information on megalithic culture in Indonesia which, because of its uniqueness, has been the pride of Indonesian next generations.

2 Rationale

The artifacts found in Minahasa are mostly from Austronesian culture which were known and spread by Austronesian-speaking people in the areas between West Madagascar to East Island (Pacific) in eastern part, also in Formosa in the Northern part [17]. The culture is identified from the finding of stone adze for agriculture, megalithic structure for both ceremony and worshipping ancient spirit, and urn as burial accessories [18]. The megalithic structure and urn have been identified as ritual tools for the people worshipping ancient spirit.

Minahasa has been an important area and potential as human settlement since ancient time given its geographical location and history. One of the potentials of Minahasa is the unique megalithic finding which is only in Minahasa, that is stone coffin or well-known

as Waruga. If further studied, waruga has similarity to other burial artefacts in Indonesia and in other countries, for example, 'Parholian' burial in Samosir, North Sumatera. 'Parholian' was only for royal family [19]; different from waruga which is for public. Similar stone coffin was also found in South Philippine located in open caves [20], while waruga is around people's houses.

The Minahasa heritage including waruga has relatively high value, and potentially attracts public and cultural researchers. Related to this, the artefact must be preserved through research and publication. Researches on cultural heritage will produce data of civilization, which is essential to understand the cultural growth in Minahasa. In the long term, the database can be utilized as the source of education and knowledge, specifically about Minahasan and North Sulawesi regional culture. In addition, the research can serve as documentation data for knowledge and education purpose.

3 Materials and Method

Archaeological sources in Minahasa particularly megalithic artefacts are variously numerous which attract many researchers. Administratively, Minahasa consists of Manado city, Tomohon city, North Minahasa Regency, Minahasa Regency, South Minahasa Regency, and South East Minahasa Regency. To reach the target, this research uses literature review. The data were collected by gathering the literatures from previous research on waruga by National Archaeological Research Center and North Sulawesi Bureau of Archaeology from 2006 to 2020. After that, the sites were tabulated and the number of waruga was divided based on administrative area, followed by map making on waruga spread of site. The analysis was conducted to find out the characteristics of waruga seen from its morphology, technology, materials and function as well as pattern of site spread. The analysis functions as the basis to make a conclusion.

4 Data and Discussion

4.1 Characteristic of Waruga

Waruga is the stone coffin or burial place made of stone. Commonly, it consists of two parts, body and cover (Fig. 1). The body part is made of stone with cube shape, rectangular, round, and hexagon. The cover is mostly made of a whole stone in pyramid shape resembling a house roof or adjusting to the shape of the body. There are still many opinions on the etymology of Waruga such as: *moruga* (boiled) [21], *maruga* (melting) [8], *wale ruga* (a house for decayed body) [22], *wale morgha* (a house for a dried body) [23].

Waruga is made of sediment stone also known among locals as domato stone (Fig. 2). This stone will get harden and solidified when placed outdoor and softened if soaked by water or submerged which makes it easier to get shaped and ornamented as a waruga. Based on the analysis of petrology on stone samples on site in Sawangan Village of North Sulawesi, the waruga stones are sediment stone which has exuberant color; whitely grey, faded color: grayish brown, texture: Clastic, grain size: 1/2 - 1 mm (arenit), sorting: medium, structure: un-layered, shape: sub. Rounded, mineral



Fig. 1. Various styles of body and cover of Waruga (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi).

composition: quartz, feldspard and volcanic glass, stone names: tufa. (Petrology Analysis of Arkometri Laboratory, Puslitbang Arkeologi, Jakarta) (Suryanto & Sukendar, 1995/1996).

The technology for waruga construction is simple. Stones are shaped into cube or other shapes and another one for the body plus creating a hole in the center for certain depth. The cover part of the waruga is also made from a stone resembling roof of a house or simply adjusting it with the shape of the body. The center of the cover has a hole but not as deep as its cover. The size of the waruga is various. The big one is more than 100 cm, the medium one is between 50 – 100 cm, and the small one is under 50 cm. The size of ancient waruga was usually in concordance with the interred dead body; however, along with time, the size of waruga became the prestige for the deceased. Social stratum was considered when preparing for waruga.

Waruga is adorned with specific various carved motifs, which usually are chiseled/inscribed/scratched on the cover and its body. The decoration motifs are namely anthropomorphism, flora/plants, fauna/animals, geometric and tassels or kabas fruit. The human motif is many and it represents magic/religious by picturing a straddle human, women giving a birth, horned human anthropomorphic, and other ornaments using unusual human motifs. These ornaments prove that megalithic culture believed in the utmost power beyond them. The meaning of the motif also tells that the dead will have a smooth trip to spirit world, free from any dangers and reunite with their ancestors.



Fig. 2. Appearance of remnants of Waruga construction in Tumulung Village, North Minahasa (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2020)

Human motif decoration is pictured as a complete human, symbolic, or anthropomorphic. It is pictured as a bird-like, human wearing European dress, human smoking pipes, human wearing war apparel, wearing masks, and etc. Other decorations are straddle human exposing his/her genital part. A more common illustration of human is also found and it is usually related with the deceased's profession, for instance, human holding war weapons (sword, shield, and spear) describing that the deceased was once a member of Tonas or leaders. Human figure wearing European dress with its accessories tells the acculturation among ancient people with foreigners in this area (Fig. 3).

Meanwhile, the flora motif on waruga mostly were made ornamental or in modified shape or structure. Such motif had never been recognized during pre-historic age in Indonesia [24], until Hinduism gave its influence and became common in Indonesian ornamental style. Some flora/plants motifs have specific meanings while others do not (for decoration only). The flora decoration motifs are mostly in a form of dstilirasi flowers illustrating beauty and luxury. Some flora decorations in Minahasan waruga are pakis (ferns) bud and others are picturing bone leaves, tendrils, which are drawn as if they were a part of a dragon's body (Fig. 4).

Plants are not the only motifs found, animals are also illustrated vaguely, modified. On the other hand, the animals' motifs like snake, dragon, pig, cows, and owls are carved precisely as their real shape showing the belief among Minahasan in symbolic ways. The beliefs on certain animals such as snake, and owl among the present Minahasan are

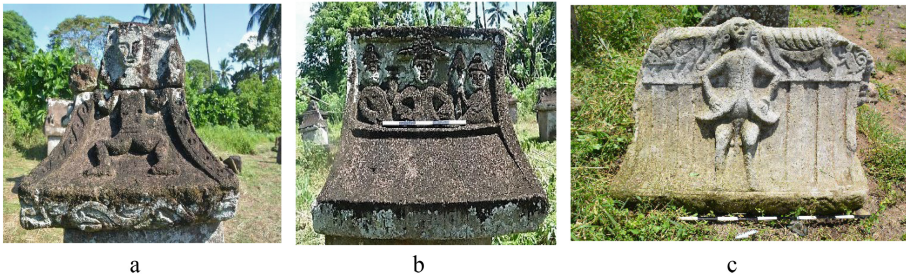


Fig. 3. The appearance of anthromorphic decoration motif on waruga: straddle human (a). Human using war weapons (b), human wearing European dress (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2020)



Fig. 4. Plants as modified motif (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2020)

still strong. They believe that the two animals are their empung's or ancestors' beloved pets and therefore the two must be respected (Fahrani: 2018). The animal decoration motifs are mostly described in pair, face to face or back to back, for instance dragon decoration motif in Tumulung site, Kauditan District, North Minahasa is in back to back position (Fig. 5).

Another motif is geometrical motif found on waruga in Minahasa. This decoration existed since pre-historic age. The geometrical motifs such as meander, twist, and isosceles patterns imply the symbolic meanings of the motifs. The pre-historic people tried to deliver the message about their life. The isosceles pattern in certain areas has important meaning related with the beliefs during pre-historic age. Philosophically, the isosceles means that people should be useful for others like pucuk rebung or young bamboo (carved in isosceles shape) that is edible and has various functions for humans (Fahrani: 2016). Other ornamented decorations are geometric patterns, such as straight lines, curves, grid, inverted triangle, round, triangle, and others (Fig. 6). This decoration is usually found with other ornaments in one single waruga and mostly carved on the cover, yet some of them are also found on the body part.

Other prominent decoration is tassel/ *kabalas* fruit/pot/mace, mostly are placed on both right and left sides of waruga covers. The tassel is oval round dropping down and ornamented from top to bottom in row (Fig. 7). There are still different opinions on naming this pattern whether as Tassel or Kabalas; other Minahasans call them pot while others name them mace. This tassel pattern resembles orange flowers from Tambaloi [7]. Together with the sound of *manguni* bird, the Tambaloi wood functioned as a supporting power. When someone is troubled and feeling down, this wood and the bird are perceived

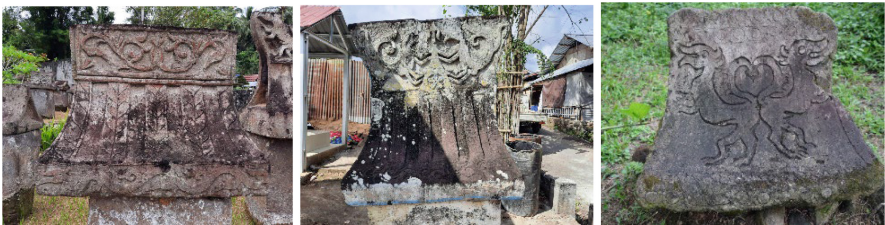


Fig. 5. Ornamented decorations of plants and animals motif found on Waruga in Minahasa (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2020)



Fig. 6. The geometric ornament on waruga (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2018)

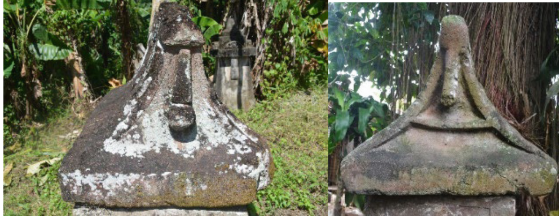


Fig. 7. Tassel/ *kabalas* fruit/ mace as the ornament of waruga (Source: documentation of Regional Agency for Archaeological Research in North Sulawesi, 2020)

as his supporting power. The Tambaloi flower is a symbol attached to a leader during a war, which believed can make him braver. This ornament is also thought to be the symbol of power and protection [25].

4.2 Distribution of Waruga

The Northern part of Minahasa occupies the most waruga, while the southern and south-eastern part have the least. The waruga is commonly found under the houses of Minahasan (a stilt house), gardens, graveyard, and even in office areas. Some other locations are a relocation area or collection area of waruga taken from the local's land around relocation area. The following is the description of the spread of waruga based on administration area (Fig. 8).

The Distribution of Waruga in North Minahasa Regency. Waruga is mostly found in North Minahasa Regency spread in 9 districts of Airmadidi, Kalawat, Likupang, East Likupang, Wangurer, Kauditan, Talawaan, Kema and Dimembe. The site description and the map from the research from 2006 to 2011 can be seen as follows (Table 1):

The Distribution of Waruga in Tomohon City. The waruga spread in Tomohon can be found in 4 sub-districts namely North Tomohon, Central Tomohon; West Tomohon and South Tomohon (Table 2). The Following Site Description is Taken from a Report of Research in Tomohon and Surrounding in 2007 and 2011 (Fig. 9).

The Distribution of Waruga in South Minahasa Regency. The sites occupying waruga in South Minahasa are in 8 districts of Tompaso, Tareran, Suluun-tareran, Tumpaan, East Amurang, Tenga, West Amurang and Tatapaan (Table 3). The data of site spread is taken from of a research in South Minahasa since 2013 to 2015 (Fig. 10).

The Distribution of Waruga in Minahasa Regency. The sites where waruga found are in Kabupaten Minahasa spreading in 15 sub districts of Tompaso, Pineleng, Tombulu, Tombariri, East Tombariri, Remboken, South Tondano, West Tondano Barat, East Tondano, East Lembean, Kawangkoan, North Kawangkoan, Sonder, North Lawongan, and West Langowan (Table 4). The site description is taken from the research in this area in 2015 and 2016 (Fig. 11).

Table 1. The spread of Waruga in sub district of North Minahasa

No	Situs	Desa/Kelurahan	Kecamatan	Jumlah
1	Kawiley	Kawiley	Kawiley	34
2	Kaima	Kaima	Kauditan	43
3	Mateleleng	Tumaluntung	Kauditan	72
4	Karegesan	Karagesan	Kauditan	9
5	Lembean	Lembean	Kauditan	35
6	Tenget Watu	Tumaluntung	Kauditan	?
7	Treman I	Treman	Kauditan	68
8	Treman II	Treman	Kauditan	50
9	Kaasar	Kaasar	Kauditan	40
10	Kaasar I	Kaasar	Kauditan	4
11	Kaasar II	Kaasar	Kauditan	78
12	Tumaluntung I	Tumaluntung	Kauditan	98
13	Tumaluntung II	Tumaluntung	Kauditan	25
14	Kauditan	Kema	Kema	28
15	Kema III	Kema III	Kema	10
16	Makalete	Tountalete	Kema	3
17	Warua Sae	Tountalete	Kema	6
18	Talawaan I	Talawaan	Talawaan	3
19	Talawaan II	Talawaan	Talawaan	27
20	Kolongan	Talawaan	Talawaan	7
21	Mapanget	Mapanget	Mapanget	9
22	Wanua Ure	Sukur	Airmadidi	46
23	Airmadidi Bawah	Airmadidi Bawah	Airmadidi	155
24	Sawangan	Sawangan	Airmadidi	144
25	Warukapas	Tatelu	Dimembe	46
26	Laikit	Laikit	Dimembe	13
27	Matungkas	Matungkas	Dimembe	13
28	Maumbi	Maumbi	Kalawat	21
29	Negeri Lama	Kuwil	Kalawat	13
30	Kokoleh I	Kokoleh I	Likupang Selatan	12
31	Kokoleh II	Kokoleh II	Likupang Selatan	14
32	Pangiaran Lontak	Paslaten	Likupang	3

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

No	Situs	Desa/Kelurahan	Kecamatan	Jumlah
33	Wangurer	Wangurer	Wangurer	2
34	Batu	Batu	Likupang Selatan	2
35	Winawanua	Likupang I	Likupang Timur	6
36	Kumaraka	Likupang I	Likupang Timur	1
37	Likupang I	Likupang I	Likupang Timur	12
38	Likupang II	Likupang II	Likupang Timur	9
39	Kawangkoan	Kawangkoan	Kalawat	71
40	Rap-rap	Rap-rap	Airmadidi	34
41	Tanggari	Tanggari	Airmadidi	14
42	Suwaan	Suwaan	Kalawat	8
43	Kema II	Kema II	Kema	22
44	Tetey	Tetey	Dimembe	11
	Total			1.321

4.3 Discussion

The megalithic culture in Indonesia holds the same belief, that is worshipping the ancestors' spirit and practiced in daily basis. The basic belief on supernatural power of the ancestors was manifested on the construction of big stones which functioned as a tool and facilities of worshipping. While the basic belief is similar, the megalithic culture across Indonesia is different. Each region owns its particular character. The values of life and the view on nature are still attributed in today's culture.

The prominent megalithic artefact in Minahasa is waruga or stone coffin, The spreading area of waruga covers almost all Minahasan areas including North Minahasa, Central Minahasa, South Minahasa, Tomohon city, and Manado City. Some ethnographic notes as written by [7, 26, 27], inform that the ancient belief was strongly held by Minahasan people. The clear evidence for this is the burial tradition among the Minahasan, which used waruga [5]. Waruga is the stone coffin used for burying the deceased among them out of respect to their ancestors [28]. Commonly, Warugas were placed around their house (beside the house or back of house), which tells also the location of settlement of the old Minahasan. The ancient Minahasans were not familiar with the idea of separating their habitat with the burial location. The separated location of burial was initiated in 1820s after infectious diseases lashed out Minahasa in 1820s [29]. The Netherland Colonial Government forbade the locals to bury the deceased in waruga surrounding their houses.

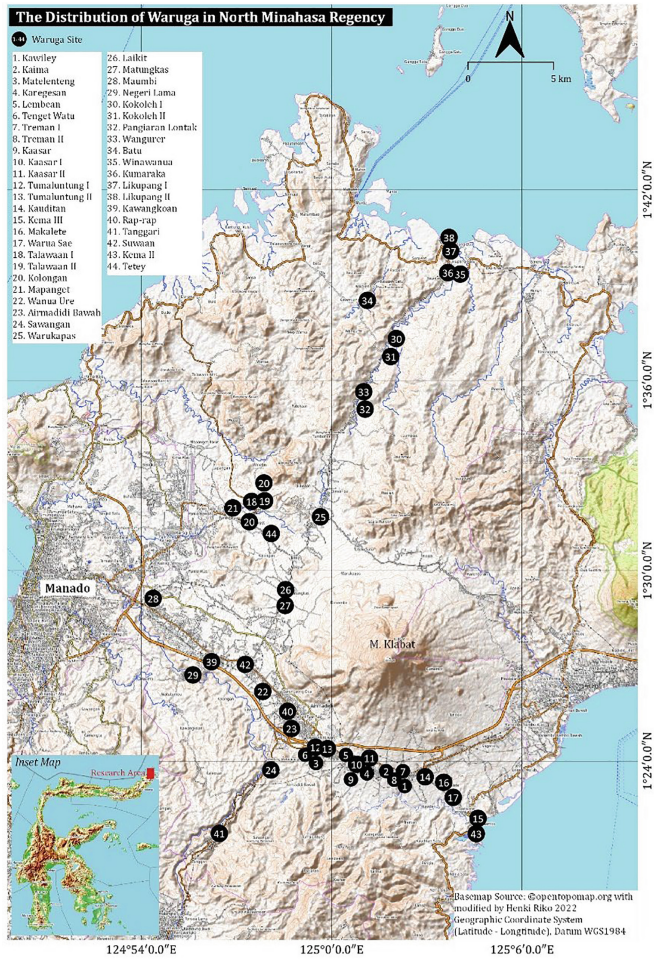


Fig. 8. The distribution of waruga in North Minahasa Regency (Source: Opentopomap with modified by Henki, 2022).

The dating report on waruga indicates that the tradition of using waruga has been started since 4 AD, proven by the C 14 carbon dating report in Tomohon site, dating back to 2 AD [10]. The other dating report also shows the existence of waruga during 1908 (based on the year inscription on waruga in Tomohon Kolongan village). It is also believed that waruga still exists until the end of 19th century [30]. The strong culture of Minahasan has been indicated as the factor for waruga to exist though Christianity has come to these areas since 1563 [31].

Table 2. The spread of Waruga in Tomohon City

No	Situs	Village/district	Sub district	number
1	Kinilow	Kinilow I	North Tomohon	2
2	Kakaskasen I	Kakaskasen I	North Tomohon	4
3	Kakaskasen II	Kakaskasen II	North Tomohon	6
4	Kakaskasen III	Kakaskasen III	North Tomohon	22
5	Kayawu	Kayawu	North Tomohon	3
6	Tara-Tara	Tara-Tara	West Tomohon	18
7	Woloan I	Woloan I	West Tomohon	66
8	Woloan II	Woloan II	West Tomohon	1
9	Woloan III	Woloan III	West Tomohon	1
10	Matani III	Matani III	West Tomohon	2
11	Kolongan I	Kolongan I	Central Tomohon	4
12	Kolongan	Kolongan	Central Tomohon	5
13	Talete	Talete	Central Tomohon	1
14	Lansot	Lansot	Central Tomohon	26
15	Lahendong	Lahendong	Central Tomohon	1
Total				162

The dominant spread of waruga in Minahasa in this area shows that burial activities have widely started since long time ago. The data from the field shows that mostly the waruga are found or located near people's houses. The beliefs of Minahasan teach them about the live after death where the deceased can live in other world related to the worldly life. It is therefore when their beloved dies, the burial is located not far from their house as they hope the spirit will still be around.

The waruga artefacts spread in Minahasa shows that the culture of Minahasan had its own uniqueness that cannot be found in other area in Indonesia. The uniqueness is still seen as a local wisdom among the people of this culture. Waruga as a cultural identity and as a symbol of social integrity among Minahasan still exists through the changes and development of ages and religion [32]. Though they had undergone acculturation, the local culture still becomes their cultural identity as seen in megalithic artefacts in Minahasa. The cultural identity in the context of archaeology is a continuant local genius, which is recognized as the power that can support the sustainable culture [33]. Further, the cultural identity has specific characteristic owned by a group of people [33] whose boundaries are recognized when compared to other's culture [34]). Cultural identity is an emotional significance from someone to have a sense of belonging or affiliated with certain culture [35]. The people divided into the groups have identified their culture, where everyone considers himself as a representative of a particular culture [36].

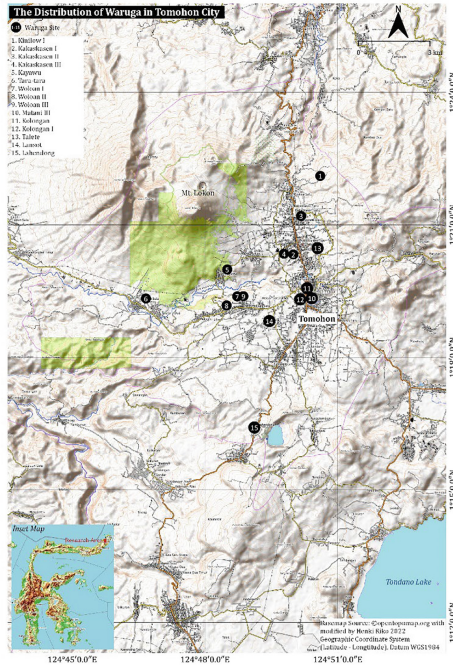


Fig. 9. The distribution of waruga in Tomohon City (Source: Opentopomap with modified by Henki, 2022).

Table 3. The spread of Waruga in South Minahasa Regency

No	Situs	Desa/Kelurahan	Kecamatan	Jumlah
1	Tumpaan	Tumpaan	Tumpaan	?
2	Popontolen	Popontolen	Tumpaan	6
3	Matani	Matani	Tumpaan	3
4	Tumpaan I	Tumpaan I	Tumpaan	1
5	Tumpaan II	Tumpaan II	Tumpaan	?
6	Tumpaan III	Tumpaan I	Tumpaan	?
7	Tumpaan Baru	Tumpaan Baru	Tumpaan	?
8	Paslaten	Paslaten	Tatapaan	1
9	Tangkuney	Tangkuney	Tumpaan	2
10	Lopana	Lopana	Amurang Timur	1
11	Rumoong Bawah	Rumoong Bawah	Tareran	6
12	Kawangkoan Bawah	Kawangkoan Bawah	Amurang Barat	?
13	Kapoya	Kapoya	Suluun Tareran	1
14	Runtuwene	Runtuwene	Suluun Tareran	?
15	Suluun Dua	Suluun Dua	Suluun Tareran	1
16	Wuwuk	Wuwuk Barat	Tareran	1
17	Kaneyan	Kaneyan	Tareran	2
18	Popareng Mawale	Popareng	Tatapaan	?
19	Popareng Watu randang	Popareng	Tatapaan	?
20	Popareng Jaga I	Popareng	Tatapaan	10
21	Rap-rap	Rap-rap	Tatapaan	15
22	Lopana Jaga IV	Lopana	Amurang Timur	2
23	Lansot	Lansot	Tareran	3
24	Kapoya 1	Kapoya I	Suluun Tareran	2
25	Kapoya 3	Kapoya	Suluun Tareran	1
26	Lelema	Lelema	Tumpaan	5
27	Radey	Radey	Tenga	1
28	Kaneyan	Rumoong Bawah	Amurang Barat	10
	Total			74

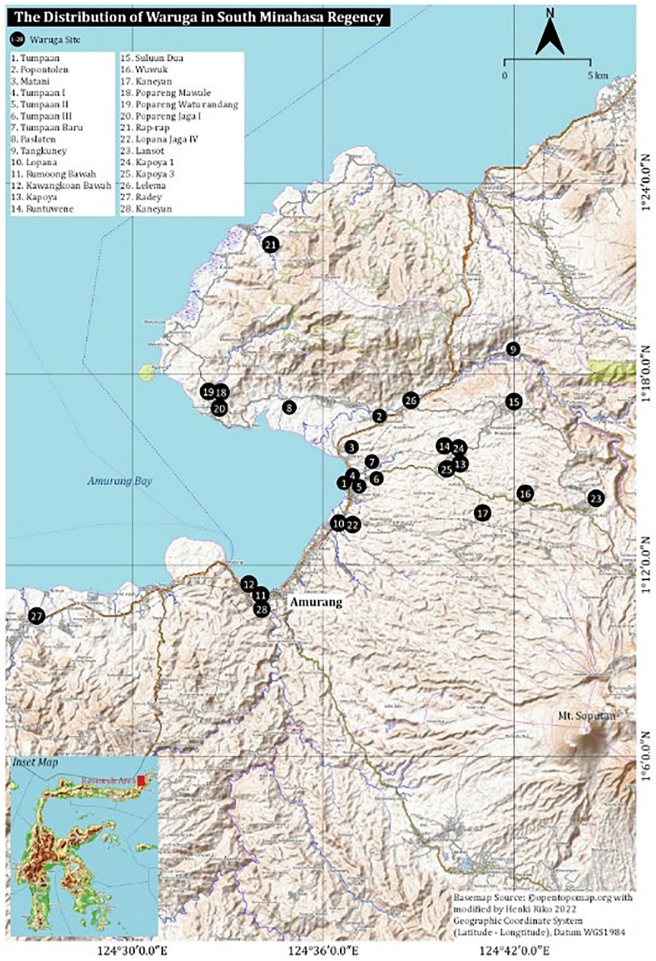


Fig. 10. The distribution of waruga in South Minahasa Regency (Source: Opentopomap with modified by Henki, 2022).

Table 4. The spread of Waruga in Minahasa Regency

No	Situs	Desa/Kelurahan	Kecamatan	Jumlah
1	Talikuran	Talikuran	Tompaso	15
2	Sendangan	Sendangan	Tompaso	43
3	Kali Selatan	Kali Selatan	Pineleng	2
4	Kali	Kali	Pineleng	1
5	Kali II	Kali	Pineleng	16
6	Wanua Ure dan Marengke	Pineleng II	Pineleng	20
7	Lotta	Lotta	Pineleng	3
8	Koka	Koka	Tombulu	2
9	Sawangan (Negeri tua)	Sawangan	Tombulu	1
10	Ranowangko	Ranowangko	Tombariri	3
11	Sarani Matani	Sarani Matani	Tombariri	1
12	Senduk	Senduk	Tombariri	6
13	Lemoh	Lemoh	Tombariri Timur	8
14	Lolah	Lolah	Tombariri Timur	1
15	Lolah II (Tatahaan)	Lolah II	Tombariri Timur	53
16	Parepey	Parepey	Remboken	6
17	Talikuran	Talikuran	Remboken	1
18	Tataaran I	Tataaran I	Tondano Selatan	3
19	Roong (Kompleks Nimawale)	Roong	Tondano Barat	70
20	Roong	Roong	Tondano Barat	4
21	Kiniar	Kiniar	Tondano Timur	3
22	Kapataran	Kapataran	Lembean Timur	1
23	Kayuuwi (mawale)	Kayuuwi	Kawangkoan	2
24	Kiawa I	Kiawa I	Kawangkoan Utara	29
25	Kiawa II	Kiawa II	Kawangkoan Utara	3
26	Talikuran Timur	Talikuran	Kawangkoan Utara	2
27	Uner	Uner	Kawangkoan Utara	1
28	Talikuran Utara	Talikuran Utara	Kawangkoan Utara	20
29	Timbukar	Timbukar	Sonder	1
30	Kolongan Atas	Kolongan Atas	Sonder	9
31	Tounelet	Tounelet	Sonder	1
32	Koya	Koya	Tondano Selatan	3

(continued)

Table 4. (continued)

No	Situs	Desa/Kelurahan	Kecamatan	Jumlah
33	Walantakan	Walantakan	Langowan Utara	1
34	Tounelet	Tounelet	Langowan Barat	1
35	Palamba	Palamba	Langowan Selatan	3
	Total			339

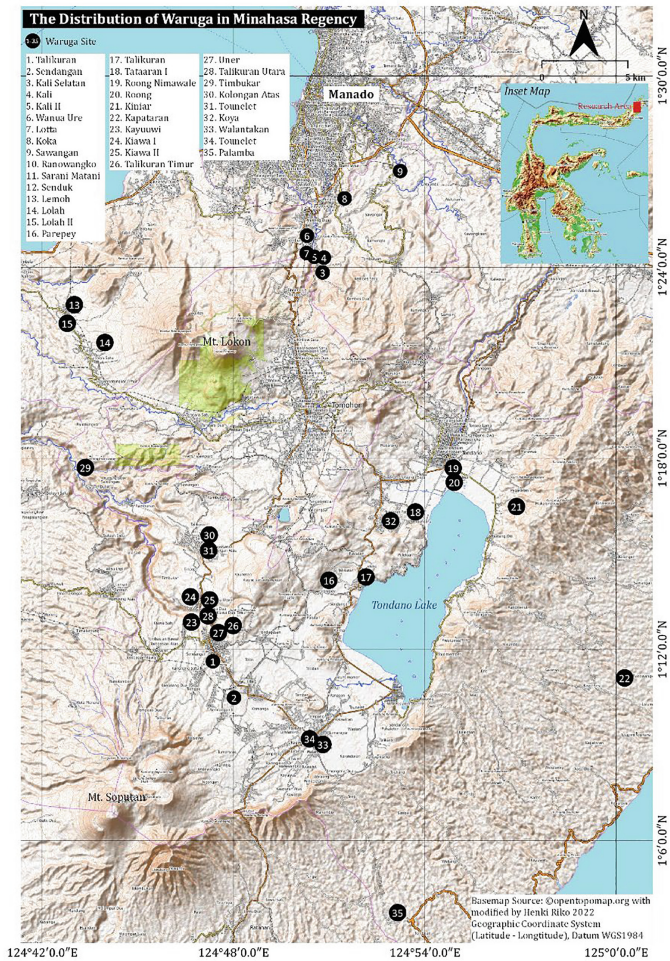


Fig. 11. The distribution of waruga in Minahasa Regency (Source: Opentopomap with modified by Henki, 2022).

5 Conclusion

North Sulawesi is one of the land bridges of Austronesian-speaking people. There, the ancient immigrant activities can be tracked. The interesting and unique artefact is waruga. Morphologically, waruga consists of a body part in a shape of cube, rectangle, round, pyramid, and hexagon. The second part is the cover whose shape adjusting its body. Technologically, waruga is made of sediment stone constructed into a body and a lid cover with a hole on its center. Such sediment stones are abundant in Minahasa, which is called domato stone by the locals. Waruga is rich with ornamented decorations carved on its body and cover. The motifs usually are anthropomorphic, plants, animals, geometric, as well as tassel and *kabalas* fruits.

The spread of waruga is found in almost all areas of Minahasa with northern part that has the most while South and South-east have less. The patterns of waruga spread in Minahasa can also identify the pattern of settlement or population spread in the past as the warugas were just located around the houses. The locations where waruga are found are known as old villages which have been left by their inhabitants. The migrations of the old inhabitants were caused by many factors (disasters or diseases), new settlement, or new arrangement during colonial era. The existence of waruga is the indication that the cultural people of Minahasans have been skillful in expressing their life activity, especially burial activity. Waruga has been the manifestation of religiosity of Minahasan which develops from megalithic era to this day and even becomes their tradition.

6 Recommendation

The data from researches have been the important data for Austronesian-speaking people in North Sulawesi. The spreading sites with indication of Austronesian culture shows that North Sulawesi has been a strategic region for immigrants and Austronesian speaking-people. The spreading sites with Austronesian culture are significant in North Sulawesi. Meanwhile, the unique and unusual artefact is waruga which marks North Sulawesi as a likely rich area with potential archaeological remains. Some good wills to develop and preserve the site location is important as the culture can continue to live, not to mention its potential tourism in the future.

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