

8-3-2023

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Recommended Citation

Tjahjani, Joesana and Sondakh, Sonya Indriati (2023) "Bukit Kasih Kanonang as a Religious Tourism Site Based on Local Wisdom of North Sulawesi, Indonesia," *International Journal of Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage*: Vol. 11: Iss. 1, Article 6.

doi:<https://doi.org/10.21427/24AF-VN52>

Available at: <https://arrow.tudublin.ie/ijrtp/vol11/iss1/6>

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Cover Page Footnote

This work was supported by the Directorate of Research and Community Engagement Universitas Indonesia through the 2020 PUTI Q1 Grant.

Bukit Kasih Kanonang as a Religious Tourism Site Based on Local Wisdom of North Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Bukit Kasih Kanonang (Kanonang Love Hill) is a place of worship for Christians of the Minahasa Regency, North Sulawesi, one of the provinces of Indonesia, which in its development has also become a popular tourist destination. As a site that blends Christian elements, local traditional elements and values of tolerance among the world's major religions namely Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism, this beautiful piece of land includes a number of sites such as a monument to tolerance, a house of worship for each religion, a giant crucifix, statues, and the faces of Minahasan ancestors carved into cliff faces. All these elements suggest that while the people have values of tolerance and religious harmony, nonetheless the 55-meter giant white cross at *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* is evidence of the dominance of the local people's Protestant Christian belief. Using the perspective of Hayden's Antagonistic Tolerance, this paper investigates how people of other religions deal with the issue of dominance and how the social construct in the saying *Torang Samua Basudara* (we are all family), which has been the way of life of the Minahasan people, supports the concepts of tolerance and harmony.

Key Words: *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, local wisdom, religious sites, tolerance, *Torang Samua Basudara*

Introduction

As an impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic, tourism in North Sulawesi Province, Indonesia, has experienced a decline, particularly in foreign traffic. For example, at the province's main arrival point - Sam Ratulangi Airport in July 2020, there were only 693 people, or a decrease of 93.82 percent compared with July 2019, when the number was 11,207 people (North Sulawesi Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). This situation negatively impacts the local people's economy, specifically in the tourism industry, such as hotels, transport, travel agents and tour organisers, tour guides, and tourism service industries (Raj & Griffin, 2020).

North Sulawesi has numerous natural, historical, and religious tourism objects. One of Indonesia's leading tourism destinations that is also famous throughout the world is the Bunaken National Park. The Bunaken Marine Park has unique marine life with 91 species of fish and 13 types of coral reef dominated by coral cliffs

(Indonesia.travel, n.d.). Another natural tourist attraction is *Likupang Beach*, which has been designated by the government as a highest-priority destination with *Lake Toba* (North Sumatra), *Mandalika* (NTB), *Borobudur Temple* (Central Java), and *Labuan Bajo* (NTT). Other noteworthy tourist destinations in this area are the historical tour of the Portuguese Fort (1512) in Amurang, South Minahasa Regency, and the Waruga Site, an old grave from the megalithic age Minahasa people, which is estimated to have been built in the early 13th century BC.

North Sulawesi is also known to have many natural tourism destinations in addition to its friendly people, such as the mountains, forests, white sandy beaches, exotic islands. It is also popular for its culinary tours. According to the North Sulawesi Central Bureau of Statistics (2020), the area of the Province is 13,892.47 km², with 2,506,981 people in 2019. The capital city of the province, is Manado, and there are fifteen regencies and cities. With regards to religious data, in 2019, the population identifying as Protestant reached 63%, Islam

Figure 1: Map of North Sulawesi, Indonesia

(left): https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/16/Sulawesi_map.PNG
 (right): https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6c/Map_of_Greater_Minahasa_Region_in_North_Sulawesi%2C_Indonesia.png

32%, Catholic 5%, and Hindu 1%. Meanwhile, the number of places of worship included Protestant Churches - 5,254 (77.25%), Mosques - 1,185 (17.42%), Catholic Churches - 289 (4.25%), Hindu Temples - 44 (0.65%), and Buddhist Viharas - 29 (0.43%). This concludes that Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, are the majority religion with a total of adherents numbering 1,704,747 people (68%), using as many as 5,543 places of worship which is equivalent to 81.2% of the worship places.

Religious Tourism Destination

As a province with a majority of Christians, it is not surprising that there are many Christian religious tourism destinations in North Sulawesi. Concerning tourist destinations (Cooper, 2016:34) states:

Most destinations comprise a core of the following components – the four As: (1) Attractions act to pull the visitor to the destination. They include both natural and man-made attractions as well as events. (2) Amenities include accommodation, food and beverage outlets, entertainment, retailing, and other services. (3) Access includes both local transport around the destination and access to and from the destination (air road and sea) through transport terminals. (4) Ancillary services come in the form of local organizations.

The four components, as explained, involve many factors which are required for a destination to achieve the expected target number of visitors. Attractions play a major role. In relation to popular Christian tourist attractions in North Sulawesi, people mention the statues of Jesus scattered throughout various cities, prayer hills, and religious activities or events such as the annual Thanksgiving traditions. This is in line with the concept of Nolan and Nolan (1992), which states that religious tourism attractions are divided into three, namely (a) pilgrimage shrines, places that become tourist destinations with religious motives (b) religious tourism attractions in the form of buildings or sites which have historical and artistic value; and (c) festivals with religious nuances.

In Manado, there is a 50 meter high (including the support height) Jesus Blessing Monument, which has a 20-degree angle so that the statue looks like it is floating with both hands raised. On top of Melonguane Hill, in Talaud Islands Regency, there is also a 33-meter high *Christ Blessing* monument. The statue of *Jesus the Redeemer*, which is similar to *Cristo Redentor* in Brazil, can be found on Lembeh Island, Bitung Regency. The statue's height reaches 35.5 meters (including its 6 meters support), with a body width of 5 meters and an arms out-

stretched width that reaches 25 meters. In Balirangeng, Sitaro Islands Regency, tourists can find a 25-meter high statue of *Christ Blessing*, which faces the sea (Amorpost, 2017; Garjito, 2018; Martinus, 2018; Widodo, 2019; Mustika, 2019). When linked with Hayden's (2016) concepts about *religioscape*, centrality and perceptibility, the number of large Jesus statues as a religious icon in several cities underscores North Sulawesi Province's importance as a *religioscape* for Christian people.

Religioscape refers to the distribution in spaces through time, of the physical manifestations of specific religious traditions and of the populations that build them. Both the population and the physical manifestations of the religion are components of a *religioscape*. **Centrality** is a measure of the importance of a location where a religious shrine is placed for reasons other than that shrine being there. It may refer to its location within a settlement, or to the location of important economic, political or symbolic activities, to give a few examples. As for **Perceptibility**, major religious sites are commonly constructed in ways that make them noticeable (Hayden, 2016).

Prayer Hills

Other popular religious tourism destinations in the region are Christian prayer hills, namely *Pinaling Prayer Hill* in South Minahasa Regency, *Mahawu Prayer Hill* in Tomohon Regency, and *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* in Minahasa Regency. The prayer hills' location at altitude with panoramic views of the mountains is indeed wonderful. The air is cool and away from the clutter of the city. A trip to an area with genuine natural beauty against the city's clutter and pollution offers spiritual benefits, peace, tranquillity, and relaxation (Krippendorf, 1987; Dann, 2001 in Bilim & Düzgüner, 2015).

Pinaling Prayer Hill was built in 2003 with the concept of spiritual tourism or spiritual journeys. There is a series of 'Ways of Sorrow,' which depict the journey of Christ's suffering from Jerusalem to the hill of Golgotha, with statues that represent it. In this place, there are several facilities, such as churches, lodging places, halls, or places of worship (Watania, 2016).

Mahawu Prayer Hill is located on the slopes of Mount Mahawu, not far from Mount Soputan and Mount Lokon. The area is about 50 hectares and

is a worship place for Catholics (traverse.id, n.d.). In this place, there is *Via Dolorosa*, which is also known as *Stations of the Cross Mahawu*, with 14 stations (Kohongia, 2011). Alternatively *Mahawu Prayer Hill* is used as a religious site by locals for retreats, wedding ceremonies, and celebrations, pre-wedding photos, art and cultural performances, family gatherings, as an outbound location, and for other activities (Dimiyati, 2019; Ramdhani, 2019).

The third location that is the corpus of this particular paper is **Bukit Kasih Kanonang** (Kanonang Love Hill). This religious tourism destination is located on an active sulphur hill. According to Walangitan (2015), initially, this place was used by the surrounding residents (Kanonang village community) to perform field worship. In 1999, the Kanonang Mount Zion Church established this place as a *Prayer Hill* for Kanonang villagers because of its location between the hills and the hot springs.

Recently, the area attracted the North Sulawesi Provincial Government's attention to develop it into a religious tourism attraction. This development is the idea of Adolf. J. Sondakh, Governor of North Sulawesi from 2000-2005, and was officially opened in 2002 (Kawung, Poluan, Rondonuwu, 2016). Interestingly, in this attraction, there is cultural acculturation between the symbols of Christianity, local tradition, as well as the values of interfaith tolerance seen in the existing ornaments and buildings. The development of tourism based on culture, tradition, heritage, and nature in an area can attract tourists to visit (Fernandes, 2013). Added to this is religious tourism which can be one of the most effective tools to encourage inclusive and sustainable development (Rifai, 2015 in Griffin & Raj, 2017). Thus, today, *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* has become a spiritual centre of various religions and a symbol of peace and harmony of religious people (Miftakhul, 2018).

Inter-religious Life in Indonesia and Local Wisdom of Torang Samua Basudara

The Indonesian constitution is based upon five (*Panca*) Principles (*Sila*) or *Pancasila*, namely belief in the one and only God, a just and civilised humanity, a unified Indonesia, a democracy led by the wisdom of the representatives of the people, and social justice for all Indonesians (Fournié, 2020). *Pancasila* is well known

by the world since Indonesia's first president, Soekarno, presented the concept as a way of life for the Indonesian nation when addressing members of the United States Congress in May 17, 1956 (Beritasatu, 2017). At that time, Soekarno identified *Pancasila* as an Indonesian national ideology which comprises 5 main principles: (1) Belief in God, (2) Nationalism, (3) Humanity, (4) Democracy and (5) Social Justice (Beritasatu, 2017).

The first principle explicitly mentions that Indonesia is a country that believes in the existence of God through the religions practised by its citizens. This implies that having a religion is essential for Indonesian citizens. Formerly, there wasn't a law that specifically acknowledged one or more religions in Indonesia. The only law that mentions the existence of religions is UU No. 1/PNPS/1965 about the Prevention of Abuse and / or Desecration of Religion. In the elaboration of article 1 UU 1/PNPS/1965, it is mentioned that there are six religions practised by the Indonesian population, which are Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. However, this does not mean that other religions, such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, or Taoism are prohibited in Indonesia (Anggara, 2012). Additionally, adherents of belief systems passed down by ancestors are also acknowledged and allowed to grow, such as the Sunda Wiwitan belief system that has grown in the West Java Province. These systems bring various forms of local wisdom, in accordance to their regions. In other words, the freedom and tolerance values to have religions and beliefs are granted by the constitution. In the views of Fournié (2018, 2020),

Indonesia is a melting pot where Animist, Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, and Christian traditions and beliefs have involuntarily mixed, creating a foundation for mutual understanding and cohabitation.

With that said, in general terms, religious life and tolerance in Indonesia functions well.

However, according to historical records, there have been two sectarian conflicts of religious nuance following the fall of President Soeharto who ruled Indonesia for 32 years (1966-1998); the conflicts in Poso and Ambon. Both of these conflicts took thousands of lives from the conflicting parties, followers of Islam and Christianity. The Poso Conflict in Poso Regency, Southeast Sulawesi Province that lasted from 1998 to 2001 (Alganih, 2016),

ended when both parties signed the Malino I Declaration on 20 December 2001. The Ambon Conflict in Maluku Province took place between 1999 and 2004 (de Fretes, 2014). In the Ambon Conflict, around 1,134 civilians died, 35 government buildings, 20 schools, 4 banks, 719 stores, 45 mosques, and 47 churches were damaged or destroyed, and more than 70,000 people were injured (Ratnawati in de Fretes, 2014). Both of these conflicts were initiated by disputes between civilians that developed into inter-religious conflict.

Even now conflicts with religious nuances occasionally appear, but not as big as the two conflicts described above. The state of religious tolerance in Indonesia needs to be linked to the concept of Antagonistic Tolerance by Robert M. Hayden (2016) to understand the patterns of coexistence and conflict amongst members of different religious communities.

The Antagonistic Tolerance (AT) Model applies to communities who define themselves and each other as *Self* and *Other* primarily on religious grounds, and who live intermingled, but usually discourage intermarriage. Such communities compete for *dominance*, which is indicated by control over key religious sites; thereafter, the same communities may again live in peace for generations. These communities are tolerant in that their members usually live peacefully and even harmoniously in close proximity to each other, but they are *antagonistic* in that they continue to define themselves as separate communities with different, and often competing, interests. Antagonistic Tolerance is thus a mode of competitive sharing of space; this competitive sharing is typically seen in religious sites found in such a mixed environment (Hayden, 2016).

Nowadays, sectarian riots in the name of religion are no longer found among the North Sulawesi citizens, with the exception of the 1970 riots against the ethnic Chinese in Manado, followed by animosity between Muslims and Christians (Schlehe, 2014). This could mean that nowadays, local wisdom continues to live and grow in society in the saying *Torang Samua Basudara* (we are all family). Historically, this expression was the philosophy of the Minahasa people and is representative of the local wisdom of North Sulawesi's people in general (Pangalila & Mantiri, 2020).

This saying was coined by a national figure who served as the Governor of North Sulawesi, E.E. Mangindaan (Pangalila, Mantiri & Biringan, 2019). Montori (2012) explains that *Torang Samua Basudara* is the local wisdom of North Sulawesi people. The most prominent feature of it is its openness. This can be seen from the mutual respect and the act of helping each other. *Torang samua basudara, kong baku-baku bae*, and *baku-baku sayang* (we are all family, be good to one another, and love each other) are noble moral messages to live in harmony and peace. Meanwhile, Malingkas (2019) states that the slogan of *Torang Samua Basudara* is not intended to unite differences or to equalise diversity but to acknowledge and understand that differences are beautiful things and contain life-values. This saying has even become an antidote to various potential threats of conflict, especially from 1998 to 2000 when Indonesia was hit by social conflict (Pangalila *et al.*, 2019).

Potential of Religious Tourism Visits

The introduction above explains that most North Sulawesi people live with Christian values but do not forget their traditional roots with their local wisdom. This uniqueness is attractive for a religious tourism destination that is packaged as being a local culture to the rest of the world. In Aulet and Vidal's view (2018), religious heritage can act as a transmitter of age-old values linked to a territory's identity while reflecting the relationship between religious values and the monumental value of a place. Several large Jesus statues and prayer hills highlight a crucial point, that is, Christian identity, which influences the number of Christian religious tourism destinations in North Sulawesi Province which is located in Indonesia with an 87.2% Muslim population (Population Census, 2010).

There is major potential for increasing the number of tourist visits, especially from Christians because there is a relationship between individual religious belief and visits to religious sites (Raj, 2012). It is implicit that religious similarity to the dominant religion in a tourism destination can be a significant determinant of choice (Fourie, Rosselló & Santana-Gallego, 2015). The biggest challenge is how to bring religious travellers to these places. Ayorekire *et al.* (2020) stated that the motivation for religious tourism is a combination of

cultural, traditional, and spiritual values that interact and then encourage travel. The character of religious tourism in North Sulawesi enables this. Regarding the concept of cultural attractions, Ritchie and Zins (1978) state:

Cultural attractions in relation to tourism include the following: handicrafts; language; traditions; gastronomy; art and music; history of the area / including visual reminders; types of work engaged in by residents; architecture; religion (including visible manifestations); education systems; dress; leisure activities (cited in Mason, 2003:43).

However, the decision for such travel cannot be separated from the church's role, directly or indirectly. According to Vukonic (1987; 2002), churchgoers who have an interest in tourism and travel have allowed these two fields, which have nothing to do with religion, to develop as new interesting sectors. Therefore, stakeholders must know the goals and motivations of religious travellers who make religious tourism visits. There are at least three main benefits of religious tourism, identified by Rifai, UNWTO (2015):

- (1) Religious tourism raises awareness of humanity's common heritage and provides resources for preservation.
- (2) It can contribute to local development.
- (3) It builds cultural understanding.

However, at the same time, the UNWTO highlights what they call 'crucial challenges', which include:

- (1) The preservation of religious sites and monuments.
- (2) Upholding respect for local traditions and religious practices.
- (3) The inclusive development of local communities (cited in Griffin & Raj, 2017).

As previously mentioned, the research focus in this paper is *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, a site expressing Christian, local cultural and traditional values. The results of observations and discussions gave rise to a hypothesis that the concept of local wisdom of *Torang Samua Basudara* is the basis for developing the religious tourism area of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*.

Previous Studies

There are several topics in previous research that have discussed *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, such as strategies for developing the potential for religious tourism in *Bukit Kasih* (Walangitan, 2015), perceptions and attitudes of tourists (Kawung, Poluan, Rondonuwu, 2016), area development based on visitor preferences (Rintjap, Langi, Walangitan, 2017), as well as the impact of the *Bukit Kasih* tourist attraction on the income of the local community (Wowor, Kapantow, Ruauw, 2018). A quite comprehensive study was done by Schlehe (2014), which found that *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* is merely a recreational site where the visitors are more interested to go on a trip to the volcano panorama with cool mountain air and buy souvenirs and food at the many stands at the bottom of the hill. Religious appreciation of the site does not particularly interest the visitors, perhaps because there isn't a service, religious ceremony, or ritual that is done on *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, except by a group of visitors who organise it by themselves. The bottom line is that this site is a tourism object for recreation and not a religious site, therefore multi-religious nuance only functions as a scenic decoration for recreational purposes with visitors that come having different religious backgrounds.

Meanwhile, concerning the concept of local wisdom of *Torang Samua Basudara*, Mantu's research (2018) on local wisdom-based information management has a significant contribution in realising a peaceful and harmonious life in the city of Manado. Research by Pangalila, Mantiri & Biringan (2019) describes the values of local wisdom of the people of North Sulawesi as a model of tolerance in the city of Tomohon; and research by Pangalila and Mantiri (2020) which reveals the cultural values of the people of North Sulawesi as a model for tolerance-education.

Some of these studies show a research gap however, and there has been no scientific research that shows the connection and intersection of the relationship between the *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* tourism attraction as a Christian religious tourism site with the traditions and local wisdom of the people of North Sulawesi, *Torang Samua Basudara*. Thus, this is the first study attempting to form a model of the relationship between these elements. This article explores how the interrelatedness

and relationships between Christian elements, local traditions, and religious traditions of the five main religions are shown through various elements in *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*. The research also reveals that the philosophy of *Torang Samua Basudara* is important in shaping *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* into a symbol of peace and harmony of the five major religions in Indonesia. This research will explore the religious elements of Christianity, the local traditions, and values of religious tolerance in *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* and discuss the increase in general religious tourism visits to North Sulawesi, and *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* in particular.

Results and Discussion - *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* as a Religious and Natural Tourism Site

People usually call *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* by the name *Bukit Kasih*. *Kanonang* is actually the village's name, *Kanonang Dua Village*, West Kawangkoan, Minahasa Regency to be precise, where this religious site is located. This village has an altitude of 804 meters above sea level and is 55 km from Manado, the capital of North Sulawesi Province.

Bukit Kasih is located on an active sulphur hill on the slopes of the Rindengan Mountains, at the foot of Mount Soputan. This 35-hectare tourism attraction is managed by the Provincial Government of North Sulawesi (Kawung *et al.*, 2016; Wowor *et al.*, 2018), being built on December 3, 1999 and inaugurated in 2002 by the then Governor of North Sulawesi, Adolf. J. Sondakh. To reach the top of the hill, tourists must climb 2,435 steps. The stairway leading to the top of *Bukit Kasih* looks like a 'Little Wall of China' when viewed from above (Gocelebes, n.d.). At several points, the stairway passes through the middle of the sulphur crater so that tourists can see the sulphur pools on either side of the road. Tourists can choose two routes to get to the top. To the right is the route of the Stations of the Cross there are 14 stations and reliefs depicting the suffering of Jesus - this is steep and has tiring steps; to the left side the route involving stairs is less steep.

As a tourism icon, *Bukit Kasih* is, in miniature, symbolising the peace and tolerance of the North Sulawesi people. Apart from the prayer hill for Christians, this area also

Figure 2: Tolerance Monument



Based on: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/cf/Bukit_Kasih_Monument_at_Kanonang.JPG

has buildings and artefacts that show the roots of the Minahasa culture, being the largest ethnic group in North Sulawesi; displaying the values of religious tolerance and harmony. The following are tourist objects in the area of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*:

The **Tolerance Monument** is located at the entrance to the *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* area. It is 22 meters high, and at the top of the monument, there is an ornament of a white dove that circles the earth. This monument is pentagonal, which symbolises the 5 main religions in Indonesia: Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism. On the five sides of the monument wall, there are reliefs containing verses from the five religions as a symbol of peace and harmony between religious believers (Figure 2). Although the state actually recognises 6 religions, Confucianism does not appear on the wall, which arises because of the socio-political conditions of the Suharto era and a reluctance to acknowledge the existence of Confucianism. No one is bothered by this fact, however. Some visitors including

ethnic Chinese said that this was not necessary because Confucianism is included in Buddhist temples (*Vihara*) (Schlehe, 2014).

Bukit Kasih is a religious site as well as a tourism site of natural beauty. Aside from natural scenery, visitors can also enjoy the unique concept of religious tourism. On certain days, visitors are also entertained by local Minahasa arts and culture events, such as the *Kabasaran* dance.

The **Statues and Cliff Carvings of the *Toar* and *Lumimuut* Legend** are located in this area. These are sculptures and carvings of heads on the rock walls on the hillside - representing *Toar* and *Lumimuut* (Figure 3). The creation of this feature was reportedly carried out by a sculpture artist invited from the island of Bali (Kanonangdua, 2018), challenged to make large carvings on a high cliff with a very steep slope. *Toar* and *Lumimuut* are Minahasa legends. It is said that during life, *Lumimuut's* beauty never changed and remained

Figure 3: Toar and Lumimuut



(left): https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6d/Toar_and_Lumimuut_at_Bukit_Kasih.JPG
 (right): <https://www.flickr.com/photos/jmojiwat/35253377360/>

young, *Toar*, who is actually *Lumimuut*'s son, could not recognise his youthful mother when he returned from his long wandering. They fell in love with each other and then married and gave birth to offspring. *Toar - Lumimuut* is believed to be the ancestor of the Minahasa people. Tourists will see *Toar* and *Lumimuut* statues on the edge of the cliff. These statues and carvings remind Minahasa people to not forget their ancestors (Gocelebes, n.d.).

As explained before, when tourists climb to the top of the hill via the **Stations of the Cross**, they will find 14 stopping points. At each station, there is a relief depicting the suffering of Jesus. Visitors of *Bukit Kasih* will also see a giant cross 55 meters in size (Figure 4).

The House of Worship of the 5 Religions at the top of the hill, represents the faiths practiced in Indonesia,

Figure 4: Cross Statue and House of Worship of the 5 Religions



(left): https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/ff/Christian_cross_on_top_of_Bukit_Kasih_template.jpg
 (right) https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/49/Bukit_Kasih2.jpg

namely a Catholic Church, a Vihara, a Hindu Temple, a Mosque, and a Protestant Church (Figure 4 - right). At the top of the hill, there is also a gazebo that visitors often use to rest.

Discussion

As a religious and natural tourism site, *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* has the potential to attract more pilgrims and tourists. In Indonesia, as in other settings, pilgrimage can be a mystical experience that can modify one's soul and transform one's personality. Under normal circumstances, therefore, a pilgrim is something other than a tourist, but a tourist may become a pilgrim (Turner & Turner in Fournié, 2020). In general, people's habits of holding retreats, wedding ceremonies and parties, and even family gatherings at prayer hills cannot be separated from Indonesian culture. According to Fournié (2020), life as a sacred journey is the essence of pilgrimage in Indonesia which is influenced by the power of nature, the power of tradition, the power of religion and even the power of the mind, and usually a combination of them all.

In this context, *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* provides all the essences of pilgrimage. The power of religion is signified by the presence of religious symbols that can attract pilgrims to visit the prayer hills for retreats and ceremonies, etc.. The strength of tradition can be seen from the statues of *Toar* and *Lumimuut* that can be interpreted as animist cultural heritage and as a reminder of the origins and ancestors of the Minahasa tribe. Meanwhile, natural forces in the form of volcanoes, sulphur water, flora, and fauna, can be interpreted as a way for pilgrims to facilitate a spiritual connection allowing one to take in the full dimension of the magnificence of creation and to show respect and consideration for the visible and invisible world of spirits. The power of the mind acts as a catalyst that allows one to live in harmony with other people (of different religions) and the environment.

Therefore, it is not surprising that *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* has two main functions, as a prayer hill for Christians (pilgrims) as well as a tourism attraction for everyone (tourists). The criticism that this site is merely a place of recreation is not true since *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* represents the identity of the place, offering the public choices to become a pilgrim or a tourist. In the context

of Indonesia, a pilgrim cannot be strictly categorised as someone who comes and performs religious rituals, but can also be interpreted as a journey in one's life. To quote Fournié (2020),

In most instances, pilgrimages in the archipelago are hybrid in nature and fall outside the realm of standard definitions of the practice. Animism and Hindu-Buddhist mythology and cosmogony, in particular the Râmâyana and Mahabharata, have profoundly influenced Javanese life and many of the diverse cultures of Indonesia. This, in turn, has impacted the significance of pilgrimage'.

Relations Between Religious Elements, Traditions, and Local Wisdom

The sites on *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* show that this location is indeed a prayer mountain for Christians. If analysed more deeply, this site is, in fact, a religioscape (Hayden, 2016) for Protestant Christians whose adherents are in the majority in North Sulawesi. This site of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* was built by a governor who had social and political power at that time and can be interpreted as an effort by his administration to build a new location for economic activity, a prayer hill for Christians, and symbolise Protestant dominance in North Sulawesi Province. This might also be seen in the giant cross on the site, which is placed on the highest point on the hillside, higher than the location of 5 houses of worship of various religions. The 55-meter high cross with its white colour (Figure 4 - left) contrasting with the green of the surrounding trees creates strong visual impact and these features and the quality of the giant cross structure confirm a strong indication of Protestant dominance at the *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* site.

However, the symbols of other religions and the Minahasa ethnic group's ancestral traditions are still clearly seen. Table 1 classifies objects, elements, and meanings at the *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* religious site. The table shows that there are the same number of elements of religious tolerance and religious harmony as there are elements of Christianity. Even though there are only two elements of traditional significance, their strategic location and large size can nonetheless raise the significance of these traditions in the religious site. Citing one of the principles of sustainable tourism (UNWTO, 2005:18 cited in

Table 1: Signification of Tourism Sites on *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*

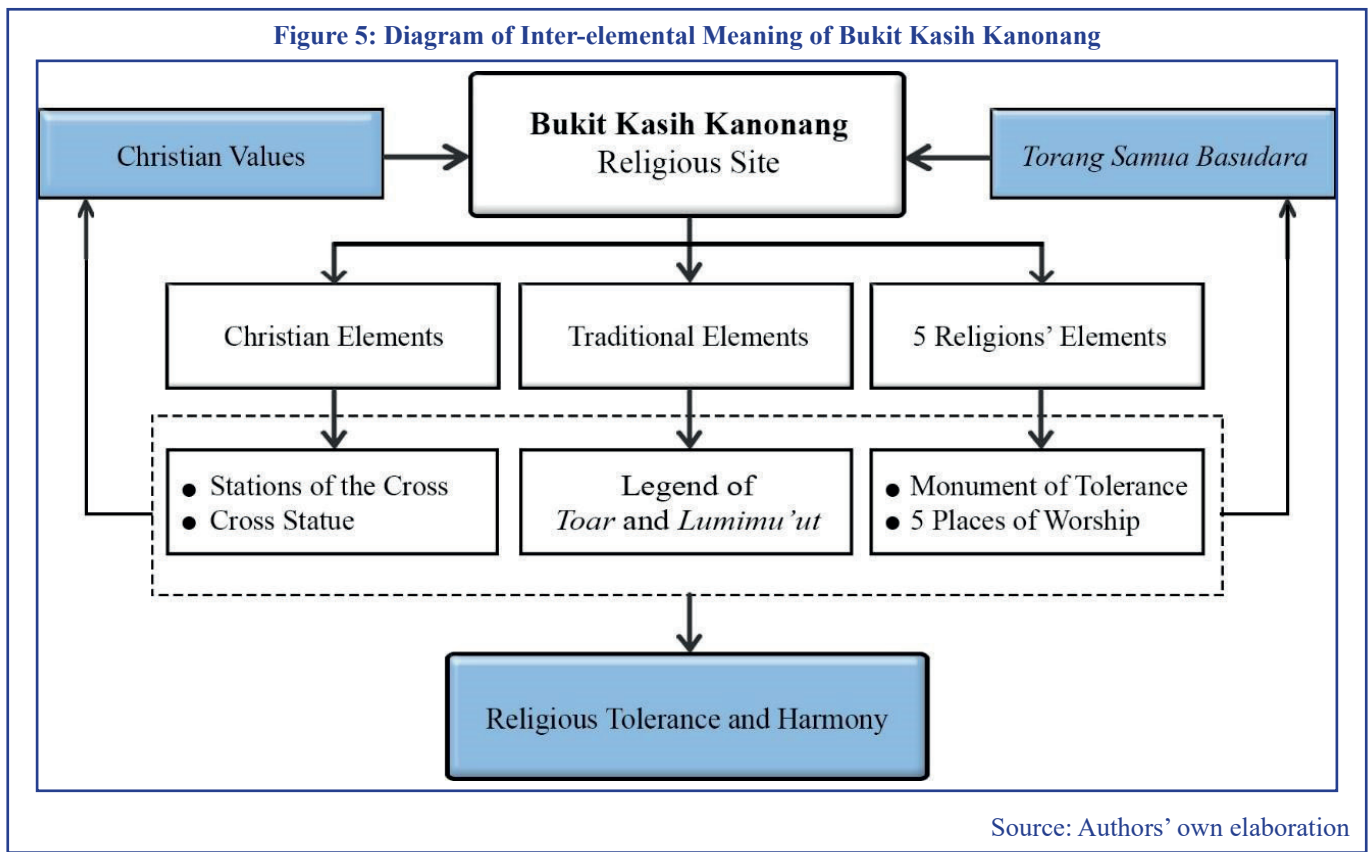
Tourism Sites	Element	Meaning
Tolerance Monument	5 Religions' Religiosity	Tolerance and Religious Harmony
Scriptures Relief of the 5 Religions	5 Religions' Religiosity	Tolerance and Religious Harmony
Pentagonal Monument	5 Religions' Religiosity	Tolerance and Religious Harmony
Cross Statue	Christian Religiosity	Christian symbolism
Stations of the Cross and the 2435 steps	Christian Religiosity	Jesus' journey
14 Stations	Christian Religiosity	Jesus' journey
Relief on each station	Christian Religiosity	Jesus' journey
5 Places of Worship	5 Religions' Religiosity	Tolerance and Religious Harmony
Statue of <i>Toar</i> and <i>Lumimuut</i>	Minahasa Legend	Ancestral History and Tradition
Facial Sculpture <i>Toar</i> and <i>Lumimuut</i>	Minahasa Legend	Ancestral History and Tradition
Total	Elements of tolerance and religious harmony	4
	Christian Elements	4
	Traditional Elements	2

Cooper, 2016), this religious site develops the cultural richness of the destination by respecting the socio-cultural integrity and authenticity of the host communities. In line with Rifai's (2015) view, then, the site upholds respect for local traditions and religious practices (Griffin & Raj, 2017). To clarify the relationship between elements in this religious site, Figure 5 is a model that connects elements

of Christian values, local traditions, and the five main religions in Indonesia resulting from their significance, as outlined in Table 1.

The diagram explains that *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* as a religious site is influenced by Christian values and *Torang Samua Basudara* as the local wisdom of North

Figure 5: Diagram of Inter-elemental Meaning of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*



Source: Authors' own elaboration

Sulawesi. This is reflected in the elements of Christian, traditional values, and the religiosity of the five religions which also act as tourism objects that are clearly visible on this prayer hill. Ultimately, the combination of these elements produces values of tolerance and religious harmony at *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*.

From the location of the objects, the values of Tolerance and Religious Harmony are placed at 'the beginning of the journey' at the entrance - Tolerance Monument (see Figures 2), and at the 'end of the journey' as seen in the five houses of worship on top of the hill (see Figure 4). Meanwhile, the journey up the hill through 2,435 steps, especially through the stations of the cross, can be interpreted as a spiritual journey, following the suffering of Jesus and the redemption of human sinners by his crucifixion.

At the top of the Tolerance Monument, there is a dove that circles the globe. Doves are known as a symbol of peace, which can consequently be interpreted as world peace being achievable if the five major world religions live in tolerance and harmony. This is interesting because many conflicts in various parts of the world occur in the name of religion and belief. Apart from showing the existence of five major religions, the Tolerance Monument's pentagon shape also interprets the representation of *Pancasila*, the foundations of Indonesia as a country.

In relation to the saying *Torang Samua Basudara* (we are all family), this religious site's concept can be understood. This site represents local wisdom that developed and lives among North Sulawesi people, who are mostly Christians, whose creed emphasises that openness is the main key (Montori, 2012). As a prayer hill for Christians and a place of worship for people of other faiths, the site provides a sacred place underpinned by local traditions. *Torang Samua Basudara* is the totality of the belief system of the people of North Sulawesi, which results from the process of human interactions both with each other and the natural environment. The saying of *Torang Samua Basudara*, in this case, has become a social system and a moral value that greatly influences the people of North Sulawesi in creating an atmosphere of brotherhood and not an atmosphere of conflict (Pangalila *et al.*, 2019). Perhaps not many religious sites in the world have a concept like this. The presence of statues

and cliff-face sculptures of *Toar* and *Lumimuut* faces is also interesting. This legend's institutionalisation aims to make local people from generation to generation know and understand the origins of their ancestors, and implies that the people of North Sulawesi should uphold their local cultural values in an increasingly modern era.

The *Kabasaran* dance event, which is often held at the location, also emphasises this. In other words, local wisdom and ancestral values should continue to exist and flourish in the lives of the people of North Sulawesi. In relation to Malingkas (2019), *Torang Samua Basudara* is physically demonstrated by *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* as a religious site recognising and understanding that differences are beautiful and contain many of life's important values. On the other hand, if linked to the Antagonistic Tolerance (AT) Model of Hayden (2016), Protestant domination in this site seems not to be a major issue for other religious believers. Meaning that other religious believers truly understand and are aware that Protestant religioscape, in the context of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, is intended to foster tolerance and harmony between religious believers in North Sulawesi. Ultimately, this religious-tourist destination can be interpreted as a location that seeks to send messages about the value of tolerance, religious harmony, and world peace. It is a concept that can become a role model for natural and religious tourism destinations packaged with local wisdom to spread peace amongst the major religions of the world.

Conclusion

Bukit Kasih Kanonang was originally a Christian place of worship located in Minahasa District, North Sulawesi. In its development, this religious site built a tourism destination based on Christian elements and elements of local traditions and values of tolerance among the five major religions in the world. From existing tourist sites, such as a monument of tolerance, a house of worship for five religions, a giant crucifix, to statues and faces of legendary Minahasa ancestors, it gives rise to the belief that Christian values are the basis for actualising the values of tolerance and religious harmony. The scale and quality of the 55-meter giant white cross structure strongly emphasises Protestant dominance in the *Bukit Kasih Kanonang* site. This means that this site is a

religioscape for Protestant Christian believers who are in the majority in North Sulawesi. From the perspective of the Antagonistic Tolerance (AT) Model by Hayden (2016), it is suggested that Protestant domination is evident in this site, nonetheless this feature does not seem to be a major issue for other religious believers because they understand and are aware that the Protestant religioscape, represented by *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, seeks to create tolerance and harmony between religious believers in North Sulawesi and elsewhere. This is inseparable from the social construct in the saying *Torang Samua Basudara* (we are all family) that has been a way of life for the North Sulawesi people for a long time. Due to this tolerant approach and atmosphere, added to the uniqueness of the religious and tourist elements of *Bukit Kasih Kanonang*, the site has significant potential to increase tourist visits in North Sulawesi, for both pilgrims and ordinary tourists.

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In loving memory of Joesana Tjahjani, who was a great friend and brilliant educator.

In her illness, she still had the energy to be present for others who needed her insights. Her dedication as a lecturer and her consistency in broadening her students' knowledge and her spirit to develop science will be a beautiful memory that is unforgettable for us, her colleagues, students, and friends.

By Sonya Indriati Sondakh, on behalf of Joesana's husband, family, colleagues and friends