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EMPOWERING COMMUNITY:  
CONSERVING CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH THE  
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE-APPROACH IN THE BANDA ISLANDS, INDONESIA

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Sarah Brett-Smith  
And approved by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Empowering Community:  
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in the Banda Islands, Indonesia

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Dissertation Director:

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The spices nutmeg and mace were coveted trade goods due to their flavor and medicinal properties, and Chinese, Indian, Arab and European traders have traveled long distances to the Banda Islands in Indonesia to obtain them for many centuries. Due to its scarcity and profitability, the Dutch East India Company fixated on obtaining sole control over their production and trade. To force their objective, the Company violently took possession of the islands in 1621 and constructed an extensive network of fortifications and plantations to control and protect their production and trade in nutmeg and mace.

The first of these fortifications, Fort Nassau, serves as this research's case study of heritage on the Banda Islands. This fort is of particular interest as it is currently undergoing extensive restorations and during my fieldwork (2014-2019) I have seen the fort change from a neglected overgrown ruin to an active site of reconstruction and reinterpretation with freshly plastered walls and safe access to the battlements. The aim of this restoration is to attract more tourists to the Banda Islands, and in line with this objective are the efforts to enlist the archipelago as a UNESCO World Heritage site. The decisions regarding the Bandanese heritage are made by provincial and national

stakeholders, and the Bandanese residents have expressed a fear of losing control over the possible changes that will come to the Banda Islands.

This research relies on extensive fieldwork and archival research in order to assess the ongoing activities at Fort Nassau and its life-history, and to understand the position of the local community in the heritage management on the Banda Islands. Through the interactions with the local community and outside stakeholders at provincial and national governmental agencies, I have gained an understanding of the local culture and heritage, and the larger aims held by these local, provincial and national stakeholders for Bandanese heritage in pursuit of economic benefits through tourism.

Fort Nassau serves as an example of a heritage site within the larger cultural landscape of the Banda Islands, and this case study demonstrates that heritage sites derive their meaning from their social, sensorial, cultural and natural environment. While these conservation efforts are taking place, the local community attempts to gain more influence over heritage management on the Banda Islands. The activities at Fort Nassau are therefore a proxy for the larger developments, including the World Heritage nomination, to develop more heritage tourism to the islands by non-local stakeholders.

With this research I attest that the (anticipated) active role of the local community in the creation and upkeep of heritage on the Banda Islands is acknowledged through the implementation of a cultural landscape-approach. Moreover, I argue that by implementing this approach the community can be empowered to gain control over the management of their heritage, to ensure the development of a sustainable management plan which will meet the challenges of our 21<sup>st</sup> century globalizing society and the effects of climate change.



## **Preface**

The research presented in this dissertation is rooted in the experiences, observations and interactions I had while conducting fieldwork in Indonesia and the Netherlands. These engagements were informed by my position as a Dutch female researcher from a well-acclaimed American university, which allowed me to enter in conversation with a variety of political agencies and participate in events that were largely male-dominated. However, I acknowledge the possibility that my nationality may have softened the responses pertaining to the Dutch colonial past, even though my informants did not seem to hesitate using words like “genocide” when discussing the violent Dutch invasion in the Banda Islands.

My fieldwork comprised seven visits to the Banda Islands, a total of 128 days in the Banda archipelago and 201 days in Indonesia. This research consisted of both participant observation and targeted interviews, which were conducted with an exemption by the Rutgers’ Institutional Review Board, on the premise that the information gathered during my fieldwork would be published anonymously. No names of my informants are therefore mentioned, unless I use their statements which already have been published elsewhere. I have made one exception for Yunus Arbi, who sent me a letter containing information we discussed during my fieldwork, and who has given me explicit permission to use this information.

During my fieldwork I met with local, provincial, national and international stakeholders concerned with the heritage on the Banda Islands. Moreover, I spent considerable time familiarizing myself with the local customs and acquainting myself with the local community in an effort to understand the local culture. However, the nature of anthropological work dictates that the very act of conducting fieldwork is riddled with the danger of subjecting the studied culture and its people to an objectified norm, called the

Other. For example, Fabian discusses the unequal power-relation when conducting ethnographic work in his book *Time and the Other*<sup>1</sup>, and argues that the researcher should aim for a dialogical approach in which the interaction with the studied group is two-fold: the informant and researcher are both equally creating the outcome of the research. In order to stimulate open conversation, I used only open-ended questions during my interviews and kept an open mind for unexpected answers.

However, the researcher is part of the dialogical process, and my personal background therefore influences the research results, which is referred to as my positionality. As Qin explains: “[...] positionality is the practice of a researcher delineating his or her own position in relation to the study, with the implication that this position may influence aspects of the study, such as the data collected or the way in which it is interpreted.”<sup>2</sup> The act of describing a researchers positionality is therefore not only important to understand the underlying notions that influenced qualitative research with human subjects, but it also touches upon the ethics and power structure between the researcher and the interviewees. It is for this reason that I use the preface to elaborate to the reader what my background is, how I conducted my fieldwork and how these aspects may have influenced the results presented in this research.

Through my involvement in the preparation of a revised Tentative List document for the Banda Islands for the UNESCO World Heritage List, my participant observation started before the Banda Islands became the chosen topic of my study. This means that my position as a scholar was already set within a certain framework of the established heritage discourse, partaking in activities aimed at educating the community about the nomination process, including discussions pertaining to the formulation of the language

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<sup>1</sup> Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

<sup>2</sup> Qin, “Positionality.”

to describe the heritage value of the Banda Islands and perceived by various stakeholders as part of an expert team. It was therefore impossible to re-enter my research scene as an ‘objective’ researcher, as these associations were established before my formalized fieldwork was conducted. The disadvantage of this is that the people I interviewed may not have been completely honest about their misgivings about the World Heritage nomination.

Moreover, my affiliation to influential institutions and personages influenced the initial perception of the local community, who thought I was an employee from UNESCO or was working for a particular influential individual from the islands. This perception was counter to how I wanted to be perceived: as an independent researcher who was open to listening to everyone, from any class, gender and age. During my extended stay in the Banda Islands in the summer of 2017, I was able to mediate this perception by residing with a local family and contributing much of my time walking the streets and conversing with people.

On the other hand, my involvement with the Tentative List nomination also provided me access to certain political institutions and gatherings. Enabled by my educational background and ‘non-threatening’ gender, I was thus able to engage with a variety of high-placed officials and gather information that I would otherwise not have been able to obtain. Moreover, the involvement in the nomination process offered me the opportunity to visit the Banda Islands on a regular basis to establish a trustworthy bond with the local community and see the changes at Fort Nassau throughout the past five years.

Certain aspects of my positionality are not so easily mediated. First and foremost, I am a white, tall, unmarried, young woman, which is a rare sight on the islands during the rainy season. This caused much curiosity, which was helpful to make contact with the

local residents. However, the fact that I am a woman, not a Muslim and not a native speaker might have led to exclusion from certain events, contacts and insights. Moreover, I was born and raised in the Netherlands and therefore the atrocities that were committed by the Dutch on the Banda Islands relate directly to my own national past. Surprisingly, as soon as I started to visit the Moluccas, I noticed that the people are quite friendly towards the Dutch. Many have (distant) family in the Netherlands, the local language has many Dutch words (it was always a great conversation opener to discover new similarities) and the tourism industry on the islands profits from the many Dutch tourists who visit here. When I asked about their treatment of Dutch visitors, their answer would be that the atrocities happened a long time ago and that current Dutch visitors are nice and bring in money through tourism.

Lastly, my research was mostly conducted on the island Neira, which is the most frequently visited island in the archipelago by foreigners and government officials. Therefore, my informants have been exposed more to modern ideas of management and tourism than residents of the other islands. I therefore acknowledge here that both my positionality and the geographical focus on Neira have produced the particular view of heritage management as presented in this research.

## Acknowledgements

The research presented in this dissertation would not have been possible without the help of numerous people and institutions. First of all, I wish to thank Archer St. Clair-Harvey for inspiring me to pursue a PhD. degree in Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies with a focus on cultural landscapes. She has supported me throughout the strenuous process of writing this dissertation, providing me with encouragements and poignant feedback when my course needed to be adjusted. Her comments have lifted the quality of this research to a higher standard and brought this research to full fruition. I want to extend these thanks to my committee-members Sarah Brett-Smith and Trinidad Rico, who have alerted me on the challenges scholars face when conducting fieldwork. Moreover, Rico's critical observations and theoretical knowledge have raised this research to a higher level, for which I am grateful.

Moreover, I am grateful for the continuous support of Rutgers Global for my research and the nomination process of the Banda Islands. Through their support, I had the opportunity to visit the Banda Islands with my supervisor Archer St. Clair-Harvey and committee member Ken Taylor. During this visit I was able to learn much from their expertise, and I want to thank Ken Taylor especially for sharing his knowledge about heritage management and cultural landscapes. Besides the immediate circle of my committee, I am grateful for the time offered by Pepijn Brandon, Christopher Duncan, Martijn Eickhoff, Wim Manuhutu, Carmel Schrire, Patricia Spyer, Michael Tomlan and Remco Vermeulen, to discuss my work and academic pursuits. In particular I want to thank Peter Lape and Timo Kaartinen, whom I was fortunate to meet in Indonesia and have insightful discussions with about Bandanese heritage.

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Finishing Ph.D. research is impossible without the support and help of fellow young scholars. I therefore want to thank Betty Jarvis, Anna Rogulina and Negar Rokhgar, with whom I battled the first year of coursework and created a lifelong friendship. I also want to thank Nour Munawar, Katie Sinclair, Todd Caissie, Nandita Punj, Saeed Soori and my big sister Jenevieve Delossantos-Mon for their support and council. Foremost, I want to thank Sasja van der Vaart-Verschoof for editing my dissertation throughout and supporting me through the final stages. Her friendship and academic coaching have helped me throughout my graduate studies, and I am very grateful for her continuous support.

Throughout my research I have relied on a variety of institutions for assistance and information. Foremost, I want to thank Muhammad Husni, currently director of *Balai Cagar Pelastarian Budaya* in Ternate, who has supported my research in the Banda Islands from the start. Together with his colleagues, in particular Marlon Ririmasse, Ayu Suwinriatrini and Cheviano Alputila, he has taught me much and more about the Moluccas and has provided me with every assistance I needed. In Indonesia, I also received a welcoming assistance at the Rumphius library, whose employees graciously made copies of various books and documents which have been invaluable to my research.

In Indonesia I have received much support, and I am especially grateful for the continuous support and intellectual exchange with Yunus Arbi. Through our discussions I have learned about the Indonesian political system, how heritage is managed in Indonesia and what is to be gained through heritage management. I would like to extend my thanks to Erri Rosdy and Anton Wibisono whom always welcomed me at the office for World

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While visiting Indonesia, I have developed close ties with the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta. I want to convey my thanks to the entire crew of this embassy, who enabled U.S. Ambassador Blake and U.S. Ambassador Donovan to visit the Banda Islands. During these visits I learned a lot from them, and I want to express my special thanks to Heather Variava and the Donovan-family for graciously hosting me in Jakarta and our enlightening conversations.

Since my research deals with Dutch colonial heritage, many resources reside within the Netherlands. Access to their (digital) collection has been graciously provided by the Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie (NIMH) by Rob van der Kruijk and Hadewijch Zwart, and Wereldculturen, a conglomeration of various cultural museum collections in the Netherlands. Special thanks go to Jean-Paul Corten, Dré van Marrewijk and Jinna Smit at the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE), with whom I had fruitful discussions and where I have received access to their archive pertaining to the previous attempts to enlist the Banda Islands as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Furthermore, I would like to thank Menno Witteveen and Emile Grotenbreg for their support of the Banda Islands World Heritage nomination.

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## Introduction

*Combining natural beauty, a warm local heart, and a palpable and fascinating history, this remote cluster of 10 picturesque islands isn't just Maluku's choice travel destination, it's one of the best in Indonesia.*<sup>3</sup>

This quote from a popular travel guide exemplifies the multi-faceted allure of the Banda Islands to outsiders. It includes both the natural beauty of the islands and its marine environment, as well as the enticing atmosphere created by the hospitable local residents and the ruins of the Dutch colonial past. In line with the efforts to increase tourism revenue for the country by the residing president of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, several initiatives have been enacted to stimulate tourism to the Banda Islands.<sup>4</sup> Central to the natural and cultural heritage of these islands is the production and trade of the spices nutmeg and mace, which are considered distinct spices, even though they are intrinsically connected in their production as mace is formed as a red seed covering around the wooden shell containing the nutmeg (Figure 49).

The spice trade has been the main source of income for the islands for centuries, as the Banda Islands were the main production center of nutmeg and mace until the mid-1850s. As such these islands still contain a rich ensemble of cultural and natural heritage values that are directly or indirectly related to this history of international trade. These heritage values hold importance to local, national and international communities, and are a source of tourist attention. In order to stimulate this source of income, there has been an increasing interest in the conservation of tangible and intangible heritage on the islands. These initiatives include the establishment of a private heritage foundation, public programs aimed at preserving the marine diversity by non-governmental organizations,

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<sup>3</sup> Lonely Planet, "Banda Islands." See Figure 2 for a map of the Banda Islands and its location within Indonesia.

<sup>4</sup> The Jakarta Post, "Tourism Ministry Aims to Woo 13.5 Million Foreign Visitors next Year."

the annual cultural festival sponsored by the province and the efforts to nominate the archipelago to be enlisted on the World Heritage List of the United Nations Education and Scientific Cultural Organization (hereafter UNESCO).<sup>5</sup>

An example of these heritage initiatives is the ongoing restoration of Fort Nassau, one of the fortifications within the larger Dutch colonial network of defensive works and plantations which served to control the production and trade of nutmeg and mace. Once a prominent and intimidating construction to signal the Dutch hegemony over the spice trade, Fort Nassau now lies visually obscured behind a stretch of residential housing when viewed from the bay of Banda Neira, an island in the Banda Sea of Indonesia.<sup>6</sup> From this military structure, the Dutch colonizers of the Banda Islands sounded their canons, controlled the trade and production of the spices nutmeg and mace, and exuded their authority over the Banda Islands archipelago from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After suffering heavy damage from English attacks in 1796 and 1810 and a severe earthquake in 1820, the fort lost its military purpose and went on to serve as a leisure site for colonials until it deteriorated into an overgrown ruin. In 2014, however, the provincial archaeological agency *Balai Cagar Pelastarian Budaya* removed the vegetation from the fortress walls and ever since have continued their renovation efforts to revitalize Fort Nassau as a heritage site and tourist attraction.

This research presents the life-history of Fort Nassau as an example of how heritage sites on the Banda Islands are situated within a social, historical and natural environment that informs the (heritage) meaning of the site and its use. Moreover, the life-history of this fort illustrates how heritage sites can develop over time, and

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<sup>5</sup> The World Heritage List was established by the United Nations Education and Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1972 with the aim of ensuring, as far as possible, the proper identification, protection, conservation and presentation of the world's heritage. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the various heritage conservation efforts on the Banda Islands.

<sup>6</sup> For a map of the Banda Islands in Indonesia, see Figure 2.

demonstrates that the past is reshaped to serve modern purposes in our contemporary society. This ability of heritage sites to evolve over time is an integral aspect of the understanding of cultural landscapes, which is an approach to heritage sites that recognizes the multi-faceted reality of heritage and allows for the contemporary evolution of heritage to suit the needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as well as address its threats such as mass tourism and climate change. By implementing this managerial approach, the local community is empowered to continue to inform their cultural landscape and its heritage, and manage it according to *their* perspective on how renovation efforts should be conducted. As such, my research acknowledges the central role of the local community in the creation and upkeep of heritage values, which determine whether a site can be designated as heritage by local, national and international stakeholders.

The premise of this research is that the local community<sup>7</sup> on the Banda Islands not only plays a central role as the practitioners of their heritage, but that as residents of the archipelago they are better able to execute change and manage heritage on-site than provincial, national and international stakeholders. Moreover, as *heritage* is a term that was originally used to indicate the inheritance of people, the word itself suggests that the stewardship over this inheritance is local. Heritage conservationists should therefore acknowledge that the agency and ownership should lie foremost in the hands of the local community that inherited the heritage, whether tangible or intangible. In short, I conducted my research from the standpoint that decision-making should be conducted in a bottom-up manner by the local community, and as a heritage scholar it is merely my task

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<sup>7</sup> See page 17 for an explanation of what the Bandanese local community is comprised of within the context of my research. In general, I use this term to refer to a group of people that either live near a cultural site or who identify with a particular cultural heritage and are invested in its preservation.

to facilitate the process of formalizing their ideas of heritage management rather than dictating how it should be conducted.

This focus is in line with developments within the field of heritage studies, which has been advancing from a material-oriented top-down approach of heritage conservation to one that incorporates the intangible aspects of heritage.<sup>8</sup> Rodney Harrison describes these recent changes as the *discursive turn*. However, he argues that these attitudes should progress further into a dialogical model. He explains that this model allows for a recognition of the interaction between humans and their environment, as well as a more democratic process of heritage decision-making.<sup>9</sup> Using this dialogical model, my aim for this research is to empower the local community by emphasizing their active role in formulating heritage values through a cultural landscape-approach.

Therefore, I make a case in this dissertation that local communities can be empowered through recent heritage policies. As the policies devised by UNESCO have been adopted by its State Parties, the institution can be considered a politically powerful trendsetter in heritage management worldwide. This research discusses several changes made by UNESCO, including its recent desire to conduct heritage management through a more bottom-up approach.<sup>10</sup> To encourage this vision among its State Parties and affiliated heritage experts, an issue of the World Heritage papers series<sup>11</sup> in 2013 was dedicated to methods to engage local communities in the process of nomination and stewardship of World Heritage sites.

Despite these efforts, critical voices still claim that the local community is denied full authorship and agency. For example, the jargon used within the heritage studies

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<sup>8</sup> Harrison, *Heritage*, 13.

<sup>9</sup> Harrison, 9.

<sup>10</sup> UNESCO, “31st Session of the Committee at Christchurch, New Zealand, 23 June - 2 July 2007: Full Report WHC.07/31.COM/24.”

<sup>11</sup> Brown and Hay-Edie, *Engaging Local Communities in Stewardship of World Heritage*.

excludes those that are unable to read or speak this formal institutionalized language and enforces the top-down structure as it requires an expert from outside the community to come in to make decisions and describe the heritage in terms that are used within the field.<sup>12</sup> Trinidad Rico states that

“[f]ailing to continue to take the discipline down a methodologically reflexive path, the non-disciplinary expert will continue to *have* a voice, but this voice will be deemed in need of significant editing, and perhaps translation, in order to make sense and fall in line with the established vocabularies used in dominant heritage methodologies. I suggest that the momentum of this trajectory comes from a refusal to relinquish authority in heritage expertise, a trend that appears to be widespread in all heritage-related disciplines and practices.”<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, I have aimed to acknowledge the local community as the experts during my fieldwork and through this research, and I have repeatedly argued this case during conversations with provincial and national policy makers when I was asked for my ‘expertise’. Throughout these interactions, I proposed how existing management concepts, such as cultural landscapes and eco-tourism, can be used to empower the local community to accomplish their aims for heritage management on the Banda Islands. My assistance therefore reached the extent that I would mediate between the community and political agents, and propose management jargon which could empower the local community to make management decisions for themselves.

Implementing the concept of cultural landscapes as a managerial approach could have multiple benefits for heritage conservation on the Banda Islands, as it not only acknowledges the local community as an essential part in its creation and maintenance, but is also understood to be constantly evolving in response to changes in society.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the cultural landscape-approach is especially applicable to the Banda Islands

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<sup>12</sup> Rico, “Archaeologies of ‘Us’ and ‘Them.’”

<sup>13</sup> Rico, 49.

<sup>14</sup> Taylor, St. Clair, and Mitchell, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes*.

due to its heritage's multi-faceted character, including tangible sites that remind the community of the history of colonial dominion, intangible heritage practices such as dance and cuisine that refer to the long trade-history of nutmeg and mace, and a rich marine diversity that provides the community with a source of food and income through marine tourism. Therefore, this approach not only enables me to describe the heritage values on the Banda Islands without separating cultural and natural heritage management, nor give precedence for tangible over intangible heritage aspects, but also gives the local community a prominent place in the ongoing interpretation of their cultural heritage values and the management of them.

The multi-faceted character of cultural landscapes, and its importance to local culture and identity, is well expressed by Mechtild Rössler:

“[...] cultural landscapes are at the interface between nature and culture, tangible and intangible heritage, biological and cultural diversity; they represent a tightly woven net of relationships that are the essence of culture and people's identity”<sup>15</sup>.

Not only does this concept transcend the separation “between culture and nature, tangible and intangible heritage”<sup>16</sup>, it is also firmly rooted within the present-day reality of a place. Therefore, this approach allows for the contemporary re-interpretation and re-use of heritage, which aligns with Rodney Harrison's claim that “heritage is primarily not about the past, but instead about our relationship with the present and the future”<sup>17</sup>.

### *Research Questions*

In short, my research focuses on the current heritage interpretation of the Banda Islands and what ongoing activities could mean for the future of heritage on the islands. As the

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<sup>15</sup> Rössler, “World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Global Perspective,” 37.

<sup>16</sup> Rössler, 37.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison, *Heritage*, 4.

first element within the network of defensive works and plantations the Dutch constructed on the Banda Islands, Fort Nassau is an excellent case study for examining how heritage within the Bandanese cultural landscape is connected through social, sensorial, natural and historical ties. Besides describing the cultural landscape, my research exemplifies how sites have been re-interpreted through time and how current conservation efforts by local, provincial and international agents are aimed at creating a specific narrative to attract heritage tourism to increase economic benefits.

To conclude, the aim of my dissertation is to answer:

- *How can the study of the life-history of Fort Nassau inform us about the larger cultural landscape of the Banda Islands and how can the cultural landscape-approach lead to a more inclusive understanding and management of the cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands?*

This main research question is informed by the following sub-questions:

- *How can the historical documents inform us about the sensorial, social and political importance of Fort Nassau?*
- *What are the tangible and intangible heritage values of Fort Nassau, and how have these evolved over time?*
- *What are the heritage values of the Banda Islands, who formulated them and to what purpose?*
- *And what is the stakeholder-role of the local community in the ongoing and future interpretation and management of heritage values in the Banda Islands in Indonesia?*

## **Heritage Studies as a Research Field**

This research was conducted within the field of heritage studies, which is a relatively young interdisciplinary field that is still in development. The interdisciplinary nature of the field draws scholars from a wide range of specialties who engage in the heritage discourse. These include tourism studies, anthropology, archaeology, sociology, art history, architecture and conservation. I have a background in archaeology myself and am aware

that the past does not limit itself to the bounds of a particular discipline. A good archaeologist needs to be adept in a range of skills. In her latest book *Future in Ruins*, Lynn Meskell also argues the benefits of the multi-disciplinary character of archaeology as she claims archaeologists aim to “understand the total context of the human past”<sup>18</sup>. Meskell claims that the field of heritage studies, as directed by UNESCO, has taken a wrong turn when it started to de-emphasize archaeological approaches in its conduct and focused on an expert-driven, technical and managerial approach to culture and development.<sup>19</sup> She concludes that, even though archaeology is an imperfect field, the field of heritage studies could benefit from revisiting the archaeological mode of thought that is critical of its colonial roots and perceptive of the human aspect of heritage.

My education in archaeology provides me with a good background to contribute to the field of heritage studies in an effort to describe the total context of heritage. However, what Meskell neglects to discuss in her book are the developments that have already shifted the focus of heritage studies from a monumental, tangible, elitist and cultural approach to a discourse that increasingly concerns itself with the intangible, local and social aspect of heritage. Rodney Harrison describes this as the *discursive turn*, which sets itself against the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) as a manner of heritage management determined and promoted by institutions aligned with UNESCO.<sup>20</sup> He notes that a disadvantage of the *discursive turn*, is that it led to the discipline becoming too engaged in the processes of identification, exhibition and management of heritage sites, and the power distribution within heritage management.<sup>21</sup> According to him, this resulted in the neglect of the actual effects tangible heritage creates through the interactions with people in our contemporary world. To address this concern, Harrison promotes a

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<sup>18</sup> Meskell, *A Future in Ruins*, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Meskell, 4+225.

<sup>20</sup> Harrison, *Heritage*, 111.

<sup>21</sup> Harrison, 9.



*dialogical model* which regards heritage “as emerging from the relationship between people, objects, places, and practices”<sup>22</sup>. This model does not

“[...] distinguish or prioritize what is ‘natural’ or ‘cultural’, but is instead concerned with the various ways in which humans and non-humans are linked by chains of *connectivity* and work together to keep the past alive in the present for the future”<sup>23</sup>.

These recent commentaries on heritage studies inspired my position within the field. Even though I understand the criticisms that are made about the functioning of UNESCO, the top-down power it enforces and the elitist political roots that underlie its strategies, I argue that the current system can be used as a tool of empowerment for local communities. Steps have already been made to enable bottom-up involvement in heritage management and allow for a perspective on heritage that is not merely focused on the monumental and tangible, but also includes the social-economic aspect of heritage. I, therefore, align myself with the dialogical approach as proposed by Harrison and attempt through this research to show how implementing a cultural landscape-approach uses the system to empower the local community and encompass all heritage aspects in conservation efforts.

As heritage values are created through the dialogical exchange between humans, their natural environment and the cultural sites in them, the cultural landscape informed and shaped through this process. In his report to the United Nations Research Institute for Social Research, Marcus Colchester critically reviews these interactions regarding the role of communities in nature conservation efforts.<sup>24</sup> He states that indigenous people face four major problems that are inherent to the classical conservation approach:

“In the first place, mainstream conservationists have put the preservation of nature above the interests of human beings. Secondly, their view of nature has been shaped by a cultural notion of wilderness sharply at odds with the cosmovision of

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<sup>22</sup> Harrison, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Harrison, 4–5.

<sup>24</sup> Colchester, “Salvaging Nature: Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas and Biodiversity Conservation.”

most indigenous peoples. Thirdly, conservationists have sought authority for their regulation of human interactions with nature in the power of the state. And last but by no means least, conservationists' perceptions of indigenous peoples have been tinged with the same prejudices that confront indigenous peoples everywhere. The result, as we have seen, is that indigenous peoples have suffered a four-fold marginalization due to conservationist impositions."<sup>25</sup>

Besides his observations on the unequal power-relations and how the idea of wilderness has been used to reduce the impact of local communities, Colchester continues to write that many indigenous communities are quite aware of the outside pressures on their lands, both political and environmental, and that in the increasingly global market economy they need to adapt new mechanisms to control and use their resources.<sup>26</sup> He therefore claims that conservationists, social scientists and development advisors should take the role of advisor in order to assist indigenous managers to navigate the global market, rather than act as directors themselves. Likewise, my research proposes adopting a cultural landscape-approach in order to empower the local community of the Banda Islands to manage their natural and cultural assets, with the provincial, national and international stakeholders providing the funds, tools and vocabulary to enact *their* management goals into policy.

### *Cultural Landscape-Approach*

The aim of the cultural landscape-approach taken in this research is to embody a more complete perception of heritage sites in the larger natural, social and sensorial landscape. By emphasizing the ties that local peoples create between themselves and their environment through cultural practices, communities can be empowered to maintain their cultural landscape and determine themselves to what extent their practices should modernize in order to address 21<sup>st</sup>-century issues. Moreover, the emphasis on local

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<sup>25</sup> Colchester, 57.

<sup>26</sup> Colchester, 57–58.

cultural agency counters the top-down material-based approach as was previously practiced by conservation experts.<sup>27</sup>

In an effort to address the issues as raised by Colchester and like-minded scholars, the global trend-setter in conservation policy UNESCO adopted the concept of cultural landscapes as a legitimate category for the World Heritage list in 1992.<sup>28</sup> This action increased the interest in defining heritage places as cultural landscapes, which are created through the interaction of humans with their environment. By acknowledging the active role people play in the management and valuation of cultural landscapes, the implementation of cultural landscapes also increased recognition of the values created by local communities and indigenous people.<sup>29</sup> In other words, because of the validation of the concept of cultural landscape by UNESCO, communities currently have a legal precedent to refer to in their efforts to protect their sacred or valued landscape.

As the concept of cultural landscapes is a central focus within this research, I will highlight its characteristics here to indicate how this approach can help empower local communities to manage their heritage.<sup>30</sup> First of all, cultural landscapes transcend the modernist dichotomy of culture and nature through a concept that encompasses our understanding that these aspects are in dialogue with each other. In the Operational Guidelines, cultural landscapes are first said to embody the phrase “combined works of nature and man” from Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention<sup>31</sup> and to be “illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of

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<sup>27</sup> Poullos, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation”; Smith, “Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach.”

<sup>28</sup> UNESCO, “Cultural Landscapes.”

<sup>29</sup> Rössler, “World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Global Perspective,” 40.

<sup>30</sup> Chapter one is devoted to the history of the concept of cultural landscapes and how it can be used to empower local communities.

<sup>31</sup> UNESCO, World Heritage Convention.

successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal”<sup>32</sup>. This definition of cultural landscapes emphasizes the non-static nature of the cultural landscape, as it alludes to the internal and external forces which influence the interaction between human settlements and their natural environment.

As indicated in UNESCO’s definition of cultural landscapes, another characteristic of cultural landscapes is that they are understood as a continuous process rather than a product. As a never-ending process, there is no particular end-goal, nor is it preferable to try and freeze a site in time. It allows for a more sustainable approach to heritage management that takes account of the fluidity and changeability of the character of heritage, which Ioannis Poulios describes as the *living heritage approach*<sup>33</sup>. Ken Taylor continues on this note by stating that places of interest gain meaning through the *process of heritagization*, and continue to be significant for the communities related to this heritage.<sup>34</sup> The focus on the active process in which cultural landscapes are formed and maintained enables an active community-based approach to heritage management, backed up by institutionalized frameworks and policies.

Besides this opportunity to place the local communities in the center of heritage interpretation and management, regarding cultural landscapes as a process and not a product allows for a temporal opportunity as well. As the presentations of heritage sites often focus on one particular moment in time, acknowledging that cultural landscapes are a process allows for contemporary (re)interpretation to take place and for a site to obtain new meanings. In other words, traditional heritage management is characterized by a certain (political) favoritism to present a historic site as an authentic object from a particular time, disregarding the later and contemporary functions which the site

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<sup>32</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” para. 47.

<sup>33</sup> Poulios, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation.”

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, “Landscape, Culture and Heritage: Changing Perspectives in an Asian Context,” 9.

developed over time. Describing my research site as a cultural landscape therefore allows the acknowledgment of heritage as a process, which allows for multiple narratives and interpretations to be included simultaneously and for the heritage site to continue its use-value in our current time.

The concept of cultural landscapes has particular traction in Indonesia, where the word *saujana* embodies the interconnectedness between culture and nature. This concept is prominently addressed in the Indonesia Heritage Charter from 2003, which first preamble describes the heritage of Indonesia as “the legacy of nature, culture, and *saujana*, the weave of the two.”<sup>35</sup> This concept has been particularly applied to the Bali cultural landscape, which encompasses the traditional water management system called subak and its philosophical and religious implications. In 2012, this cultural landscape was enlisted to the UNESCO World Heritage List after a lengthy process.<sup>36</sup> Since then, the site has not only been used as a prime example of cultural landscapes within heritage studies, but also functions within the World Heritage office of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture as a cautionary tale. Former head of this department, Yunus Arbi, emphasized that the implementation of cultural landscapes can be an effective tool in Indonesia, as it can be used to empower local communities in the management of the heritage landscapes, rather than implement a top-down management of an enclosed heritage site.<sup>37</sup> However, he cautions that the cultural landscape-approach needs to be legalized and implemented in an early stage in order for sustainable management through effective local empowerment to thrive.

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<sup>35</sup> ICOMOS, “Piagam Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia - Indonesia Charter for Heritage Conservation,” l. 1.

<sup>36</sup> UNESCO, “Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy”; Arbi, “Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage,” January 2, 2020.

<sup>37</sup> Arbi, “Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage,” January 2, 2020.

To anticipate the early implementation of this inclusive approach and smoothen the process to nominate potential World Heritage sites, the Ministry of Education and Culture revisited their Tentative List in 2014. During this meeting, the Banda Islands archipelago was re-designated as a cultural landscape heritage site, and following this new designation was re-listed on the Tentative List in 2015.<sup>38</sup> In preparation for the reframing of the site, local, provincial and national stakeholders agreed that the main focus of the heritage narrative should be the maritime history and culture of the Banda Islands.<sup>39</sup> By presenting the archipelago as a trading center and ecological treasure house, not only does the nomination encompass both the natural and cultural heritage values, but it also mediates the negative colonial history of the islands. Moreover, it ties in with the political ambitions of the current Indonesian president Joko Widodo, whose focus is to develop the maritime strengths of Indonesia.

### **About the Banda Islands**

The Banda Islands are a small archipelago consisting of seven inhabited islands within the Banda Sea in the province Moluccas of the Republic of Indonesia (Figure 2). Although there are few sources regarding the Bandanese society prior to the incursion of the Dutch colonists from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, there are indications that the society on the islands was multi-cultural, including Arab and Chinese traders that had settled there.<sup>40</sup> When the first European traders arrived, the Bandanese were willing to include them in the spice trade alongside other trade-relations. However, the intention of the Dutch East

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<sup>38</sup> UNESCO, “The Historic and Marine Landscape of the Banda Islands.”

<sup>39</sup> Fieldnotes 2014, 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978; Lape, “Contact and Conflict in the Banda Islands, Eastern Indonesia 11th-17th Centuries”; Thalib and Raman, *Banda dalam sejarah perbudakan di Nusantara*.

India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*: VOC) was to gain exclusive rights to the trade to maximize profits for their stakeholders.

To accomplish this goal, the VOC violently took control of the islands and practically depopulated the islands through murder, starvation, enslavement and deportation in 1621.<sup>41</sup> These actions are referred to as the Bandanese Massacre, and a particular violent scene during which village leaders were decapitated occurred at Fort Nassau. Only a few boats with Bandanese people were able to flee to neighboring archipelagos, and a fraction of the native population remained on the islands to teach the newly imported slave population how to produce nutmeg.

These events are not only of importance to the current demography of the Bandanese residents, which is a mix of Indonesian, Chinese, Arab and European blood, but also resulted in the tangible and intangible heritage that is present on these islands. Despite the depopulation and immigration of non-local slave-labor, the traditions of the original Bandanese residents continue. The practiced traditions and oral history are therefore not so much tied to ancestry, but tied to the land and the spirits that dwell there.<sup>42</sup>

The over-arching system of these traditions is called *adat*, a flexible term that is applied to lore and practices that have origins in the remote pre-colonial past.<sup>43</sup> *Adat* not only prescribes how traditional events should be practiced, but also delineates social conduct through for example *sasi*, a regulation that prohibits access to certain resources for an allotted time. Not following *adat* correctly, or being disrespectful towards things

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<sup>41</sup> More about this history in Chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>42</sup> Winn, "Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku"; Kaartinen, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place*.

<sup>43</sup> Winn, "Tourism, Gazing, and Cultural Authority," 91. To read more about *adat*, see chapter 5 subsection "Adat and Sasi".

that concern *adat*, can have dire consequences as the ancestral spirits are believed to avenge any mishaps.

*Adat* is an important element of social and cultural structure on the Banda Islands, and as it pertains to the continuation of intangible heritage practices and conduct of people near historical sites. Participation in *adat* determines to some extent whether someone is considered to be a true Bandanese and included as part of the local community. Therefore, this research recognizes *adat* as crucial element to be included and acknowledged for the heritage management on the islands, as it creates local identity, provides heritage value to sites and acts as a traditional management system.

#### *Stakeholders in Bandanese Heritage*

Besides the local community who deem certain sites of local, cultural or historical importance, the designation of heritage is a process that involves a wide variety of agents who articulate what the heritage values are. These acts of defining the heritage value of a place are a constant process that develops to suit the need of the social, cultural, natural and economic environment in which heritage is located. This research discusses the various heritage values that designate Fort Nassau and the Banda Islands as a heritage site. These values are maintained by the local community and together with historical documents these inform the provincial and (inter)national stakeholders to create a certain image for the heritage site with an aim to increase tourism.

Within the field of tourism studies, heritage is discussed as a marketable product and it is widely acknowledged that heritage narratives are constructed by certain stakeholders with a particular goal in mind. For example, regarding heritage tourism in Southeast Asia, Michael Hitchcock, Victor King and Mike Parnwell state that:



“[...] heritage is presented and re-presented as something that relates to the past and which is in some way given special value ... Therefore it is **constructed** through processes of selection and elimination, appropriated by the state and its agents, then objectified to become worthy of political, economic and ‘touristic’ attention.”<sup>44</sup>

Similarly, David Herbert describes heritage as a construct which is created in the present to serve the perceived needs of the present.<sup>45</sup> In order to describe Fort Nassau as a heritage site, it is therefore imperative to understand the motives and activities performed by the stakeholders.

The notion of a stakeholder was initially introduced in heritage management to make heritage conservation more about the people it concerns, and include those people who are concerned about the heritage at stake.<sup>46</sup> However, as Trinidad Rico argues, the act of identifying a stakeholder is an act of creating the stakeholder; delimitating who is and who is not included in the conversation about how, why and whether a site or cultural practice should be preserved.<sup>47</sup> The act of identifying stakeholders, therefore, is an important step towards discovering how and by whom heritage value is constructed, as well as for which purpose these values are appreciated by diverse agents. Besides this aspect of gaining knowledge about this process, these stakeholders (albeit variably) influenced how heritage was managed in the past, how it is presented in the present and how it will be continued to be used in the future.

The stakeholder-group encompassing the local community of heritage sites, mostly referring to indigenous people and local residents, was previously undervalued and ignored in conservation practices, but within the past decades the field of heritage management has increasingly encouraged the participation of this stakeholder group in

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<sup>44</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 2.

<sup>45</sup> Herbert, *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 73.

<sup>46</sup> Rico, “Archaeologies of ‘Us’ and ‘Them,’” 38.

<sup>47</sup> Rico, 38.

the decision-making process and the ongoing management activities. Notably, this focus on the role of local communities in the conservation of heritage sites has been well-received by the Indonesian UNESCO office in Jakarta and the personnel dealing with Indonesian World Heritage sites in the Ministry of Education and Culture. During my meetings with the department in charge of the Indonesian World Heritage sites, they often emphasized that the success of a heritage management plan depends on the active participation and involvement of local communities. An example of how they implement this vision is the workshop titled ‘Enhancing Community Engagement in the Conservation and Management of the World Heritage site of Sangiran Early Man Site’ which was organized together with UNESCO delegates on May 9 and 10, 2017.<sup>48</sup> The objective of this workshop was to equip the participating representatives of the local community with knowledge of the current UNESCO nomination dossier, the reasons for the protection of the site and how the community could benefit by taking part in the conservation. The aim was to encourage them to be more involved, and at the end of the workshop the participants were expected to provide recommendations on how to improve the draft of the heritage management plan for the Sangiran Early Man site in order to engage the community more.

### *Defining the Bandanese Local Community*

Within this research I often refer to the *local community*, which is an amorphous term to describe the residents of the Banda Islands; including those who only seasonally reside on the islands and of those who have businesses on the islands. In general, the local community comprises those people who identify themselves as contemporary Bandanese people, and is not limited to indigeneity nor residence. The ambiguous nature of the term

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<sup>48</sup> UNESCO Jakarta, “Enhancing Community Engagement in the Conservation and Management of the World Heritage Site of Sangiran Early Man Site.”

‘community’ has been well-researched by Benedict Anderson, who describes how communities are delineated with a particular emphasis on national communities.<sup>49</sup> He states that:

“[...] all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.”<sup>50</sup>

Especially in the case of the Banda Islands, where the original residents were murdered, enslaved or fled to other regions, inclusion in the Bandanese community does not derive from one’s ancestry, but rather is tied to whether one was born on the islands and participate in Bandanese society. The participation which informs people’s local identity on the Banda Islands is linked to the traditional villages, called *desa adat* (Figure 4), which are led by leaders of their traditions, called *kepala adat*. These *kepala adat* are important knowledge bearers and are often pointed out by Bandanese residents as the focal agents regarding heritage interpretation and management.<sup>51</sup>

Moreover, the local community includes adolescents who moved to other regions in pursuit of better jobs. These Bandanese young adults still feel part of the community and are engaged through community projects during their annual returns. The community at large, including former residents of the Banda Islands, keep in touch through the Facebook-group *Kommunitas Banda*, on which news is shared about recent deaths, events and other kinds of community chatter. It is therefore truly an ‘imagined community’, as it is merely in the mind of people that it is determined whether you are part of the community, rather than on the basis of residence, origin or race.

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<sup>49</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

<sup>50</sup> Anderson, 6.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 4 and 5 for more information about *adat*.

Besides the local community on the Banda Islands, there are several diasporic groups that derive their sense of identity from the Banda Islands. First, there are the groups of Bandanese that fled the Dutch invasion and violence in 1621 and have settled in various regions where they continue certain Bandanese cultural practices. Most notably are the *Banda asli* (original Bandanese) that reside on the Kei Islands.<sup>52</sup> Secondly, there is a more recent diasporic group on the island Ambon, which consists of Christian Bandanese that fled the religious conflict on the islands in the mid-1990s.<sup>53</sup> Both these groups feel strongly connected to the heritage on the Banda Islands and identify themselves as Bandanese.

Alongside the local community and diaspora, the Banda Islands have a stakeholder in the form of the oldest non-governmental institution of the island: Heritage and Culture Foundation Banda (*Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda: Yayasan*). The foundation was established by Des Alwi<sup>54</sup>, an adoptive son of Indonesian revolutionaries who returned to the Banda Islands after a career as diplomat. He used his political contacts to improve the infrastructure on the islands, and he set himself the task of ‘rescuing’ the heritage on the Banda Islands by investing his own money (and that of investors) to buy and restore old buildings. To legitimize his conduct, he made efforts to assert himself as true Bandanese through charity, the study of historical documents and creating a high-ranking position for himself within the *adat* hierarchy. Even though Des Alwi passed away in 2010, decisions concerning heritage on the islands are still made in the ‘spirit of Des’, either by Bandanese residents that remember him fondly or by his relatives who run the heritage foundation.

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<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 2 for more on how these groups were displaced from the Banda Islands.

<sup>53</sup> See Chapter 2 fore about these religious conflicts.

<sup>54</sup> More about Des Alwi in Chapter 4 and 5.

The most recent non-governmental organization is the Tourism Association Banda (*Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda: APB*) which is led by Des Alwi's granddaughter Mita Alwi.<sup>55</sup> Although the previous Tourism Board on the island only consisted of people that worked directly in the tourism branch, the new association also includes other Bandanese residents who want to contribute to making Banda Neira a better place. Moreover, the new association is an organization officially recognized by the province, which allows them to apply for funding to create projects. Another grassroots movement is a volunteer-run organization called Cooperation Creative Children Banda (*Kelompok Kreative Anak Banda: KKAB*), which is comprised of Bandanese adolescents, most of whom either study or studied outside of the archipelago. Their aim is to organize activities to increase social awareness on the islands. Their latest project is to make the streets of Banda Neira garbage-free by 2020.

Besides these non-governmental initiatives, there are several governmental institutions with stakes in the heritage of the Banda Islands. The first stakeholder of this group is the local government, which consists of elected village heads, *kepala desa*, who are subject to the authority of the *camat*, the leader of the district encompassing all the Banda Islands. Besides the local government, the regional office *Balai Arkeologi* in Ambon oversees the archaeological sites and anthropological work conducted on the Banda Islands. The restoration and conservation activities, however, are the responsibility of the provincial office in Ternate, *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* (: BPCB).

Lastly, the most empowered stakeholder is the national government which is able to enforce policy on the Banda Islands. Several ministries are involved in the conservation of the natural and cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands, and their interest focuses

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<sup>55</sup> Wala, "Pembentukan Organisasi Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda Sebagai Kebijakan Pelaku Pariwisata."

on the potential social and economic benefits which can be created through heritage tourism. The first coordinating ministry involved in the management of the Banda Islands is the Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Natural Resources (*Kementarian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman dan Sumber Daya: Maritim*) under which falls the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fishery (*Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan: KKP*) and the Ministry of Tourism (*Kementerian Pariwisata: Kemenpar*). In 2014, these ministries designated a protected marine park (*Taman Wisata Perairan: TWP*), called *TWP Taman Laut Banda*, Banda Sea Park.

The second coordinating ministry is the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture (*Kementarian Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan: PMK*) which oversees the Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kementarian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan: DIKBUD*). DIKBUD houses the office that nominates and oversees the World Heritage sites in Indonesia. The activities for UNESCO are also directed by the Indonesian National Commission for UNESCO and advised by several international institutes including the Cultural Heritage Agency (*Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed: RCE*) from the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and Rutgers Global at Rutgers University in the United States, who support projects conducted on the Banda Islands through the program for Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies (CHAPS)<sup>56</sup> and the department of Marine and Coastal Sciences. Besides these institutions, notable initiatives to preserve the marine biodiversity and raise awareness about marine pollution are organized by the Coral Triangle Center (CTC) and Banda Sea e.V., a German foundation led by a team of marine biologists, diving instructors and project managers.

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<sup>56</sup> Most actively involved in the Tentative List nomination of the Banda Islands and providing advice to pursue the nomination from 2014 – 2016.

## Previous Research about the Banda Islands

Heritage values are not determined in a vacuum, but rather informed by prior research. Past interpretations of Bandanese history and heritage not only inform a national and international (academic) audience, but also instruct the current Bandanese residents to think about history and their heritage in a particular way. This section therefore gives an overview of previous publications that have a special focus on the Banda Islands. Particular consideration is given to those that are currently widely read and therefore play an active role in the formation of the historical narrative that is being told on the Banda Islands. This includes research from the fields of history, anthropology, linguistics and non-academic sources such as memoirs and popular history books.

The most referenced Dutch historical account of the Banda Islands was written by Francois Valentijn in 1856. His massive five-volume series called *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* includes descriptions of several areas in contemporary Indonesia, Japan, China, Mauritius and South Africa.<sup>57</sup> The illustration on the title page of the first volume is a good visualization of the perspective in which this account of the Banda Islands is written. The print depicts the personification of Society<sup>58</sup> as a white woman guarded by the Dutch lion, surrounded by representations of the Lands of the East<sup>59</sup>, who are offering their treasures to the enthroned lady (Figure 14). According to the accompanying text, the lion of the Netherlands is there to attack anyone who dares to disturb her trade. This image alludes to the perspective of the writer, as he wrote the historical account with the aim of justifying the position of the Dutch colonizers in their eastern territories. Although his account is

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<sup>57</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858.

<sup>58</sup> In the original Dutch text, the word *Maatschappij* is used, which I translated into Society.

<sup>59</sup> In the original Dutch text, the word *Oosterlanden* is used, which I translated into Lands of the East.

historically biased, Valentijn provides valuable information in his detailed descriptions of the Banda Islands, its historical sites, the history and its people.

In fact, most publications about the history of the Banda Islands were written from the perspective of the Dutch colonizer and emphasized their part. However, the anthropologist Harry Aveling attempted to reconstruct the Bandanese society prior to 1600, and his dissertation includes research on the *adat* system and traditions of the Banda Islands.<sup>60</sup> Besides his historical research on the pre-colonial society of the Banda Islands, most 20<sup>th</sup>-century historical accounts describe the colonial era of the islands. Especially widely-read and widely-accepted is the historical narrative by Willard Hanna.<sup>61</sup> As the sole English-written account about the full Bandanese history, this book was reprinted and edited by Des Alwi in 1991 and consequently widely distributed among the residents and visitors of the Banda Islands.<sup>62</sup> Besides the importance of his work in the current historical perception of the Banda Islands, Hanna's work is significant as it also deals with more recent episodes of history, including the life of the plantation owners, the exile of revolutionary leaders Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir to the Banda Islands, the Second World War and its (after)effects on the Bandanese community and heritage, the revival of heritage by Des Alwi and the state of affairs during the late 1970s.

Besides the widely read and quoted works of Valentijn and Hanna, this research draws upon more recent work by an interdisciplinary group of scholars. First is the archaeologist Peter Lape, who started his career by researching the arrival of Islam on the Banda Islands through a series of excavations.<sup>63</sup> Another major work involving the Banda Islands was written by Roy Ellen, who focused on the social organization of the Moluccan

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<sup>60</sup> Aveling, "Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600."

<sup>61</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978.

<sup>62</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1991; Winn, "Tourism, Gazing, and Cultural Authority," 95.

<sup>63</sup> Lape, "Contact and Conflict in the Banda Islands, Eastern Indonesia 11<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> Centuries"; Lape, "Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Islam in Island Southeast Asia"; Peterson and Lape, *Insularity and Adaptation*.



trading network including the role the Banda Islands played in the circulation of the spices nutmeg and mace.<sup>64</sup> More importantly for the understanding of the *adat* and current social practices on the Banda Islands, is the research by anthropologist Phillip Winn.<sup>65</sup> The main difference between his work and my research, is that his fieldwork was mostly conducted on the island Banda Besar, and he described the role of heritage during the time that the prominent influencer Des Alwi was still alive. His findings, therefore, differ slightly from the information I gathered since my fieldwork was mainly conducted on Banda Neira and after the death of Des Alwi. For information regarding the Bandanese diaspora on the Kei Islands, I have relied on the work by anthropological linguist Timo Kaartinen.<sup>66</sup>

A non-academic publication which informs the perception of many tourists who travel to the islands is the popular historical novel *Nathaniel's Nutmeg* by Giles Milton.<sup>67</sup> This novel contains an easy-read historical account describing the importance of the Banda Islands in the global spice trade, with a particular focus on the island Run and the competition between the English and Dutch over its dominion. Despite its importance in the perception of the Banda Islands by tourists, I will not draw from this novel as it does not pertain to Fort Nassau, nor is it a major influence on the perception of history by the Bandanese.

Rather, they draw their historical knowledge from oral histories and the books produced by Des Alwi. One of his historical books, called *Sejarah: Banda Naira*, draws

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<sup>64</sup> Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone*.

<sup>65</sup> Winn, "Tourism, Gazing, and Cultural Authority"; Winn, "Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku"; Winn, "Slavery and Cultural Creativity in the Banda Islands"; Winn, "Sovereign Violence, Moral Authority and the Maluku Cakalele."

<sup>66</sup> Kaartinen, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place*; Kaartinen, "Handing Down and Writing Down."

<sup>67</sup> Milton, *Nathaniel's Nutmeg, or, The True and Incredible Adventures of the Spice Trader Who Changed the Course of History*.

from Des Alwi's study of Dutch historical accounts as well as oral history.<sup>68</sup> As this historical account is written in Indonesian, his version is widely-read by the Bandanese and distributed across the Indonesian archipelago. Alongside this book, he has authored several books with his memoirs, which describe his youth on the Banda Islands, the arrival of the revolutionaries Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, and the Japanese occupation.<sup>69</sup> Although the memoirs of Des Alwi were edited by Barbara Harvey, they retain an anecdotal style which informs the reader about Des Alwi's personal memories and the stories he collected throughout his life-time.

### **Research Methodology**

The research methods used to address my research question are multi-faceted, in order to show the different aspects that contribute to the formation of current heritage values for the Banda Islands. First of all, as contemporary values are shaped by previous research and the Bandanese understanding of the history of the Banda Islands, I have conducted literary research using sources from the fields of history, anthropology, linguistics and non-academic literature. Moreover, to gain insight into what heritage values are created by the local community on the Banda Islands and how heritage is managed by them, I conducted participation observation during my stay on the Banda Islands. Besides my participation observation, I conducted targeted interviews with stakeholders whom I identified, or was referred to by my informants, as having an active role in formulating heritage values on the Banda Islands. These include Bandanese residents who hold a representative role, are engaged in developing a tourism industry on Banda and those that are knowledgeable about the history and traditions of the Banda Islands. These research methods is discussed below, including how I dealt with disadvantages and the manner in

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<sup>68</sup> Alwi and Farid, *Sejarah Banda Naira*.

<sup>69</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*; Alwi, *Friends and Exiles*; Alwi and Farid, *Sejarah Banda Naira*.

which I interacted with the stakeholders during my fieldwork on the Banda Islands and in Ambon, Ternate, the Kei Islands and Jakarta.

### *Historical Narratives about the Banda Islands*

My literary research relies on historical and contemporary accounts which were written to inform a particular public and either justified or criticized the presence of the Dutch colonists in the Banda Islands. Therefore, the history of the Banda Islands is often recollected from the perspective of the colonizer, and not from the perspective of the colonized community. In the case of Indonesia, this power-imbalance is described in the work by Regis Stella on the representation of the people of Papua New Guinea as follows:

“But while there are competing representations, and each culture has its own representational modes, it is the representations produced by members of politically powerful, dominant groups that become accepted as ‘true’.”<sup>70</sup>

Therefore, the history of the Banda Islands as it is told and visualized by the former colonizers and other European traders. This still informs the local, national and international public of what is considered to be ‘true’ about past events. Based on these biased historical presentations, historical sites are valued to determine whether they can be designated as heritage. Therefore, despite the problematic nature of many historical accounts, I describe the historical events on the Banda Islands using these narrations which are used to argue the heritage value of the Banda Islands for a local, national and international public. I focus especially on those events that are of importance to the local community nowadays, as it is from this history and its continuing cultural practices that they derive their pride and sense of belonging.

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<sup>70</sup> Stella, *Imagining the Other*, 2.

Consequently, the contemporary view of Bandanese history is based on historical accounts that were written by Dutch colonials. As Ann Stoler wrote: “Dutch colonial archival documents serve less as stories for a colonial history than as active, generative substances with histories, as documents with itineraries of their own”<sup>71</sup>. In other words, many of these documents were written to exalt the Dutch occupation of the Banda Islands and justify their presence there. An example of the necessity to read and interpret these old documents carefully is clear from the issues regarding an old text written by the Bandanese nobleman Neirabatie and translated by the Dutch linguist Samuel Van Ronkel. In his translation, Van Ronkel states that Neirabatie praises the presence of the VOC on the island Banda Besar and their interference in (even religious) local conflicts.<sup>72</sup> The seemingly positive attitude toward the Dutch colonizers and their colonial history on the Banda Islands can be attributed to either fear or a wish by the Bandanese Neirabatie to gain favor with his supervisor. This example therefore shows that all documents dating from this time period should be regarded and interpreted with caution, as even the writings of local residents are imbued with a particular agenda.

Since these histories are instilled with a (political) agenda, it is challenging to write about the history of the Banda Islands in a neutral manner. Although this is the case of any former colony, it is especially true for Indonesia which is a relatively new independent state and therefore most historical documents between from 1600-1950s were written by the Dutch colonizers.<sup>73</sup> In an effort to not merely reproduce the colonial narrative, my narration of the history of the Banda Islands is derived from both historical (colonial)

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<sup>71</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Van Ronkel, “Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda,” 129.

<sup>73</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*; Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future*.

sources as well as those that have a local origin, including oral histories, interviews and the memoirs of Des Alwi, the founder of the private heritage foundation on the islands.

Both historical accounts and modern-day narrations of local history inform the value of a heritage site. Russell Staiff discusses how heritage sites are shaped by stories that rely on both historical facts, local narrations, and the history as is devised by national agents to suit a certain public.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, he states that: “[...] the use of stories to interpret underscores the social nature of all heritage(s)”<sup>75</sup>. The *social nature* of heritage therefore implies that heritage is defined by (multiple) agents and can change and evolve along with the aims and goals of these actors. In my opinion heritage sites, and cultural landscapes in particular, are defined by these narratives, and I therefore argue that it is in their nature that these stories change and adapt according to the evolution of society at large.

Therefore, my aim in reading and reiterating these narrations of the past events in the Banda Islands is to point out the foundations for the historical significance attributed to these islands by the contemporary society. Nancy Florida explores this consciousness of how history is re-read and interpreted in the present through her studies of 19<sup>th</sup>-century writing of history in Indonesia.<sup>76</sup> She describes how Javanese writers were conscious of the fact that they were writing within the context of their present, and each time a text is read, a text obtains a new interpretation and therefore a new meaning. In other words, these Javanese writers were aware that the act of writing history takes place in the past, and that texts from the past will be read and carry meaning into the future (the current present).<sup>77</sup> This approach is similar to how histories are currently used to formulate

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<sup>74</sup> Staiff, *Re-Imagining Heritage Interpretation*, 96.

<sup>75</sup> Staiff, 113.

<sup>76</sup> Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future*.

<sup>77</sup> Florida, 396–99.

heritage value: the writings from the past are re-read, re-interpreted and re-written to serve the goals of the current society.

#### *Interactions with Stakeholders*

As the interactions between the Bandanese community and their historical, natural and cultural environment is the focus of my research, an important part of my work is based on the fieldwork I conducted while in Indonesia. In order to contextualize the perspective of the Bandanese people and estimate their potential future role in the heritage management of the Banda Islands, my fieldwork included interviews with the residents of the Banda Islands, provincial, national and international stakeholders, as well as two diaspora groups that continue to exercise their influence over heritage interpretation on the Banda Islands. My fieldwork to date comprises of both targeted interviews and participant observation. As of today, I have spent 201 days in Indonesia, including 128 days on the Banda Islands, spread across seven visits between 2014-2019. During these visits, I interacted with local, provincial, national and international stakeholders and spent considerable time familiarizing myself with the local community and their customs.

Prior to my fieldwork, I selected persons with representative functions as the subject for my targeted interviews, and during my stay I used the snowball-technique to identify other Bandanese that were pointed out to me as having particular knowledge or opinions about heritage on Banda. In the end, I conducted formal interviews with *kepala desas*, *kepala adats*, teachers, leader of the fisherman cooperation, tourism facilitators, Bandanese residents and local historians. Besides these interviews with residents of the Banda Islands, I conducted formal interviews with the Bandanese diaspora living in Banda Suli on Ambon and the traditional leaders of the village Banda Ely on the Kei Islands. Moreover, I conducted interviews with the leaders of the archaeological center in Ternate and Ambon. Both of these institutions are actively engaged in the management of the

heritage resources on the Banda Islands. Lastly, I conducted formal and informal interviews with the president and vice-president of the UNESCO office in Jakarta and the leaders and policymakers of the World Heritage office in the Ministry of Education and Culture.

Besides the targeted interviews, I engaged with the local community through participant observation while staying on the island Banda Neira. While residing with a small family in a residential area, I was introduced to the neighbors and family friends and included in social gatherings such as weddings, funeral prayers, breaking of the fast during Ramadan, prayers to bless people going on pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*), a bachelorette evening to prepare the bride for the wedding and a celebration for children who had finished their initial studies of the Quran (*Khatamal Qu'ran*). Observing these religious events was insightful as religion plays a central role in the lives of the Bandanese and therefore informs their interpretation of their cultural history and natural environment. As the anthropologist Phillip Winn explains, the Bandanese believe that God made the Banda Islands a blessed land.<sup>78</sup> During my own fieldwork I collected similar testimonies, such as the conviction that God gave the Bandanese nutmeg to profit from, and now that the price of nutmeg dropped, He has sent tuna for them to catch and sell.<sup>79</sup> Besides intimate family gatherings, I was invited to be an observer of the ritual *adat* practices at several *desa adats*, including the opening ceremonies of the *desa adats* that enable the performance of the *Cakalele* dance and the opening and closing of the *sasi*-restrictions.<sup>80</sup>

Participation observation formed an essential part of understanding the cultural landscape of the Banda Islands, as I gained access to the cultural events by building

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<sup>78</sup> Winn, "Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku."

<sup>79</sup> Fieldnotes June 5, 2016.

<sup>80</sup> *Adat* and *Sasi* will be discussed at length in chapters 4 and 5.

relationships and showing my good intentions by offering my assistance where possible. As Denis Byrne states, “[w]hen faced with a landscape of others, we traveling archaeologists need to ask whether we maintain a scholarly distance or allow ourselves to be drawn in subjectively and emotionally”<sup>81</sup>. He continues by saying that no amount of archaeological skill or ‘sensitivity’ can be enough to describe a place on the intimate level that a local can. In other words, in order to be able to read a cultural landscape, the researcher needs to attempt to feel the culture that created it. This active participation in the cultural landscape was requested from me at several occasions when talking to the traditional leaders, as they directly asked me: “Do you believe?” before describing the rituals, sacred places, oral histories or showing me the ritual house and its objects.

In addition to my participant observation in the Banda Islands, I have actively engaged with the local community, in particular adolescent population, through participation workshops. The first workshop was organized with heritage experts Archer St. Clair Harvey, Ken Taylor and Jessica Brown in 2015 on Banda Neira. The participants were invited by Tanya Alwi, daughter of Des Alwi and a vocal contemporary agent on the islands. The aim of this workshop was to gauge the interest of the local community for the nomination of the Banda Islands as a UNESCO World Heritage site through a community mapping exercise. The results of this exercise were presented to the expert-group after a day-long workshop.

The second workshop included a group of 18 history students from the local Hatta-Sjahrir college. This workshop was aimed at revitalizing the local historical and cultural museum through a reorganization of the objects and the production of an explanatory museum guide describing each room. The text for these leaflets was written by the students in groups, who had to write down what they wanted visitors to the museum to

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<sup>81</sup> Byrne, “Archaeology and the Fortress of Rationality,” xii.



learn about the history and culture of the Banda Islands. Through this exercise, it was my intention to allow the students to tell their perspective of history and what matters to them with as little intervention from me (an outsider) as possible. My contribution to this project was that I translated their narrations into a museum guide, which I translated in Dutch and English for international visitors. The museum guide was printed in three languages; the original Indonesian text and my translated versions.

Since my return to the United States, I have remained in contact with several key stakeholders and the community at large through Facebook. Especially through the Facebook group *Kommunitas Banda*, a closed-group to which I was invited, I have been able to keep track of recent developments in the Banda Islands during my physical absence. It was through social media that I was alerted to the reinterpretation of an old overgrown well just outside the walls of Fort Nassau through an *adat* consecration ceremony, as well as the establishment of the APB and the demolishment of a residential house which stood in the renovation trajectory of Fort Nassau.

## **Dissertation Outline**

This introductory chapter provides a general overview of my research objectives, which inform the following five chapters of this dissertation. These chapters aim to answer the main research question introduced above: *How can the study of the life-history of Fort Nassau inform us about the larger cultural landscape of the Banda Islands and how can the cultural landscape-approach lead to a more inclusive understanding and management of the cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands?*

In order to provide a theoretical framework for this research, Chapter 1 addresses the research context by exploring the developments of the field of heritage management

and the current use of the concept of cultural landscapes. I focus in particular on how this concept allows for a more inclusive discourse of heritage management and a more comprehensive method of describing heritage sites. Therefore, this chapter informs how the concept of cultural landscapes can contribute to a more inclusive understanding and management of the cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands in Indonesia.

Chapter 2 gives a general overview of the history of the Banda Islands, discussing its oral history, the Dutch colonial era and events in more recent history. Particular attention is given to the colonial conquest by the Dutch, the plantation-system they imposed on the landscape, the religious conflict during the early 1990s and the various Bandanese diaspora. Through this historical overview, this chapter provides the reader with the necessary background to contextualize the historical events that pertain to Fort Nassau.

These events are described in Chapter 3, which explores certain specific historic events in which Fort Nassau played a prominent role in further detail. A particular focus within this chapter lies on the events that impacted the physical material integrity of the fort, as well as histories that inform the current interpretation of the site. Special attention will be given to the circumstances and stories concerning the Bandanese Massacre in 1621, which in effect could designate Fort Nassau as a negative heritage site. This chapter also includes an account of the ongoing renovation activities and the reception of this initiative to restore the fort by the local community.

Chapter 4 continues to use the historical framework as provided by Chapter 2 and 3 to describe the architectural history of the site through a discussion of visual material depicting Fort Nassau. Moreover, this chapter describes how the site was connected to its surrounding landscape through sensorial, social, political and natural ties.

Finally, the ongoing efforts that aim to preserve heritage on the Banda Islands in order to promote heritage tourism are explored in Chapter 5. I use the (immaterial) heritage as described in the previous chapters to answer how the cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands are formulated, by whom and to what purpose. Moreover, this chapter discusses the stakeholder-role of the local community in the ongoing and future interpretation and management of heritage values in the Banda Islands. Within this chapter I elaborate on how describing this site, from a cultural landscape-approach, can help support a bottom-up approach and acknowledge the multiple narratives and various heritage values that provide meaning to the site.

In the conclusion, I use the information provided by the Chapters 1-5 to directly answer all research questions, and propose how implementing a cultural landscape-approach can lead to more inclusive heritage management on the Banda Islands as the site is developing to attract more tourism and possibly become a UNESCO World Heritage site.

## Chapter 1: Conservation of Cultural Landscapes

Heritage management as it is practiced today has shared origins with the fields of art history, archaeology, anthropology and geology. These fields have been fueled by an interest in the extra-ordinary remnants of a past that is no longer present, and the scientific observation and conservation of these objects of interest. As the term ‘objects of interest’ suggests, these are material-based approaches to objects and sites that are subsequently considered heritage on the merit of their special significance. This chapter explores some of the underlying (Western) notions that formed the groundwork for research and conservation practice of heritage sites. Moreover, I describe how criticisms have become more vocal in the past decades leading to a general consensus across conservation and conservation practitioners to move away from the material-based approach. Not only is it generally accepted that intangible heritage values are an inseparable part of the fabric of a heritage site, it has also been acknowledged that there should be a larger role for local communities in the active heritage management of sites.<sup>1</sup>

The concept of cultural landscapes is an example of these new approaches, as its aim is to embody a different perception of heritage landscapes that is more closely associated with how communities experience a site than the material-based approach as formerly practiced by conservation experts.<sup>2</sup> Not only does this concept provide a chance to incorporate the tangible and intangible heritage values in a management plan, it encourages the active involvement of the local communities who maintain the ties between the cultural heritage and their natural environment.

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Smith, *All Heritage Is Intangible*; Harrison, *Heritage*; Poullos, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation”; Taylor, St. Clair, and Mitchell, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes*; Smith, “Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach.”

<sup>2</sup> Taylor, St. Clair, and Mitchell, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes*; Smith, “Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach.”

## UNESCO and the Nature-Culture Divide

Inspired by the devastation of cultural sites and life left in the wake of the Second World War, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established in 1945 to foster peace among nations through educational, scientific and cultural programs. In order to avoid destruction of cultural sites through the acts of war, The Hague Convention was created in 1954. The recognition that certain cultural heritages sites are of interest to all of humanity, and not only nation states, led to the development of the World Heritage Convention, which was enacted in 1972. An earlier charter that inspired the conservation discourse of this convention is the Venice Charter from 1964, and both these documents laid the foundational framework for the conservation of tangible monumental heritage.

Although the study of heritage had already been established in various academic fields, UNESCO became a global-level instrument as it mobilized resources, set policies and dispersed ideas on what can be considered heritage.<sup>3</sup> Through the World Heritage Convention in particular, awareness of the need for conservation of tangible heritage was raised to a global level, and the heritage paradigms set by UNESCO, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)<sup>4</sup> were implemented in national policies by the Member States. However, both the Venice Charter and the World Heritage Convention were written from a Euro-American perspective, with traces of late-18<sup>th</sup>-century romanticism, enlightenment universalism and a missionary zeal among intellectuals to provide aid programs.<sup>5</sup> In particular, the focus on grand monuments, inspired by the Western canon and the Seven

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<sup>3</sup> Askew, "The Magic List of Global Status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Agendas of States," 19.

<sup>4</sup> Both ICOMOS and IUCN function as advisory bodies to UNESCO.

<sup>5</sup> Askew, "The Magic List of Global Status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Agendas of States," 20.

Wonders of the World, as well as the artificial divide between cultural and natural heritage were commented on during the reflection of the efficacy of the World Heritage List in 1992.<sup>6</sup>

The separation between nature and culture is linked to the modernist idea of progress, since modern societies seem to be characterized when people moved from rural to urban environments. This separation from the natural environment became a mark in the modernist idea of progress, and it also perpetuated the belief that there was something like pure nature or wilderness that existed in contrast to the cultured environment.<sup>7</sup> These ideas became deeply rooted in modernist thinking and Western anthropocentrism, which assumes a moral superiority of human beings over nature and regards those who continue to live in close proximity to nature as primitive people and disrupting forces to the perceived wilderness. This idea of wilderness is clearly stated in the Wilderness Act from 1964:

“A wilderness, in contrast with those areas where man and his works dominate the landscape, is hereby recognized as an area where the earth and its community of life are *untrammelled by man*, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain.”<sup>8</sup>

This act implies that wilderness is nature that has not been influenced by the presence, use or management of human agents. However, indigenous communities have lived on and stewarded these lands that were designated as natural parks for generations.<sup>9</sup>

Outside of the United States, the cases of policies in South Africa and Australia inform about different engagements of indigenous communities within national parks. In South Africa, the former colonial government implemented a material-based conservation

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<sup>6</sup> Boukhari, “Beyond the Monuments: A Living Heritage,” 7.

<sup>7</sup> Han, “The Chinese View of Nature: Tourism in China’s Scenic and Historic Interest Areas,” 20; Brennan and Lo, “Environmental Ethics”; Apffel-Marglin, *Subversive Spiritualities*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> United States, *Wilderness Act*. Emphasis added by J. van Donkersgoed,

<sup>9</sup> Watson et al., “Traditional Wisdom.”

practice that separated the community from what was perceived as nature, as is evidenced in the first heritage legislation in 1911, the Bushmen Relics Act. This policy relied on a top-down colonial approach to cultural resource management in South Africa, and the act considered the Bushmen clan as a dying nation and their culture as 'going extinct'.<sup>10</sup> The aim of this legislation was therefore not to empower the remaining Bushmen nation, but rather to preserve their heritage in stasis as a topic for study. This effectively excluded the Bushmen clan from any position of power, enforced by their lack of land ownership.<sup>11</sup> Other African scholars agree, as Webber Ndoro and Gilbert Pwiti stated that "heritage management during the colonial period reflected the interest of the colonial masters and hardly considered the aspirations of local communities."<sup>12</sup> So despite the role the Bushmen clan played for generations in the maintenance of their landscape and their cultural ties to it, their role was not acknowledged.

Australian policy, however, acknowledges the role of local communities through the Burra Charter, which was first adopted in 1979 by ICOMOS Australia.<sup>13</sup> This charter has been revised in 1999 and 2013, and contributed to more local engagement through its promotion of the value-based approach to heritage management. The aim of the value-based approach is to recognize, document and protect various values, including scientific, social, aesthetic and historical ones.<sup>14</sup> These values are gathered to formulate the significance of a site, and this statement is used to draw up a plan to manage, use and conserve it properly.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ndlovu, "Legislation as an Instrument in South African Heritage Management: Is It Effective?"

<sup>11</sup> Ndlovu, "Ownership of Heritage Resources in South Africa: Challenges and Opportunities."

<sup>12</sup> Ndoro and Pwiti, "Heritage Management in Southern Africa: Local, National and International Discourse," 21.

<sup>13</sup> Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*.

<sup>14</sup> Byrne, "Archaeology and the Fortress of Rationality," 68.

<sup>15</sup> Fredheim and Khalaf, "The Significance of Values," 466.

The value-based approach addresses the concerns of indigenous and non-Western communities who question the material-based approach which includes a separation between cultural and natural heritage, which in effect results in the disenfranchisement of local communities.<sup>16</sup> As Fikret Berkes states

“[...] for many indigenous peoples and for much of the rest of the non-Western world, including the great Asian religions, the distinction between nature and culture is meaningless. Strict dichotomies, such as nature–culture or mind–nature, are alien to many non-Western worldviews.”<sup>17</sup>

Likewise, the community on the Banda Islands live in constant interaction with their natural environment and their cultural practices are closely tied to the natural resources around them. Effective management therefore not only includes them as stewards of their heritage, but also acknowledges that their cultural practices inform and manage the natural environment, and vice versa, that the natural resources are an essential part of their cultural heritage.

In the United States nature conservation seemed to largely ignore the relationship of indigenous peoples with lands that are protected as wilderness until as late as the early 2000s.<sup>18</sup> Alan Watson points out that the “use of wilderness by indigenous people for traditional purposes has been treated largely as a special provision or nonconforming use”<sup>19</sup>. The terminology of “nonconforming” is significant, as this resonates with the discourse about wilderness as set by Euro-American ideology. This conservation approach is also referred to as *fortress conservation*<sup>20</sup>, implying that the site is perceived to be a fortress to keep out unwanted human influences on its pristine wilderness. This dogma has resulted in the displacement of many local communities from their ancestral and/or

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<sup>16</sup> Poullos, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation,” 19.

<sup>17</sup> Berkes, *Sacred Ecology*, 259.

<sup>18</sup> Watson, Alessa, and Glaspell, “The Relationship between Traditional Ecological Knowledge, Evolving Cultures, and Wilderness Protection in the Circumpolar North.”

<sup>19</sup> Watson et al., “Traditional Wisdom,” 2; Berkes, *Sacred Ecology*, 259.

<sup>20</sup> Doolittle, “Fortress Conservation.”



cultural lands. The environmental projects funded by the World Bank between 1986 and 1996 alone were anticipated in 1993 to amount to the displacement of over 3 million people.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, Lynn Meskell adds that the preponderance of natural conservation over the cultural values and lives of peoples have been underlying motives in state policies as they value the archaeological past.<sup>22</sup>

Changing attitudes toward the exclusion of local communities from sites considered natural heritage are becoming more apparent, as the case study of the World Heritage site Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia exemplifies. The red monolith Uluru is revered by the Australian Aboriginal Anangu people as a sacred site. However, since its designation as a national park in 1958 and a World Heritage designation in 1987, the site has been a magnet for tourists who desire to climb the mountain.<sup>23</sup> Despite the fact that ownership of the land was restituted to the Anangu people in 1985, their objections to the tourists climbing the sacred mountain did not result in the closure of the site to outsiders until October 2019.<sup>24</sup> This example therefore shows how the concerns of the traditional stewards of this site were previously marginalized based on the perception that Mount Uluru is a natural park that can be utilized for economic benefits through tourism.

Therefore, Western anthropocentrism not only places humans above nature, but it also relates to the power dynamics between those who are in a position of power and those who are not. Bettina Arnold states that the very act of interpreting the past and determining something as heritage is a form of temporal colonialism, as it deals with the selective exploitation of resources in territories that are not those of the decision makers.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Colchester, "Salvaging Nature: Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas and Biodiversity Conservation," 14–15.

<sup>22</sup> Meskell, "The Nature of Culture in Kruger National Park," 89.

<sup>23</sup> Hamilton, "When the Sacred Encounters Economic Development in Mountains," 137–38.

<sup>24</sup> Hamilton, 137–38; Warne, "Why Australia Is Banning Climbers from This Iconic Natural Landmark."

<sup>25</sup> Arnold, "The Contested Past."

This mechanism is not only enacted within global institutions such as UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN, but also on the national and even local scale when governmental agents determine heritage sites and enact management schemes. Even within the global institution of UNESCO there are powerplays between Member States which determine whether a site is listed and what grounds are sufficient to claim *outstanding universal value*.<sup>26</sup>

To continue on the note of nature, it is generally understood that there is really no such thing as ‘pure wilderness’ and that the very act of claiming a natural place as such is a cultural act making it into a cultural landscape.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, during the last decades there has been a lot of criticism of these constructed dichotomies between culture and nature or humans and their landscape.<sup>28</sup> Bruno Latour explores this opposition in relation to our conception of what it means to be modern.<sup>29</sup> He states that the main opposition between nature and culture has resulted in a division within our academic system (sciences versus humanities), our society (animal versus human) and our environment (wild versus domesticated). However, if we consider these divisions more closely, they are not as clear cut as they seem, but rather intertwined in a hybrid network. Latour therefore argues that we should study our world not from the perspective of oppositions and boundaries, but rather reflect upon it as a tapestry of intertwined and connected threads that more closely resembles the real fabric of our civilization and world.<sup>30</sup> In response to this, an approach to (archaeological) heritage is accepted which discusses the entanglement between

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<sup>26</sup> Meskell, *A Future in Ruins*; Meskell, “Gridlock”; Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value*.

<sup>27</sup> Melnick, “Are We There Yet?,” 204.

<sup>28</sup> Cronon, *Uncommon Ground*; Pálsson, “Natur/Kultur”; Hodder, *Entangled*.

<sup>29</sup> Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*.

<sup>30</sup> Latour.

humans, objects and their environment, as these elements in our reality exist in symbiosis with one another.<sup>31</sup>

This changing attitude toward the nature-culture divide has resulted in new policies and approaches. For example, in the United States the National Park Services (NPS) formally recognized cultural landscapes as a cultural resource in 1982. They defined a cultural landscape as "[...] a geographic area, including both cultural and natural resources and the wildlife or domestic animals therein, associated with a historic event, activity, or person or exhibiting other cultural or aesthetic values"<sup>32</sup>. The NPS recognizes four general types of cultural landscapes, which are not mutually exclusive:

- historic sites,
- historic designed landscapes,
- historic vernacular landscapes, and
- ethnographic landscapes.

When such a landscape is identified, a Cultural Landscape Report (CLR) is drawn up, aimed at protecting a landscape's character-defining features before changes take place. The change of attitude towards landscapes in American policy is apparent when compared to the *Wilderness Act* of 1964. Several territories that were previously considered wilderness have been reviewed and relabeled as cultural landscapes, acknowledging the stewardship of indigenous communities.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> e.g. Thomas, *Entangled Objects*; Hodder, *Entangled*.

<sup>32</sup> Birnbaum, "Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes," 1.

<sup>33</sup> Posey, "Diachronic Ecotones and Anthropogenic Landscapes in Amazonia: Contesting the Consciousness of Conservation."; Thomas, "One Last Chance: Tapping Indigenous Knowledge to Produce Sustainable Conservation Policies."; Johnson and Hunn, *Landscape Ethnoecology*; Davidson-Hunt, Peters, and Burlando, "Beekahncheekahmeeng Ahneesheenahbay Ohtahkeem (Pikangikum Cultural Landscape). Challenging the Traditional Concept of Cultural Landscape from an Aboriginal Perspective."

Following the NPS, UNESCO also introduced the concept of cultural landscapes as a category in the *Operational Guidelines* for the World Heritage List in 1992. The *Operational Guidelines* states that “[c]ultural landscapes are *cultural properties* and represent the ‘combined works of nature and of man’ designated in Article 1 of the Convention.”<sup>34</sup> Ken Taylor and Jane Lennon suggest that the concept of cultural landscapes can be used as a tool to bridge what has been traditionally perceived as natural and cultural.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Susan Buggey and Nora Mitchell point out that this category not only offers an opportunity to break down the division between nature and culture, but also the preponderance of tangible heritage over intangible as cultural landscapes acknowledge the importance of intangible values.<sup>36</sup>

### **Acknowledging Communities as Stewards of Heritage**

Although steps have been made to include local and indigenous people as stakeholders in natural conservation management, Marcus Colchester claims this is often conducted for economic reasons rather than humanitarian ones as it reduces conflict between stakeholders.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, the members of local communities are often in junior positions with little political power or financial resources, maintaining an imbalance of power. Likewise for cultural conservation, Trinidad Rico remarks that local people continue to be marginalized despite stakeholder consultations, as the expert professionals seem unable to relinquish their power in favor of the ‘non-expert’.<sup>38</sup> The fear of conservation professionals that their expertise will be undermined is also voiced by Marta De La Torre

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<sup>34</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” 1.

<sup>35</sup> Taylor and Lennon, “Cultural Landscapes.”

<sup>36</sup> Buggey and Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes: Venues for Community-Based Conservation,” 169.

<sup>37</sup> Colchester, “Salvaging Nature: Indigenous Peoples, Protected Areas and Biodiversity Conservation,” 34.

<sup>38</sup> Rico, “Archaeologies of ‘Us’ and ‘Them,’” 46.

and Randall Mason, acknowledging that increased local participation would involve a significant change in professional attitudes.<sup>39</sup>

However, bottom-up efforts to address the imbalance between local people and outside expertise are present. As early as 1996, the Elders of Pikangikum First Nation (PFN) in Canada used the concept of cultural landscape to develop the Whitefeather Forest Initiative.<sup>40</sup> Together with the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, the aim was to explore land-based opportunities for the Whitefeather Forest to be managed as a whole, fostering both economic and cultural renewal. However, this project has faced challenges on the base of authority, which the government did not want to relinquish, and the difference in interpretation about what a cultural landscape is.<sup>41</sup> In an effort to address the issues indigenous communities face while dealing with the state officials, the Indigenous Circle of Experts (ICE) has recently developed an indigenous-led approach to park management termed Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs).<sup>42</sup>

In the field of conservation, the attention regarding the empowerment of indigenous communities is important as it signals a shift from the expert-led Western approach to landscapes to one that acknowledges the stewardship and interpretation of natural environments by local communities. As advisory bodies to UNESCO, ICOMOS and IUCN are institutions that contributed to this shift through their formal expertise. Although ICOMOS and IUCN have traditionally worked separately<sup>43</sup>, the concept of

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<sup>39</sup> de la Torre, *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage*, 4; Mason, “Assessing Values in Conservation Planning: Methodological Issues and Choices,” 18.

<sup>40</sup> Davidson-Hunt, Peters, and Burlando, “Beekahncheekahmeeng Ahneesheenhahbay Ohtahkeem (Pikangikum Cultural Landscape). Challenging the Traditional Concept of Cultural Landscape from an Aboriginal Perspective.”

<sup>41</sup> Davidson-Hunt, Peters, and Burlando, 142–43.

<sup>42</sup> Indigenous Circle of Experts, *We Rise Together*.

<sup>43</sup> ICOMOS functions as an advisory board for UNESCO regarding cultural heritage, and IUCN is the advisory board regarding matters concerning natural heritage. Especially the concept of cultural landscapes is a theme which concerns both these organizations, as it not only deals with the traditional management of natural resources by local communities, but also the cultural traditions and values that these indigenous communities attach to their environment.

cultural landscapes has stimulated these institutions to work more closely together as their areas of expertise are no longer strictly divided along the culture-nature divide. However, Ian Lilley professes that the implementation of the cultural landscape-approach did not result in a practice that combined cultural and natural heritage conservation, as the nominations continued to show the underlying mechanisms that are based in the clear division of these approaches.<sup>44</sup>

Besides the intent of ICOMOS and IUCN to work together, IUCN has worked to change the power imbalance through the Durban Accord, a consensus document that was developed during the IUCN World Parks Congress in 2003.<sup>45</sup> This accord urges the conservationist professionals to involve local communities in the decision-making on a fair and equitable basis. Therefore, the Durban Accord represents a shift in paradigm in the field of conservation, as it directly confronts and works to decolonize colonial conservation practices.<sup>46</sup> According to Garrett, new approaches of governance have been emerging globally, albeit with mixed outcomes due to issues with power-sharing, capacity building and navigating existing legal frameworks and jurisdiction.<sup>47</sup>

Besides the efforts by ICOMOS and IUCN to incorporate cultural landscapes and acknowledgement of the role local communities play, UNESCO has moved towards a more inclusive position regarding the stewardship of heritage by local communities. For example, in 2007 the Strategic Objectives of UNESCO, *Credibility, Conservation, Capacity-building and Communication*, were amended to include a fifth objective: *Communities*, indicating the importance of focusing on the role of communities within the

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<sup>44</sup> Lilley, "Nature and Culture in World Heritage Management: A View from the Asia-Pacific (or, Never Waste a Good Crisis!)."

<sup>45</sup> Colchester, "Conservation Policy and Indigenous Peoples," 150–51.

<sup>46</sup> Zurba et al., "Indigenous Protected and Conserved Areas (IPCAs), Aichi Target 11 and Canada's Pathway to Target 1."

<sup>47</sup> Garnett et al., "A Spatial Overview of the Global Importance of Indigenous Lands for Conservation."

work of the World Heritage Convention. The intent is to involve indigenous peoples and local communities at all stages of the World Heritage process, beginning, ideally, at the earliest stages from the time of considering Tentative Lists and preparing nominations.<sup>48</sup> More recently, a project called the *Nature-Culture Journey* was launched during the 2016 IUCN World Conservation Congress. This project highlighted the interconnectedness between natural and cultural heritage, and the discussion between the IUCN and ICOMOS continued during the triennial General Assembly of ICOMOS in 2017. The discussions during these conferences have produced the report 'Connecting Practice', which aims to develop new methods and practical strategies to recognize the connection between the natural and cultural heritage in World Heritage sites.<sup>49</sup>

Despite these innovations within UNESCO, several heritage scholars claim that the real power within UNESCO resides with the Member States.<sup>50</sup> These national representatives are mostly concerned with the diplomatic aspect and international prestige of World Heritage nominations. Therefore, the efficacy of these policy changes is only as strong as the implementation of these conventions by the Member States, who are not forced to adhere to the treaties and have their own political agenda. Regardless, nominations continue to be proposed in an increasing rate; to bolster national prestige, attract development aid for government and to stimulate the tourism industry.<sup>51</sup>

As mentioned above, the Burra Charter from Australia set the precedent for a *value-based approach* to heritage, which is currently the preferred conservation approach. Although it gives more voice to local communities than the material-based

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<sup>48</sup> Brown and Hay-Edie, *COMPACT*.

<sup>49</sup> Leitão et al., *Connecting Practice Phase II*.

<sup>50</sup> Askew, "The Magic List of Global Status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Agendas of States," 22–23; Meskell, *A Future in Ruins*. Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value*.

<sup>51</sup> Askew, "The Magic List of Global Status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Agendas of States," 40.

approach, the current system still encourages a focus on the tangible aspects of the site as it does not substantially challenge the material-based approach<sup>52</sup> (see Table 1). Moreover, the implementation of the value-based approach results in the practice in which communities are merely consulted as a stakeholder in the process, keeping the dichotomy intact between the experts and the non-experts.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, Marta de la Torre states that current conservation practices are understood to “[...] encompass any action designated to maintain the cultural significance of a heritage object or place”<sup>54</sup>, which starts at the moment of heritage designation. This designation is not aimed to determine a fixed interpretation of heritage. However, heritage values are understood to be attributed, not intrinsic, mutable rather than static and contain multiple perspectives.

Therefore, Ioannis Poullos argues for a *living heritage approach*, which

“[...] calls for the safeguarding of heritage within the connection with the present community (continuity), by the present community and for the sake of the present community. Emphasis is on the present, since ‘the past is in the present’”<sup>55</sup> (Table 1).

Local communities are therefore not merely participating in the process according to a democratic system, but rather are empowered to take control, set the agenda and make decisions. The recognition and acceptance of the traditional care of heritage is the premise, while the modern scientific-based conservation principles assist the implementation of decisions made by the community. As local communities often focus on intangible heritage, the conservation of tangible heritage is a secondary goal and sometimes certain concessions have to be made by conservation professionals in order to support the continuity of the heritage by the community.

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<sup>52</sup> Poullos, “Moving Beyond a Values-Based Approach to Heritage Conservation,” 172–75.

<sup>53</sup> Rico, “Archaeologies of ‘Us’ and ‘Them.’”

<sup>54</sup> de la Torre, “Values and Heritage Conservation,” 155.

<sup>55</sup> Poullos, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation,” 23; Wijesuriya, “The Past Is in the Present: Perspectives in Caring for Buddhist Heritage Sites in Sri Lanka.”



Despite the variety of approaches as presented in Table 1, heritage remains a designation that is attributed to sites, traditions and practices. Even if heritage is regarded as an inherent value, as within the material-based approach, heritage designation is an active process that is conducted by experts who ‘identify’ these values. Moreover, Michael Hitchcock remarks that this process of designating heritage involves selection and elimination, often with the aim to attract political, economic or ‘touristic’ attention.<sup>56</sup> However, this touristic attention can also be used to empower the local community through the development of ecotourism. In Japan, the Law on Promotion of Ecotourism was enacted to this particular purpose: through the activities of natural conservation and sustainable tourism it promotes the agency and economy of local communities.<sup>57</sup>

### **Cultural Landscape-Approach**

The concept of cultural landscapes was used by academics prior to its introduction in the field of heritage management as a way to manage and describe landscapes and the communities that are (historically) connected to them. The implementation of the concept was inspired by the work of cultural geographers from the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>58</sup> Their framework was based on German scholarship, which had been using the concept *Kulturlandschaft* in a range of fields since the mid-1940s. The *Kulturlandschaft* was also described by Hans Carol, who described the cultural landscape as “[...] we can only speak of cultural landscapes when the landscape is considered as an expression of all cultural activities”<sup>59</sup> as early as 1946. Although Carol continued to adhere to a separation between

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<sup>56</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 2.

<sup>57</sup> UNESCO, “Understanding World Heritage in Asia and the Pacific: The Second Cycle of Periodic Reporting,” 32.

<sup>58</sup> Taylor, “Landscape, Culture and Heritage: Changing Perspectives in an Asian Context,” 20. Ken Taylor lists David Lowenthal, Peirce Lewis, Donald Meinig and Dennis Cosgrove as influential cultural geographers.

<sup>59</sup> Carol, “Die Wirtschaftslandschaft Und Ihre Kartographische Darstellung,” 247.

cultural and natural landscapes (pristine nature), he did further elaborate that cultural landscapes can take various forms.<sup>60</sup> For example, he categorized these various types of cultural landscapes, including landscapes developed for economic reasons (including agricultural, industrial and forestation projects), as well as (sub)urban landscapes and historical landscapes.

The continuous need to categorize cultural landscapes is also reflected in the manner in which the concept was implemented in the Guidelines for the UNESCO World Heritage List. Although UNESCP acknowledges that the term *cultural landscape* embraces a diversity of manifestations of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment,<sup>61</sup> the guidelines for the inscription of cultural landscapes narrow the range of these manifestations down to three main sub-categories:

- (i) clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man,
- (ii) the organically evolved landscape, which is further subcategorized between a relict (or fossil) landscape and a continuing landscape, and
- (iii) the associative cultural landscape.<sup>62</sup>

Especially the latter two subcategories, the *continuing landscape* and the *associative landscape*, rely heavily on the active social role performed by the associated contemporary society, and therefore allow for interpretation by local communities and indigenous peoples on of how these interactions between man and its environment are exhibited in the cultural landscape.

However, Julian Smith argues that implementing cultural landscapes as a category is in itself an act of categorization, which means that sites need to conform to a certain framework rather than opening up the list to perceptions of sites that are outside of the

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<sup>60</sup> Carol, 249.

<sup>61</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” sec. Annex 3, line 8.

<sup>62</sup> UNESCO, sec. Annex 3, line 10.

boxes.<sup>63</sup> During his research and work as the Dean of the Willowbank Centre for Cultural Landscape in Canada, Smith realized that the fabric of cultural landscapes asks for a new framework, one that does not fit neatly within the rigid boxes of modernism. He states that as indigenous communities perceive the world differently, they can help shape and define this new paradigm. Smith describes this new developing paradigm as the *ecological bias*, which is preceded by three biases that have shaped heritage management as it is practiced today. Table 2 lists how previous biases focused on the physical objects of the past through an emphasis on the uncovering, conservation and reproduction of historical remnants (Table 2). The ecological bias, however, emphasizes the role of the community who revitalize remnants of the past to serve a new function in contemporary society.

The *ecological bias* is similar to the *living heritage approach* as discussed by Ioannis Poullos, as both frameworks focus on the continuous role of the contemporary community and its empowerment through a new managerial system.<sup>64</sup> These are the same premises on which my research has been conducted. According to Smith, the ecological bias not only provides an empowerment for the contemporary community to actively participate in the use-value of heritage, but also allows for a more fluid perception of its historical value.<sup>65</sup> He describes how historic places gather layers of meaning throughout time, and how acts of conservation or revitalization of a historic site can be perceived as adding a contemporary layer to its life cycle. These layers can be either tangible (restoration of the physical fabric of the site) or intangible (renewing traditions or cultural activities at the site) and are essential for the sustainable integrity of a particular place. Moreover, these reinterpretations require creativity and can foster diversity; aspects that were criticized by the antiquarian, commemorative and aesthetic biases for being

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<sup>63</sup> Smith, "Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach," 182, 187–89.

<sup>64</sup> Poullos, "Moving Beyond a Values-Based Approach to Heritage Conservation"; Poullos, "Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation."

<sup>65</sup> Smith, "Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach," 185.

inauthentic. Contrary to these earlier approaches, Smith argues that reinterpretation and reinvention should be part of a healthy ecological system, conducted by the local community.<sup>66</sup>

Regarding these earlier biases, cultural landscapes were regarded as a product that resulted from a cultural agent within a natural environment.<sup>67</sup> However, cultural landscapes are shaped through the intangible values and activities that provide meaning to the landscape. These activities are constantly engaging and evolving. Cultural landscapes therefore should be considered a continuous process rather than a fixed product.<sup>68</sup> A cultural landscape is a cultural construct which is shaped through time, embracing not only the tangible physical ways in which people (continue to) shape their environment, but also the beliefs, values and ideologies that informs the landscape.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the cultural landscape is both past and the present and it can only be maintained through continuing practices that have the ability (and authority) to adapt to new circumstances. On the contrary, the effect of material-based policy is to reduce the active cultural landscape into a rigid form of heritage.<sup>70</sup>

Besides the recognition that sites evolve, are reinterpreted and reused by the contemporary society, a renewed interest in the natural process of decay has resurfaced.<sup>71</sup> As early as 1928, Alois Riegl argued in favor of what he terms *the age value* concerning monuments, and he claimed that intervention in the process of decay of a monument would negatively affect the perception of the age value.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, he states that the

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<sup>66</sup> Smith, 185.

<sup>67</sup> Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape," 46.

<sup>68</sup> Taylor, "Landscape and Meaning: Context for a Global Discourse on Cultural Landscape Values."

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, St. Clair, and Mitchell, *Conserving Cultural Landscapes*, 2.

<sup>70</sup> Davidson-Hunt, Peters, and Burlando, "Beekahncheekahmeeng Ahneesheenahbay Ohtahkeem (Pikangikum Cultural Landscape). Challenging the Traditional Concept of Cultural Landscape from an Aboriginal Perspective.," 143.

<sup>71</sup> see Stoler, *Imperial Debris*; DeSilvey, *Curated Decay*.

<sup>72</sup> Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development," 73.

process of decay is something that is aesthetically pleasing to modern man and argues that restoration to an unaltered state of the monument would be contrary to its interests. This romantic sentiment has been raised in relation to the abundance of heritage designations and conservation efforts which characterize our late-modern period.<sup>73</sup> In the case of the Banda Islands, this approach was featured in the Dutch Cultural Agency's proposal to develop Fort Nassau as a 'fort garden', leaving parts of the fort ruined and growing aesthetically pleasing vegetation to adorn the remnants.<sup>74</sup> Following the thought that it is impossible to preserve everything, Caitlin DeSilvey argues for the idea of *curated decay*, in which there is room for the natural process of deterioration within the framework of contemporary management that recognizes the current state as part of the fabric of a site.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to the process of natural decay, Denis Byrne called attention to the purposeful act of dispersion of the fabric of a heritage site.<sup>76</sup> Contrary to the fields of archaeology and heritage studies that regard collecting and looting as a threat to heritage, Byrne argues that collectors and followers of popular religion<sup>77</sup> regard the dispersal of heritage objects as a confirmation of their value.<sup>78</sup> Although the act of taking a piece of the site, such as stones, can be regarded as an act of vandalism, it can also be perceived as a devotional act as the sacredness of the site as its power is spread along with its fabric. Moreover, acts of repainting can be considered to honor the deities, while heritage practice stands against the accretion of new upon old material. Byrne states: "Whereas heritage conservation seeks to stabilize the built fabric, popular religion cannot seem to abide

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<sup>73</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*; Harrison, *Heritage*, 6.

<sup>74</sup> Wieringa and Attema, "The Spice Islands in the Banda Sea: Pre-Liminary Account of a Factfinding Mission to the Moluccan Islands of Banda Naira, Lonthor and Ay," 33. More about this agency and its involvement on the Banda Islands in Chapter 4 and 5.

<sup>75</sup> DeSilvey, *Curated Decay*.

<sup>76</sup> Byrne, *Counterheritage*, 4.

<sup>77</sup> Byrne describes popular religion to describe beliefs and practices that are separate from institutional, text-based and orthodox religion. It entails not only "a different view of the material past but a whole different relationship to the material world" Byrne, *Counterheritage*, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Byrne, 2.

stasis”.<sup>79</sup> He therefore argues that heritage professionals need to come to terms with loss, the loss of classifying everything old as heritage and to restrict human interaction based on the professional opinion that this could damage the state of the site.<sup>80</sup> However, he promises that this loss will be compensated by a greater understanding and appreciation of the continued interactions between people and their heritage objects and sites.<sup>81</sup>

By working within the framework of cultural landscapes, I acknowledge the strong contemporary ties between the community and their natural environment, and the socio-cultural practices that provide meaning to the cultural landscape. Moreover, as the nature of a cultural landscape is that it is constantly evolving, new approaches to heritage that counter a material-based approach can be applied and encouraged. Through this approach which focuses on the ongoing interpretation and use of heritage, the local community can be empowered to set policies and regulations to allow for change that they deem acceptable.

### *Memory within the Cultural Landscape*

The connection between communities and their landscape is shaped by individual and collective memory, which informs the interpretation, meaning and management of cultural landscapes. Similarly, Kenneth Foote stated that there are three main factors that bind individuals to their community: culture, the collective memory of a social group and the landscape that they are associated with.<sup>82</sup> The collective memory is shaped through daily life, its values build gradually, change slowly and are transferred from generation to

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<sup>79</sup> Byrne, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Byrne, 13.

<sup>81</sup> Byrne, 13; Harrison, *Heritage*.

<sup>82</sup> Foote, *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*.

generation. As such, the process of memory creates the tie between culture and its environment:

“This concept of memory provides an important bond between culture and landscape, because human modifications of the environment are often related to the way societies wish to sustain and efface memories.”<sup>83</sup>

The culture of people is therefore intertwined with the landscape they inhabit, as the interaction with their environment results in traditions that are informed by collective memory.

As the term indicates, collective memory is informed by multiple narratives. Maurice Halbwachs developed this term by exploring the notion of collective memory and contrasting it with individual memory. Although collective memory is formed by individual memories, these memories are not the exact copies as the lived experience. Halbwachs claims that:

“[s]ociety from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up, to shorten them, or to complete them so that, however convinced we are that our memories are exact, we give them a prestige that reality did not possess”<sup>84</sup>.

Therefore, the representation of the past in the present is a product of the present society, in which multiple (social and political) narratives have been gathered to form one collective memory.<sup>85</sup> David Berliner wrote in particular about the memory of the past as it presents itself through nostalgia; a longing for what is no longer present due to the irreversibility of time.<sup>86</sup> This nostalgia at heritage sites is not singular, but rather manifests itself differently for various actors, such as heritage experts, local elites, tourists and residents, as nostalgia is informed by personal experience and prior knowledge. Therefore,

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<sup>83</sup> Foote, 33.

<sup>84</sup> Halbwachs and Coser, *On collective memory*, 51.

<sup>85</sup> Halbwachs and Coser, 40.

<sup>86</sup> Berliner, “Multiple Nostalgias,” 769.

Berliner claims that the nostalgic value of heritage is not only based on the perception of the past, but also embodies the fears and hopes regarding the future.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, this nostalgia can be utilized by national agents for political purposes as well.

As collective memory informs (community) identity, it influences how heritage of that community is perceived, interpreted and managed through the presentation of the contemporary interpretations of the past. Through the constant act of reproducing and reconstructing memory, a certain sense of identity is perpetuated. One way of ensuring the representation of memory in a particular way is through the creation of physical markers or events to commemorate the past. The most quoted scholar who explores this interaction between place and memory is Pierre Nora. He introduced a concept that envisions this interaction, *lieux de mémoire*, which are places that are “the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness”.<sup>88</sup> Cultural landscapes can also be considered as embodiments of memory, as cultural practices and rituals leave traces within the landscape, and provide meaning to the environment. For example, the Banda Islands are scattered with *keramats*, places that have a special sacred meaning to the Bandanese people. Through honorific offerings the memory of its value is maintained and transferred from generation to generation. Therefore, cultural landscapes can be considered *lieux des mémoires*, as they can contain visible traces of intangible memory.

*Lieux des mémoires* are conduits for the maintenance of collective memory, which is a representation of the past that has been condoned by a community to be true. This memory is exhibited through events, traditions and narratives, which shape the identity of the community and their engagement with their environment. In the Banda Islands this is especially apparent as the current community is descended from a mix of peoples

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<sup>87</sup> Berliner, 769.

<sup>88</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 7–24.



originating from in- and outside the Indonesian archipelago. However, through the commemoration of the trade history and the communal events, the Bandanese have formed an inclusive environment in which outsiders have been adopted and integrated based on their ties to the land.

### *Cultural Landscapes and Communities*

Collective memory plays a role in the social meaning-making processes that communities exercise to provide value to their environment, and thus create cultural landscapes. Communities are therefore not only essential in the creation of cultural landscapes, but also in continuing practices that make these sites meaningful. Besides the ‘official’ tools and institutions that manage landscapes, therefore, it should be acknowledged that communities have been managing landscapes long before these were formally recognized as heritage or worthy of management. These Community-Conserved Areas have long histories, although some conservation efforts were developed when the colonial rulers alienated communities from their environment.<sup>89</sup>

Active involvement of local communities is a core aspect in the aim to preserve the character of a cultural landscape while at the same time accommodating change. Susan Buggy and Nora Mitchell have examined several case studies in North America, and state that “Sustainability includes the recognition of multiple ecological, economic, social and cultural values that are integral to the character of the cultural landscape and that are integrated into community-based decision making and governance structure.”<sup>90</sup> Therefore, a sustainable heritage management plan for a cultural landscape should

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<sup>89</sup> Barrow and Pathak, “Conserving ‘Unprotected’ Protected Areas - Communities Can and Do Conserve Landscapes of All Sorts,” 65.

<sup>90</sup> Buggy and Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes: Venues for Community-Based Conservation,” 177.

include local communities who are the agents of forming the character of the cultural landscape.

Moreover, from the first nominations of cultural landscapes<sup>91</sup>, community involvement has been increasingly central to such World Heritage nominations, inscriptions and evaluations.<sup>92</sup> Guidance on community participation is set out in standard-setting publications such as the Burra Charter<sup>93</sup> and in recent handbooks and publications of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre related to conservation and management of World Heritage cultural landscapes and engaging local communities in World Heritage.<sup>94</sup> Through these efforts, indigenous peoples and local communities have begun to play a growing role in the nomination process and, increasingly, the World Heritage Committee is emphasizing that sites are managed by and/or in collaboration with communities.

Although the framework of cultural landscapes provides opportunities to engage local communities and explore the connections between humans and their environment, the actual management of such sites does pose several challenges.<sup>95</sup> A key issue is that the nature of cultural landscapes is ever-changing, depending on the contemporary relation between communities and their surroundings. Sustaining this link between people and their physical environment is therefore paramount. However, this can be a challenge in our current society in which most people spend the majority of their time indoors and

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<sup>91</sup> And re-nominations, as in the cases of Tongariro and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks in New Zealand and Australia, respectively.

<sup>92</sup> Rössler, "World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Global Perspective"; Bugey and Mitchell, "Cultural Landscapes: Venues for Community-Based Conservation"; Brown and Hay-Edie, *Engaging Local Communities in Stewardship of World Heritage*; Brown, "Stewardship of Protected Landscapes by Communities: Diverse Landscapes, Diverse Governance Models."

<sup>93</sup> Australia ICOMOS, *The Burra Charter*.

<sup>94</sup> Mitchell, Rössler, and Tricaud, "World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: Handbook for Conservation and Management"; Brown and Hay-Edie, *Engaging Local Communities in Stewardship of World Heritage*.

<sup>95</sup> Van Donkersgoed and Brown, "Intangible Culture as the Prime Asset of a Cultural Landscape and Seascape: A Case Study of the Banda Islands, Indonesia."

interact using technological devices. Despite this increasing detachment from nature, the physical interaction between people and their surroundings is crucial to shaping a cultural landscape.

Moreover, bio-diversity is created because of, not in spite of, the presence of people in the natural environment.<sup>96</sup> Cultural landscapes are therefore the embodiment of this continued relationship between communities living in and near these landscapes. The Banda Islands are a good example of this co-dependency through its nutmeg production, which has shaped the landscape and the local culture. In order to sustain these cultural landscapes, local communities need to be encouraged to be actively engaged in a wide range of governance and management options, building on the human impulse for stewardship.<sup>97</sup>

Katrin Pager describes a mechanism to encourage local community participation. She describes *adaptive manager communities* as a mechanism that can be used to provide leadership to the local community.<sup>98</sup> Although this mechanism relies on cooperative governmental actors and enabling policies, this approach creates a support knowledge network which is led and maintained by the community. The knowledge network helps to maintain a link between the living culture and management. As the participants of this network are part of the community and live on site, they are highly aware of threats and able to respond more quickly. Pager therefore notes that it would be most effective for governments to invest and support these existing social networks, rather than establish new groups. To establish a new group can take as much as two years, and if it dissolves participants are likely to be hesitant for some years to join a new group.

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<sup>96</sup> Brown et al., *The Protected Landscape Approach*, 37–46.

<sup>97</sup> Brown, “Stewardship of Protected Landscapes by Communities: Diverse Landscapes, Diverse Governance Models.”

<sup>98</sup> Prager, “Collective Efforts to Manage Cultural Landscapes for Resilience,” 219.

An example of strong ties between the local community and their environment is the transhumance landscape of the Conquense Royal Drove Road in Spain.<sup>99</sup> Elisa Oteros-Rozas and her team explore how a traditional livestock raising system is able to maintain the sustainable integrity of the land.<sup>100</sup> They argue that in order to safeguard cultural landscapes, close attention should be paid to traditional management practices, as they have the ability to form a resilience framework to help deal with global environmental change. Landscapes in which there are strong cultural traditions and management practices that are linked to the natural environment are called *vernacular landscapes*.<sup>101</sup> Susan Buggey and Nora Mitchell describe these landscapes as accumulative, as they include material evidence from previous generations as well as ongoing activities.

The cultural landscape of the Banda Islands can be considered as a vernacular landscape, as there are traditional management practices that manage the health of the marine life and the nutmeg trees. This management system is called *sasi*, which is set by the traditional leaders and determines when there is a prohibition to fish for certain resources or when people are not allowed to harvest from a certain tree.<sup>102</sup> Chapter 5 discusses further how implementing a cultural landscape-approach for heritage management on the Banda Islands can empower the local community to implement their management strategies.

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<sup>99</sup> Oteros-Rozas et al., “Ecosystem Services and Social-Ecological Resilience in Transhumance Cultural Landscapes: Learning from the Past, Looking for the Future.”

<sup>100</sup> Oteros-Rozas et al.

<sup>101</sup> Buggey and Mitchell, “Cultural Landscapes: Venues for Community-Based Conservation,” 165.

<sup>102</sup> More about this *sasi* within the traditional system of *adat* management in chapter 5.

### *Sensory Aspects of Cultural Landscapes*

As the cultural landscape is shaped through collective memory and the local community, it is also imbued with personal and sensorial experiences. As Robert Melnick writes: “What we have yet to do is to fully engage with the complexity of our landscape world, the great variety of meanings and the multiple landscape constituencies – especially in ways that get beyond the visual and historical narrative.”<sup>103</sup> Recent scholarship has been exploring the more transient aspects of cultural landscapes, and heritage in general, by exploring the sensory notions that influence our experience through sound and smell as well as the visual senses.<sup>104</sup>

Especially the last UNESCO category, the *associative landscape*, relates directly to the sensory ties that people experience in their environment. For example, the report of the Asia-Pacific regional workshop on associative landscapes states that: “The attributes of associative cultural landscapes include the intangible, such as the acoustic, the kinetic and the olfactory, as well as the visual”.<sup>105</sup> These sensory elements of the cultural landscape contribute to what is termed the *sense of place*, which is a phenomenological factor in describing a cultural landscape in its complexity.<sup>106</sup> This section provides a brief description of the audible, olfactory and visual senses in relation to heritage sites, as these have traditionally been undervalued over the visual sense when describing the value and experience of heritage.

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<sup>103</sup> Melnick, “Are We There Yet?,” 208.

<sup>104</sup> Boswell, “Scents of Identity”; Kato, “Soundscape, Cultural Landscape and Connectivity”; Leus and Herrensens, “The Soundscapes of Antwerp”; Kang et al., “Ten Questions on the Soundscapes of the Built Environment”; Yelmi, “Protecting Contemporary Cultural Soundscapes as Intangible Cultural Heritage”; Davis and Thys-Şenocak, “Heritage and Scent.”

<sup>105</sup> Australia ICOMOS, “Asia-Pacific Workshop on Associative Cultural Landscapes, April 1995,” sec. 1:4.

<sup>106</sup> Feld and Basso, “Introduction”; Taylor, “Cultural Mapping and Community Resources: Cultural Mapping in Asia-Pacific, Philippines Case Studies.”

A scholarly interest in the relation between sound and the environment was initiated by Murray Schafer, a scholar in the field of music and acoustic ecology.<sup>107</sup> He coined the term *soundscape* to describe the interrelation between the landscape and its acoustic qualities. This term was picked up in fields such as acoustics, architecture, archaeology, environmental health, psychology, sociology and urban studies. It heralded a new era, in particular for the study of the built environment, as the soundscape represented a paradigm shift to reconsider sound as a resource rather than to regard it as noise and a 'waste' product.<sup>108</sup> In his work, Schafer makes a distinction between *signals* and *soundmarks*, the latter being unique to a certain local community or location. He argues that these soundmarks deserve the same kind of protection as landmarks as they are of enormous importance to the society.<sup>109</sup>

The potential of the study of soundscape, and the identification of soundmarks that create a sense of place, has been a source for inspiration in recent research on intangible heritage. For example, the project 'Soundscape of Istanbul' used participatory methods to map the contemporary elements of the cultural soundscape of Istanbul, Turkey.<sup>110</sup> Pinar Yelmi used two groups of informants for her research. The first group was comprised of locals who lived within the city and would have personal memories connected to the sounds, while the second group comprised tourists who, being unfamiliar with the environment, would be more attuned to sounds that have become naturalized by the local residents.<sup>111</sup> Her research marked several cultural soundmarks, one of which was the sound of water pipes and fishermen in Tophane and Kumpaki. Some of these soundmarks

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<sup>107</sup> Schafer, *The Soundscape*.

<sup>108</sup> Kang et al., "Ten Questions on the Soundscapes of the Built Environment," 284.

<sup>109</sup> Schafer, *The Soundscape*; in Yelmi, "Protecting Contemporary Cultural Soundscapes as Intangible Cultural Heritage," 303.

<sup>110</sup> Yelmi, "Protecting Contemporary Cultural Soundscapes as Intangible Cultural Heritage."

<sup>111</sup> Yelmi, 306.

had disappeared before she was able to record them due to urban development.<sup>112</sup> Her research therefore shows the importance of marking these soundscapes in our current time of rapid urban development.

Regarding the case study of the Banda Islands, there are two soundmarks within the soundscape that appeared most prominent to me during my research. The first soundmark is part of the historic soundscape, created by the cannon fire and musket charges that would have signaled messages between islands. This particular soundmark is discussed further in Chapter 4. The second soundmark is part of the contemporary soundscape, created by the religious sounds of the call to prayer by the multiple mosques around the islands that permeate the air five times a day. On Sunday the church bells of the old church join this religious soundscape, and both these sounds serve to draw believers to their respective houses of prayer. Besides these religious sounds, the rhythmic beat of the *tifa* drum (a single-headed hourglass-shaped membranophone) is heard during the preparations and celebrations of traditional events. The distinctive beat of the drum calls the villagers to their respective house of tradition, *rumah adat*, to witness the ceremony and accompanying dances. Especially the sound of the *tifa* has gained a particular meaning to me, as I learned to recognize the particular beat and would jump into action to follow the sound to its origin, in the hopes of catching a glimpse of the rehearsal of the *Cakalele* warrior dance and to chat with the gathered local people.

Besides the prominent aspect of sound, smell is another sense that has been increasingly researched in relation to heritage. Another example from Istanbul describes the research conducted on the *smellscape* of the Spice Market in this city, and the efforts to preserve this essential part of the experience of visiting the market.<sup>113</sup> Istanbul's Spice

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<sup>112</sup> Yelmi, 309.

<sup>113</sup> Davis and Thys-Şenocak, "Heritage and Scent."

Market was built between 1661 to 1665 to generate an income for the neighboring Yeni Valide Mosque Complex. Nowadays it still serves a major economic purpose, but primarily as a tourist destination.<sup>114</sup> The authors arranged a workshop to attract attention to the endangerment of its smellscape as an intangible value of the authenticity of this market, and later designed an exhibition, including a scentbar, to increase the awareness of the importance of scent.<sup>115</sup> The research of Lauren Davis and Lucienne Thys-Senocak show different sensory aspects of the city Istanbul, and its impact on the experience of the place for both visitors and the local residents. Moreover, both authors highlight that these sensory aspects of the city are endangered by modern-day developments, and express a need to document and preserve (if possible) these values.

Similar to how I have learned to recognize the sounds of the Banda Islands, through exposure to the sensorial landscape, I am now able to identify specific smells that are associated with this area. Especially during my last journey to the Banda Islands, when the boat was approaching the harbor in Banda Neira, I smelled the distinct scent of the Banda Islands: a mixture of nutmeg, damp tropical heat and the sea breeze. In Chapter 3 I elaborate further on the sensorial aspects of the cultural landscape as it pertains to Fort Nassau.

### **Heritage Management in Southeast Asia**

Initiatives from the Asian region have supported developments to acknowledge more porous boundaries between the tangible/intangible, material/social, human/non-human and arts/crafts within heritage management.<sup>116</sup> This shift from the material-based

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<sup>114</sup> Davis and Thys-Senocak, 726.

<sup>115</sup> Davis and Thys-Senocak, 731–33.

<sup>116</sup> Winter, “Beyond Eurocentrism?,” 133.



approach to heritage management has supported the practice of renewing original material, adaptive reuse of sites and urban morphologies that encompasses multiple narratives of complex histories.

As discussed, the material-based approach relied on a particular perspective of authenticity, which involves the conservation of the original physical material of a site. However, construction materials in Asia historically comprise of primarily natural materials, such as wood and thatch, which are more prone to decay than historical architecture in Europe which is mainly constructed of lasting materials such as stone and brick. Moreover, the rate of disintegration of Asian structures is increased by (sub)tropical weather. Besides this technical aspect of materiality, the process of decay is deeply rooted in Asian philosophical traditions of impermanence, renewal and rebirth.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, in an effort to provide legitimacy to other perceptions of authenticity, the Nara Document on Authenticity was formulated in 1994 during the Nara conference in Japan. This document gave voice to what Tim Winter describes as a:

“[...] discourse that asserts there are different historical and philosophical perspectives towards authenticity, spirituality and historical significance, and that recognition should be given to culturally specific ways of reading or valuing landscape”<sup>118</sup>.

Despite these new heritage approaches, decades of material-based approaches as previously supported by UNESCO continue to influence the reality of heritage management of sites.

For example, David Berliner discusses the World Heritage site of Luang Prabang in Laos, a Buddhist town with traditional architecture and those built by European colonists in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>119</sup> The town is referred to by certain inhabitants as

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<sup>117</sup> Winter, 123.

<sup>118</sup> Winter, 125.

<sup>119</sup> Inscribed on the World Heritage list in 1995. Centre, “Town of Luang Prabang.”

‘Luang Paris’ due to the influence felt from UNESCO’s headquarters in Paris through the local conservation agency.<sup>120</sup> This conservation agency is called the *Maison de Patrimoine* (Heritage House), which focuses on the material conservation of the city by restricting the construction of new buildings, prohibiting modifications to residential houses that damage the architectural form and the conservation of the natural resources. These regulations are contrary to wishes of the local residents, who are referred to by heritage experts as “unable to preserve their own heritage”<sup>121</sup>. Contrary to the regulation set by the *Maison de Patrimoine*, the activities held at the regional UNESCO office in Bangkok have a focus on intangible heritage conservation and the empowerment of monks through workshops.<sup>122</sup>

The material-based approach to preserve the town in a stasis is therefore not so much informed by UNESCO, as it is informed by a nostalgic image of the town by the local conservationists.<sup>123</sup> Berliner explains that this nostalgia is informed by the Western romanticized image of Buddhism; a quiet isolated town in the Tropics in which people continue to live in their traditional houses and way. Following this vision, the negative response of conservation professionals to the modernization of the profession of their beliefs, by offering modern construction materials instead of the traditional offering, is to be expected. In an effort to protect this nostalgic image of the past town, a UNESCO-related architect made a list of *authorized* offerings, reducing the agency of residents to profess their religion, and to request divine power to continue their journey to lead a comfortable modern life through these offerings.<sup>124</sup> This policy is an example of the

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<sup>120</sup> Berliner, “Multiple Nostalgias,” 772.

<sup>121</sup> Berliner, 775.

<sup>122</sup> UNESCO Bangkok, “IMPACT: Tourism and Heritage Site Management in the World Heritage Town of Luang Prabang, Lao PDR.”

<sup>123</sup> Berliner, “Multiple Nostalgias,” 773.

<sup>124</sup> Berliner, 774.

approach to preserve in stasis, rather than to allow a community to develop and adapt to modernity which is an inevitable effect of globalization and the influx of tourists.

Nostalgia is deeply embedded in conservation practices, as well as in the expectation of foreigners (or elitists) when visiting small (heritage) towns. During an informal conversation in 2019 with a high-ranking U.S. diplomat, an anecdote was recollected where the diplomat visited a house which was being refitted for a new roof, replacing the traditional thatch roof.<sup>125</sup> When a nostalgic sentiment was expressed about the loss of authenticity, the resident replied that the thatch roof was ridden with bugs, needed to be repaired on a regular basis and was a drain on his resources. This anecdote is a simple example of the type of encounters that are at the base of the misalignment of the material-based conservation approach and the lived experience of residents who want to take advantage of modern advancements and increase their ease of living.

The drive for modernity is not only seen in the replacement of traditional materials for more durable modern ones, but also their attitude towards traditional beliefs in the supernatural. As Timoticin Kwanda states: “In Asia, many cultures have a spiritual rather than material view in which objects and places are vehicles of great value for communicating deeper, spiritual meanings.”<sup>126</sup> However, Denis Byrne notes that local elites in Southeast Asia have rejected traditional beliefs in the supernatural in order to adhere to the Western ideal of what it means to be modern.<sup>127</sup> Byrne uses the term *popular religion* to describe this system of belief in the supernatural, which informs the value of (heritage) sites for many communities in Southeast Asia. Referring to Edward Said’s influential work *Orientalism*, Byrne remarks that the epistemological violence of colonial

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<sup>125</sup> Fieldnotes March 2, 2019.

<sup>126</sup> Kwanda, “Western Conservation Theory and the Asian Context: The Different Roots of Conservation”; Winter, “Beyond Eurocentrism?,” 126.

<sup>127</sup> Byrne, “Archaeology and the Fortress of Rationality,” 81–83.

powers continues to impact former colonies as modernizing elites reject popular beliefs because they feel embarrassed in the face of the West and fear these ‘superstitions’ will make them look backwards and unfit to self-govern.<sup>128</sup> Besides the denunciation of popular religion, the elite have been complicit in creating a modern nation-state, which required a centralized history rather than the plentitude of local histories that existed throughout Southeast Asia. Moreover, Michael Hitchcock attests that during their rule Western colonial powers stimulated the creation of a centralized identity not only to create ‘a colonial other’, but also as a means to control, administer and delimit their colonial possessions, and differentiate them from territories held by competing colonial powers.<sup>129</sup>

Like the rejection of popular religion, the implementation of top-down management structures has been widely adopted within the Asia-Pacific region. Anita Smith and Cate Turk remark that management is formalized and driven by non-governmental organizations and government aid programs, and therefore traditional governance is not so much in control of management, but it becomes part of a larger internationally developed methodology that incorporates the local customary system.<sup>130</sup> They identify this as the *customary systems in management* approach, to emphasize that these traditional community practices are incorporated rather than controlled by management. However, using the example of the World Heritage nomination of Chief Roi Mata’s Domain in Vanuatu in 2008, Meredith Wilson argues that this inclusion can be empowering for the local community.<sup>131</sup> She explains that through the formalization of the customary system into a management plan which is part of the World Heritage

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<sup>128</sup> Said, *Orientalism*; in Byrne, *Counterheritage*, 12.

<sup>129</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 4.

<sup>130</sup> Smith and Turk, “Customary Systems of Management and World Heritage in the Pacific Islands,” 25.

<sup>131</sup> Wilson 2006, 7 in Smith and Turk, 29.

nomination, the power of the chiefs was officially recognized and they are empowered to continue their management practices.

An example from Southeast Asia in which the traditional stewards retained their control over their site is the Temple of the Tooth Relic in the city of Kandy, Sri Lanka.<sup>132</sup> When the temple required reconstruction after a bomb explosion, the final decisions regarding the restoration remained in the hands of the monastic community, rather than the conservation professionals. The main concern of the religious leaders was to reinstate the religious use of the site, which for them weighed heavier than the conservation of the fabric of the site. The decision-making was conducted following the living heritage approach, and the monks prioritized the continuation of use and function of the heritage site over the material authenticity of the site.

Another successful example from this area where the community self-organized their heritage management is Phrae in Thailand. Ioannis Poullos describes how the (local) heritage management committee developed three objectives: to revive local heritage wisdom and pride, to organize conservation management using traditional knowledge, and to develop programs that would create economic or social benefits.<sup>133</sup> A similar type of organizational structure was recently established by Bandanese residents called *Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda* (APB), which translates as Association Tourism Banda, which is a recognized partner of the provincial tourism agency (see Chapter 5 for further discussion of the intentions and aims of this board).<sup>134</sup>

A main motive for governments to invest in heritage management (and World Heritage nominations) is the promise of economic benefits through an increase in tourism

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<sup>132</sup> Poullos, "Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation"; Wijesuriya, "The Past Is in the Present: Perspectives in Caring for Buddhist Heritage Sites in Sri Lanka."

<sup>133</sup> Poullos, "Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation," 22.

<sup>134</sup> Admin, "Pembentukan Organisasi Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda Sebagai Kebijakan Pelaku Pariwisata."

to the area. Regarding the heritage tourism in Southeast Asia, Michael Hitchcock remarks that this industry is imbued with nostalgia for the past, and includes a presentation of an exotic, idealized and ‘essentialized’ Orient, alongside the belief in a pristine nature.<sup>135</sup> The designation of heritage is therefore performed with a particular purpose, which Gareth Shaw and Alan Williams describe as the “history-making business”<sup>136</sup>; the past is commercialized for the consumption of the (heritage) tourist.

The effect of mass tourism and the wish to fulfill the expectations of the anticipated tourist, is keenly felt by local communities who are often marginalized in this process which is generally conducted and devised by outside governmental agents. An example is Angkor Wat in Cambodia, a World Heritage site where the access and use of the site by monks and communities is restricted to favor tourism development and the economic benefits this brings.<sup>137</sup> The case of Angkor Wat is complex as the conservation experts value the site for its architectural and archaeological conservation, political leaders for its part in national revival, tourists for its visual spectacle, while Cambodians value it as a living cultural landscape.<sup>138</sup> In an effort to gain economic benefits, the concerns of the local Cambodians seem to be marginalized in favor of appeasing other stakeholders.

However, Robert Wood points out that governments’ interests in the development of heritage (or ethnic) tourism is also an opportunity to empower local indigenous communities.<sup>139</sup> Within heritage management, the process that empowers local communities through global approaches is referred to as *glocalization*, which finds its origins in Japan where it entails the process in which a global outlook is adapted to suit

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<sup>135</sup> Kennedy and Williams, “The Past without the Pain”; in Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 7.

<sup>136</sup> Shaw and Williams, *Critical Issues in Tourism*, 203.

<sup>137</sup> Poullos, “Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation,” 17–18; Miura, “Conservation of a ‘Living Heritage Site’ – a Contradiction in Terms? A Case Study of Angkor World Heritage Site.”

<sup>138</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 18.

<sup>139</sup> Wood, “Tourism and the State: Ethnic Options and Construction of Otherness,” 15; in Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 13.

local conditions. Iyan Septiyana and Defbry Margiansyah therefore argue that globalization offers an opportunity, rather than a threat, to the conservation of (intangible) heritage.<sup>140</sup> They claim that glocalization:

“[...] offers the broader lens to understand that globalization is not a singular process (global westernization) and a project of western imperialism, but it is multidimensional and -directional process where the co-existence between universal cosmopolitan and particular-local cultures is very likely to materialize”.<sup>141</sup>

Therefore, globalization is not a one-way street in which only the local culture is affected: it is a multi-directional process that evolves heritage into a new glocalized version. Nevertheless, some 21<sup>st</sup>-century threats to challenge local management systems of heritage sites and its surrounding landscape, such as urban expansion and development, tourism, war and threats beyond our human intervention including natural disasters and climate change.<sup>142</sup>

### *Indonesia*

The interplay between local and larger universal cultural processes is especially applicable in the context of Indonesia, where the interplay between the local and national culture is embodied in the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Heritage tourism development partakes in this formation of nation-building, to reconcile ethnic diversity and modern nationhood, and stimulate economic growth.<sup>143</sup> This approach to diversity was especially enacted during General Suharto's New Order government in Indonesia, which focused on the development of nationalist ideals and economic

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<sup>140</sup> Septiyana and Margiansyah, “Glocalization of Intangible Cultural Heritage.”

<sup>141</sup> Septiyana and Margiansyah, 87.

<sup>142</sup> Rössler, “World Heritage Cultural Landscapes: A Global Perspective,” 42–45.

<sup>143</sup> Picard and Wood, *Tourism, Ethnicity, and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*, ix; in Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 12.

development, and boundaries of ‘acceptable’ ethnicity were defined; simultaneously celebrating and subjugating indigenous groups to fit a certain national ideal.<sup>144</sup>

This diversity is for example seen through the diversity of religions, as despite Indonesia’s Muslim majority there are Hinduist and Christian minorities. Cultural elements from these religions can be observed throughout Indonesia, remnants of the Christian colonial past and the pre-colonial impact of Hinduism. For example, places that are imbued with a supernatural power, due to their ties to local history or martyrs, are regarded as *keramat* in Indonesia. These *keramats* are honored through *adat* traditions, which involve offerings that are similar to Hindu practices. In the Banda Islands *adat* practice is not exclusive to the Muslim faith, as both Christian and Muslim believers participate in its ceremonies and activities. However, some *keramats* receive their supernatural power due to the ties with a Muslim martyr, entwining popular religion and Islam in everyday life.

Damodar SarDesai speculates that the reason that Hinduism is so deeply rooted in Indonesia is due to the “[...] the absorptive, syncretic quality of Indian culture, itself enriched by numerous strands imported by series of invaders of the Indian subcontinent.”<sup>145</sup> Besides the already conglomerate form in which this religion arrived in the Southeast region, these culture practices were accepted as it came through means of trade without political strings attached. However, SarDesai states that this cultural transfer was not conducted by the lower cast traders, but rather by Brahmin priests who were invited guests of the region’s ruling class. When Islam was introduced, the mystic approach of the Islamic Sunni became widely accepted as it was most similar to the Indian

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<sup>144</sup> Morrell, “Ethnicity, Art, and Politics Away from the Indonesian Centre,” 257; in Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 12.

<sup>145</sup> SarDesai, *Southeast Asia*, 17–18.



spiritual approaches.<sup>146</sup> Currently the majority of the population in Indonesia is Muslim, following the moderate approach to Islam that believes salvation can be attained through devotion to Allah.

The diversity within the Republic of Indonesia not only resides in religious differences, but the country is inhabited by over 253 million people from over a thousand ethnic groups with over 700 languages and dialects, spread across 6000 inhabited islands.<sup>147</sup> The focus on cultural inclusion stems from the Indonesian policy that has developed since its independence, promoted through the five founding principles called *Pancasila*;

1. The belief in one supreme God (*ketuhanan yang maha esa*)
2. A just and civilized humanity (*kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab*)
3. Unity of Indonesia (*persatuan Indonesia*)
4. Democracy, led by the wise policies of the representatives of the people (*kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan/ perwakilan*)
5. Social justice for all Indonesian people (*keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia*).<sup>148</sup>

These principles were proposed by the first president Sukarno in 1945, and subsequently implemented in the Indonesian constitution in 1945, 1949 and 1950 undergoing several re-interpretations during the Guided Democracy and New Order regimes.<sup>149</sup>

Following this belief in the strength of cultural diversity, the former head of the World Heritage in the Ministry of Culture and Education for the Republic of Indonesia, Yunus Arbi, emphasized the importance of developing bottom-up approaches to empower

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<sup>146</sup> SarDesai, 21.

<sup>147</sup> Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, "Facts & Figures"; Septiyana and Margiansyah, "Glocalization of Intangible Cultural Heritage," 1. Indonesia comprises of 17,508 islands in total.

<sup>148</sup> Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia*, 24.

<sup>149</sup> Wood, 24.

the local communities to continue their distinct cultural practices.<sup>150</sup> Arbi further emphasized that the implementation of cultural landscapes can be an effective tool in Indonesia, as it merges UNESCO World Heritage policies with the recognition of traditional management systems in current and future World Heritage nominations. In fact, the Indonesian Charter for Heritage Conservation already enables the cultural landscape-approach as it promotes heritage of nature, culture and *saujana*, which literally means “as far as you can see”<sup>151</sup>. This concept of *saujana* is very close to the concept of cultural landscapes, and therefore can be used to empower local communities in the management of the heritage landscapes, rather than a top-down management of an enclosed heritage site.

The concept of *saujana* is used in relation to the Borobudur Temple Compound, which is a case-study that is frequently referenced in the field of heritage management, as its restoration is aligned with the earliest beginnings of UNESCO and its conservation efforts.<sup>152</sup> The site attracted the attention of Governor Sir Thomas Raffles in 1814, who ordered the temple complex to be uncovered from vegetation and sand to expose the fragile ruins for study and leisure. As the site deteriorated due to this exposure, the Dutch colonial government ordered officer Theodoor van Erp to restore the site, which occurred from 1907 to 1911. Despite the continuing worsening conditions due to water seepage, it was not until the Republic of Indonesia requested support from the newly established UNESCO body that financial resources were made available for a safeguarding

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<sup>150</sup> Arbi has made this statement various times during our encounters between 2016-2019. On January 2, 2020 he has sent me a letter containing this statement and an overview of the nomination process of the Banda Islands with permission to use this information in my dissertation.

<sup>151</sup> Guagnini, “Borobudur Saujana: As Far as You Can(Not) See.”

<sup>152</sup> Tanudirjo, “Changing Perspectives on the Relationship between Heritage, Landscape and Local Communities: A Lesson from Borobudur,” 69–70; Guagnini, “Borobudur Saujana: As Far as You Can(Not) See.”

campaign.<sup>153</sup> Since 1973, the Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) was involved to create a masterplan for the conservation of the Borobudur temple complex. In cooperation with Indonesian conservationists, the agency developed a zonation system which also included the surrounding cultural landscape, however this zone was never implemented as the conservation proceeded using a material-based approach.<sup>154</sup> This resulted in the displacement of the local population that lived near the site, as they were regarded a disturbing factor to the physical environment of the heritage site. People from five villages, consisting of 381 households, were displaced and the property owners were paid minimal compensation by the government. The practice in which the government disowns land for their purposes in return for minimal payment is referred to by Indonesians as *rugis*, which was widely practiced in the Indonesian archipelago during Suharto's New Order.<sup>155</sup>

As a result, the displacement of the local communities damaged their cultural ties to the site as the focus of the heritage management changed from cultural to economically driven motives. Because they being denied access to the Borobudur main temple for (economic) activities, the local communities around Borobudur have been susceptible to the idea brought by academics to promote the larger cultural landscape of Borobudur through the Borobudur Field School.<sup>156</sup> Following the idea of the Buddhist Mandala, a young progressive leader Jack Priyana has been promoting a management idea that focuses on Borobudur as the center whose energy is distributed to the surrounding areas, which in turn can strengthen the protection and meaning of Borobudur.<sup>157</sup> To enact the

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<sup>153</sup> Alongside criteria (i) and (ii), Borobudur Temple Compound is enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage list under criteria (iv): directly or indirectly associated with events or living traditions of outstanding universal value. The living aspect is present through the local people, as they believe to be direct descendants of the builders.

<sup>154</sup> Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*, vi–vii.

<sup>155</sup> Tanudirjo, "Changing Perspectives on the Relationship between Heritage, Landscape and Local Communities: A Lesson from Borobudur," 71; fieldnotes 2019.

<sup>156</sup> Tanudirjo, 73–74; Kanki, Adishakti, and Fatimah, *Borobudur as Cultural Landscape*.

<sup>157</sup> Priyana, "Borobudur Mandala: The Temple Compound and Surrounding Villages."

distribution of this energy, Priyana has been developing tourism activities in the surrounding areas to empower the communities and spread the economic benefit of the Borobudur temple. However, these economic opportunities also attracted outside investors, as is seen in the village Maitan.<sup>158</sup> This was a favorite spot to view the sunrise over Borobudur from a distance, until the scenic location was bought for a luxury resort, resulting in a decline of tourism in the village as well as destructive effects on the water supply for the local village.

The eruption of Mount Merapi in 2010, which claimed 322 lives and displaced 136,585 people, was an impetus for the government and local community to join forces for the conservation of Borobudur.<sup>159</sup> The acidity of the volcanic ashes would have been destructive for the reliefs and water drainage system of the temple, and the government argued that destruction of the site would also hurt the livelihoods of the surrounding communities. A participatory model was enacted to involve the neighboring communities in the cleaning activities on a volunteer-basis, and some 600 community members participated from January 2011 to November 2011. During these activities, one of the workers reminisced over his youth when he lived in close proximity to the temple and when it was still part of his every-day life. The cleaning operation re-engaged him in a physical way to the site. A survey conducted among 200 of the volunteers showed an 88% satisfaction rate.<sup>160</sup> However, it would be interesting to know whether this satisfaction persisted once the work was done and the community was again restricted from integrating the site into their day-to-day lives.

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<sup>158</sup> Hatta, "Dusun Maitan: A Lesson Learned from Villagers."

<sup>159</sup> Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*, 99–100; National Geographic Indonesia and Unesco: Jakarta Office, *Borobudur*.

<sup>160</sup> Nagaoka, *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*.

Besides Borobudur, Bali has become one of the most frequented tourist destinations in Indonesia. The roots of tourism here are rather dark, however, as the Dutch colonists designated it as a tourist destination after violently subduing the population and the massacre of the Balinese nobles in 1908.<sup>161</sup> The Dutch colonists decided to turn Bali into a ‘living museum’ in which the Balinese were identified as the last guardians of a Hindu culture; a romanticized image of the island which was intended to mask the violent colonial past. Bali remains a popular tourism destination, and visitor numbers increased even further from 1.3 million to 1.6 million in 2014 after the inscription of the ‘Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as the Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy’ on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 2012.<sup>162</sup> Tourism is the highest contributor to Bali’s gross domestic product, however, only 14% of the tourists visit the cultural landscape.

The nomination of the Balinese cultural landscape of was initiated in 2000, deferred in 2008 and after four years of rewriting the Another lesson derived from the Bali inscription is the aftermath of a World Heritage nomination, as it proved more difficult to make these changes to the management plan to empower the local community once a plan is instated by local, provincial and national government institutions. This issue is confirmed by a study of the Stockholm nomination was accepted in 2012.<sup>163</sup> Because of this lengthy process, the Ministry of Education and Culture decided to revisit the Tentative List in 2014 in order to make the process easier. Following this meeting, the Banda Islands were relisted as a cultural landscape in 2015.<sup>164</sup> Environment Institute, whose report states

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<sup>161</sup> Wood, *Official History in Modern Indonesia*, 24.

<sup>162</sup> Farid, “Foreword,” 5; Dharmiasih et al., *Sustainable Tourism Strategy: Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as the Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy*, 10; UNESCO, “Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy.”

<sup>163</sup> Letter by Yunus Arbi, see footnote 147.

<sup>164</sup> The Tentative List acts as a waiting room for nomination projects to be executed by the national government. More about this Tentative List nomination in chapter 5.

that despite the long nomination process of over 10 years, the local community was not fully prepared to face the challenges that came after inscription and dealing with the realities of the complex Indonesian bureaucracy.<sup>165</sup> Some of these challenges include the conversion of land into tourism facilities<sup>166</sup> and the scarcity of water which is needed for the proper functioning of the traditional *subak* system which divides the limited water from a sacred water source across the fields.<sup>167</sup> The *subak* system embodies the Balinese philosophical principle of *Tri Hita Karana*, which draws the realms of the spirit, the human world and nature together. However, the visiting tourists seem not to be informed about the spiritual and cultural importance of the landscape.

In order to address these issues, a sustainable tourism strategy was developed with five strategic objectives that are enacted through participatory model that relies on community-based management.<sup>168</sup> The Balinese farmers are eager and particularly able to participate as the *subak* system relies on democratic governance. However, what they need in order to successfully face the modern challenges are mechanisms that support the water supply, organic farming practices and policies that discourage land conversion.<sup>169</sup> The balance between governmental involvement and local authority is fragile though, as rehabilitation programs between 1920 and 1979 proved to weaken the traditional management system, resulting in a loss of technical, sociological and religious aspects of this cultural landscape.<sup>170</sup> Some governmental officials expressed their frustration with the

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<sup>165</sup> Salamanca et al., "Managing a Living Cultural Landscape: Bali's Subakc and the UNESCO World Heritage Site," 36.

<sup>166</sup> Every year an average of 1,000 ha of rice terraces are converted into tourism facilities and settlements Dharmiasih et al., *Sustainable Tourism Strategy: Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as the Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy*, 11..

<sup>167</sup> Dharmiasih et al., 8–9.

<sup>168</sup> Dharmiasih et al., *Sustainable Tourism Strategy: Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as the Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy*.

<sup>169</sup> Salamanca et al., "Managing a Living Cultural Landscape: Bali's Subakc and the UNESCO World Heritage Site," 36.

<sup>170</sup> Amin, "Cultural Landscapes of Java," 86.

comparison of the goose and the golden egg.<sup>171</sup> The golden egg is Balinese culture and nature, which is the focus of tourism and produces economic prosperity, but the goose (local community) is neglected and is weighed down by high taxes and low water supply as consequences of encroaching tourism. Moreover, the efforts to alleviate the water-scarcity and promote sustainable practices seems to be always two steps behind new developments, as there is more (governmental) support for development with quick revenue than for community support and conservation.

### **Concluding Remarks**

This chapter explored the origins of the concept of cultural landscapes, and how this concept is applied within heritage management with a particular emphasis on the role of local communities. As the local community plays a central role in providing context, meaning and value to a heritage site, they should be recognized and empowered as stewards of their cultural landscape. This inclusivity can be facilitated by considering the cultural landscape through a living heritage approach, which acknowledges that the cultural landscape is a continuous dialogical process between people and their environment. Chapter 5 will further elaborate on how the cultural landscape on the Banda Islands is managed, and what the (potential) role of the local community could be in the future.

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<sup>171</sup> Salamanca et al., “Managing a Living Cultural Landscape: Bali’s Subakc and the UNESCO World Heritage Site,” 36.

## Chapter 2: History and Society on the Banda Islands

The interpretation of heritage sites is tied to the (hi)stories that are told about these places. Besides the personal interactions that local communities have with these sites, these more formal historical narratives inform the value that a place has for the local, domestic and international public. After all, “heritage and history co-construct places and identities”<sup>1</sup>. In the case of the Banda Islands, the ancestry, maritime infrastructure and sense of belonging of the current population is connected to the histories concerning the nutmeg trade, colonial invasion and consequent occupation by the Dutch. The heritage sites on the Banda Islands are physical remains from this past, reminders of the Bandanese resistance, history of enslavement as well as of the prominent role that the islands played in the global market as producers of the spices nutmeg and mace.

Therefore, in order to understand how history plays a role in the interpretation of heritage by the local communities and their identity as Bandanese, this chapter explores the larger historical context of the Banda Islands from its pre-colonial society to the present-day. It is important to note at the outset, however, that the available historical sources present a particular perspective of events that took place on the Banda Islands and indeed in Southeast Asia generally, especially regarding the period of Dutch colonization. As Damodar SarDesai eloquently states:

“Most of the earlier works on Southeast Asian history placed a disproportionate emphasis on the role of the minuscule body of Europeans in the pre-nineteenth-century period. It is amazing that such a distorted view of the region’s history, condemned by the Dutch historian J.C. van Leur, as “observed from the deck of the ship, the ramparts of the fortress, the high gallery of the trading house” persisted as long as it did. Unfortunately, the paucity of materials in respect to indigenous states, as opposed to the abundance of documentation concerning the activities of the European trading companies, has handicapped historian’s efforts in providing a proper balance and perspective to Southeast Asian history.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rico, *Constructing Destruction*, 41.

<sup>2</sup> SarDesai, *Southeast Asia*, 63–64.



The ‘disproportionate emphasis’ is especially valid in the case concerning the history of Indonesia, as this is not only a relatively new independent state, but most of the historical documents that pertain to the 1600-1950s were written by the Dutch colonizers.<sup>3</sup> Although I read these documents critically to mediate the biases that underline this colonial perspective, the act of using only these documents gives them more credibility than documents written by Indonesian writers and in effect reinstates the dominant narrative of the colonizer, over the interpretation of local and national agents. In an attempt to address this issue, I not only use these colonial sources to write about the history of the Banda Islands, but also integrate accounts that are based on oral histories of the Banda Islands.<sup>4</sup> However, these accounts have also been gathered, translated and interpreted by outsiders, and it is therefore important to be conscious of the positionality of these scholars and their interpretive actions while writing about the Other.<sup>5</sup>

There are only a few written records of oral history and memories from the Banda Islands that are written by Bandanese people, such as the cooperative account by the *adat* leaders of Banda Eli and the memoir of Des Alwi, a community leader who played an important role in the heritage management during the past decades. Using these recent accounts, as well as the stories that I have collected during my fieldwork, I aim to include a local and contemporary perspective on the history of the Banda Islands. These oral histories are *narratives*<sup>6</sup> that inform heritage sites and practices, and these narratives are often not recollected according to a linear timeline. For example, a key female figure within

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<sup>3</sup> Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*; Florida, *Writing the Past, Inscribing the Future*.

<sup>4</sup> Kaartinen, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place*; Winn, “Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku”; Van Ronkel, “Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda.”

<sup>5</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*; Mignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity*; Said, *Orientalism*. 25th Anniversary Ed; Fabian, *Time and the Other*.

<sup>6</sup> Staiff, *Re-Imagining Heritage Interpretation*, 105.

various oral histories on the Banda Islands is Cilu Bintang, who is featured in legends dating from different eras. My informants were not disconcerted by this temporal discrepancy, as these events all “happened a long time ago”<sup>7</sup>. The oral history is therefore valued for its inherent value, rather than for its historical accuracy.

The acknowledgement of the scattered origins and seemingly conflicting narratives has also been recognized by a Bandanese scholar and college instructor, Farid Muhammad Ph.D. He describes the Bandanese history as scattered glass pieces, *sejarah yang berserak*, which have to be gathered and pieced together in order to get a complete impression of the past.<sup>8</sup> In his article concerning the modern retelling of the Bandanese history, he argues that no particular source of history should be given superiority, as this leads to conflict and sorrow. He rather argues that people should gather the various stories and listen to each version with patience and maturity. As there is no perfect representation of the past of the Banda Islands, he argues that the information from older people should be used alongside historical sources and modern tales to retell the history in our modern time. This is also the approach I use in this chapter, as I use multiple sources, and where possible, include oral accounts from village elders and other knowledge bearers to discuss the Bandanese history.

### **Pre-colonial History of the Banda Islands**

The physical islands of the Banda Islands archipelago are an important part within local history and identity. The archipelago is comprised of an active volcano, the Gunung Api, around which there are two concentric rings of islands: the main inner islands are Banda Neira, Banda Besar and the Gunung Api itself, and the outer islands include Ay, Run and

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<sup>7</sup> Fieldnotes May – June 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Muhammad, “Banda’, Di Antara Historisitas Dan Sakralitas.”

Hatta. The configuration of these islands inspired the name Banda, as it is derived from three Arabic letters;

- Bā (ب) representing the islands Banda Besar and Hatta,
- Nūn (ن) representing Neira and Gunung Api, and
- Dāl (د), representing Run and Ay (Figure 6).<sup>9</sup>

Together these letters form BāNūnDāl, which was shortened into Banda. Attracted by the production of the spices nutmeg and mace, these islands were frequented by Chinese, Arab and other Asian traders as they sailed to the Banda Islands in the east monsoon (April) and returned along the same route when the winds changed during the west monsoon (May – June). Roy Ellen describes that the “seasonal reversal of winds that facilitated easy movement of maritime traffic is a product of physical geography of the relatively enclosed archipelagic Southeast Asia”<sup>10</sup>.

The earliest known written account of the oral history about the Banda Islands is an 84-page folio was written by an *orang kaya*<sup>11</sup> from Lonthor, M.S. Neirabatie, on December 22, 1922. Regretfully, the original document is lost and the only surviving copy is a short and heavily biased summarized translation by Dr. Samuel van Ronkel from 1945.<sup>12</sup> The original manuscript starts with the narration in the time of the Flood of Noah, and describes that when the water lowered, and lands in the North, South, West and East were rising above the water, the land of ‘Banda’ was the first to resurface in the East, followed by the islands Ternate and Tidore, which were followed by Java and Bali.<sup>13</sup> The Flood of Noah also feature in the oral histories collected by anthropologist Phillip Winn,

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<sup>9</sup> Fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone*, 54–55.

<sup>11</sup> *Orang kaya* refers to Bandanese noblemen, who had political power and acted as focal tradesmen. Their name literally means “rich men”.

<sup>12</sup> Van Ronkel, “Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda.”

<sup>13</sup> Van Ronkel, 124.

who further noted that the Gunung Api was the location where the dove plucked a branch to bring to Noah to indicate that the water was receding. These histories show the importance of the Gunung Api, as God deemed it blessed to rise above the waters first and sent the dove here to fetch a branch. In these oral histories the volcano is referred to by its native name Lewerani.<sup>14</sup> During my own fieldwork, I was informed that the complete name of the volcano is Ula Masegunung Lewerani, which translates as ‘the golden snake that comes out of the mountain’.<sup>15</sup> This could refer either to the occasional eruption of the volcano, or relate to the large snakes that roamed the islands which could swallow wild cows and boars whole.<sup>16</sup>

The bias of Van Ronkel in translating Neirabatie’s account is apparent as he literally states his reluctance to describe the earliest history of the Banda Islands in detail, as it is “only of relevance to the local people and not his reader audience”.<sup>17</sup> He continues to merely summarize the events that led to the Islamization of the Banda Islands. This revolves around the story of a holy man, Djalín, and his wife. They were sent to the Banda Islands by God, and when they arrived the woman craved a pomegranate fruit. After praying to God, a tree with fruits sprouted and after she ate the fruits, she gave birth to six sons and a daughter.<sup>18</sup> The oldest brother became the village leader and ordered a boat be constructed, which he called *kora-kora*. His brothers used the *kora-kora* to go on far voyages, including to Mecca where the four brothers learned about Islam. They abandoned their younger brother Kakijay with instructions to guard the boat. While he was waiting for his brothers return from Mecca, Kakijay was visited by an old gentleman who spit in

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<sup>14</sup> Winn, “Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku,” 114–15.

<sup>15</sup> Fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:20.

<sup>17</sup> Van Ronkel, “Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda,” 123–24.

<sup>18</sup> Van Ronkel, 124–26.

his mouth and thus made him a holy Muslim prophet. Kakijay did not tell what happened to him when his four brothers returned and they set sail to return to Banda. Along the way, Kakijay fell ill and died. His body was put to the sea, and the brothers continued their journey home to bring Islam. However, when they arrived on Banda<sup>19</sup>, the island was already Islamized by a holy man: their younger brother who had risen from the dead, traveled to the island by himself and preached the word of God.

Besides this legend concerning the brothers, their sister plays an important role in the oral histories of the Banda Islands. Although Van Ronkel did not record the name of the daughter, as he stated each brother gave her a different name, the girl features as the main character in the discovery of the main fresh water source on the island Banda Besar. This legend is still told in relation to the sacred well of Lonthor, the main village of the island. According to the legend, the girl was thirsty and prayed for water, when a wet cat came out of the bushes revealing the location of a natural water source. Nowadays Bandanese say her name was Cilu Bintang, and this person also features in a legend that narrates how her hand was requested in marriage by the prince of Timor.<sup>20</sup> In return, Cilu Bintang's father demanded a dowry, to which the prince send him a 'fruit of gold'. This could have been the first nutmeg seedling to arrive on the Banda Islands. However, some Bandanese currently doubt the validity of this story as they have heard that nutmeg is native to the Banda Islands.

As these oral histories do not indicate a timeframe, it is somewhat unclear when Islam came to the Banda Islands. However, these legends indicate that the Bandanese had been engaged in long-distance travel and would have had long-lasting (trading) relationships with the Arab peninsula. Based on European documents, historians have

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<sup>19</sup> It is likely that Banda refers to the island Banda Besar, as this island has the oldest settlement and it is still widely acknowledged that Islam was accepted here first.

<sup>20</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

suggested that the Banda Islands converted *en masse* to Islam around 1450 AD.<sup>21</sup> Archaeologist Peter Lape conducted archaeological excavations to test this hypothesis, using the absence of pig remains as an archaeological marker for Islamic conversion.<sup>22</sup> In some villages, the recovered data indeed shows a significant drop in pig remains around this time period. However, some enclaves continue to eat pig throughout their occupancy (ca. 500-1650 AD) while other settlements never show any sign of the consumption of pigs from their initial settlement as early as ca. 1200 AD. Therefore, this data suggests that Islam arrived in the Banda Islands earlier than the European historical documents indicate, and that the spread of Islam was gradual rather than sudden.

The arrival of Islam on the Banda Islands is of importance to understanding Bandanese heritage as this religion continues to play a central role in oral histories and cultural practices. Besides these religious roots, the Bandanese cultural practices still adhere to an older dichotomy between the rivaling parties *Orilima* and *Orisiwa*.<sup>23</sup> Historian Jacobus van der Chijs claims that the animosity between these parties was resolved with the arrival of the Dutch invaders as a common enemy.<sup>24</sup> However, the divide between these two parties is still apparent in the expressions of cultural traditions such as the *Cakalele* warrior dance, as the *adat* villages who identify as *Orilima* perform the dance with five dancers, and the *Orisiwa* with nine dancers.

The oral history of a Bandanese diaspora, who live in Banda Ely about 250 miles away on the Kei Islands archipelago, describes that the Banda Islands were ruled by a family of four brothers and one sister: Raja Langwaer, Imam Yoko Salamun, Orang kaya

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<sup>21</sup> Lape, "Archaeological Approaches to the Study of Islam in Island Southeast Asia," 832–33; Villiers, "Trade and Society in the Banda Islands in the Sixteenth Century"; Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978; Abdurachman, "Moluccan Responses to the First Intrusions of the West."

<sup>22</sup> Lape, "Contact and Conflict in the Banda Islands, Eastern Indonesia 11th-17th Centuries."

<sup>23</sup> Aveling, "Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600."

<sup>24</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 136.

Bosli Lawataka, Lakley Hatib Rosonggin and their sister Boiratan Wandan Jadi.<sup>25</sup> These names relate to the names of contemporary villages on the Banda Islands; Wayer (Langwaer) and Selamon (Salamun) on Banda Besar, Labetacca (Lawataka) and Ratu (Boiratan) on Banda Neira and the settlement on the island Hatta, formerly known as Rozengein (Rosonggin) (Figure 3).<sup>1</sup> Valentijn also described that there were four kings: Labetakka, Celamme, Wayer and Rosingin, who were ousted in favor of rule by the imams.<sup>26</sup> Despite their reduction of power, the royal titles were still in use around 1610 and the royals were considered prominent figures in the community. Moreover, when these royals were in power, they did not hold sole authority over their subjects but shared it with the *orang kaya*.

These ancient royal rulers from an unspecified era are still commemorated through the designation of seven traditional villages (Figure 4).<sup>27</sup> The first is called Namasawar, which was ruled by the king of the Banda Islands. Next to this village lies Ratu, which means queen, who was the aunt of Namasawar. The brother of Namasawar was called Sajrun, who ruled the islands Ai and Run. On the island Banda Besar there are three traditional villages: Lonthor, Selamon and Wayer. The most recent traditional village lies on Banda Neira, called Fiat, which was established by the younger brother of Lonthor who did not agree with his slack Islamic practices.<sup>28</sup> He therefore took the precious old Islamic objects, including a Quran, preaching chair and a drum, and established a new, 'purer' community on Banda Neira. This village is also referred to as Baru, which means new.

Besides the kinship among the leaders and the importance of religious rule over the Bandanese, a third political power is alluded to in connection to the sultanate on the

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<sup>25</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 4.

<sup>26</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:29.

<sup>27</sup> Fieldnotes November 21, 2015.

<sup>28</sup> Fieldnotes August 4, 2017.

island Ternate.<sup>29</sup> According to Aveling, these Bandanese kings may have ruled by the grace of the sultan of Ternate.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, Valentijn implies that the contract Pieter Both made in Ternate would have included the territory in the Banda Islands, therefore suggesting that there existed political (sovereign) ties between the islands.<sup>31</sup>

According to Aveling, there were 40 *orang kayas* who governed the islands in the form of a council.<sup>32</sup> This council met on the stone base underneath a tree in the neutral village Ortatta on the island Banda Besar. Within this council, the king had the same amount of power as the *orang kaya*. The *bujangs*, the people of the land, would gather below and in front of the base; those belonging to *Orisiwa* would sit on the south-west side and those of *Orilima* on the north-east side. When the first Dutchmen arrived on Banda Besar, it was clear to them that all Bandanese harbormasters from different towns had made arrangements about fixed anchor prices at this “holy tree in Ortatan”.<sup>33</sup> These accounts indicate that Ortatta was an important place where opposing parties would be able to negotiate on neutral territory for the betterment of the entire archipelago.

According to a travel account from 1511, all the world’s nutmeg was produced on five islands; Banda Besar, Banda Neira, Ay, Run and Hatta.<sup>34</sup> The portage Lonthor on the island Banda Besar is described as the main trading location, and it states that the islands are ruled by “neither king nor lord”<sup>35</sup> but that they depend on the advice of their elders and follow “the sect of Mahommedan”<sup>36</sup> Lastly, it is mentioned that the nutmeg trees

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<sup>29</sup> This island still has a sultan, which is chosen through a mystical sacred ceremony among the possible heirs.

<sup>30</sup> Aveling, “Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600,” 30.

<sup>31</sup> Aveling, 30; Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aantekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 1:403.

<sup>32</sup> Aveling, “Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600,” 31.

<sup>33</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> De Barros quoted in Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries*, 35.

<sup>35</sup> Crawford, 35.

<sup>36</sup> Crawford, 35.



belong to no-one by inheritance, but to the people in common, and that the trees grew in abundance without anyone planting them or other modes of agriculture. This statement might allude to the agency given to the nutmeg pigeon for the planting of the nutmeg trees, as it was rumored that a tree would only flourish after the seed it had been ingested and excreted by this bird.<sup>37</sup>

### *Foreign Encounters*

The first European merchant to locate and travel the Banda Islands was the Portuguese Captain Antonio de Abreu in 1512.<sup>38</sup> He signed a treaty with the Bandanese and erected a stone pillar with the emblem of King Emanuel to commemorate the occasion.<sup>39</sup> This initial visit was followed by a second group led by Garsias Henrik in 1525<sup>40</sup>, which is also described in the account by Neirabatie. He relates this visit to the refusal of a Hindu prince from Timor to marry with the daughter of the Muslim king of the Banda Islands.<sup>41</sup> When the prince complained to the visiting Portuguese tradesmen, they saw an opportunity in this dispute because the Banda Islands were rich in spices. When they traveled to the islands, the Portuguese incited a fight with the Bandanese, which the Bandanese warriors won resulting in many casualties on the Portuguese side. The Portuguese requested land to bury their dead, which was honored, but instead of the carrying death caskets with the bodies of their comrades, the caskets were filled with canons and weapons. Arriving at the

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<sup>37</sup> Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche kruid-boek*, 2:20.

<sup>38</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:68–70. There is an account of the Italian Ludowyk di Barthema who claims to have traveled to the Banda Islands as early as 1506, but his descriptions of the Banda Islands are so inaccurate that his writings are considered a fantasy.

<sup>39</sup> Francois Valentijn mentioned that this pillar may have been found by a *perkenier* in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but that the scripture of the found pillar was illegible despite the efforts of the *perkeniers* to clean off the dirt in the sea.

<sup>40</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:69.

<sup>41</sup> Van Ronkel, "Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda.," 128.

plot of land, the Portuguese unloaded and fired at the Muslim Bandanese who were gathered for breaking of the fast, as it was Ramadan. This treacherous act led to the surrender of the Bandanese, who gave the Portuguese all their spices and another piece of land where a fortress was constructed, in exchange for gold.

The treachery of this Portuguese encounter gave the Dutch colonists material to demonize the Portuguese and justify their claim on the island. In a patriotic collection of poems from 1882, Jan Frederik Helmers sketches the love story between Afron from Timor and Adeka, the only child of the King of Banda.<sup>42</sup> According to this poem, and other biased recollections of this history, it is claimed that the Portuguese interrupted their wedding and massacred the wedding party. In the poem it is claimed that the Dutch merchant Jacob van Neck came to avenge their deaths, and that the King of Banda gave the islands to him in gratitude for this service. The story is embellished with praises to Hindu gods, romanticizing the colony as an exotic land, even though the islands adhered to Islam. Besides exoticizing the Banda Islands and its residents, the poem served the purpose of demonizing the Portuguese and justifying the Dutch claim on the land, contributing to a patriotic view of the past and the Dutch colonial possessions.

Despite this unfortunate first encounter, on a small group of Portuguese seem to have settled in the archipelago from 1525, which continued to be ruled by the Bandanese *orang kaya*.<sup>43</sup> According to Valentijn, these Portuguese men were murdered in revenge for some misconduct, and ever since the Portuguese traders were frightened of settling on the Banda Islands. Valentijn also makes a brief mention of the presence of ‘Castilians’ or Spaniards, whom may have been involved in a fatal encounter with the Bandanese as

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<sup>42</sup> Helmers, *De Hollandsche Natie - in Zes Zangen*, v. 4.

<sup>43</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:69–70.

well.<sup>44</sup> A remaining artifact from the Spanish presence is a Spanish flag, which is kept among the ritual objects and prized possessions in the traditional village Fiat (Figure 50). As the fabric of the flag disintegrated over time, replicas have been made which are saved on top of the original flag in a plastic jar. The most recent replica is put on display while the jar with the original and other replicas is presented among the other sacred objects. The treatment of these objects shows that the Bandanese derive pride from the international history of spice trade in their respective villages.

Before the arrival of the European merchants, Asian and Arab traders had frequented the Banda Islands. However, as Roy Ellen eloquently noted, the scholarly focus on the history of the spice trade is on its importance for European history.<sup>45</sup> The mention of Asian traders is merely made when this relates to European history. Although I acknowledge this hiatus, the scope of this research does not allow for an extensive exploration of the non-Western influences on Bandanese heritage. Moreover, as my research focuses on the context, local interpretation and ongoing reinterpretation of the Dutch colonial Fort Nassau as a heritage site, this chapter aims to provide a larger historical context for the events and interpretations of this Dutch colonial site. Therefore, I merely make a few brief remarks concerning the Chinese and Arab legacies on the islands.

The long trading relationship with Chinese merchants is widely acknowledged by the Bandanese community, and the Bandanese-Chinese community on the Banda Islands are still mainly merchants. It is claimed that the first Chinese tradesmen visited the Moluccas as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium, and one of the earliest written accounts from

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<sup>44</sup> Valentijn, 3:72.

<sup>45</sup> Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone*, 2–6; Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society*.

China about the Banda Islands dates from 1339.<sup>46</sup> In the commercial center of the town Banda Neira still stands an old Chinese temple which, according to the oral account of Chinese-Bandanese resident Enche Ho, is called the Sun Tien Kong temple<sup>47</sup> (Figure 59). While there is no consensus about its age, Enche narrated that the temple is very old and that craftsmen were brought from China to construct it.

However, the sign above the entrance to the temple might provide some insight into the date of construction of the temple (Figure 59). The Chinese characters Tiān shùn (天順) refer to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Emperor of the Ming dynasty, who ruled from 1435-1449 and 1457-1464.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it is likely that the temple was constructed between 1435 and 1464. According to a current Bandanese resident, the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*: VOC) brought a Chinese architect to restore the temple in an effort to appease the Chinese tradesmen.<sup>49</sup> To remind the Chinese community of their generosity, the VOC left its mark engraved on a stepping stone in front of the temple (Figure 60).

The trading relations with the Chinese are also mentioned in a Dutch encyclopedic entry from 1839, in which Banda Neira was described as the commercial center of the Banda Islands archipelago, with the main trade conducted by the Chinese merchants that lived in the neighborhood Namasawar.<sup>50</sup> This area is often pointed out on maps as the Chinese village (*Kampung China*), and besides the many shops it is the street where the

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<sup>46</sup> Rockhill, “Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century”; Ellen, *On the Edge of the Banda Zone*, 5. The account in the 島夷誌略 (*Dǎoyí Zhìlüè* ‘Summary Record of the Island Foreigners’) was written by Wāng Dàyuān (汪大淵), a Chinese man from Quanzhou who traveled around much of Asia in the early fourteenth century, when China was ruled by the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty.

<sup>47</sup> Alwi, “Klenteng Tionghoa - The Chinese Temple.”

<sup>48</sup> Thanks to Angela Tritto, postdoctoral fellow at Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, whom I met during the ICAS conference in Leiden on July 16, 2019. She graciously interpreted the temple signs and send me the translation of the characters.

<sup>49</sup> Fieldnotes June 7, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Tilburg, *Encyclopedia Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, 71.

Chinese temple is located. According to a current Chinese-Bandanese merchant, the first Chinese traders that arrived to Banda Neira noticed that this island has a good *feng shui* because of the surrounding islands.<sup>51</sup> He further explained that this is fortunate for children born on the Banda Islands, and when they leave the islands for education and a career, they become very successful. However, their success elsewhere has also resulted in a declining Chinese-Bandanese population on the Banda Islands to continue traditions such as celebrating the Chinese New Year.

Alongside the Chinese influences, the arrival of the first Arabs is a point of interest to the Bandanese community. According to the oral history, Islam was brought to the Banda Islands directly from Mecca.<sup>52</sup> Besides this prestige as one of the first locations in the Indonesian archipelago to receive Islam, there have been Muslim missionaries whose graves are still known to the local people. During his exile on the Banda Islands, Sutan Sjahrir mentions a prominent Bandanese family whose line descends directly from Arab prophets, and therefore he referred to the children as Arab noblemen (the boys named Sajids and the girls Sjarifas).<sup>53</sup> Sjahrir adds, however, that probably no more than 20% of their blood was still Arab, as he suspected that the Indonesian blood was dominant in all Bandanese inhabitants, whether from Arab, Chinese or European descent.

Lastly, besides the Chinese and Arab traders, traces of the influence of Hinduism from South Asia can be found in the local language and traditions. A linguistic reference to the trading relations with South Asia can be found in the Indonesian word for nutmeg, *pala*, is derived from the Sanskrit word *phala*, meaning fruit. Moreover, the use of offering

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<sup>51</sup> Fieldnotes February 12, 2019.

<sup>52</sup> Van Ronkel, "Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda."

<sup>53</sup> Sjahrir, *Indonesische overpeinzingen*.

baskets and the honoring of *keramats* have Hinduistic roots.<sup>54</sup> Marie Meilink-Roelofs mentioned Gujarati traders as a particular group that traded with the Bandanese.<sup>55</sup>

### **VOC and its Quest for Spice Monopoly**

Before I continue the history of the Banda Islands, I want to discuss a brief history of the VOC as it forms an important context for the colonial invasion of the Banda Islands. The VOC is known to be the first stakeholder company in Western history and at the height of its success the investments of the stakeholders had a return over 200% in the first few months, making it the most successful company during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup> This success not only contributed to the fame of the company, but as the VOC can be characterized as a company-state, it also made the Dutch renowned for their trade-driven mentality across the globe. To this day, the VOC is therefore regarded fondly by most Dutch citizens, and the popular narrative focuses on the successes that produced wealth and fame for the country rather than on the negative effects of colonial expansion, such as the exploitation of foreign lands and its people.

European trade in the Indies<sup>57</sup> was initiated by the Portuguese, as they were the first recorded Europeans who mapped the trade route using their superior navigation skills.<sup>58</sup> As the Portuguese held the means to navigate and travel to the Indies, wealthy Europeans were dependent on them for their supply of luxury goods such as spices, silks

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<sup>54</sup> See Chapter 1, subsection “Indonesia”.

<sup>55</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, 215.

<sup>56</sup> Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, 22–23; Arasaratnam, “Monopoly and Free Trade in Dutch-Asian Commercial Policy: Debate and Controversy within VOC.”

<sup>57</sup> The Indies refers to the East Indies, which includes the geographical area that is currently known as South East Asia. Contemporary countries included in the historical area of the East Indies are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Timor-Leste and Vietnam. For a historical map of this region, see Figure 1.

<sup>58</sup> Vergne, “The Social Construction of Competitive Advantage and the Origin of Global Capitalism,” 2–3.

and porcelain. In 1591, however, Philip II of Spain banned foreign ships from the Spanish and Portuguese ports. This prohibition had a significant impact on trading opportunities for Dutch tradesmen, who had to consider traveling to Asia themselves to obtain the desired trade goods.<sup>59</sup> In 1595, the first Dutch fleet of seven merchant ships tried to navigate to the Indies. When this expedition proved successful, 65 ships left the Netherlands between 1595 and 1602 for the Indies to make their own fortune. This exodus of individual merchant ships resulted in a surplus of luxury goods, which caused a collapse of prices and fierce competition between Dutch merchants.

In order to control the harsh competition that resulted in lower profits, the States-General, the highest political power in the Dutch Republic at that time, gathered in 1598 with representatives of the seven Dutch provinces.<sup>60</sup> After four years of intense debate, the private companies of the seven provinces decided in 1602 to join forces in a united Dutch East India Company, the VOC. The States-General granted this newly formed company a monopoly right on the spice trade between the Republic and the Indies. Moreover, the governing power of the VOC, the so-called 17 lords (*Heeren XVII*), were empowered to use military power to break the Portuguese hold on trade and were allowed to establish treaties of peace and alliance, construct fortifications and wage defensive wars in the name of both the VOC and the Dutch Republic.<sup>61</sup> Perhaps inspired by the VOC's own monopoly in the Republic to trade with the east, the VOC implemented tactics to create a second trade monopoly on certain key commodities such as spices by obtaining control over the production areas and therefore the supply of these goods.<sup>62</sup> These monopolies were to be obtained through strict discriminatory treaties with the local aristocracy, and when these

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<sup>59</sup> Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, 15–17.

<sup>60</sup> Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*,; Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*.

<sup>61</sup> Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> Krohn, “Dutch Treaty Making in the East: Fair or Foul?”

leaders refused cooperation, the VOC was willing and able to use force to press the issue further.

The VOC's aim was to take control of the most strategic spots in the Indies and therefore not only gain access to the raw materials and spice production areas, but also benefit from the available (enslaved) workforce and construct a network of storage places on the islands.<sup>63</sup> These storage houses proved to be essential in maintaining a stable price for the spices, as a surplus could be stored to prevent flooding of the market, and in times of need these stores could be used to meet the demand. Besides storing the surplus, the total area of production was restricted through the acts of destruction of spice trees that were not sanctioned by the colonial government.<sup>64</sup>

This monopoly-driven stakeholder company, which laid the foundation for our capitalist regime, can be considered an effective and profitable scheme. However, several voices have been raised throughout the existence of the VOC that questioned this commitment to maintain a strict monopoly on all trade in the Indies.<sup>65</sup> The most significant and influential advocate to voice his concerns was the devoted VOC employee Jan Pieterszoon Coen, who would play a crucial role in the violent conquest of the Banda Islands. In 1614, he noted that the inflexibility of the monopolistic system would result in a deficiency of free Dutchmen who were willing to move to the Indies. He argued that, in order to attract colonists to Indonesia, settlers should be granted a certain freedom to participate in the inter-Asian trade market. This inter-local trade in substance goods such as rice, sago and textiles would not hinder VOC business, according to Coen, but it would secure the Dutch presence in Southeast Asia.

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<sup>63</sup> Vergne, "The Social Construction of Competitive Advantage and the Origin of Global Capitalism," 5.

<sup>64</sup> Wright, "The Moluccan Spice Monopoly, 1770-1824," 1, 12.

<sup>65</sup> Weststeijn, "The VOC as a Company-State," 16.



Contemporaries of Coen, Laurens Reael and Admiral Steven van der Hagen, agreed that the monopolistic system had unforeseen negative consequences.<sup>66</sup> They noted that the economic well-being of the indigenous Bandanese society<sup>67</sup> was destroyed by the pressure of the monopolistic treaties by the VOC. Moreover, they argued that the products the Dutch offered were not those that the Bandanese required, and that the prices of local provisions were too high and offered at fixed prices while the Bandanese were accustomed to haggling.<sup>68</sup> Prior to the arrival of the Dutch they had been able to trade spices for essential goods such as textiles and rice, but as the Dutch were now the sole suppliers of these goods, there was a less frequent supply and the prices went up considerably. Admiral Van der Hagen pointed out that they had begun to make do as best they could, by growing their own food and weaving their own coarse cloth. Moreover, Meilink mentions that the VOC required a certain level of quality for the nutmeg nuts, while the Bandanese were not accustomed to sorting their nuts.<sup>69</sup> As the Dutch did not want to buy the rejected nuts for a lower price, the Bandanese secretly sold these discarded nuts on the black market to English, Portuguese and Gujarati merchants, therefore breaking the desired monopoly in order to get essential supplies.

From these testimonies, I argue that we can deduce that the VOC was primarily concerned with profits for its stakeholders, and not with the welfare of its colonial possessions or the rights of other (local and European) traders who wanted to conduct business in Southeast Asia. Cutting Bandanese residents off from the supply of essential goods was even used as a policy to suppress the Bandanese.<sup>70</sup> As many adversaries of this

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<sup>66</sup> Arasaratnam, "Monopoly and Free Trade in Dutch-Asian Commercial Policy: Debate and Controversy within VOC," 2–3.

<sup>67</sup> Prior to the Dutch conquest in 1621.

<sup>68</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, 213.

<sup>69</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, 215.

<sup>70</sup> Meilink-Roelofs, 211.

strict monopolistic system argued, this situation was not sustainable and contributed to the downfall of the VOC. On March 1, 1796, the VOC was nationalized by the newly formed Batavian Republic, after a long decline of economic affairs in the Indies and severe losses during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War.<sup>71</sup>

This brief overview of the history of the VOC serves as the backdrop for a close examination of the history of one of the strategic locations for the VOC's desired monopoly: the Banda Islands. This quest for an economic monopoly on the spice trade not only undermined and overruled the existing power relations on the islands, but also served as the justification for the use of extreme force to obtain sovereignty.

#### *Arrival of the Dutch in the Banda Islands*

As mentioned in the previous section, it was the aim of the VOC to create trade monopolies, and the 'easiest' to obtain would be on the spices nutmeg and mace, which grew on the remote Banda Islands. The history of the Dutch presence on the Banda Islands starts in 1599, a few years before the VOC was established. The arrival of the first Dutch traders did not come wholly unexpected, as Van der Chijs describes a local prophecy which was recounted to Admiral Van der Hagen in 1605.<sup>72</sup> The Bandanese told him that twelve years before his arrival, one of their most prominent imams had prophesized, prior to his death, that one day white people from a faraway country would come, that they would be fully dressed except for their faces and that they would conquer the Banda Islands. Francois Valentijn also mentions this prophecy, and states that the name of the 'holy man' was Datoe, who warned of the arrival of a white people with many ships who would come

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<sup>71</sup> Vlekke, *The Story of the Dutch East Indies*, 126–28.

<sup>72</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 21.

and conquer their island and many lands surrounding it.<sup>73</sup> The Dutch colonists fit both these descriptions. Moreover, the long dormant volcano became active again when the Dutch first entered the islands to negotiate and trade for the spices: an auspicious sign which the Bandanese read as an indication of impending danger.<sup>74</sup>

In March 1599, vice-Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck arrived with two ships carrying 200 crewman at the shore of the large island Banda Besar.<sup>75</sup> During van Heemskerck's visit to the Banda Islands, the village Neira was attacked by its neighboring village Labetacca.<sup>76</sup> The warriors from Neira and allied villages from the islands Ay and Banda Besar attacked the village Labetacca to get revenge. When they returned to Neira, they displayed the heads of three men, two women and one child on the *kora-kora*.<sup>77</sup> This historical account by François Valentijn, published in 1724, may have been colored or exaggerated from the colonialist's perspective. In truth, the Dutch colonists benefited from depicting the Bandanese as savages in order to justify their conquest of the islands. After seeing the manner in which the Bandanese treated their enemies, Van Heemskercken made sure to honor the Bandanese noblemen properly before leaving 20 Dutchmen behind to continue the trade in his absence.<sup>78</sup>

In 1601 the first English party arrived in the Banda Islands, comprised of seven ships led by Captain James Lancaster.<sup>79</sup> They chose the island Rhun as their base, as far

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<sup>73</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:72.

<sup>74</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 13.

<sup>75</sup> Hanna, 11+13.

<sup>76</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:71.

<sup>77</sup> *Kora-kora* is a traditional type of rowboat that are used to welcome important guests and to race each other in the annual boat race. The *adat* villages have a ritual *kora-kora* which can only be rowed during *buka kampung*, while other villages have national *kora-kora* which have no traditional importance and can be used at any time of the year. Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 12.

<sup>78</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:71.

<sup>79</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 18–20.

as possible removed from the Dutch and Portuguese factories on the islands Banda Neira and Banda Besar. Dutch policy was to intermittently ignore and menace the English presence while trying to convince the Bandanese to sign a binding Dutch-Bandanese agreement giving the Dutch sole trading rights of nutmeg for the entire archipelago. The historian Willard Hanna mentions the particular perspective on this agreement: the Dutch framed it as a contract that provided the Bandanese protection from their enemies in exchange for a monopoly on nutmeg and mace. However, the definition of enemies was made from the perspective of the Dutch and therefore included English and Portuguese traders who threatened the desired monopoly. The Bandanese, on the other hand, actually welcomed the competition from these foreigners. Moreover, it would not make sense for the Bandanese to terminate existing trade relations as they depended on the Asian trade for food supplies, sago and rice. These were goods that the Dutch did not bother to trade in as they were not as profitable enough. However, the Bandanese were afraid of the repercussions if they declined to sign the agreement.<sup>80</sup>

The suspicion of the *orang kaya* continued throughout the contact and trade agreements that the Dutch tried to establish with them. In 1609, Admiral Verhoeven tried again to negotiate a trade agreement that would give the VOC a monopoly on the spice trade and permission to build a fort and factory on Banda Neira in order to trade in the spices on a systematic basis and to defend the Bandanese from their 'enemies'.<sup>81</sup> Of course, it was the VOC's intent to use the fort to keep away the competition, and the *orang kaya* seemed not to be deceived by the ostentatious gifts and promises of the Dutch as they stalled for time to their inevitable decision. Verhoeven grew impatient and started the construction of the first Dutch fortification on Banda Neira without their signed consent.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Hanna, 19.

<sup>81</sup> Hanna, 25–28.

<sup>82</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:73–74.

The Bandanese noblemen did not take this advance kindly, and at a meeting to renegotiate terms they killed Verhoeven and his men in retribution. A detailed description of the events is given in the next chapter as it pertains directly to the history of Fort Nassau.

After the Bandanese retaliation, which would become known as the ‘Verhoeven ambush’, Simon Janszoon Hoen took charge and signed a “good contract with the disloyal Bandanese”<sup>83</sup> who, according to the biased account of Valentijn, continued to disobey the terms of the contract which led to repercussions by Gerard Reynst in 1615 and Jan Pieterszoon Coen in 1621.<sup>84</sup> Coen was convinced that the monopoly on spices on these islands could only be secured by force, as he was certain of the disloyal nature of the Bandanese after witnessing the Verhoeven Ambush.<sup>85</sup> The latter ‘curbed’ the Bandanese to such an extent, that, according to Valentijn, they were never able to recover to raise any resistance against the rule of the VOC and became law-abiding citizens.<sup>86</sup>

The violent actions conducted against the Bandanese are described in the written account of the oral history by the *Banda asli*<sup>87</sup> who fled the Banda Islands in 1621. These Bandanese refugees settled down in the Kei Islands, where they established the villages Banda Eli and Banda Elat in which they continue to practice Bandanese cultural traditions. In the written account of their oral history, they describe that the leaders of the *Orilima* and *Orisiwa* came together after the defenses of the Bandanese were destroyed, with a determination to continue the fight for their beloved land and religion.<sup>88</sup> Not only did they fight the Dutch in a guerrilla manner, they also used *guna-guna*, magical powers, to

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<sup>83</sup> Quoted from Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 1:131. and translated by J. van Donkersgoed.

<sup>84</sup> Valentijn, 1:131.

<sup>85</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 54–57.

<sup>86</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 1:131.

<sup>87</sup> Cultural group who called themselves, and are referred to, as “original Bandanese”.

<sup>88</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*”.

poison the water source of the Dutch colonists.<sup>89</sup> In retaliation, the Dutch oppressed, raped and inhumanely slaughtered the Bandanese.<sup>90</sup> Because of this mistreatment and the conflicting religion and beliefs between the Bandanese and Dutch, a leader on Banda Besar ordered the community to flee from the Banda Islands and never to return.<sup>91</sup> With sadness in their hearts they left in a fleet of *kora-koras*, and even though they belonged to two groups, they recognized that in truth all Bandanese are one.<sup>92</sup> The violence against the Bandanese escalated in May 1621, when the Dutch caught several *orang kaya*, including eight very prominent leaders, who were put in a bamboo enclosure outside Fort Nassau. On May 8, 1621, six Japanese executioners decapitated and quartered them, their heads and body parts were stuck on bamboo poles to be shown to the public.<sup>93</sup>

Besides these *Banda asli* who currently reside on the Kei Islands, there were other groups of Bandanese refugees that settled elsewhere. One informant told me that five *orang kaya* together with 300 people fled to Seram, 1,700 people to the Kei Islands and a few to Ternate, Ambon and Buru.<sup>94</sup> These Bandanese grew in status in their place of exile, as they developed the poorer region where they arrived and became high-placed and privileged citizens of those communities, even village leaders. During his fieldwork in

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<sup>89</sup> Fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 9–10.

<sup>91</sup> This history is told through a song in the original Bandanese language: *Fisa jurato gogao, keresi-o-keresi. Forosonon mondoroa fa-funowo wandan io.*

<sup>92</sup> *Turi feken, nake lilier feken, wai jamba kemi limo turi limo, kemi siwa turi siwa, kito sio tamalawang nduro ndingan – o- aisa-, i raroni imao, kito sio wai pagar polo, mandang na monggeingi, kito sio fa rosurasorato ormano roraoto roraoto, refi mbeno hari mbeno na berangkat kemi diri. Natolito ombak safu-safu nakuliling alam io, wai anin pancaroba mbodandingi kito sio, fa mukan kayu betan manutiwa tasik lao.* Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 11–12. Translation by Sri Ayukadir: Banda Neira fences / defenses have been destroyed, The Shiva and Lima leaders' negotiations to leave, and with the determination that they are ready to fight for their beloved Religion and Nation, willing to sacrifice and trust, and faithful as diving in the sea although we are brought this wind transition around nature we must remain united because we are all just one. With the heart and feelings so sad Banda Neira abandoned and formed 2 groups / entourage with the fleet of Kora-Kora (Belang).

<sup>93</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, 9–10.

<sup>94</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

1998, Peter Lape encountered one of these lesser-known Bandanese diaspora in Seram Timor, in a village called Rumadong.<sup>95</sup> They retain their connection to the Banda Islands with an annual trip to a sacred place on a beach, where they gather soil to bring back to their village. Using this sand from their ancestral lands, they can call upon the spirits and retain their connection to the Banda Islands and their ancestral spirits.

The violence committed against the Bandanese, as well as the exodus of refugees, led to a significant decline of the Bandanese population between 1615 and 1623.<sup>96</sup> This reduction is visible on the historical maps, as Peter Lape shows through his study of the maps that the accuracy of depicting the land increases, while the number of villages decreases. The increase of detail of drawing the land shows that the Dutch mapmakers actually had more access to the land. Thus, the reduced number of depicted villages is caused by the absence of villages to depict. Although there might have been pockets of resistance camps, or remnants of raided villages, these settlements were apparently not note-worthy enough to be included in the colonial map. Therefore, Peter Lape pointedly describes these maps as depicting the “newly acquired and ethnically cleansed territory”.<sup>97</sup>

Before Jan Pieterszoon Coen’s revenge in 1621 for the Verhoeven Ambush, the population of the Banda Islands was estimated around 15,000. According to Coen’s own estimation there were only 2,000 souls left, including 600 men.<sup>98</sup> This initial amount would have decreased over the years, as each year the boat leaving from the Banda Islands to Batavia would bring dozens of Bandanese people to trade for slaves from other ethnicities.<sup>99</sup> According to Van der Chijs, a mere thousand Bandanese were left after the

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<sup>95</sup> Fieldnotes February 23, 2019.

<sup>96</sup> Lape, “Historic Maps and Archaeology as a Means of Understanding Late Precolonial Settlement in the Banda Islands, Indonesia,” 54.

<sup>97</sup> Lape, 54.

<sup>98</sup> Coen and Colenbrander, *Jan Pietersz*, 631.

<sup>99</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 514.

killings, raid, enslavement and exodus of refugees.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, Francois Valentijn noted that in 1638, merely 560 Bandanese over 12 years old lived on the islands.<sup>101</sup> This included 50 free men, 133 free women, 97 free children and 280 Bandanese slaves. The gender-divide is note-worthy, as the Dutch colonists clearly distrusted the male population and feared them picking up arms against them again.

The massacre and displacement of the Bandanese people is still a prominent part of local history, and any Bandanese will tell you that Jan Pieterszoon Coen was a bad, hateful man. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the translated account by Neirabatie depicts quite a different scene.<sup>102</sup> After describing the treachery of the Portuguese, he stated that the Dutch helped the Bandanese to drive off the Portuguese and that the time of Coen was all *pais en vree* (peace and harmony) except for the few rebellious people who did not follow orders. He concludes his account by describing the internal history of the Banda Islands, during which Muslim disputes were settled by the VOC as intermediary. An explanation for Neirabatie's apparent loyalty to the Dutch colonists can be found through Van Ronkel's analysis of the style of the account. He concluded on the basis of the linguistic form used in Neirabatie's manuscript, that he copied this history from on an older Arabic text, then translated and modernized it to please the European authority. His desire to please would explain the favorable account about Coen and the Dutch regime, as Neirabatie might have rewritten the original text in order not to fit the sentiments of his Dutch overseer. While Van Ronkel initially downplays this manuscript as ill-written, fanciful and historically inaccurate, he does close his chapter with the remark that this

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<sup>100</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 161.

<sup>101</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:23.

<sup>102</sup> Van Ronkel, "Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda.," 129.



manuscript is “an act of talking down to a white man”<sup>103</sup>, acknowledging that the account was written to gratify a specific audience.

The VOC not only fought against the Bandanese, but were also in dispute with the English concerning the island Run. The Dutch conquered the island Run in 1621 when the English surrendered the island to the Dutch after supporting the Bandanese resistance. The Dutch dismantled the English fortress and extirpated the nutmeg trees on the island to ensure the lingering English would not be able to continue the trade.<sup>104</sup> However, the English continued to make claims on the island in 1636, 1638, 1648 and 1662. On July 10, 1667, the claim on the island was officially relinquished by the English in favor of the Dutch through the ratification of the Treaty of Breda.<sup>105</sup> With this treaty several disputes about territories were settled, including land in current-day Suriname and the Dutch colony New Amsterdam<sup>106</sup> on the island of Manhattan. The Bandanese people, especially those who live on Run, summarize this treaty as the exchange of the island Manhattan for the island Run. Since New York has become a prosperous world city, this historical exchange of sovereignty is ground for much pride and wonder.

### **Colonial *Perken* System**

As the Banda Islands were virtually depopulated, new people had to be brought in to do the work to produce the spices. As early as 1611, L’Hermitte de Jonge proposed a plan to the *Heeren XVII* that the most effective way to obtain a nutmeg monopoly was to destroy the “bothersome”<sup>107</sup> population and repopulate the islands with colonists that would be

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<sup>103</sup> Van Ronkel, 130.

<sup>104</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 57–58, 65.

<sup>105</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858.

<sup>106</sup> Modern-day New York.

<sup>107</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 519.

served by slaves. This is exactly the plan that was implemented, as the VOC granted rights to ex-employees to run the nutmeg plantations, the plots of land were called *perken* and those that run them *perkeniers*. As Anthony Reid and Philip Winn remark, this slave-based system was unique within Southeast Asia, which had a long tradition of serfdom but not slave-based agriculture.<sup>108</sup> Jan Pieterszoon Coen brought slaves to the Banda Islands from different regions to work as *perk*-slaves, notably from Makassar, Bugis, Malay and Java.<sup>109</sup> Van de Wall even stated that there were expeditions from the Banda Islands to the Kei Islands and Aru Islands that hunted down hundreds of indigenous peoples and brought them to the Banda Islands to perform slave work.<sup>110</sup>

The re-population of the Banda Islands was an issue for the VOC, which adopted policies to encourage freemen of Chinese, Ambonese and other Moluccan descent to settle in the Banda Islands alongside the established *perkeniers*.<sup>111</sup> In a letter of March 26, 1622, Jan Pieterszoon Coen writes that he even resorted to sending 355 Bandanese (38 men, 186 women and 132 children) back from Batavia to the Banda Islands.<sup>112</sup> This was not only a measure to repopulate the islands and provide the *perken* with a sufficient number of slaves, but also an act to ward off the rising unrest and potential rising among the Bandanese diaspora in Batavia. Their discontent is described by Van der Chijs, who mentions that these enslaved and exiled Bandanese suffered greatly, longing for their homeland and unable to settle in a completely different environment.<sup>113</sup> From the 789 people that were sent to Batavia after the violent confrontation in 1621, 265 died in the first 6 months. After repeated requests to return to the Banda Islands and threats to burn

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<sup>108</sup> Reid and Brewster, *Slavery, Bondage and Dependency in Southeast Asia*, 18+22; Winn, "Slavery and Cultural Creativity in the Banda Islands," 365.

<sup>109</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 9.

<sup>110</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 548–49.

<sup>111</sup> Van de Wall, 514.

<sup>112</sup> Van de Wall, 548.

<sup>113</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 165–67.

Batavia if their demands were not met, it was decided that the 210 remaining men were to be punished for their insolence by leaving them shackled in Batavia. However, the 307 women and children were taken back to the Banda Islands to work as slaves.

The size of each *perk* was set on 25 ‘souls’, each soul representing the amount of land one *perk*-slave would be able to maintain and harvest.<sup>114</sup> Each soul of land was calculated to produce 25 *rijksdaalder*<sup>115</sup> of spices, although in practice this profit was much harder to calculate as the lay of the land and age of the nutmeg trees impacted production. In 1627, the slave population was around 1700 souls, including some enslaved native Bandanese who were ‘obediently’ teaching their nutmeg and mace production skills to the imported slaves – Papuans from New Guinea, Alfuru from Ceram and various tribespeople from Buru, Timor and Borneo.<sup>116</sup> In 1638, the German VOC employee Johan Sigmund Wurffbain recorded a mere 560 native Bandanese on the islands, 280 of which were enslaved.<sup>117</sup> This group formed 13% of the entire slave population. Especially in the light of the account on the return of several Bandanese from Batavia, it is important to remark that 52% of these ‘native Bandanese’ were female, and together with their children made up 82% of this group. This indicates that the Dutch colonists mistrusted a male Bandanese presence, and that the work was light enough to be handled by women and their children. The enslaved population constituted the majority of the archipelago’s demographic makeup, growing steadily from 2,199 slaves in 1638 to 4,112 in 1794.

In order to have a stronger presence, Coen requested the *Heeren XVII* to send more Europeans to the Banda Islands, for example by sending orphans from the

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<sup>114</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 531.

<sup>115</sup> According to the historical currency converter, one *rijksdaalder* in 1660 would have bought 1.40 gram of gold, which at the exchange rate from 2015 could be bought for \$52.33 Edvinsson, “Historical Currency Converter.”. Using this exchange rate, 25 *rijksdaalders* would be equal to \$1,308.25.

<sup>116</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 62; Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 534.

<sup>117</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 66.

Netherlands.<sup>118</sup> However, the *Heeren XVII* replied that their objective to gain a spice monopoly had been obtained, and that they had no interest in establishing colonies throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Despite Coen's pleas, the numbers of *perkeniers* stagnated and the total population on the islands never reached more than a third of the original population before the violent actions and exodus in the year 1621.<sup>119</sup>

Despite several ordinances to promote the migration to the Banda Islands, it proved difficult to repopulate the islands. Moreover, the reputation, or 'quality', of those that did venture to settle in the Banda Islands was disreputable, and Van de Wall mentions several accounts in which the people on the Banda Islands are described as the most villainous and uncivilized people that Dutch society had to offer.<sup>120</sup> Even so, Coen implemented policies designed to keep people there once they arrived.<sup>121</sup> For example, men were not allowed to leave the islands to return to the Netherlands. However, Dutch colonists were not allowed to marry Indonesian women either, which resulted in many illegitimate children. After Coen's death, the VOC changed its policy and even promoted the intermarriage of white colonists with native people, as they claimed that these 'mixed breeds' had proven to be more resilient to the life in the Indies.<sup>122</sup>

Among the first *perkeniers* was Pieter van den Broek, who arrived on the Banda Islands in 1615 with his ship *Nassau* to help conquer the island Ay with Admiral Reynst.<sup>123</sup> He remained in the archipelago for a while and eventually died during the siege of Malacca in 1641. According to Van de Wall, his legacy continues through his descendants, the only remaining *perkeniers* family who still owns private land on Banda Besar. However, the current patriarchal head, Pongky van den Broek, stated that it was not Pieter that his

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<sup>118</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 520–22.

<sup>119</sup> Van de Wall, 551.

<sup>120</sup> Van de Wall, 551–53.

<sup>121</sup> Van de Wall, 545–47.

<sup>122</sup> Van de Wall, 556.

<sup>123</sup> Van de Wall, 562.

family is descended from, but his family member Paulus van den Broek.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless, Pongky embodies the 13<sup>th</sup> generation of this *perkeniers*-line, currently living on and farming the perk Groot Waling, where he receives tourists as well as nurturing nutmeg seedlings and producing nutmeg oil.

Besides the production of nutmeg which was solely intended for the VOC, the *perkeniers* are said to have used their private slaves for fishing and farming vegetables and fruits which could be sold for their own profit.<sup>125</sup> Hanna claims that the *perkeniers* also dabbled in inter-island trade with their own trading vessels, based on his translation of Francois Valentijn's account: "[...] the stoutest and fastest boats which one might wish and voyage on them to distant island"<sup>126</sup>. Regretfully this interpretation is based on a faulty translation of the original text, which actually stated that the *perkeniers* owned "[...] the fattest and most beautiful sheep, which they shipped from other southern islands"<sup>127</sup>. Therefore, rather than conducting travel themselves, the *perkeniers* were engaged in import. It does, however, indicate that there was contact between the different island groups and trade was conducted with the *perkeniers*.

The lifestyle of the *perkeniers*, especially in years of surplus, is remarked upon by the travel account of Augusta de Wit. She described that a few years before the 1870s, the price of nutmeg and mace was so high (ƒ300 for mace and ƒ170 for nutmeg) that the *perkeniers* went all out in their expenses: one tiled his floor with *rijksdaalders*, the other

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<sup>124</sup> Oude Elferink, "De laatste perkenier op de Banda-Eilanden."

<sup>125</sup> Wright, "The Moluccan Spice Monopoly, 1770-1824," 17.

<sup>126</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 75; Winn, "Slavery and Cultural Creativity in the Banda Islands," 375.

<sup>127</sup> "Zij hebben de schoonste en vetste schapen, die men wenschen kan, die zij van Zuidooster eilanden krijgen en verder velerlei vee op hun erf lopen." which translates to: they have the most beautiful and fattest sheep, that a man could wish for, which they get from the southeaster islands and besides various cattle walk around their property. The Dutch word *schapen*, plural for sheep, was probably mistaken for the plural for ships, which is *schepen*. Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aantekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:15.

ordered ice from Norway to cool his champagne and the last had frogs shipped from the Netherlands because he wanted to hear the croaking frogs that he heard his grandpa describe once.<sup>128</sup> This golden time did not last long, and when De Wit visited the islands she described them as dead and silent, as the prices dropped to *f*170 for mace and only *f*25 for nutmeg.

### *End of Spice Monopoly and Slavery*

Since the first arrival of VOC employees to the Banda Islands, the Dutch tried to retain a firm hold on the trade and production of nutmeg and mace on the Banda Islands. When the VOC was disbanded, the supervision of the production and trade was conducted by the *Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij* (NHM), a semi-private company from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.<sup>129</sup> However, the Dutch sovereignty and their nutmeg monopoly was temporarily broken during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, when the English took provisional possession of the islands in return for providing the Dutch prince refuge.<sup>130</sup> The islands were restored to Dutch possession in 1803. However, in the intermittent years the English had transported seedlings to Ceylon, Benkulu and Pinang. By 1860 these plantations together produced around the same amount of nutmeg as the Banda Islands, successfully breaking the Dutch nutmeg monopoly. Moreover, in 1810 the English again took possession of the Banda Islands, under the threat of a possible French conquest, and then released its hold in 1816 because they believed that the Dutch would make a poor ally in Europe if they were deprived of their profitable colonies in the Indies.

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<sup>128</sup> De Wit, *Natuur En Menschen in Indië*, 418.

<sup>129</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 95.

<sup>130</sup> Van Boeckholtz, "Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796."

On January 1, 1860, slavery was abolished on the Banda Islands, which was formally announced at the Governors house to a crowd of 1,122 slaves.<sup>131</sup> They were offered two years' worth of wage and f4,- per month if they would sign up to continue their work on the plantations, but it remained eerily silent. Only 73 slaves signed up to remain in service of their former masters. An anecdote that described the eagerness for freedom was recorded by De Wit, who wrote that on the eve of December 31, 1859, the slaves were waiting packed and ready for the clock to strike 12 and make them free men.<sup>132</sup> The next day, the wealthy *perkeniers* were chopping their own wood and collecting their own water, while their wives were pounding rice for their meal: a sight never seen before. The slave laborers were replaced by prison laborers and paid freemen.<sup>133</sup> The introduction of prisoned labor was not new, as the Banda Islands had been used as a place of confinement before. In a cited enumeration from 1840, it was marked that there were 1,029 convicts from Java, Sumatra and Borneo on Banda that worked on the nutmeg plantations even before the abolition of slavery.<sup>134</sup> This is over a fifth of the total population, which counted 5,081, but still paled in comparison to the slave population of 2,183 people.

The abolition of slavery was not the only major change in this decade, as the NHM decreed in 1864 that the monopoly on the spices would be terminated due to the continued financial issues of the *perkeniers*.<sup>135</sup> This became only partially effective in 1865, as the *perkeniers* were not experienced in conducting trade themselves. They were accustomed to dealing with one buyer who would take care of the logistics of storage, transportation and bringing stock to market in Amsterdam. The NHM continued to function as the middlemen until 1873, when the termination of the nutmeg monopoly became fully

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<sup>131</sup> Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 42–43.

<sup>132</sup> De Wit, *Natuur En Menschen in Indië*, 417.

<sup>133</sup> Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries*, 36.

<sup>134</sup> Crawford, 34.

<sup>135</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 116.

effective. The fact that the monopoly existed this long is remarkable, as Crawford noted in 1856:

“In fact this monopoly, which is now existing for above two centuries, if the cost of its acquisition be reckoned, never could have yielded real profit, and for many years back is well known to have been accompanied by a heavy loss. A perseverance in it, therefore, is a subject of much surprise both to the enlightened Dutchmen and strangers.”<sup>136</sup>

As the profits of the Banda Islands diminished, its importance for the colonial government declined as well.<sup>137</sup> The level of administration authority on Banda Neira dropped from the highest status of *Gouverneur* (Governor) during the time of the VOC, to the level of *resident* during the rule of the NHM and sunk to the level of *controleur* in 1866, which is a junior position that had to report to the *resident* in Ambon. This administrative change meant that most government officials moved to Ambon, and many *perkeniers* followed them, leaving the Banda Islands politically impoverished.

### *Natural Disasters*

The trade, social life and architecture on the Banda Islands has suffered from many natural disasters. Van de Wall describes a terrible tsunami in 1629, which flooded the settlement in Neira and cost many people their lives and destroyed many of the buildings.<sup>138</sup> which was followed by an eruption of the Gunung Api in 1632. A fever epidemic in 1638 cost many people their lives, including 375 Dutchmen. These illnesses weighed heavy on the population number, as it was still trying to recover from Coen's violent conquest. Van de Wall notes that it took until 1650 for the Banda Islands to become economically profitable again due to the severe depopulation.<sup>139</sup> Goldman further mentions several natural

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<sup>136</sup> Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries*, 35.

<sup>137</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 120–21.

<sup>138</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 567.

<sup>139</sup> Van de Wall, 575.



disasters that plagued the islands, like a severe hurricane in 1778, another one in 1815, an earthquake in 1816 followed by a volcano eruption in 1820 and a severe sea- and earthquake in 1852. Bickmore gives an even more detailed account, stating that the Gunung Api erupted in 1586, 1598, 1609, 1615, 1632, 1690, 1696, 1712, 1765, 1775, 1778, 1820, 1824.<sup>140</sup> These eruptions were often followed by diseases caused by the polluted air which resulted in even more deaths.<sup>141</sup> He especially singled out the eruption in 1820, which lasted 13 days and the ashes reached Banda Neira where branches broke off of trees caused by the weight of the ash and the water from the wells became undrinkable. He also mentions that buildings were damaged during heavy earthquakes in 1629, 1683, 1710, 1767, 1816 and 1852.

### Events during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

The impact of the Dutch violent conquest of the Banda Islands and its subsequent slave labor-based industry, has resulted in the mixed ancestral lineage of the current Bandanese population. In response to the Dutch misconduct regarding the Bandanese massacre in 1621, the provocative writer Eduard Douwes Dekker, better known under his pseudonym Multatuli, writes that “there are no Bandanese [people] left”<sup>142</sup>. However, historian Joop van den Berg corrects this outcry. There are again 15,000 people living on the Banda Islands who proudly call themselves Bandanese.<sup>143</sup> The extent of racial intermarriage was pointed out by Bruno Lasker, who refers to the Bandanese *perkeniers* as the “social residue of Jan Coen’s experiment”<sup>144</sup>, indicating that the *perkeniers* families from the mid-1990s

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<sup>140</sup> Bickmore, “A Description of the Banda Islands,” 331–32.

<sup>141</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 565.

<sup>142</sup> Multatuli and Stuiveling, *Volledige werken [door] Multatuli [pseud. Bezorgd door G. Stuiveling]*, 604–17.

<sup>143</sup> Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 13. According to the latest published population count in 2012, the district Banda has 22,376 residents.

<sup>144</sup> Lasker, *Human Bondage in Southeast Asia*, 75.

had acted as an upper-class caste even though their blood contained mere traces of Dutch ancestry.<sup>145</sup>

The upper-class in Indonesia was able to get higher education, and it is among them that discontent about the colonial rule over the Indonesian archipelago grew. From 1710 onwards, the Banda Islands functioned as exile grounds for those that opposed the Dutch colonial government. As resistance against the colonial regime increased over the years, revolutionary Dr. Tjipto Mangoenkoesomo was exiled to the islands in 1927.<sup>146</sup> He was followed by nationalists Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir, who became the first vice-president and prime minister of Indonesia when Indonesian independence was recognized in 1949. Initially, the colonial government sent these revolutionary figures together with communists and other troublesome types to a detention camp in New Guinea: Boven Digoel.<sup>147</sup> This camp was notorious as it was plagued by malaria, malnutrition and mental derangement. Many died trying to escape rather than remain imprisoned. The imprisonment of Dutch-schooled intellectuals in such a dismal place raised questions in the Netherlands, and as an effort to show goodwill the colonial government transferred Hatta and Sjahrir to the remote Banda Islands.

During their exile, Hatta and Sjahrir started a free school. Among the first attendees were the grandchildren of Sjech Said Bin Abdullah Baädilla<sup>148</sup>, including Des Alwi and his siblings. Said Baädilla, nicknamed the Pearl King, was of Arab descent and made his fortune conducting trade and diving for pearls.<sup>149</sup> Through his social standing

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<sup>145</sup> Lasker, 75; Winn, "Slavery and Cultural Creativity in the Banda Islands," 366.

<sup>146</sup> Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 115–17.

<sup>147</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 122.

<sup>148</sup> I took here the spelling of Van de Wall as he met him in Banda Neira, enticing him to write a laudable memoir Van de Wall, "Sjech Said Bin Abdullah Baädilla: Een Arabier van Beteekenis in the Groote Oost." In other writings he is called Said Abdulrachman Baadilla but mostly referred to as Said Baädilla, which is how I will refer to him henceforth.

<sup>149</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 137; Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 131–32; Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*.

and economic success, Said Baädilla became the overseeing head of the pre-colonial parties *Orilima* and *Orisiwa*, a status called *Orilima besar*, and by ensuring peace he became a revered figure in the Bandanese community.<sup>150</sup> Historian Van de Wall wrote an admirable memoir about him, describing that his encounter with Said Baädilla was characterized by the sad legends Baädilla told about the Banda Islands in fluent Dutch.<sup>151</sup> More notably, he describes the collection of antiques and curiosities that Baädilla had gathered to illustrate these histories as well as show the wealth and uniqueness of the Banda Islands. Moreover, Van de Wall mentioned that Said Baädilla organized the first touristic tours through the Molucca province, during which his curiosities collection on the Banda Islands were an obvious stop.<sup>152</sup> His enthusiasm for the Banda Islands lured many high-placed, prominent Dutch colonial officials, as well as renowned academics, orientalist, biologists and writers to the islands. His study was adorned by their portraits with autographs.

In the events leading up to the Pacific War, anti-Dutch sentiments increased and a hope arose that the Japanese would take over Indonesia.<sup>153</sup> This was based on the ‘Joyoboyo prophecy’<sup>154</sup>, which prophesied that the yellow race would replace the white race, and that the yellow race would only reign as long as the life of a corn plant, *seumur jagung*. During these uncertain times, Hatta and Sjahrir played a leading role in spreading the news among the Bandanese community, as they owned a radio. Moreover, they took charge of the food distribution and Hatta prepared the islands for the possibility of

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<sup>150</sup> Van de Wall, “Sjech Said Bin Abdullah Baädilla: Een Arabier van Beteekenis in the Groote Oost,” 350.

<sup>151</sup> Van de Wall, 347.

<sup>152</sup> Van de Wall, 350–51.

<sup>153</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 196.

<sup>154</sup> The Joyoboyo prophecy is mentioned in Des Alwi’s memoirs about life on the Banda Islands during the Second World War. Alwi, 196. Wiselius refers to this prophet as Djâjâ Bâjâ, who was a king and prophet that predicted stages of humiliation and disasters for the island Java. Wiselius, “DJĀJĀ BĀJĀ. ZIJN LEVEN EN PROFETIEËN,” 172. Other spellings include Sri Mapanji Jayabaya, Varmesvara, Jayabhaya and the Javanese spelling Joyoboyo.

scarcity.<sup>155</sup> He ordered all fields, parks and empty grounds to be turned into cassava and corn fields, including the area around Fort Nassau.

On February 1, 1942, the day after Hatta and Sjahrir were moved from Banda Neira to Jakarta, Banda Neira was bombed by Japanese forces.<sup>156</sup> The Netherlands East Indies government surrendered to the Japanese forces on March 9, 1942, and the Banda Islands were under their control until the Dutch regained control over Indonesia in mid-1945.<sup>157</sup> The Japanese military had no interest in the nutmeg production and trade stopped, resulting in the necessity for the Bandanese to change to a substance economy. They cut down nutmeg and *kanari* trees<sup>158</sup> to plant cassava and potatoes, and the wood was used to fuel their fires.

Before the first arrival of the Japanese forces, however, Des Alwi describes what he calls 'revolution' in Banda Neira.<sup>159</sup> Around the time of the Dutch surrender to the Japanese forces in Indonesia, food shortage had already become prevalent on the island. When a shipment of food from Seram was delivered, the usual colonial officials took control over these supplies as if the colonial government was still active. The Bandanese people, however, rejected its corrupt system and the crowd turned against them. The Dutch district head Kloosterhuis was taken to the prison and locked up, and all other native prisoners were released. When news about the *coup d'état* reached Lonthor, a group of 150 armed men were dispatched to support the Bandanese on Neira. Instead of more violence, the two groups decided to elect a new district head, Dr. Sarwono, who issued a re-election of all village-heads. However, he did ask the former colonial officials to remain

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<sup>155</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 198–200.

<sup>156</sup> Alwi, 207–22.

<sup>157</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 130–31; Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 210.

<sup>158</sup> The *kanari* trees were planted among the nutmeg trees to provide shade for the smaller spice trees. The tree produces a nut, called *kanari*, which is like a wild almond and used for cooking and baking.

<sup>159</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 209–12.

as the new Bandanese village heads would have no experience as civil servants. The colonial Central Food Distribution Office was disbanded, and a new Cooperative Center of Banda was established, (forcibly) funded by *perkeniers* and the Bandanese-Chinese merchants.

The six newly-elected officials went to Ambon to deliver Kloosterhuis to the Japanese forces, where Kloosterhuis was imprisoned and the Bandanese were sent back to the Banda Islands to await further instructions.<sup>160</sup> When the Japanese troops came, they rounded up all the Dutch people and took them to Ambon, leaving one platoon of Japanese soldiers in Neira. These first Japanese residents were friendly to the Bandanese people, but when about 500 more Japanese men arrived, Neira changed from a peaceful village into a militarized navy quarter. The open fields where food was grown were taken over to position heavy machine guns, and many Bandanese sent their daughters to neighboring islands to distance them from these hard-looking men. Des Alwi describes how the Bandanese had to bow to the Japanese occupiers, who took all their food sources and the Bandanese people were beaten if they did not comply.

After the war, Hatta paid for the education of his adoptive children, including Des Alwi, who played a role in the resistance against the confrontational politics of President Sukarno.<sup>161</sup> When Des Alwi visited the Banda Islands in 1965, he was shocked to see its dilapidated state after the Japanese occupation and the neglect by the Indonesian government. He devoted his spare time, political network and energy to put the Banda Islands back on the map. As such, Des Alwi followed in his grandfather Said Baädilla's footsteps. Not only as the wealthiest and most influential man on the islands, but also as the promoter of the Banda Islands for foreign and domestic tourists. He lobbied especially

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<sup>160</sup> Alwi, 212–20.

<sup>161</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*.

for the wealthier tourists, and he promoted his grand hotel as a respite from fame and stress on these secluded islands. Besides these efforts to promote tourism, he followed in his grandfather's footsteps as *Orang Lima Besar* and donated his family house to display the collection of antiquities and curiosities he had gathered to illustrate Banda's rich history to visitors. This museum is now known as *Rumah Budaya*, and its collection was re-organized and narrated in 2017 by the local students of the Hatta-Sjahrir College on Banda Neira.<sup>162</sup>

After the independence of Indonesia, all *perken* on the Banda Islands were nationalized and the *perkeniers* families disowned. The land was redistributed among the local population, with every family given an equal plot of land.<sup>163</sup> In return, they have to pay taxes over the produce by giving part of the harvest to their local government and part to the national government. There are strict rules that prohibit taking a nutmeg from a tree that is not owned by you or your family, and therefore some trees are marked with strings to indicate ownership. With the assistance of Des Alwi, the Van de Broek family is the only *perkeniers* family who successfully fought the naturalization process and regained possession over a portion of their former *perken*.

### *Religious Conflict in the 90s*

Bandanese history and culture is closely tied to its Islamic identity, however, their religion was also a means to keep the Bandanese people and the colonists separate; Christians were able to get better education, higher positions and marry *perkeniers*, while the slave- and

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<sup>162</sup> In June 2017, I led a workshop for a group of students from the local college to re-organize and re-narrate the objects of the cultural museum. The teachers and students first created a chronological theme for each room, after which the objects were moved to their corresponding rooms. After this process, the students wrote a museum guide that describes the theme of each room, which I translated into English and Dutch. The final product was printed in Indonesian, Dutch and English, and laminated for use by museum visitors.

<sup>163</sup> Fieldnotes May 20, 2017 & February 24, 2019.

work population consisted of mostly Muslims. In the neighboring island Ambon, however, there was a larger population of Indonesian Christians who through this status gained good jobs in the *Koninklijk Nederlands-Indië Leger* (Royal Netherlands East Indies Army: KNIL), as the Dutch regarded them as more reliable based on their shared religion.<sup>164</sup> Former employees of this army were sent to the Netherlands after Independence, but the fact remains that Ambon is still characterized as one of the largest Christian communities in a predominantly Islamic country. In 1999 tensions arose between the Muslim and Christian people in the Molucca province. Whether it was over social, political or religious reasons, the conflict escalated in targeted violence between these religious groups.<sup>165</sup> Estimates regarding the number of people that were killed and displaced during the Moluccan sectarian conflict vary, the low end of the range estimating 3,000 deaths and 370,000 people displaced.<sup>166</sup> Besides the death toll, many villages were raided and acts of arson on mosques and churches were committed throughout the province.

The religious unrest between Christians and Muslims in the area caused 4,000 Muslim refugees to flee from Ambon and Seram to the predominantly Islamic Banda Islands.<sup>167</sup> According to the current Bandanese community, these refugees brought radical ideas and hatred towards the Christian community that had lived peacefully side-by-side for a long time.<sup>168</sup> It is also said that the rumors from Ambon merely became a catalyst for the first sectarian killing on the island Hatta, which happened between two neighbors who had been feuding for quite some time. Whatever the spark was that ignited the violence, animosity had arrived in the archipelago. Houses and churches were burned, and the

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<sup>164</sup> Manuhutu, "Moluccans in the Netherlands: A Political Minority?," 498–99.

<sup>165</sup> Duncan, *Violence and Vengeance*, 2; Spyer, "Fire without Smoke and Other Phantoms of Ambon's Violence: Media Effects, Agency, and the Work of Imagination," 21.

<sup>166</sup> Numbers from "Indonesia's Maluku Crisis," which references Human Rights Watch, 'Moluccan Islands, Communal Violence in Indonesia', 29 June 2000, [www.hrw.org.press/2000](http://www.hrw.org.press/2000) and USIA website report, 'USCR World Refugee Statistics', 14 June 2000.

<sup>167</sup> Slamet and RPCZ Jakarta, "Bandaeilanden," April 26, 1999.

<sup>168</sup> Fieldnotes 2017, see also Winn 1999.

violent anger which may have been fueled by jealousy rather than religious differences, led to the murderous attack on the household of the Van den Broek family on Banda Besar. On the night of April 21, 1999, Pongky van den Broek managed to hide while his mother, wife and two daughters were murdered.<sup>169</sup> Despite these atrocities committed to their family on their *perk*, Pongky and his son, who survived the attack despite a neck wound, remain dedicated to continuing the Van den Broek family legacy and their nutmeg plantation on Banda Besar.

The reason that there were not many killings on the island Banda Neira is owed, according to the survivors, to the strong performance of Des Alwi and Pak Idris. Especially the performance of Des Alwi is an often-recollected story, as he brought Christians to his hotel by car and protected the entrance with his gun while reciting the Quran.<sup>170</sup> The next day, the navy arrived at Des Alwi's hotel to pick up the Christian refugees. These refugees were transported to Ambon, and plots of land were given to the families per lottery. This settlement is now known as Banda Suli, where they are building a church that resembles the old church in Neira. When I visited this refugee settlement in 2017, it had grown into a vibrant prospering village, and the settlers seem to have little desire to return to the Banda Islands except for visits.

### **Concluding Remarks about the Present**

The historical events as described in this chapter still play an important part in the identity of the contemporary local community and the Bandanese diaspora. A particular focal diasporic group is the *Banda asli*, whose origins can be traced to the Bandanese that

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<sup>169</sup> Oude Elferink, "De laatste perkenier op de Banda-Eilanden."

<sup>170</sup> John McBeth, "Terror in Paradise: 'King' of Idyllic Isles Quells Ethnic Violence.", fieldnotes 2015-2019.



managed to flee the islands to escape the violent regime of Jan Pieterszoon Coen. In their villages Banda Eli and Banda Elat on the Kei Islands, they have preserved the cultural traditions of their forefathers through ancestral songs, pottery making, oral history and the Bandanese language.<sup>171</sup> Based on their continued traditions, these Bandanese refer to themselves as *Banda asli*, original Bandanese, a status which is also acknowledged by the current Bandanese residents. However, this does not mean that the current inhabitants of the Banda Islands do not perceive themselves as Bandanese. On the contrary, they are fiercely proud that they were born on the islands and identify as Bandanese. In an interview in 2008, Des Alwi said that everyone who is born on the Banda Islands is Bandanese.<sup>172</sup> According to him, this inclusive definition arose during the discrimination policies of the Dutch against the *Eurasians* (those of mixed blood). These children were regarded as Bandanese and intermarriage soon resulted in the effect that next generations were unable to speak Dutch. Therefore, they became Bandanese in looks, language and behavior.

The issue of identity arose when the Banda Islands became central in the news when the current Bandanese residents clashed with the *Banda asli* over the movie *Banda, the Dark Forgotten Trail* by director Jay Subiyakto, known in Indonesia for his music videos.<sup>173</sup> This art-documentary presents the history of the Banda Islands in a high-tech artful manner, using actors to re-enact scenes and modern film techniques to heighten the tension. It also features several interviews with historians and local Bandanese. However, the great absent contributors are the *Banda asli* and it is suggested in the movie that there are no original Bandanese people anymore.

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<sup>171</sup> Kaartinen, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place*; Kaartinen, "Handing Down and Writing Down."

<sup>172</sup> Michell, *The Great King That Never Was: Banda Islands*.

<sup>173</sup> Amirio, "Banda."

This statement infuriated the people from Banda Eli and Banda Elat, who boycotted the screening in Ambon where it consequently was taken off the program.<sup>174</sup> Their discontent, and that of the current Banda residents who were looking forward to seeing this high-tech production of their local history, was expressed on social media where people exchanged insults. The disagreement even led to the harassment at the house of one of the historians who is featured in the movie.<sup>175</sup> This tension shows how deeply the people in Banda Eli still feel connected to the Banda Islands and identify themselves as Bandanese. Moreover, it demonstrates that the Banda Islands are increasingly getting attention from provincial, national and international agents, and the *Banda asli* are determined to play a role in the interpretation and story-telling about these islands.

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<sup>174</sup> Post, “‘Banda: The Forgotten Trail’ Screening Canceled in Ambon”; Khairiyah, “Film Banda The Dark Forgotten Trail Batal Tayang Di Ambon.”

<sup>175</sup> Fieldnotes July 11, 2017.

## Chapter 3: Life-history of Fort Nassau

In this chapter I discuss Fort Nassau as a case study to exemplify how heritage sites on the Banda Islands are informed by the historical events that occurred there, as well as how the physical state of these sites has changed through these events. As these sites constantly evolve, I argue that the modern-day interactions of the local community and conservation efforts are merely the most recent layers to the life-history this heritage site.<sup>1</sup>

In order to emphasize the current historical importance of Fort Nassau to the Bandanese community, I particularly discuss the historical events concerning the Bandanese Massacre in 1621 in detail. Moreover, this chapter discusses the various events and activities that have affected the physical fabric of the site. These include natural disasters, bombings by the English and Japanese forces, and the ongoing restoration activities by the provincial agency *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* (BPCB) in Ternate.<sup>2</sup> The chapter concludes with a discussion of the Bandanese community's perception of the restoration activities. Together these events, from the initial construction to the ongoing restoration activities, form the life-history of Fort Nassau.

### Construction of Fort Nassau as Provocation

One of the earliest mentions of the fort can be found in the summarized translation of a local historical account by Neirabatie. This document describes the deceit of Portuguese traders who feigned a funeral procession to smuggle in weapons to shoot at the unsuspecting Bandanese.<sup>3</sup> According to this translation, the Portuguese built a fort after

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<sup>1</sup> Smith, "Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach," 185.

<sup>2</sup> Office for Cultural Heritage and Preservation in Ternate. This office oversees Maluku Utara, Maluku Papua and Papua Barat since 1998.

<sup>3</sup> Van Ronkel, "Een Maleisch Geschrift Met Nautische Illustraties, over de Geschiedenis van Banda," 128.

the surrender of the Bandanese to confirm the Portuguese victory and claim over the land. Joanna Brierly confirms that a foundation for a fort was constructed by the Portuguese in 1529, but that the building was never finished.<sup>4</sup> According to a Bandanese informant, the Portuguese started construction in 1527 under the supervision of Captain Garcia<sup>5</sup>, but that they were unable to finish the fort because the Dutch arrived in 1599.<sup>6</sup> So whether the Portuguese constructed an entire fort, a wooden stronghold or only prepared the foundations for a construction remains unclear. Moreover, Peter Lape has not found any references to a Portuguese construction in the Portuguese archival material.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, he argues that the wall, as depicted on Figure 7 in the Van Neck map from 1601, might actually have been an Asian defensive work which was mistaken for a Portuguese construction. A later copy of this print describes this wall as Fort Nassau (Figure 8).

Whether this wall was made by the Portuguese or indeed an Asian construction, Dutch records indicate that there were remnants of some foundational work at the site when the Dutch Admiral Pieter Verhoeven arrived at the Banda Islands in 1609.<sup>8</sup> He carried a letter from the Prince of Orange-Nassau requesting permission from the Bandanese to construct a fort on Banda Neira. The travel account of Johan de Moelre describes the first meeting between the Admiral Verhoeven and Bandanese *orang kaya*<sup>9</sup> in Lonthor on April 19, 1609, during which a silver platter with Portuguese inscription was offered to the Bandanese in return for permission to build a fort on the island Banda Neira

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<sup>4</sup> Brierley, *Spices*, 42.

<sup>5</sup> In Valentijn's historical account, this captain is referred to as Garsias Hendrik. Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:69.

<sup>6</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Lape, "Historic Maps and Archaeology as a Means of Understanding Late Precolonial Settlement in the Banda Islands, Indonesia," 49.

<sup>8</sup> de Moelre, "Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Alle Het Gene Dat Ghefien Ende Voor-Ghevallen Is Op de Reyfe, ...," 50–52; Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:76–77.

<sup>9</sup> *Orang kaya* were the leaders and main traders of the Bandanese community. The name literally means "rich men".

and a binding contract to trade solely with the Dutch.<sup>10</sup> This proposal was not received well by the *orang kaya*, who requested a delay of three days to consider the offer. On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, the Bandanese came aboard the Admiral's ship and requested another delay, which was rejected. Instead, the Dutch Admiral pressured the Bandanese *orang kaya* to a verbal agreement, as he had positioned one of the Dutch ships in a strategic position to indicate that otherwise the terms would be taken by force.<sup>11</sup>

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of April, Admiral Verhoeven landed on the shore of Banda Neira and surveyed the land with the intent to construct the first Dutch fortification.<sup>12</sup> The houses near the selected site were abandoned by Bandanese residents who fled to other parts of the island, and their houses were occupied as lodgings for the men of the Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*: VOC). The next day construction work started. The works, however, continued slowly and in May, five men proposed to the Admiral to fix the old Portuguese fort instead. Their arguments were that constructing a fort here would require less time and work, as it already had a surrounding wall, good and sturdy ground and therefore left little more to do than to construct two land- and two seaward bastions.<sup>13</sup> The absence of Portuguese traders at this site confirms the statement of a Bandanese resident, who informed me that the Dutch kicked out the Portuguese from the Banda Islands in 1602. The Portuguese moved along to build strong trading connections with the clove-rich sultanates in Ternate and Tidore instead.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> de Moelre, "Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Alle Het Gene Dat Ghefien Ende Voor-Ghevalen Is Op de Reyfe, ...," 50–51.

<sup>11</sup> de Moelre, 51. and Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:73.

<sup>12</sup> In this paper I refer to the building as a fort, as this is the way we would describe the building nowadays. However, in the historical accounts the building is often referred to as *kasteel* which translates as castle. de Moelre, "Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Alle Het Gene Dat Ghefien Ende Voor-Ghevalen Is Op de Reyfe, ...," 50–51.

<sup>13</sup> de Moelre, 51.

<sup>14</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

The construction of the fort was not welcomed by the Bandanese and they showed their displeasure by attacking the Dutch construction in a guerilla-style and using magic, *guna-guna*, to poison the drinking water of the Dutch invaders.<sup>15</sup> Their mistrust of the Dutch was also apparent as they only wanted to discuss terms on the condition that the Dutch sent two hostages as a sign of good faith. Two merchants were selected, Johan de Moelre and Nicolaes de Visscher<sup>16</sup> and a formal meeting was set to take place on May 22, 1609.<sup>17</sup> After sending these hostages, Admiral Verhoeven went with fully armed troops and some English prisoners as 'gifts' to the designated meeting place for the negotiations.<sup>18</sup> When they arrived at a particular tree on the east coast of Banda Neira<sup>19</sup>, the *orang kaya* were not there. Verhoeven sent his translator, Adriaan Ilsevier<sup>20</sup> to search for the *orang kaya* in a nearby small forest.<sup>21</sup> When he found them, the *orang kaya* told him that they feared the armed troops and asked for Admiral Verhoeven to meet them unarmed with only a select group of companions. Verhoeven agreed to these terms and walked straight into the ambush. Admiral Verhoeven, his high merchant Jacob van Groenewegen and between 26-45 other Dutchmen were killed. Some of their bodies were found decapitated,

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<sup>15</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 42. and fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

<sup>16</sup> In the account of the Banda Eli, their names are recorded as Jan de Molre and Nicolaas de Viesaher, but for the text I have chosen to use the names as recorded by Johan de Moelre. de Moelre, "Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Alle Het Gene Dat Ghefien Ende Voor-Ghevalen Is Op de Reyfe, ....".

<sup>17</sup> see also Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 28; Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 7-8. For this passage I have chosen to use the narrative as recorded by the people from Banda Eli. The spelling of the names of the hostages was taken from the writing of Francois Valentijn (p. 73), who added that these men were selected as they were fluent in Malay.

<sup>18</sup> "... pasukan bersenjata lengkap dan tawanan Inggris sebagai hadiah" Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 7., this particular aspect that the Dutch brought English prisoners as gifts is not mentioned in other documents.

<sup>19</sup> This location is currently known as Kampung Ratu.

<sup>20</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>21</sup> This area is currently known as Kampung Baru, in particular, the spot where this ambush took place is a neighborhood within this settlement and known as Varhovent, a degeneration of Verhoeven.

including that of Admiral Verhoeven and Jacob van Groenewegen.<sup>22</sup> According to historian Willard Hanna, their decapitated heads were found pierced on top of Bandanese battle lances.<sup>23</sup> They buried the bodies of Admiral Verhoeven, Jacob van Groenewegen and Jan de Bruijn within the confines of Fort Nassau.

Van der Chijs questions whether the ambush, which is later referred to as the 'Verhoeven Ambush', was preconceived or whether the Bandanese saw an opportunity to get rid of Verhoeven when they saw him and his company unarmed and defenseless.<sup>24</sup> Besides his conjectures, he mentions that 12 years after the event, some Bandanese leaders declared to Jan Pieterszoon Coen that the killings were incited by foreign traders. It is possible that this declaration was made in order to shift the blame, as Jan Pieterzoon Coen most likely witnessed the aftermath of the ambush and would have retaliated immediately if they had told him otherwise. The location where the ambush took place is now called Kampung Verhoeven,<sup>25</sup> which covers part of the administrative village Baru and half of Rajawali (Figure 55).<sup>26</sup>

One of the survivors, Simon Janszoon Hoen<sup>27</sup>, was appointed as the new Admiral, and he entered into new negotiations with some of the *orang kaya* whom he held captive to reclaim the Dutch prisoners on Banda Besar.<sup>28</sup> These Dutch captives, however, were killed by the Bandanese and this act incited an all-out war between the Dutch and Bandanese people. In order to strengthen their defense, Simon Janszoon Hoen oversaw

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<sup>22</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:74.

<sup>23</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 29.

<sup>24</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 44.

<sup>25</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 7.

<sup>26</sup> Fieldnotes January 30, 2019.

<sup>27</sup> In the account of the people from Banda Eli, his name is written as Simon Janoszoon Coen, but I have opted to use the spelling as recorded by Johan de Moelre (see also footnote 15).

<sup>28</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:75–76.

the completion of Fort Nassau in July 1609.<sup>29</sup> An image of this completed phase was included in Verhoeven's travel journal, seen on Figure 18. The fortress was called Nassau, after the Dutch Prince of Orange-Nassau, who supplied the letter requesting permission to construct the fort. Jacob de Bitter was elected as the first commander of Fort Nassau, which meant that he led the attacks against the Bandanese besides starting peace negotiations with them. He ended the war with the Bandanese on August 13, 1609 with a pact that was signed by a scattered group of *orang kaya*, in which they succumbed to providing exclusive trade rights to the Dutch and agreed to certain 'safety measures' to enforce this spice monopoly.<sup>30</sup> From that moment on, every incoming ship and boat had to submit to an inspection at Fort Nassau, and all inter-island traffic required authorization by Dutch travel passes. On top of that, no one was allowed to settle on the island Banda Neira without a Dutch permit.

However, the fort and the small fleet of patrol boats were not sufficient to enforce this tight spice monopoly. The lack of control allowed the English to continue to trade secretly, mocking the 'spice monopoly' as they worked around the rules of this agreement.<sup>31</sup> As a clear sign of this mockery, the English Captain David Middleton sailed into the Dutch anchorage in 1610, within range of the gunfire of Fort Nassau, without presenting any of the appropriate papers to the Dutch officials. Moreover, he received local salesmen on his boat and bought spices from them. At that moment, Pieter Both was the Governor at Fort Nassau and in charge of maintaining the spice monopoly, and he feared an English-Bandanese alliance. He therefore decided to strengthen the Dutch defensive position by constructing a second fort on Banda Neira: Fort Belgica. This fort was

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<sup>29</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 48.

<sup>30</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 30–31; Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aantekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:76.

<sup>31</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 32–35.



constructed on the location that had been previously abandoned by Verhoeven, on a higher elevation than Fort Nassau. According to a Bandanese, the construction of Fort Belgica started in 1611 because Fort Nassau was not in a strategic place.<sup>32</sup> My informant stated that Fort Nassau therefore became an office and place for storage after Fort Belgica was completed, which took 80 years. As the construction of Fort Belgica took 80 years and was quite expensive, the Dutch resorted to corruption of the nutmeg monopoly by selling nutmeg to Chinese merchants. The less strategic position of Fort Nassau was also remarked on by Hanna, who writes that the position of Fort Belgica not only provided a better view over the bay, but also a more imposing presence.<sup>33</sup> He furthermore states that the construction of a second fort displeased the *orang kaya*, who demanded that both forts be dismantled and destroyed.

To enforce the spice monopoly and protect their investments, the VOC dispatched General Gerard Reijnst in 1615 with a fleet of eleven ships and a thousand men to secure control over the spice trade on the Banda Islands.<sup>34</sup> Shortly after arriving in the archipelago, the fleet set out to the island Ay on May 22, 1615, where they anticipated the arrival of the Dutch soldiers. Together with the help of English traders, the Bandanese had constructed strongholds near the bay, but the Dutch army quickly seized these, forcing the Bandanese to retreat into the hills. The Dutch commander perceived this as a victory. However, at night the Bandanese staged a surprise counter-attack on the Dutch encampment. During the initial attack on the island the Dutch suffered only nine fatalities and 15 wounded, but the counter-attack, including pyromancy, raised this number to 27 deaths and 170 casualties. Valentijn's narration of these events emphasizes that the Dutch

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<sup>32</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>33</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 37.

<sup>34</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aantekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:77–78; Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 71.

were caught unawares during the night, which serves his purpose to present the Bandanese as a treacherous people.<sup>35</sup> The legacy of this attack therefore not only included the shameful retreat of the Dutch troops, but also the fear among Dutch soldiers for the Bandanese battle-strategy to strike a counter-attack when the Dutch would be asleep and unprepared.

### **Revenge at Fort Nassau**

Skirmishes between the Dutch, Bandanese and English continued until the VOC dispatched Jan Pieterszoon Coen to the islands in 1621 to forcefully establish complete control over the spice trade.<sup>36</sup> After the Verhoeven ambush and later conflicts between the Dutch and Bandanese, Coen was convinced that the monopoly of the spices on these islands could only be secured by force. On the March 7, Coen gathered his strength at Fort Nassau with a fleet of 13 large ships carrying 1,655 Europeans, 286 Javanese convicts (mainly porters and rowers) and 80-100 Japanese mercenaries (including experienced executioners).<sup>37</sup> Not long after his arrival, Coen violently attacked Banda Besar causing many casualties, and the main trading village Lonthor surrendered to his terms on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March in 1621 under the following conditions:

1. "That they would be allowed to keep and profess their religion
2. That no-one would hurt their women or children
3. That they would be allowed to refuse access to their houses
4. That no-one would take without permission
5. That the Bandanese would not be hit without just cause
6. That they would not be forced to perform work they were not trained to do
7. That if necessary, they would defend the Banda Islands in the service of the Prince of Oranje, however, they would not be forced to perform this service abroad

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<sup>35</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:77–78; Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 71.

<sup>36</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 49.

<sup>37</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 119–29.

8. That the prisoners taken by the Dutch would be returned, just as the Dutch prisoners would be released”.<sup>38</sup>

In return, Coen demanded that they would:

1. “Dismantle their defensive works
2. Extradite their weapons
3. Relocate to a newly appointed location
4. Deliver all the nutmeg and mace to the Dutch and their allies
5. Recognize the *Staten Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden* as their sovereign”.<sup>39</sup>

This treaty became the format for all the other villages to surrender, and after witnessing the violence conducted against Lonthor, they (reluctantly) complied. However, when *Landvoogd*<sup>40</sup> Sonck visited the village Selamon on Banda Besar to demand that they give up their weapons and surrender certain hostages, a series of unfortunate events occurred.<sup>41</sup> The people from Selamon complied with all the Dutch demands, even reluctantly allowing them to sleep in their mosque.<sup>42</sup> However, on the night of April 21, a lamp fell in Sonck’s encampment, which caused a great panic among the Dutch who feared to be caught unawares like their comrades on the island Ay in 1615. They fired shots in every direction to defend themselves against an invisible and absent enemy, which was heard at Fort Nassau on the neighboring island. Jan Pieterszoon Coen took immediate action and ordered that four *compagnies*<sup>43</sup> of soldiers go aid Sonck’s troops. In the meantime he questioned a young boy from the village, who under torture proclaimed that there was a conspiracy against the Dutch and the fallen lamp was a diversion to initiate an

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<sup>38</sup> Van der Chijs, 129.

<sup>39</sup> Van der Chijs, 130.

<sup>40</sup> A representative of the absent sovereign, who rules the land in his place.

<sup>41</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 138–41.

<sup>42</sup> Van der Chijs, 139–41. This is also described in Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*, 8.: “Desa Salamun dijadikan Markas Besar, Balai pertemuan dijadikan kantor Gubernur Banda Kapten Martin I Sonak, Mesjid dipakai menjadi penginapan pasukan, walaupun orang kaya Jerang dari Selamun tidak senang”.

<sup>43</sup> One *compagnie* is about 100 – 150 men. Four *compagnies* form a *bataljon*, but the source explicitly mentions four *compagnies* rather than using this conglomerate word.

ambush.<sup>44</sup> In response to this, he ordered the capture of the *orang kaya* and the destruction of the Selamon village, which was consequently plundered and burned down. Notably, the 1,322 imprisoned villagers were forced to watch their precious mosque burn down, and a beautiful woman who escaped threw herself off the cliffs rather than be captured by the Dutch.

*Landvoogd* Sonck and his troops continued to the village Wayer after the destruction of Selamon, to ensure that there was no resistance in this nearby town. But to his dismay the entire village was abandoned except for one old sickly man, and enraged he ordered the man to be decapitated.<sup>45</sup> According to the people of Banda Eli, their ancestors were ordered to leave Banda Besar by the king of Wayer, never to return again.<sup>46</sup> They left the island in two groups and set sail, to reunite in the Kei Islands where they founded the villages Banda Eli and Banda Elat.<sup>47</sup> Wayer was not the only village that was deserted, as warnings about the threat of the Dutch forces were sent to the villages Dender and Rosingin. Besides these refugees and the victims of the Dutch raids, Jan Pieterszoon Coen assisted the depopulation of the Banda Islands by shipping off 789 imprisoned Bandanese to Batavia, in order to weaken the Bandanese population and to strengthen this newly-established trade-port there where laborers were scarce and in high demand.<sup>48</sup>

After the events in Selamon, one of the captured sons of the *orang kaya* told his Dutch captors that the attack was intentional, and part of a larger conspiracy to kill Jan

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<sup>44</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 149–51.

<sup>45</sup> Van der Chijs, 151–53.

<sup>46</sup> Fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 11.

<sup>48</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 154; Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 11.

Pieterszoon Coen and his Dutch companions.<sup>49</sup> Based on this statement, Coen arrested 46 *orang kaya* and questioned them violently on board his ships the *Dragon* and *Zierikzee*.<sup>50</sup> Two men died during these tortures, and one managed to jump over board and drowned. Under torture, the *orang kaya* confessed that they wanted to raise a rebellion against the Dutch and murder Coen and his crew. In his account of these events, Van der Chijs mentions that this perceived conspiracy did not provide a legal cause for executing these people. Although Coen did not have the Dutch law on his side, he established a local court with his comrades, which decided that the confessions under torture provided a valid reason to sentence the *orang kaya* to death. The Dutch Lieutenant Van Waert who witnessed the subsequent events described it as follows:

“The forty-four prisoners were brought within the castle [Fort Nassau], the eight foremost *orang kaya*-those, who it was said had "belled the cat"-being kept apart, the others being herded together like sheep. A round enclosure was built of bamboo just outside the castle, and into it were brought the prisoners, well bound with cords and surrounded by guards. Their sentence was read out to them for having conspired against the life of the *Heer Generael* and having broken the terms of the peace. Before the reading of the sentence it was forbidden on pain of death for anyone else to enter the enclosure except only fathers and mothers. The condemned victims being brought within the enclosure, six Japanese soldiers were also ordered inside, and with their sharp swords they beheaded and quartered the eight chief *orang kaya* and then beheaded and quartered the thirty-six others. This execution was awful to see. The *orang kaya* died silently without uttering any sound except that one of them, speaking in the Dutch tongue, said "Sirs, have you then no mercy" but indeed nothing availed. All that happened was so dreadful as to leave us stunned. The heads and quarters of those who had been executed were impaled upon bamboos and so displayed. Thus did it happen: God knows who is right. All of us, as professing Christians, were filled with dismay at the way this affair was brought to a conclusion, and we took no pleasure in such dealings.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 149.

<sup>50</sup> Van der Chijs, 157–58.

<sup>51</sup> Van Waert, “Executie van de Opstandelingen Op Het Eiland Banda,” November 16, 1621; translation from Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 56.

As one of my Bandanese informants stated, the act of displaying the heads on spikes in front of the whole village and family was to send a message to them: if you do not follow the Dutch, this will be your fate.<sup>52</sup> Another Bandanese likened the act of putting the heads on spikes to raising flags on top of the fort.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, they stated that the Dutch treated the bodies disrespectful, without compassion, as they threw the remaining body parts in a hole.<sup>54</sup>

These gruesome deeds did not go unnoticed, as Van der Chijs quotes a Dutch report from 1622 which stated that the Bandanese were punished too harshly, as the *orang kaya* did not have to be executed, let alone in this horrible manner.<sup>55</sup> Because they fought for the freedom of their country, they should have been allowed to live out the remainder of their days in exile. However, Jan Pieterszoon Coen was only mildly rebuked for the manner in which the *orang kaya* were treated by the *Heeren XVII*, who were predominantly pleased by the fact that Coen had conquered the islands. According to an unknown source from 1635, the initial population of the Banda Islands was estimated to be around 15,000 souls, of which less than a 1,000 were left after Coen's actions.<sup>56</sup>

The 'justification' of Coen's actions is based on the trauma he may have sustained after witnessing the aftermath of the Verhoeven ambush. The manner in which he treated the bodies of the slain *orang kaya* resembles the manner in which they found the Dutchmen slain in 1609. Therefore, it may be concluded that Coen retaliated in such a manner to emphasize his superiority over the surviving Bandanese, or as a ruthless revengeful act in retaliation to the slaughter he had witnessed a decade before. Through his actions, Jan Pieterszoon Coen established his power over the archipelago and became

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<sup>52</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>53</sup> Fieldnotes June 3, 2017.

<sup>54</sup> Other Bandanese residents claim it was a well, read further on the discussion regarding this possible location in 3.4.

<sup>55</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 159.

<sup>56</sup> Van der Chijs, 161.

the first Governor-General of the Banda Islands.<sup>57</sup> However, as Van der Chijs notes, he may have been reigning over empty land; not only were the islands depopulated as a consequence of the Dutch invasion since their construction of Fort Nassau, the Dutch arrival also affected the natural landscape as the nutmeg groves were neglected and destroyed.<sup>58</sup>

### **Destructions, Renovations and Other Events from 1615-1942**

Due to proximity to the active volcano, the Banda Islands have been plagued by many recurring natural disasters.<sup>59</sup> Valentijn describes that in 1615, the Gunung Api erupted so violently that debris including big rocks reached Fort Nassau and damaged its bastions.<sup>60</sup> Valentijn further notes that this particular eruption raised hopes among the Bandanese that the end of the Dutch reign was near, as the eruption was regarded an auspicious sign. In 1629 an especially devastating tsunami was recorded in the daily report, as its violent (submarine) earthquake washed away the majority of the houses on Banda Neira, taking many lives.<sup>61</sup> The submarine earthquake caused the ship *Den Briel*, which was anchored in front of Fort Nassau, to spin around so violently that the sailors fell on the deck as if drunken. Moreover, the force of the tsunami raised the sunken ship called *Amsterdam* from the bottom of the sea. Van de Wall further mentions that residents from Banda Neira gathered in Fort Nassau to pray until the natural disaster had run its course, indicating that the fort served as a place of refuge and safety.

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<sup>57</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 54–57.

<sup>58</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 64.

<sup>59</sup> See also Chapter 2, sub-section “Natural Disasters”.

<sup>60</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aantekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:16.

<sup>61</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 567.

In 1690, the volcano became active again and although it did not come to a full eruption, the smoke from the volcano lasted for 6 years, covering Fort Nassau in a 3-feet thick layer of ashes.<sup>62</sup> Valentijn continues to describe a major earthquake in 1710, about which he was alerted through a letter from the Moluccan island Ambon which stated that residents were forced to abandon Fort Nassau due to the severity of the earthquake.<sup>63</sup>

Fort Nassau not only served as a site to flee from natural disasters, but it also functioned as a location for celebratory events. Joop van den Berg noted that, after the conquest of the Banda Islands by Jan Pieterszoon Coen in 1621, Fort Nassau was the site where a celebration of the Dutch conquest was held each year on the 11<sup>th</sup> of March.<sup>64</sup> The festivities included a parade consisting of the current residing colonists and the sounding of the cannons. Besides this annual festivity, the pride that the Dutch colonists felt about the control over the spice trade becomes clear from a quote by VOC Admiral Schram:

“On Neira lies our most important fort, called Nassau, and behind this fort lies a smaller fort on the mountain, called Belgica. There is no nutmeg in Europe that hasn’t passed the hands of the Company.”<sup>65</sup>

Besides the celebration activities that took place at Fort Nassau, the *perkeniers* were actively involved in its physical maintenance. The routine maintenance of the both Fort Nassau and Fort Belgica was conducted by the *perkeniers*, whose duty it was to whiten, plaster and clean the walls of dirt.<sup>66</sup> According to Hanna, the forts were well-kept and manned in order to suppress slave rebellion on the nutmeg plantations which were established a year after Coen’s conquest.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, the *perkeniers* were tasked with the

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<sup>62</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:19.

<sup>63</sup> Valentijn, 3:25.

<sup>64</sup> Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 84.

<sup>65</sup> de Rechteren, “Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Oost-Indische Reyse, Gedaen by Den Heer Admirael VVybrant Schram. Uytgevaren Met Een Vloot van 9 Schepen, Den 3 May, 1626.” 32. Translation by J. van Donkersgoed.

<sup>66</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 543–44.

<sup>67</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 79. See also Chapter 2, section “Colonial Perken System”.



maintenance of the roads and stairs, most pointedly the stairs in Banda Besar which are still used as the primary means of ascending to the higher elevations.<sup>68</sup> In addition to the normal maintenance, the forts were reinforced around 1796 to repel any possible attack from the English during the Napoleonic Wars.<sup>69</sup>

In his daily reports from 1795-1796, Governor-General Van Boeckholtz describes the preparations for the expected arrival of the English.<sup>70</sup> In his report, he writes that the fortifications in Neira were manned additionally by slaves from the *perken* in exchange for extra provisions.<sup>71</sup> However, when the English arrived they brought a letter from Willem, *Prins of Oranje*<sup>72</sup> who was in exile in England, ordering the temporary surrender of the Banda Islands to the English until the French threat subsided.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, it stated that the officers and servants of the VOC would keep their property and rights until the colonies would be returned to the Netherlands when general peace was restored. On top of that, the letter declared the nutmeg monopoly disbanded, as “the internal trade of the inhabitants shall be entirely free, and that permission will be granted them to trade to and from the English-Company’s possessions”<sup>74</sup>. Van Boeckholtz agreed to the terms dictated in this letter and surrendered the Banda Islands and the contents of its storage houses to English control without a fight.<sup>75</sup> At that moment, the warehouses including those at Fort Nassau housed 84,777 pounds of nutmeg and 19,587 pounds of mace, which amounted to a sum of 66,675 *rijksdaalders* (almost 3.5 million US dollars today)<sup>76</sup>.

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<sup>68</sup> More about this staircase as a heritage site and contemporary reuse in Chapter 5, sub-section “Warni Warni”.

<sup>69</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 90.

<sup>70</sup> Van Boeckholtz, “Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796.”

<sup>71</sup> Van Boeckholtz, 419.

<sup>72</sup> William I was the Prince of Orange and first King of the Netherlands.

<sup>73</sup> Van Boeckholtz, “Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796.” 426, 448–49.

<sup>74</sup> Van Boeckholtz, 449.

<sup>75</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 91–92.

<sup>76</sup> According to the historical currency converter, one *rijksdaalder* in 1660 would have bought 1.40 grams of gold, which at the exchange rate from 2015 could be bought for \$52.33 Edvinsson,

The English kept control over the islands until 1802, when the French Republic and England signed the Treaty of Amiens.<sup>77</sup> This treaty enacted the return of the foreign territories to the Netherlands, including the Banda Islands and all the other spice islands. However, in 1810, the English decided to repossess the islands, as they feared that Napoleon would use the Dutch Indies<sup>78</sup> as his base to infiltrate India.<sup>79</sup> By this time, Coop à Groen had replaced Van Boeckholtz as the Governor-General of the Banda Islands and he was determined not to give up the islands as easily as his predecessor did. He prepared the forts and his soldiers for an attack from the sea. However, the anticipated attack came a month later than expected. This may have slackened the vigilance of the guards, as the English Captain Cole staged a surprise landing on Banda Neira. Instead of entering the island by port, he and his men waded to the western shore unseen and climbed the walls of Fort Belgica before the alarm could be raised. They quickly took control over this fort and were able to use the cannons of Fort Belgica to attack the exposed lower-lying Fort Nassau. During these bombardments, major parts of the northern walls collapsed, the interior buildings were demolished, and the English were able to overrun the ruins of Fort Nassau. A surrender was signed by the defeated Coop à Groen, and the Banda Islands were once again under English rule. It is interesting to point out that, in 1724, Valentijn remarked exactly on this potential use of Fort Belgica to attack Fort Nassau, and one might wonder if Captain Cole drew inspiration from this well-known account of the Banda Islands.<sup>80</sup>

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“Historical Currency Converter.”. Using this exchange rate, 66,675 *rijksdaalders* would be equal to \$3,489,102.75.

<sup>77</sup> Cobbett, “Cobbett’s Political Register,” 502; Tilburg, *Encyclopedia Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, 71. Willard Hanna mentioned that the transfer of dominion took place in 1803. However, as the treaty was signed in 1802 this might have been a typographical error Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 95..

<sup>78</sup> Name for Indonesia while it was under Dutch colonial rule.

<sup>79</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 95–97.

<sup>80</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:3.

When the English retreated in 1817, the Banda Islands came once again under Dutch control.<sup>81</sup> By returning the sovereignty to the Netherlands, the English believed that the Dutch kingdom would be a stronger ally than when it would remain deprived of its colonies. However, after the surrender in 1796 and the destruction in 1810, the forts on Banda Neira lost their prowess as military installations.<sup>82</sup> Fort Nassau was not only ruined during the English attack, but some of the still-standing segments collapsed during a severe earthquake in 1820.<sup>83</sup> This was not the last natural disaster, as Albert Bickmore recollects the after-effects of a severe earthquake in 1852.<sup>84</sup> The earthquake caused a tsunami with a wave reaching between 25–30 feet that swept over the lower west part of the island Banda Neira. The local boats that were anchored on this side of the islands were swept up, and the wave overtook Fort Nassau. One of these boats was carried over the walls of the fort and remained there after the sea had receded.<sup>85</sup> The walls of many houses were leveled to the ground, but those that were built with coral-rocks or bricks sustained little damage.

After these destructive events, Fort Nassau served as a warehouse while Fort Belgica was reinstated as military headquarters until slavery was abolished on the islands in 1860.<sup>86</sup> Around the same time the *Landvoogd's* residence, located on the southern side within the walls of Fort Nassau, was used to lodge forced laborers. Van de Wall mentions that Fort Nassau was in a good condition during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, which suggests that significant restorations had been made to rebuild the bombarded northern parts, potentially by the English who had caused the damage. This good condition of Fort Nassau was captured on camera by the Dutch Royal Navy between 1860-1890 (Figure 30 and 31).

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<sup>81</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 95.

<sup>82</sup> Hanna, 97.

<sup>83</sup> Hanna, 100.

<sup>84</sup> Bickmore, "A Description of the Banda Islands," 332–33.

<sup>85</sup> see also Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries*,

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<sup>86</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 22.

Figure 31 shows that the northern walls and north-western bastion were in a good condition, while on Figure 30 it is clearly visible that the moat was filled with water. The active function of the moat signifies that the waterway to the sea was also well-maintained.

Between 1890 and 1910, however, something must have happened that resulted in the collapse of the northern wall and the surrounding moat, as a photograph from 1910 shows an unobscured view from the plaza of Fort Nassau to Fort Belgica (Figure 32). Despite the fort's reduced material integrity, the construction of a tennis court on the plaza suggests that it was used as a place of leisure. This playing field can also be seen on Figures 10 and 31, and was observed by Van de Wall during his visit in 1921.<sup>87</sup> The disappearance of the northern wall could be an act of vandalism; the stones may have been reused for the construction of other buildings. This theory is supported by Van de Wall's statement about looting at Fort Nassau during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>88</sup> He describes that two lions which adorned the southern gate were moved to the entrance of the Chinese temple, and the gable of this gate which featured the coat of arms of Rotterdam was sent to the museum in Batavia.<sup>89</sup> On top of that, the clinker bricks that paved the inner courtyard of Fort Nassau were reused for the pavement of streets in Banda Neira.

In 1904, Fort Belgica was caught up in a military mishap when an order from Batavia arrived to destroy the five bastions during the Russian-Japanese war.<sup>90</sup> This order was adhered to, and dynamite was used to destroy the five roundels. However, the fort was so strong that forced labor was needed to tear the bastions down. Although Fort Nassau is not mentioned by either Van de Wall nor Van den Berg, it is possible that the order also included the (partial) destruction of Fort Nassau. This could be another explanation for

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<sup>87</sup> Van de Wall, 21–22.

<sup>88</sup> Van de Wall, 21–22.

<sup>89</sup> Contemporary Jakarta, possibly at the Museum Nasional.

<sup>90</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 23; Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 111–12.

the missing northern walls, which must have been removed between 1890-1910. Van de Wall remarks about his visit in 1921 that only the two sea-bastions were still standing, as the northern bastions and its connecting wall were broken down.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, the walls of Fort Nassau were overgrown with plants and large trees were growing on top of the ramparts, and a radio antenna was erected at the place of the missing northern wall (Figures 33 and 34).

The last military event that involved Fort Nassau occurred during the Second World War. On the northern side of the fort stood a radio station next to the radio antenna, which was part of the communication network of the Moluccas. This communication center became a target for the Japanese forces.<sup>92</sup> On February 1, 1942, Japanese warplanes attempted to bomb the radio station twice. However, they missed their intended target and the bombs damaged the old fort. In order to discourage the Japanese from attacking again, the Bandanese residents decided to tear down the (already non-functioning) radio antenna, which crashed in a field of tapioca root plants at the back of the fort. Besides the use of the fort's site as farming ground for tapioca, the tennis court remained a distinct feature of the site, as is clear from a military map drawn from aerial photographs at the start of 1944 (Figure 10). The map pinpoints the existence of a cement tennis court within the walls of Fort Nassau, as well as the radio station near the north-western bastion.

### **Revival and Renovation of Bandanese Heritage**

During the aftermath of the Second World War, Indonesian scholars, politicians and revolutionaries fought for the independence of their country. After having served as an exile place for the nationalists, the Banda Islands played no further role in the formation

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<sup>91</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 21–22.

<sup>92</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 207–10.

of the new independent nation. With Independence came the exodus of the *perkeniers*, and their *perken* were divided among the Bandanese families who were now responsible for the maintenance, harvest and sale of the spices. The empty *perkenier* complexes were left to deteriorate, as were the other Dutch constructions such as the fortifications. Because there was no economic impulse to replace these buildings with something new, they were left to ruin and were preserved in situ.

This was the situation on the Banda Islands until one influential individual returned to revitalize his home town: Des Alwi.<sup>93</sup> He made it his business to put the Banda Islands back on the map, by constructing an elegant hotel on the waterfront and encouraging the revival of *adat* traditions. He established the Banda Naira Culture and Heritage Foundation (*Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda: Yayasan*) and was able to buy several historical properties, restore and open them to visitors, as well as create a small museum. Jean-Paul Corten, coordinator of international cooperation of the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency, mentions the restoration of Fort Belgica in 1991, the stabilization of Fort Nassau and the renovation of the old Governor's residence among Des Alwi's accomplishments.<sup>94</sup>

Through Des Alwi's political ties, several cultural heritage sites on the Banda Islands received official recognition as cultural sites and they were provided with simple black and white signage (Figure 35). In 2010, the provincial office *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* (BPCB) installed a new information sign at Fort Nassau that provides a brief history of Fort Nassau, stating that it was built on top of the uncompleted Portuguese foundations by 700 Dutch soldiers under the command of Admiral Verhoeven (Figure 36). It continues to describe that the local Bandanese opposed the construction and fought the

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<sup>93</sup> Alwi, xii–xiii; Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 129–30.

<sup>94</sup> Corten and Grotenberg, “De Revitalisering van Een Nootmuskaatperk Op Banda Besar.,” 43. The Governor's residence is known as *Istana Mini*, which means small palace.

Dutch guerilla-style, but that the fort was completed nonetheless and named *Benteng Air*, meaning water fort. Under the command of Pieter Both it became the VOC's headquarters on the Banda Islands. The historical summary ends with the Bandanese massacre, as it stated that 40 *orang kaya* who fought against the Dutch were killed on this site. The history of Fort Nassau is therefore framed as a physical and unwelcome intrusion of the Dutch on the Banda Islands, and the Bandanese are presented as warriors that fought against the colonial settlement. However, the violence committed by the Dutch is written in a detached objective manner, which indicates that this history is not meant to harbor anger against the Dutch. This is evidenced by the slogan that heads the next section, which states: "Make peace with the past, build awareness"<sup>95</sup>. As this slogan is written in Indonesian, it is a message meant for the Indonesian visitors and Bandanese residents, urging them to make peace with the past, but at the same time create awareness about the heroes of their past.

The right column of the sign continues by informing the reader about the laws that protect cultural heritage in Indonesia.<sup>96</sup> Regarding the safeguarding of cultural heritage, article 62 of law no.11 from 2010 stipulates that this may be carried out by local custodians and/or special police.<sup>97</sup> On the Banda Islands, this supervision is carried out by a team of

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<sup>95</sup> Original text: "Berdamai Dengan Masa Lalu, Membangun Kesadaran", translated by J. van Donkersgoed.

<sup>96</sup> I discuss these laws further in Chapter 5.

<sup>97</sup> Pasal 61: (1) Pengamanan dilakukan untuk menjaga dan mencegah Cagar Budaya agar tidak hilang, rusak, hancur, atau musnah. (2) Pengamanan cagar budaya merupakan kewajiban pemilik dan/atau yang menguasainya. (translation: (1) Security is carried out to protect and prevent the Cultural Heritage from being lost, damaged, destroyed or destroyed. (2) Safeguarding cultural heritage is the obligation of the owner and / or the person who controls it) Pasal 62: (1) Pengamanan cagar budaya sebagaimana dimaksud dalam pasal 61 dapat dilakukan oleh juru pelihara dan/atau polisi khusus. (2) Polisi khusus sebagaimana dimaksud pada ayat (1) berwenang:

- a. melakukan patroli di dalam Kawasan cagar budaya sesuai dengan wilayah hukumnya
- b. memeriksa surat atau dokumen yang berkaitan dengan pengembangan dan pemanfaatan Cagar Budaya
- c. menerima dan membuat laporan tentang telah terjadinya tindak pidana terkait dengan cagar budaya serta meneruskannya kepada instansi yang berwenang di bidang kebudayaan, Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, atau instansi terkait; dan d. menangkap tersangka untuk diserahkan kepada Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia (translation: Special police as referred to in

caretakers which are appointed by the provincial agency *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* (BPCB). These local caretakers hold the key to the gate in Fort Belgica and maintain the grounds of both Fort Belgica and Fort Nassau.<sup>98</sup> One of the keepers informed me that this team started as a volunteer group, because the district was not taking care of the forts and it pained them to see the heritage sites overgrown and neglected. It is hard work though, so the caretaker is glad that BPCB started paying them since 2010. The team to maintain Fort Nassau has three people, a part-time job for which they receive a monthly salary of Rp. 1 million (equals \$72).<sup>99</sup> Besides providing access to Fort Belgica and receiving entrance fees from tourists, the caretakers maintain the vegetation by letting cows graze, by cutting the grass and other vegetation, and by burning the garbage found on site.

When Des Alwi was still alive, he not only raised awareness about Bandanese cultural heritage in national and provincial agencies, he also initiated his own heritage projects on the island. One of his initiatives was the construction of a monument, known as the *parigi rantai* (chained well) (Figures 61 and 62), which commemorates the location where the *orang kayas* blood was spilled to defend their land and Islam.<sup>100</sup> However, within the Bandanese community it has recently become an object of debate whether this well is merely a monument to commemorate the event, or whether this well is the actual site that played a part in the gruesome history.<sup>101</sup> Within the oral history among the Bandanese, it is mentioned that the Dutch officers allowed the *orang kaya* to perform *wudhu*, an Islamic cleansing ritual, before they were executed. This *wudhu* would have

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paragraph (1) are authorized: a. conduct patrols in the area of cultural preservation in accordance with their jurisdiction b. examine letters or documents relating to the development and utilization of Cultural Heritage c. receive and make reports about the occurrence of a criminal offense related to cultural preservation and forward it to the competent authority in the field of culture, the Republic of Indonesia National Police, or related agencies; and d. arrest suspects to be submitted to the Indonesian National Police)

<sup>98</sup> Fieldnotes May 26, 2017.

<sup>99</sup> Fieldnotes May 23, 2017.

<sup>100</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", 9.

<sup>101</sup> Fieldnotes 2017 and 2018.



taken place at a well near Fort Nassau. Moreover, the oral history relates that the dismembered body parts of the *orang kaya* were deposited in a well near Fort Nassau.

In the nearby surroundings of the forts I have identified five wells, two of which are claimed to be of importance to this story: the monumentalized well and a neglected well near the main road (Figure 38). This last well is also referred to as the *perigi Portugis* (Portuguese well), and Bandanese residents say that the ghosts of the *orang kaya* haunt it.<sup>102</sup> Despite its deteriorated state, recent attention has been focused on this well and a first effort to honor the site was made on May 7, 2018 during the annual commemoration of the Bandanese Massacre (Figure 62). The official event was held at the monumentalized well, but the second part of the event was held at the ‘Portuguese well’ outside the recently rebuilt northeastern bastion of Fort Nassau. They honored the well by placing flowers and pronouncing a prayer. As indicated by this particular example, the validity of some of the heritage initiatives taken by Des Alwi are currently being challenged by some members of the local community. Several knowledgeable Bandanese residents have indicated that the monument is merely that, a monument, while the place of importance is the ‘Portuguese well’, also referred to as the ‘old well’. This is a more recent development since the death of Des Alwi in 2010, as it now appears to be safe to question his interpretation of Bandanese history and heritage.

Since Des Alwi’s death, his daughter Tanya Alwi has taken over his work in the Banda Naira Culture and Heritage Foundation (Yayasan). In her efforts to continue her father’s legacy, Tanya Alwi invited Rutgers University to assist the Yayasan in their efforts to nominate the Banda Islands for the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2014. These efforts followed the earlier attempts from 1997, when the Dutch Cultural Agency (*Rijksdienst*

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<sup>102</sup> Fieldnotes February 9, 2019.

*voor de Monumentenzorg*; RDMZ)<sup>103</sup> assisted the Alwi family in several cultural heritage projects including supporting a possible World Heritage nomination. From this agency, several reports concerning the state of the cultural heritage on the Banda Islands were produced.<sup>104</sup>

#### *Concerning Renovation of Fort Nassau*

The first field report from the RDMZ refers to an older detailed report from Geert van Leenders, who describes that the northern wall of Fort Nassau is completely destroyed, and much of the two bastions. Although the rest of the fort is largely intact, he remarked that the walls are overgrown and that the moat should be restored. In order to accomplish this, he states that 25 residences have to be removed. At the moment of his visit, he was informed that new houses were being built for these families. Leenders declared that the fort was in urgent need of restoration and conservation, for which expert advice is needed for both preparation and implementation stages.

When the RDMZ team visited the site in 1997, they observed that the fort was almost entirely hidden by vegetation, the moats were no longer recognizable as such, and the link between the water and low-lying fort had been almost completely obscured by trees and “the unchecked growth of the small kampong-type structure”<sup>105</sup>. The tone in which the local habitation is referred to as ‘unchecked growth’ is similar as to when one would describe the overgrowth by weeds. Therefore, it shows their neglect of the concerns of the local community that live near the site as their focus is fixed on the material integrity

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<sup>103</sup> *Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg* is the previous name for the Dutch governmental agency for cultural heritage, currently called *Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed* (: RCE).

<sup>104</sup> Wieringa and Attema, “The Spice Islands in the Banda Sea: Pre-Liminary Account of a Factfinding Mission to the Moluccan Islands of Banda Naira, Lonthor and Ay”; Grotenbreg, “Een Indruk van de Bouwnijverheid Op de Banda Eilanden”; Corten and van Dun, “Inheritance ‘Van Oom Coen’: Report of a Technical Mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001.”

<sup>105</sup> Wieringa and Attema, “The Spice Islands in the Banda Sea: Pre-Liminary Account of a Factfinding Mission to the Moluccan Islands of Banda Naira, Lonthor and Ay,” 33.

of the site. Moreover, they stated that Fort Nassau is “more architecturally significant than Fort Belgica”<sup>106</sup> and that it is of “great cultural value”<sup>107</sup>. The RDMZ team therefore recommended to open the vistas around the fort and restore the waterway. Again, the recommendation to restore the waterway and open the vistas show a detachment for the concerns of the local community, as these suggestions mean that the houses need to be removed and the local residents displaced in service of the restoration of this colonial site. Another negative effect of restoring the waterway that seem to have been overlooked by the RDMZ team is that it could create a health hazard as it could function as a breeding ground for mosquitoes.<sup>108</sup>

The RDMZ’s focus on material integrity also becomes apparent as they remark that the restoration of Fort Nassau should not follow the approach of Fort Belgica, “which is restored in a rather sterile way”<sup>109</sup> in 1991. The conservation approach to Fort Belgica is later defined as “‘over’-restoring / ‘over’ preserving”, which is based on the changes that can be seen when a photograph from the 1930s is compared to a photo of the current restored Fort Belgica (Figures 46 and 47).<sup>110</sup> Not only have the wooden stairs been replaced by a stone staircase, the bastions have been elongated and the top of both the walls and bastions have been provisioned with battlements. The sentiment against such additions when Fort Nassau would be restored was echoed in a letter to the embassy, in which the RDMZ-affiliated architect expressed his fears that the renovation of Fort Nassau would be

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<sup>106</sup> Wieringa and Attema, 33.

<sup>107</sup> Wieringa and Attema, 33.

<sup>108</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2019.

<sup>109</sup> Wieringa and Attema, “The Spice Islands in the Banda Sea: Pre-Liminary Account of a Factfinding Mission to the Moluccan Islands of Banda Naira, Lonthor and Ay,” 32–33.

<sup>110</sup> However, when zoomed in on an older photograph from 1860-1890, the shape of Fort Belgica is more similar to the current restoration than the shape of the fort in 1930 (see Figures 29 and 32). This is probably due to military mishap in 1904, when the Fort Belgica was severely damaged. According to the caption of the photograph made between 1930-1960, the image was taken when the Governor General visited the restored fort. This suggests that the restoration from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century was less true to the original shape of Fort Belgica than the restoration from 1991, which according to the RDMZ was an act of ‘over’-restoring.

alike Fort Belgica if the involved parties did not gain advice from outside.<sup>111</sup> These writings indicate that there was a feeling among these Dutch parties that their approach to the material fabric of the site would be proper, while the Indonesian approach should be considered improper. In 1997 the RDMZ team proposed that the ruined fort should be preserved as a ‘fort garden’, a reimagining of the fort as a place for leisure and tourism, which would involve opening the vista to the sea and incorporating existing nutmeg and kapok trees as new natural elements in the inner courtyard.<sup>112</sup> The intent to preserve the ruined fort in stasis is reminiscent of nostalgia within the material-based approach to conservation.<sup>113</sup> The latest report describing the physical state of the cultural heritage sites on Banda Neira by the RDMZ dates from 2001.<sup>114</sup> Attached to this report is a map with the cultural sites, on which Fort Nassau is marked as being in a bad technical condition, indicating that conservation for this site is required (Figure 12).

The tension between the different approaches to cultural heritage was not wholly unacknowledged by the Dutch authorities, as the letter did question “whether Indonesia would welcome their advice”<sup>115</sup>. Despite their apparent top-down material-based approach of this earlier visit, a later visit by another RDMZ team in 2001 did make an effort to include the local community in the conservation activities, by giving lectures to the teachers and students of the local college and training local craftsmen to conduct the restoration work.<sup>116</sup> In his report on the construction industry on the Banda Islands, architect Emile Grotenbreg remarks that the quality of the work produced by the

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<sup>111</sup> Attema, “Banda Eilanden - Letter to Dutch Embassy in Jakarta,” April 30, 1998.

<sup>112</sup> Wieringa and Attema, “The Spice Islands in the Banda Sea: Pre-Liminary Account of a Factfinding Mission to the Moluccan Islands of Banda Naira, Lonthor and Ay,” 33.

<sup>113</sup> Berliner, “Multiple Nostalgias.”

<sup>114</sup> Corten and van Dun, “Inheritance ‘Van Oom Coen’: Report of a Technical Mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001.”

<sup>115</sup> Attema, “Banda Eilanden - Letter to Dutch Embassy in Jakarta,” April 30, 1998.

<sup>116</sup> Corten and van Dun, “Inheritance ‘Van Oom Coen’: Report of a Technical Mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001,” 3; Grotenbreg, “Een Indruk van de Bouwnijverheid Op de Banda Eilanden”; Attema, “RE: Banda Eilanden - Letter to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta,” April 27, 1999.

Bandanese craftsmen is of high quality, especially their mastery of plastering in an even manner.

After the last report from 2001, in which the restoration of all the cultural heritage properties that are deemed important by the RMDZ was estimated at approximately 27 million dollars the efforts to enlist the Banda Islands as a World Heritage site stagnated.<sup>117</sup> However, in 2014 the effort was resumed by Tanya Alwi with assistance from the program in Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies at Rutgers University. Together with Archer St. Clair Harvey, we developed argumentation for the Banda Islands to be nominated as a mixed site for the Tentative List. After revisions were made by the permanent delegation of the Republic of Indonesia to UNESCO, this document was submitted and published by UNESCO on their website as a current placeholder on the Tentative List.<sup>118</sup>

These renewed efforts raised awareness about the heritage of the Banda Islands, and in the summer of 2015 the director of BPCB, Laode Muhammad Aksa<sup>119</sup> led a transformative restoration project for Fort Nassau.<sup>120</sup> A Total of 13 officers of the technical staff from the BPCB office were sent, as well as seven cultural conservation officers and two lecturers from the conservation office of Borobudur temple complex (*Balai Konservasi Borobudur*)<sup>121</sup>. Prior to their activities, their assessment of Fort Nassau describes its physical status as “significantly degraded of form”<sup>122</sup>, as it formerly had four bastions, but the northern wall and the northeast and northwest bastion were completely destroyed.<sup>123</sup> Only the southeast and southwest bastion were left, and the two gates in the

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<sup>117</sup> Corten and van Dun, “Inheritance ‘Van Oom Coen’: Report of a Technical Mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001.”

<sup>118</sup> UNESCO, “Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy.”

<sup>119</sup> Director of BPCB from 1998 till 2016.

<sup>120</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, “Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian.”

<sup>121</sup> Conservation Office of Borobudur, located in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

<sup>122</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, “Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian,” 41.

<sup>123</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, 41.

southern and western wall. Although intact, these gates have sustained severe damage which affected their structure and may stimulate further collapse.

The report indicates that their aim of the conservation activities is as an act of salvation, preservation and protection, and that the notion of conservation involves the conservation of both the built and natural environment.<sup>124</sup> It further refers to the *Burra Charter* to attest that conservation is a process to manage a place in order to maintain its cultural meaning in accordance to the local situation and conditions.<sup>125</sup> Through historic conservation efforts, the aim of the office is to realize identity-oriented development which can improve the local economy, especially through tourism.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, by focusing their conservation efforts on Fort Nassau, the office indicates its role in local identity and its potential as a tourism site.

The BPCB's overall estimation indicated that the fort was in a "poorly maintained condition"<sup>127</sup>, as much of the plaster has loosened from the weathered walls and vegetation was damaging the wall as plant roots were burying into the walls. They estimated that the overall damage to the fort was 60%.<sup>128</sup> Besides the vegetation on the fortress walls, the plants and trees growing in the moat around Fort Nassau were negatively influencing the condition of the walls, because it restricted the airflow causing the walls to be damp and encouraging moss growth. Therefore, their aim was to reduce the level of moisture on the walls of the fort by removing the large trees, grasses and mosses that were growing on top of, and around the fort.

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<sup>124</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, 43.

<sup>125</sup> Budihardjo, *Konservasi Lingkungan Dan Bangunan Kuno Bersejarah Di Surakarta*; in Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, "Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian," 43.

<sup>126</sup> Budihardjo, *Preservation and Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Indonesia*, 148; in Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, "Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian," 43.

<sup>127</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, "Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian," 42.

<sup>128</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, 43.

These conservation activities were carried out in three phases: injection of chemicals into the roots, spraying of chemicals on the moss, and cleaning of the walls.<sup>129</sup> The chemicals used were *paraquat dichloride* and *glyphophate*, which were injected in high doses<sup>130</sup> into the roots of trees. The injection sites were prepared by drilling a hole. Smaller doses<sup>131</sup> in spraying bottles were used to treat the moss on the walls. Besides these unwanted wild trees and mosses, there were crops growing in the moat that belonged to residents, including mango, nutmeg, banana, coconut, papaya and avocado trees. The owners of these trees were identified and compensated for the loss of their crops as their trees were removed during these conservation efforts.<sup>132</sup>

The listed activities do not mention the more reconstructive activities that I witnessed when I visited the islands again in November 2015, together with the director of the program for Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies (CHAPS), Archer St. Clair-Harvey, cultural heritage expert Ken Taylor and natural heritage expert Jessica Brown. During this visit we witnessed various methods that were used to partially reconstruct the fort by adding new red bricks and stones to the ramparts, and the covering of these and the old stones with a layer of plaster. The photograph on Figure 39 shows how the walls of the moat had already undergone the full treatment, covering up the original masonry with plaster to exhibit a smooth and flat surface. When this photograph is compared to an older historic image of the moat, it is questionable whether the entire moat was once plastered as the restored version currently is (Figure 30). Besides the aim to create an aesthetically pleasing image, the new layer of plaster functions to reduce nooks and crannies in which mosses and other vegetation thrive. Similarly, the *perkeniers* had to plaster the walls to

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<sup>129</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, 45–49.

<sup>130</sup> 200 ml (6.8oz) of *paraquat dichloride* and 200 ml (6.8 oz) of *glyphophate* were dissolved in 1 liter (33.8 oz) of water.

<sup>131</sup> 100 ml (3.4oz) of *paraquat dichloride* and 100 ml (3.4 oz) of *glyphophate* were dissolved in 10 liter (338 oz) of water.

<sup>132</sup> Fieldnotes 2017.

maintain the walls and keep it them good condition in the tropical climate of the Banda Islands.<sup>133</sup>

The restoration activities were continued under the new leadership of Nur Alam<sup>134</sup> at BPCB Ternate, who developed an extensive plan for the completed reconstruction of Fort Nassau, including restoring the waterway to fill the moat with water (Figure 45). From 2016 until 2018, the conducted activities included the maintenance of the new vegetation that had been growing on and around the fort, the reconstruction of the north-east bastion and refortification of the eastern wall. According to a resident who lived near the site during these activities, several excavations were conducted and the objects that were found collected under a tree (Figure 54).<sup>135</sup> Children picked these up and played with them, causing the objects to fragment further. The people who were conducting the digging activities were workers, not researchers, and merely tasked to work to rebuild the fort. They found a cannon while they were clearing the sand that had accumulated along the western wall and south-west corner of the inner courtyard.

In 2018, under the new leadership of Muhammad Husni<sup>136</sup>, several professional excavations were conducted within the walls of Fort Nassau, with the aim of determining where the previous staircases were located that led up the rampart wall.<sup>137</sup> During these excavations, they discovered old tiles of the stairway that led up to the south-east bastion, the size and pattern of which they replicated in the new cement staircase (Figure 41). Moreover, they conducted excavations to ensure that the trajectory of the reconstructed bastion followed the original foundation (Figure 42). This trajectory will be continued to meet the (currently ruined) north-west bastion, and all this reconstructive work is

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<sup>133</sup> Van de Wall, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Perkeniers 1621 - 1671*, 543–44.

<sup>134</sup> Director of BPCB from 2016 till 2018.

<sup>135</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>136</sup> Director of BPCB since 2018.

<sup>137</sup> Fieldnotes February 17 + 20, 2019.



scheduled to be finished in the year 2020.<sup>138</sup> The team currently working on the restoration believe that the restored fort will offer economic development and empowerment for the locals that live nearby.<sup>139</sup>

The current phase of the reconstruction includes the demolition of the ‘Telkom house’, which was owned by the government until it was sold to the telecommunications company Telkom Indonesia in the 1960s.<sup>140</sup> The land is still the property of the government, but the house changed ownership to the current local owner when the Telkom company moved their office to another part of town. When I visited this property in 2017, the residing family of seven had been renting the house for about 3 years.<sup>141</sup> They were aware that they will have to vacate the building when the reconstruction continues, which saddens them. The house will be demolished by BPCB once they have paid for the property to the landlord. The owner of the building did not object to the renovation or the loss of property, and mentioned that this is a good development for Banda Neira and wished that more renovations of historic buildings would take place. However, he wanted a fair price for the house and the trees around it, which are currently managed by the renters and the harvest is shared among these parties. In front of the building, the lady of the house ran a *warung* for *nasi kuning*, serving a traditional rice dish which is eaten especially in the morning. When I visited the island again in 2019, the family had already vacated the house and the patriarchal head Ahmad had passed away. The *warung* was moved to the other side of the road, so they did not lose this source of income. However, it is no longer in proximity to their family house.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Fieldnotes January 23, 2019.

<sup>139</sup> Fieldnotes May 19, 2017.

<sup>140</sup> Fieldnotes July 2, 2017.

<sup>141</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Fieldnotes February 22, 2019.

Although the landlord seemed willing to part with the property in anticipation of the renovation, when the destruction of the house finally occurred in October 2019, he was faced with a much lower payment for the building than he had anticipated.<sup>143</sup> The cost of building a house of a size of 15 x 9 m ( $\approx$  49 x 29 feet) is 182 million rupiahs ( $\approx$  \$12,900), however he only received a portion of this amount. Therefore, there is a shortage in funds to construct a new building, forcing the landlord to look for a loan to be able to construct a new building elsewhere. Despite these financial hardships, the landlord informed me that “it’s no problem”<sup>144</sup> that BPCB only could afford a smaller sum of money, as he stated the important thing is that his family no longer obstruct the restoration of Fort Nassau. Through prayer, he hopes that God will present him with a solution.

### **Displacement and Community Perception**

The Telekom building is an example of the compliant reactions that the residents that live on and near the site expressed regarding the restoration of Fort Nassau. When I inquired with other residents, they similarly stated that they would move if BPCB gave them a fair price for their house.<sup>145</sup> They expressed that the renovation of Fort Nassau is a good development for the Banda Islands, and for this reason they are willing to move to a different location. The Bandanese refer to this process of demolition and displacement with the verb *bersih*, meaning ‘to clean’. Therefore, it seems to have a positive connotation to clean the area, as it implies activities that beautify the site. Despite their compliance, it still saddens them that they have to relocate and they expressed regret for buying the property; if they had known they would not have bought the building. Several residents

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<sup>143</sup> Fieldnotes October 22, 2019.

<sup>144</sup> Literally: “*Tidak apa apa*”.

<sup>145</sup> Fieldnotes October 11 + 16, 2017; February 22, 2019.

had bought their property about 10 years earlier, from the Christian Bandanese that had fled the unrest on the islands and decided to remain on the island Ambon.

The immediate danger for displacement seems to be focused on the Telekom building in the northern wall trajectory and the buildings in front of the southern wall and gate. Some buildings are allowed to remain, as BPCB has informed a business which is located near the ruined northern wall that they it will not be removed, “*tidak pindah*”<sup>146</sup>, as there is enough room to rebuild the bastion. Another contributing factor that influences the displacement decisions by BPCB, is the belief that most buildings around Fort Nassau were constructed illegally because the land belongs to the state. While Des Alwi was still alive, he argued with the local government about these ‘illegal houses’.<sup>147</sup> He also fought against the houses constructed on the reclaimed land between the bay and Fort Nassau, where once the waterway connected the moat with the sea.<sup>148</sup> Another prominent Bandanese resident fought Alwi’s view that this was ‘military land’, which was confirmed when a general came to inspect the claim. Since then, the residents in this area have purchased certificates for their land and houses, making it hard to displace these people.<sup>149</sup>

A similar case in which people were displaced in an effort to restore a certain esthetic of Bandanese heritage, is the creation of the park in front of the old Governor’s residence, *Istana Mini*. Similar to the recommendation by RDMZ to ‘open the vistas’<sup>150</sup> around Fort Nassau, residences in front of this site were removed to create an open view to the bay. One family refused to vacate their property, however, and therefore one building in this area still stands. It is currently rented out to the Pelni boat company as an office space. This history of displacement feeds the fear of the residents in the area

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<sup>146</sup> Fieldnotes February 12, 2019.

<sup>147</sup> Fieldnotes February 10, 2019.

<sup>148</sup> Fieldnotes October 24, 2017.

<sup>149</sup> Fieldnotes February 22, 2019.

<sup>150</sup> Fieldnotes February 18, 2019.

surrounding Fort Nassau, as one new resident confessed while he was constructing his new house a few feet removed from the moat.<sup>151</sup> He was assured that the location of his new house did not interfere with the restoration. However, he introduced me to several worried families that live in the path of the old waterway. Although these residents currently have papers to prove they own the land, and started paying property tax, they are hesitant to conduct improvements on their houses with the impending danger of the ongoing restorations.<sup>152</sup>

The fear of the residents living on the site of the waterway stands in contrast with the anticipation by other Bandanese people to see the waterway restored. One Bandanese informed me that Fort Nassau will be more beautiful than Fort Belgica once the connection to the sea is restored.<sup>153</sup> Moreover, their grandparents had told them how the boats could sail straight up to the gates of Fort Nassau once. Restoring the waterway would allow them to teach their children about history, and that the fort was constructed because the Banda Islands was so important to the spice trade. Therefore, restoring the fort to its former full glory would allow visitors and next generations to see the historical importance of the Banda Islands, so history is never lost.

The restoration of Fort Nassau is therefore viewed as having advantages and disadvantages, by the Bandanese referred to as “pro and contra”<sup>154</sup>. For the Bandanese community the history of Fort Nassau is intrinsically connected to the Bandanese Massacre, which is exhibited in oral history, ghost sightings and the annual commemorative ceremony. Despite the negative history, the Bandanese see the restoration of Fort Nassau as a positive take-away due to its historical lesson. Only when the fort is restored to its former glory with water in its canals, it is said, can the site be a

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<sup>151</sup> Fieldnotes February 9, 2019.

<sup>152</sup> Fieldnotes February 22, 2019.

<sup>153</sup> Fieldnotes February 11, 2019.

<sup>154</sup> Fieldnotes June 3, 2017.

true asset to Banda. The renovation has to look like the original, *seperti asli*, because then people will come to see and visit the islands.<sup>155</sup> This sentiment is also shared among the members of the local tourism board, who wish to have the authority to run the heritage places and create attractive signage.<sup>156</sup> The anticipation of visitors that will come to view the site once its restored was repeatedly stated as: *Mau lihat, mau lihat* (Wanna see, wanna see), which would make Banda Neira a very busy tourism site.

The anticipation to develop Fort Nassau as a site for tourism is clear from the location of Banda Neira's new boutique hotel; the *Cilu Bintang Estate*.<sup>157</sup> This hotel emulates the wealth and riches of the colonial era, with its marble floors, crystal chandeliers and lofty rooms. This reference to the colonial era is clear as soon as you walk up to the property, as the entrance to the hotel is marked by a large fence which is encrusted with the VOC's logo, and the stones of the pathway to the hotel are artistically engraved with images of both Fort Nassau and Fort Belgica (Figure 63). The most expensive suites of the hotel are oriented towards Fort Nassau, offering a view of the sunset over the fort and the Gunung Api behind it. Despite some small controversy regarding the proximity of this hotel to the fort, the owner of Cilu Bintang can proudly show old Dutch documentation that indicates that the plot of land he bought is directly adjacent to, but not overlapping with, the old moat of Fort Nassau.<sup>158</sup> The proximity of this luxurious hotel marks Fort Nassau as a tourism site.

Lastly, besides the function as a tourism site, Fort Nassau attracts a regular crowd of youngsters that use the level plain of the inner courtyard as a soccer field. This re-use of the heritage site is noteworthy, as the exact location was once used by the colonists for leisure. The markings of the tennis court are still visible, despite the growth of short

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<sup>155</sup> Fieldnotes February 12, 2019.

<sup>156</sup> Fieldnotes October 9, 2017.

<sup>157</sup> The construction started in 2009 and lasted till 2014. Cilu Bintang opened in October 2014.

<sup>158</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2019.

grasses within the cracks of the cement (Figure 43). Thus, a new generation grows up with memories of the fort as a place of leisure, a place they can claim as their own.

### Concluding Remarks

The restoration activities of Fort Nassau show that the site is actively being reused, reinvented and reinterpreted for the anticipated influx of (inter)national tourists. As the discussion concerning the two wells indicate<sup>159</sup>, in the eyes of the Bandanese Fort Nassau and its attributes serve as physical markers that reminds them of the grim history concerning its construction and the violent takeover by the Dutch East India Company over the dominion of the Banda Islands. Therefore, Fort Nassau could be regarded as a negative heritage site. However, the fort is also part of more positive story, as a reminder of the heroism of the *orang kaya*, and the past importance of the Banda Islands to the world and its central role in the trade of nutmeg and mace. To show this prominence, the Bandanese want Fort Nassau to be reconstructed to its former glory, including a functioning waterway, on the prerequisite that the reconstruction looks similar to the original. However, the question what the original looked like is a tricky one, as the fort has seen many alterations, destructions and reconstructions since its construction. In recent memory, the stones of the walls were visible and the scene of a ruin is imprinted on the minds of residents and travelers alike. However, historical sources show that the walls were completely plastered in a similar fashion in which Fort Belgica was restored.<sup>160</sup>

The BPCB indicated that they anticipate that a restored Fort Nassau will contribute to the local identity of the Bandanese and visual representation of heritage on the Banda Islands. Currently, Fort Belgica already contributes to the image of Banda Islands, despite

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<sup>159</sup> See section “Revival and Renovation”.

<sup>160</sup> This will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

the negative descriptions of its 'over'-restored appearance. Fort Belgica even speaks to the imagination of an Indonesian identity, as is evidenced by the new banknote series called 'National Heroes' launched in 2016.<sup>161</sup> Each banknote features a national hero on one side, and a region depicted by a dancer and a heritage site on the other side. The smallest denomination shows the face of the heroine Cut Nyak Meutia and features Fort Belgica on the flipside. The fort is depicted from an aerial view, with the Gunung Api in the background and a Moluccan dancer in the foreground (Figure 74). Previously, the smallest denomination displayed another scene from the Moluccas region: the islands Tidore and Ternate. The other side of this banknote previously featured Pattimura, a freedom-fighter from Ambon. It is interesting that this regional freedom hero was replaced by a female hero from a different province. Moreover, one could wonder why the developers did not opt to depict one of the freedom-fighters that were exiled to the Banda Islands on this banknote, since two of them had already be selected for this honor.<sup>162</sup>

In this chapter I argued that within the narration of Bandanese history, Fort Nassau plays a central role as a site of memory. However, due to its neglected and overgrown state the fort was not regularly visited and functioned as a mere tangible marker of a gruesome history, Bandanese resistance and the islands' past prominence in the spice trade. The current restoration activities, however, have attracted renewed interest of the Bandanese people in this history and the site where the massacre took place. The renewed interest can be seen in the active discussion about the wells, as well as the willingness of residents to move in order for the restoration of Fort Nassau to be completed. The overall consensus is that, once the fort is restored, the history of the

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<sup>161</sup> Amindoni, "12 Heroes Will Be on New Banknotes and Coins."

<sup>162</sup> Mohammad Hatta is depicted on the 100,000 Indonesian rupiah banknote and Cipto Mangunkusumo is depicted on the 200 Indonesian coin.

prominence of the Banda Islands within the spice trade and the memory of the massacre will be told more often and become more alive.



## Chapter 4: Fort Nassau and its Cultural Landscape

*“There lay the beautiful and fertile islands, sweet-smelling of the nutmeg trees and healthy because of the surrounding flushing sea, ready to be taken.”<sup>1</sup>*

This portrayal of the Banda Islands from 1873 describes the landscape once Jan Pieterszoon Coen had killed and driven out the “vile, treacherous and combative”<sup>2</sup> Bandanese people. Therefore, not only does this sentence refer to a sensorial landscape with sweet-smelling nutmeg trees and the focal role of the surrounding sea, it also stresses that the Banda Islands were ‘ready to be taken’ by the Dutch colonists. This phrase indicates a justification of the Dutch claim of the land, emphasized by the wording to describe the Bandanese people as ‘treacherous’ for cheating them out of this perceived right.

This excerpt therefore hints at the larger sensorial landscape of the Banda Islands, and the Dutch colonial dominance that was imposed upon it. These aspects inform the function and meaning of the heritage sites on the Banda Islands. As Smith states, a heritage site consists of both tangible and intangible aspects that together need to be acknowledged in order to assess and preserve the integrity of a particular place.<sup>3</sup> In this chapter, I therefore discuss how Fort Nassau as a heritage site connects with its this larger sensorial, sacred and spatial landscape which are formed by historical (colonial) narratives and contemporary (re)interpretations.

The chapter starts by discussing Fort Nassau as a physical site through its architectural history and the various representations of the site, which have visualized its various architectural stages. These visualizations and historical descriptions of Fort Nassau furthermore inform us about the cultural activities that have taken place at the

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<sup>1</sup> Van der Linden, *Banda en zijne bewoners*, 5. Translation by J. van Donkersgoed

<sup>2</sup> Van der Linden, 5. Translation by J. van Donkersgoed.

<sup>3</sup> Smith, “Applying a Cultural Landscape Approach,” 185.

fort. In particular, I focus on how the fort was used to exude colonial dominion over the land, sea and other islands. All these facets contribute to the interpretation of Fort Nassau as a heritage site, as they provide historical meaning and allude to the function of this site.

To contextualize the architectural design of Fort Nassau, I place it within the larger context of Dutch fortifications. Through discussion of the various phases of its construction, I attest that the physical materiality of Fort Nassau has never been a stable entity and has been changed to address the needs of the contemporary society. In my discussion of the physical fabric of Fort Nassau, I rely on the visual analysis of maps, engraved illustrations and photographs besides historical documents and oral histories. However, these illustrations cannot be read as actual representations of Fort Nassau and the Banda Islands archipelago at the time of printing, as they were created with a particular purpose in mind by artists who may never have visited the islands themselves. As Peter Lape states, maps in particular “depict selected abstractions of real geographic space, reflecting conscious or subconscious selections made by the mapmaker”<sup>4</sup>.

Therefore, the illustrators’ imaginations on how to depict the islands, its forts and the activities there are biased by their perception of history and the world at the time of creation. Nevertheless, these maps and prints can provide insights through a critical visual analysis about what is depicted and what has been disregarded. These depictions also allude to the sensorial landscape of Fort Nassau. Therefore, after describing the physical fabric of Fort Nassau, I describe the intangible elements including the sounds, sights and cultural practices that provide a more complete insight into the functions, use and interpretation of the site.

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<sup>4</sup> Lape, “Historic Maps and Archaeology as a Means of Understanding Late Precolonial Settlement in the Banda Islands, Indonesia,” 45.

## Architectural History of Fort Nassau

Architecturally, Fort Nassau is an example of a square fort with four bastions.<sup>5</sup> This was the most common type of fortification used in siege wars within the Dutch Republic, often constructed as temporary defense works that could be erected within a short period of time.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, this type of fort could be easily adjusted to local circumstances, making it ideal for the first colonizers in foreign lands. The bastions are shaped according to the Italian School, which was adopted by the Dutch during the Eighty Years' War (1566-1648) against the Spanish Crown.<sup>7</sup> The Italian school worked according to straight lines, exchanging the round towers of previous medieval castles for the angular four-sided bastions. This eliminated the dead area upon which the canons on top of the bastion could not fire (Figure 26).

Rather than building these fortifications with masonry like the Italians, the Dutch adopted a more economical and faster approach by constructing their fortifications out of earth.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, such earthen walls were better able to withstand cannon fire, as the earth absorbs the impact better than masonry walls. This Dutch style, called *Oud-Nederlandse Stelsel*, was exported and implemented across the globe by both the Dutch East and West India Companies (VOC and WIC).<sup>9</sup> The system encompassed the design of the square fort, consisting of curtain walls connecting the four bastions on the corners,

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<sup>5</sup> "Bastion: a four-sided work which projects from the main rampart, and consists of two faces and two flanks" Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 220.. See also Figure 28. Jayasena and Floore, "Dutch Forts of Seventeenth Century Ceylon and Mauritius: An Historical Archaeological Perspective," 244–45.

<sup>6</sup> Jayasena and Floore, "Dutch Forts of Seventeenth Century Ceylon and Mauritius: An Historical Archaeological Perspective," 246.

<sup>7</sup> Müller, *Geschichte des Festungskrieges seit allgemeiner Einführung der Feuerwaffen bis zum Jahre 1892*, von H. Müller, ... *Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage.*, 17–18; Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 10–11+227.

<sup>8</sup> Müller, *Geschichte des Festungskrieges seit allgemeiner Einführung der Feuerwaffen bis zum Jahre 1892*, von H. Müller, ... *Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage.*, 17; Jayasena and Floore, "Dutch Forts of Seventeenth Century Ceylon and Mauritius: An Historical Archaeological Perspective," 237.

<sup>9</sup> Jayasena and Floore, "Dutch Forts of Seventeenth Century Ceylon and Mauritius: An Historical Archaeological Perspective," 237–38.

allowing the defense of the structure from all sides. The length of the curtain walls was based on the maximum effective range of a musket. When the outline of the wall was measured, the moat was dug and the excavated soil was used to erect the ramparts (Figure 25). Valentijn measured the length and width of the fort and described it as 17 ½ by 13 *roeden*.<sup>10</sup> Between the curtain wall and moat, a low outer rampart was erected, called the *fausse-braye* (Figure 28).<sup>11</sup>

The first detailed engraving of Fort Nassau from 1646 suggests that this fort was constructed according to the *Oud-Nederlandse Stelsel*, as the depicted earthen walls are supported by a wooden palisade (Figure 18). Moreover, that the Dutch opted for the cheaper and faster option is confirmed by Verhoeven's choice to construct the fort on the level terrain which the Portuguese had already prepared, as building the fort on this location would have cost less resources and time, and it provided access to the shore.<sup>12</sup> At the moment of construction, the fort consisted of four bastions, one gate facing the sea in the south, several buildings within the walls including the residence of the *Landvoogd* at the south-side of the inner wall (Figure 19). Besides these buildings, each bastion was equipped with a sentry box, and along the western rampart several trees were planted, including banana and lemon trees.<sup>13</sup> In the inner square there is a water well depicted, as well as several tall coconut trees and some other larger unidentified trees.

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<sup>10</sup> *Roede* is a measure of length, the length of a *roede* could range between 7 to 21 feet (2 to 6,5 meters).

<sup>11</sup> Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 223.

<sup>12</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 41. See Chapter 3, section "Construction of Fort Nassau as Provocation".

<sup>13</sup> Valentijn mentioned lemon trees on top of the ramparts. Moreover, it is likely they grew these trees as the vitamins in lemons were effective to fight scurvy. Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:2.

The depiction of the entry gate in the southern wall indicates that it was constructed with masonry, which may have been *ijselsteentjes*<sup>14</sup> that were brought over by the ships from the Netherlands.<sup>15</sup> However, the design of the gate seems to differ from the contemporary decorative masonry work of the southern gate, suggesting that this first gateway may have been replaced when the earthen walls were replaced with stone walls. As mentioned, according to the first detailed engraving of Fort Nassau, the walls were surrounded by a wooden palisade. According to Christopher Duffy, this is typical for the Dutch-style earthen ramparts, as these wooden palisades would make it equally hard to climb the rampart as an Italian School-style masonry wall.<sup>16</sup> However, these earthen ramparts required a lot of maintenance, and masonry walls were a good investment for a fort that was meant to last. This replacement probably occurred in 1617, which is the date indicated by iron letters on the southern wall “Anno 1617”<sup>17</sup>.

Furthermore, Duffy notes that it was a general practice to place the main gateway of Dutch fortification in the middle of one of the curtains, just as is the case at Fort Nassau.<sup>18</sup> He explains that the benefits of this placement were to shelter the gate from enemy fire and that it could be easily defended from the adjoining bastions. Moreover, this location enhanced the symmetry and beauty of the fort. The gateway offered creative opportunity for the architect, and the current masonry of the southern gate of Fort Nassau seems to have been built with a decorative purpose (Figure 44). There are two colors of

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<sup>14</sup> Brick stones baked from clay derived from the Dutch river IJssel. Depending on the way these are baked, they can be red or yellow of color. These stones were brought on board in the Netherlands as weight to heavy the ships for the journey to the East, which were then taken off-board when they arrived at their destination and replaced with trade goods. These stones are therefore to be found in all the former Dutch colonies, as they were used to build gates, bridges and other buildings.

<sup>15</sup> Jayasena and Floore, “Dutch Forts of Seventeenth Century Ceylon and Mauritius: An Historical Archaeological Perspective,” 240.

<sup>16</sup> Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858; Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 22.

<sup>18</sup> Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 84–86.

*ijselsteentjes* used for the southern gate, mainly yellow bricks with red bricks used to accentuate decorative features. The gateway has a central arch, flanked by two square half-pillars constructed of yellow bricks. The top portion of the gateway is divided by three pillars made of red bricks. In between these pillars are two circular decorations made with yellow bricks set within square frames of red bricks. These may have been openings at some point; however, there is no visual or empirical evidence to support this. Moldings divide the top and bottom section of the gateway.

The bastions were equipped with seven to nine cannons each, and according to the initial depiction of Fort Nassau there were 34 cannons in total (Figure 18). When the trajectory of these cannons is traced, there is an imbalance in the distribution of the target areas of these cannons (Figure 27). About 60% are aimed land inwards, or at the north-east area, while the remaining 40% are directed to the south, which is the direction of the sea. This observation is noteworthy as the foreign traders would have arrived by sea and therefore the attack supposedly would have come from the south. However, in light of the Verhoeven ambush, I attest that the fort initially functioned as a defensive work for an inland threat: that of the Bandanese community. Moreover, the number of cannons may have been exaggerated to impress and frighten possible foreign enemies that would be able to get a copy of *Begin ende Voortganch*<sup>19</sup> in which this drawing was first published.<sup>20</sup> The suspicion about this exaggeration is confirmed by the journal of the English captain

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<sup>19</sup> Commelin, *Begin ende voortganch, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geotroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie. : Vervatende de voornaemste reysen, by de inwoonderen der selver provincien derwaerts gedaen : alles nevens de beschrijvinghen der rijcken, eylanden, havenen, revieren, stroomen, rheedens, winden, diepten en ondiepten : mitsgaders religien, manieren, aerdt, politie ende regeeringhe der volckeren : oock meede haerder speceryen, drooghen, geldt ende andere koopmanschappen met veele discoursen verrijckt : nevens eenighe koopere platen verciert : nut ende dienstigh alle curieuse, ende de andere zee-varende liefhebbers.*

<sup>20</sup> Van Caerden, "Loffelijcke Voyagie Op Oost-Indien; Met 8 Schepen Uit Texel Gevaren Int Jaer 1606. Onder Het Beleyt van Den Admirael Paulus van Caerden, Haer Wech Genomen Hebbende Tusschen Madagascar Ende Abissino Deur. Fol: 1."

William Keeling, which mentions that the fort was equipped with 30 cannons, rather than the depicted 34.<sup>21</sup>

Around 1635, the fort was not yet equipped with a moat or waterway to the sea. However, as indicated on Figure 11, the shoreline at the south of the fort would have been quite near and accessible with the path. The location of Fort Nassau has led to two alternative names: *Beneden kasteel*<sup>22</sup>, referring to the fort as the one on a lower elevation, and *Waterkasteel*<sup>23</sup>, referring to its proximity to water.<sup>24</sup> This latter name may have also been given during a later phase of Fort Nassau, when the surrounding moat was filled with water and a connecting waterway allowed ships to arrive from the shore (Figures 21, 29 and 30). Van de Wall claims that the last moment when the moat was operational was the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, when the fort was still used and well-maintained.<sup>25</sup> Alongside the alternative name *Waterkasteel* for Fort Nassau, its southern gate gained the name *Waterpoort*, which literally translates as water gate. This name was probably given during the time that the moat was connected to the sea, and boats were able to sail up to the southern gate.<sup>26</sup> This connection to the sea is also clear from the location of a dock, called *waterpas*, in front of Fort Nassau (Figures 9, 20, 21, 22, and 23).<sup>27</sup> This *waterpas* had two half-moon shapes attached to the sides and Van de Wall mentioned that two cannons were used as bollards.<sup>28</sup> These are still present at a dock in front of Fort Nassau, as observed during my survey on October 16, 2017 (Figure 53).

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<sup>21</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 41.

<sup>22</sup> *Beneden kasteel* literally translates as Lower Castle.

<sup>23</sup> *Waterkasteel* literally translates as Water castle. On the information sign this name is also used in Indonesian: *Benteng Air*.

<sup>24</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 21.

<sup>25</sup> Van de Wall, 23.

<sup>26</sup> During Valentijn's visit this moat was dry, and the only instance that I encountered during my research that proves that the moat was not constantly dry is the photograph in Figure 30. On this figure, the moat is clearly filled with water.

<sup>27</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:73.

<sup>28</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 21.

Based on my visual analysis, I have identified four construction phases of Fort Nassau, which are depicted on four architectural drawings which show a top-view of Fort Nassau. These depictions indicate when certain (military) enhancements may have been made to the fort (Figures 18-21). The first construction phase is depicted on the drawing from 1646, which shows the wooden palisade around the walls, indicating a support system for the earthen walls. This drawing does not feature a gate in the western wall, nor does it indicate a moat around the fort. It is likely, however, that the wall was surrounded by a ditch which was created when the ground was dug up to construct the earthen ramparts<sup>29</sup> (Figure 25).

The second phase is shown on Figure 19 from 1651, which features a moat around the wall, measurements of the fort's outer walls, a western and southern gate, and accompanying bridges over the surrounding moat. Furthermore, Figure 19 is the only drawing that depicts the staircases that lead from the inner courtyard to the upper ramparts, one at each bastion. A third (possibly temporary) phase is depicted on Figure 20, which was created between 1690-1743. This drawing shows the addition of a ravelin<sup>30</sup> on the western side (see also Figure 28). This may have been a temporary structure to secure this area from an inland threat, as this ravelin is not depicted on any later maps. The fourth and final phase is depicted on Reimer's map from 1791, which shows that the structure of Fort Nassau was elaborated with a hornwork<sup>31</sup> at the south entrance (Figure 21 and 28). Reimer's drawing also illustrates the waterway that connected the moat with the sea and the drainage system.

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<sup>29</sup> Duffy, *Fire and Stone*, 49–51.

<sup>30</sup> Ravelin is part of a defensive structure, consisting of a triangular wall with the point facing outwards. Duffy, 224. (see also Figure 28)

<sup>31</sup> Hornwork is an outwork composed of two branches at the sides and a small bastioned front at the head. Also called crownwork. Duffy, 224. (see also Figure 28)



The four bastions of Fort Nassau were each given a name: the eastern bastions are called after two Dutch cities, the north-east one after *Delft* and the south-east one after *Rotterdam*.<sup>32</sup> The south-west bastion was called *Admiraals punt* (literally translates as Admirals point), possibly indicating a particular strategic viewpoint for military purposes. The north-west bastion was initially named after the Dutch southern province Zeeland, *Zeelandia* and housed the weapon chamber. However, these names fluctuated over time, as a map created by land surveyor Carl Friedrich Reimer in 1791 indicates the bastions as following: the *Admiraals punt* is renamed after the Dutch city *Amsterdam*, the south-east bastion kept its name *Rotterdam* and the north-east bastion is named after the city *Hoorn*, possibly in honor of Jan Pieterszoon Coen's hometown (Figure 21). On this map, this bastion housed the weapon chamber, rather than the north-east bastion as was mentioned by Francois Valentijn in 1724. Moreover, on Reimer's map the north-west bastion is called *Delft*, rather than the north-east as described by Valentijn and Van de Wall.<sup>33</sup> The only bastion which seems to retain its name is the south-east bastion *Rotterdam*, which hints at some connection between Fort Nassau and this city, as is also demonstrated by Van de Wall's mention of the shield of Rotterdam that once adorned the southern gate.<sup>34</sup>

The buildings within the walls were built with coral stones and both the structures and the walls were plastered with chalk which was made locally by repeatedly burning coral stones.<sup>35</sup> The chalk was used to strengthen and whiten the buildings and its roofs

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<sup>32</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:2; Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 21.

<sup>33</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:2; Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 21.

<sup>34</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 23. See Chapter 3, section "Destructions, Renovations and Other Events from 1615-1942".

<sup>35</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:4.

were covered with *atap*<sup>36</sup>. Because of the fear to be buried alive by an earthquake, local houses and outbuildings were only one story high and often constructed from bamboo, because this material dampened the vibrations of earthquakes.<sup>37</sup> The practice of plastering the buildings with chalk continued for many decades, as Coenraad Leendertz wrote that there were “[...] little white houses in the capital beneath the green hill on which Fort Belgica is perched halfway, more like a German chateau than an Indonesian stronghold”<sup>38</sup> after his visit to Banda Neira in 1890. However, as mentioned in the assessment by BPCB in 2015, the plaster had almost entirely crumbled from the outer walls, exposing the lava and coral stones with which the walls had been erected.<sup>39</sup> The ongoing renovation efforts of renewing this layer of plaster, which was condemned in the renovation of Fort Belgica by the RDMZ as ‘over’-restoration, can therefore be considered a historically correct approach with the right materials. However, the material currently used is not similar to the chalky plaster which was used in the past, as it is no longer allowed to use coral stones for construction.

Currently, all of the inner structures have been either destroyed or taken down, except for a few remaining walls and some outlines of buildings that can still be perceived. However, more insight into the inner structures of Fort Nassau can be gathered from an anonymous drawing of 1651 and Reimer’s detailed map from 1791 (Figures 19 and 21) and used to guide the ongoing restoration efforts. For example, the south-east staircase as depicted on Figure 19 was recently rediscovered and restored by the BPCB office. In the summer of 2018, excavations were conducted to locate the remains of the north-east staircase as well. However, they were unable to find its

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<sup>36</sup> Atap consists of palm- or other types of leaves that were processed to function as roof covering for houses, overhang or even vehicles in the East Indies.

<sup>37</sup> Tilburg, *Encyclopedia Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis*, 72.

<sup>38</sup> Leendertz, *Van Atjeh’s Stranden Tot De Koraalrotsen Van Nieuw-Guinea.*, 201.

<sup>39</sup> Fika Nuriavi and Fahri, “Konservasi Benteng Nassau: Suatu Upaya Pelestarian,” 42–43.

footprint. Regarding the other inner structures, Figures 19 and 21 show that these were built alongside the inner curtain walls, and the overall configuration does not seem to have changed much between 1651-1791. Reimer's map, however, indicates that there were two kitchens located on top of each of the northern bastions, which are not depicted on Figure 19. Moreover, his map of Fort Nassau indicates that the building attached to the southern wall was divided by the corridor of the southern gate. This building is identified by Francois Valentijn as the residence of the *Landvoogd*.<sup>40</sup> He describes that it contained a big hall, which featured a half-body portrait of Jan Pieterszoon Coen dressed in a yellow *wambuis*<sup>41</sup> and large pants. The description of this portrait is similar to the portrait of Jan Pieterszoon Coen assigned to Jacob Waben dated between 1623-1699, which is currently on display in the Westfries Museum in the Dutch city Hoorn (Figure 66). Besides the *Landvoogd*, he recorded that the fort housed 150 men including the Lieutenant and *Vaandrig*.<sup>42</sup>

It is worth mentioning that Valentijn's report on the forts at Banda Neira notes the meager martial potential of Fort Belgica, located on top of the hill on the northern side of Fort Nassau.<sup>43</sup> Valentijn describes that the prime purpose of Fort Belgica was its potential use for the defense of the *waterpas* and Fort Nassau.<sup>44</sup> However, if Fort Belgica would be captured, Valentijn surmised that the enemy could use its cannons to attack the fort which it is meant to protect. For this reason, Fort Belgica was intended to be demolished in 1657, and engineer Georgius Rumphius was tasked to build a *reduit* to replace Fort Belgica. However, he left without accomplishing this task, leaving Fort Nassau at the mercy of the

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<sup>40</sup> Valentijn does not remark when this visit was, but he lived in the Moluccas from 1686 – 1694 and 1707-1712 so it is likely that his observations date from this time period.

<sup>41</sup> *Wambuis* is an old-fashioned clothing piece worn over a shirt by men, covering their upper body until their hips.

<sup>42</sup> *Vaandrig* is a young officer in the infantry, often of noble blood whom would carry the flag (*vaandel*) of the compagnie.

<sup>43</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:3.

<sup>44</sup> Valentijn, 3:3.

cannons of Fort Belgica. As described in Chapter 3, the cannons of Fort Belgica were indeed used by the English to attack Fort Nassau in their conquest<sup>45</sup>. These forts were connected with an underground tunnel, which was still intact in 1929 when Van de Wall visited the islands.<sup>46</sup> Regretfully, the location of the entrance of this tunnel is currently unknown and an object of interest for the conservation team of BPCB from Ternate.

Currently, the architectural history of Fort Nassau is briefly described on the information sign at the site. It describes Fort Nassau as a square-shaped fort with heart-shaped bastions at each corner and surrounded by a moat.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, it states that the fort was used as a prison for exiles from Batavia after Fort Belgica was strengthened between in 1672-1673. The information sign from 2010 describes the physical state of the fort as having “only 2 remaining bastions and 2 gates, and couple of meters walls”. The extent of the damage to the northern bastions and wall is explained as a result of the British attack in 1810 from Fort Belgica. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, the damaged northern walls must have been rebuilt by the English as the photograph taken between 1860-1890 shows the fort to be in an excellent condition (Figures 30 and 31).

### **Cultural Landscape of Fort Nassau**

After discussing the stylistic characteristics of Fort Nassau, I continue to discuss how this site interacts with its surrounding cultural landscape. These connections can be tangible,

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<sup>45</sup> See Chapter 3, subsection “Destructions, Renovations and Other Events from 1615-1942”.

<sup>46</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 24+29.

<sup>47</sup> Benteng ini berbentuk persegi dengan bastion berbentuk hati pada setiap sudutnya dan dikelilingi oleh parit. Ketika Benteng Belgica diperkuat pada tahun 1672-1673, Benteng Nassau ini hanya digunakan sebagai penjara orang-orang buangan dari Batavia. Sekarang benteng ini hanya menyisakan 2 buah bastion dan 2 buah pintu gerbang dan berapa meter dindingnya. Benteng ini mengalami kerusakan parah ketika diserang oleh Inggris pada tahun 1810 yang mengambil alih Benteng Belgica saat itu.

such as the proximity of the gallows, but also intangible, such as the connections created through visual and audible interactions with the surrounding landscape.

Maps and sketches of the Banda Islands were collected and distributed by the VOC as a source of information and to enforce their claim on its key spice commodities.<sup>48</sup> The first-hand sketches by sailors were the inspiration for mapmakers and artists in Amsterdam, who were allowed to study these sketches to create more accurate maps or esthetically pleasing sights of the colonial possessions. Most notable among them was Johannes Vingbooms, who created hundreds of maps and watercolors during his lifetime.<sup>49</sup> His view of the Banda Islands has been reproduced and collected throughout Europe, and these watercolors informed a large international (merchant) audience of what Fort Nassau and the Banda Islands looked like (Figures 22 and 23).

These watercolors show a depiction of Banda Neira which is most likely derived from the sketch by Johannes van Nessel, a drawing that accompanied the report of Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshoorn (Figure 24). On this sketch, Fort Nassau is depicted larger than Fort Belgica on the higher elevation, and a smaller *reduit*<sup>50</sup> is depicted overlooking Fort Belgica. Besides the natural elevation, Van Nessel deemed it important to depict the gallows. Vingbooms' first reiteration of this sketch is from 1660, in which Fort Nassau, Fort Belgica and the gallows are provided with a written explanation (Figure 22). Moreover, Fort Belgica is provided with rooftops over the square bastions, and the front-facing southern wall of Fort Nassau is tentatively depicted with an Amsterdam-style façade. This colored sketch from 1660 and the finished product from 1665 show that the

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<sup>48</sup> Gosselink, *Land in Zicht*, 32.

<sup>49</sup> Gosselink, 48.

<sup>50</sup> *Reduit* is a military construction in the interior to which the defenders could retreat. When constructed in the vicinity of forts, they were built in the shape of a low round tower.

artist was able to take some liberties in depicting the settlement on Banda Neira and depicted the strongholds more prominently and prestigious than reality.

Notably, the depictions of the Banda Islands show a peaceful landscape with the forts as a prominent sign of dominion and control. The only image in which violence is depicted in direct relation to Fort Nassau is on a print of the Verhoeven Ambush (Figure 17). This print depicts three Dutch VOC employees attempting to move the beheaded bodies of two comrades, while between the trees Dutch and Bandanese are engaged in battle. In the background, Fort Nassau is depicted as a square fort with four bastions alongside four small boats with which the Dutch arrived on shore. The print seems to be aimed to depict the Dutch merchants as the victims of an ambush by the ‘treacherous’ Bandanese, and may have been used as an argument to justify their violent conquest in 1621.

### *Site of Colonial Domination*

As previously discussed, Fort Nassau was also called *Waterkasteel* due to its proximity and connection to the sea, and as such it functioned as a center of control through inspection of ships and restricting maritime movements through issuing travel permits. According to several Bandanese residents, stories have been passed on from generation to generation that describe how boats would enter the waterway from the sea to the *Waterpoort*.<sup>51</sup> The remnants of this waterway are still present in the form of an opening in the south-eastern part of the moat and a waterway leading to the direction of the sea. However, over the years the shoreline has been extended through impoldering<sup>52</sup> and the waterway ends now where the main street intersects. Beyond the main road, there are no

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<sup>51</sup> Fieldnotes 2017 + 2018.

<sup>52</sup> Acts to reclaim land from a body of water.

visible traces of where the waterway may have run as the area till the shore is completely occupied with residential buildings. However, the past physical connection between the architecture of Fort Nassau and the seashore illuminates how these cultural and natural aspects were entwined.

Moreover, the sea itself should be regarded as an extension of territory, rather than a border that separates the land from the sea. The bay and the surrounding Banda Sea function as the main means of travel and conducting trade. As Van Linschoten notes, in the earlier days the Dutch were advised to stay onboard their ships to conduct trade, rather than expose themselves to the ‘treacherous’ Bandanese people on land.<sup>53</sup> Other activities conducted on the ships were treaty negotiations, foreign affairs with other European traders and the torturing of informants regarding the perceived conspiracy against Jan Pieterszoon Coen. Figures 9 and 23 show how the ships harbored in the bay would be in proximity of Fort Nassau, using the provided protection of its cannons as well as the access to the land by means of the *waterpas* in front of the fort.

Therefore, I argue that Fort Nassau functioned as a portal to connect land and sea, and as a site from which colonial domination was imposed on the landscape. In order to maintain order and a firm hold on the population (VOC employees and native population alike), a justice system must have been active. Although the written sources are not very descriptive about these proceedings, one instance from 1613 was recorded by Jacobus van der Chijs, in which Pieter Both hanged several soldiers who had fallen asleep during their watch.<sup>54</sup> Visual hints concerning the justice system are provided by several of the historical maps and drawings that depict the location where these punishments were served. On Figures 20, 22, 23, and 24 a platformed gallows is depicted at the back of Fort Nassau.

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<sup>53</sup> Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, 1:115.

<sup>54</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 65.

The proximity of the gallows to the fort may allude to its military function as the site of colonial political power, but also hints at Fort Nassau's function as the symbol of Dutch dominion through its justice system. This function was initiated when the murder of the *orang kaya* took place near Fort Nassau. Within the vicinity of the imposing structure, the *orang kaya* were gathered in a fenced area constructed from bamboo, and subsequently slaughtered for their perceived defiance of Dutch authority in sight of the Bandanese onlookers. Their body parts and heads were placed on spikes, to display to the public what the consequences were for defying Dutch hegemony.<sup>55</sup> This treatment of the bodily remains may have derived from a medieval practice, such as the story from the year 642 which describes the death of Saint Oswald of Northumbria.<sup>56</sup> After the saint was defeated by the pagan king of Northumbria, the latter impaled the saint's head and arms which remained on the battlefield for a year.

On the other hand, it is not unlikely that Jan Pieterszoon Coen ordered the beheadings to be done as he sought revenge for the dismemberment of his former colleague Admiral Verhoeven. Moreover, it is possible that the act of displaying the heads of a foe were regarded by the Dutch as a local practice to show dominance. This is based on a report from one of the first Dutch encounters with the Bandanese in 1599, when Captain Heemskerk witnessed several boats with warriors from Banda Neira and their allies return from a revenge attack on their rival village Labetacca.<sup>57</sup> The boat proudly displayed the heads of the foe, sewn together using a rope.<sup>58</sup> These heads were brought to the house of the harbor master, displayed there, and afterwards respectfully wrapped in white cloth and buried with a ceremony and incense. Although the travel account may have

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<sup>55</sup> Masyarakat Waer - Ohoitel, *Sejarah Perjalanan Keluarga Banda Ely (Wandan) dan Perolehan Tanah El*", sec. D.

<sup>56</sup> Bailey, "St Oswald's Heads."

<sup>57</sup> Valentijn, *François Valentijn's Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:71.

<sup>58</sup> See also Chapter 2, section "Arrival of the Dutch in the Banda Islands".



exaggerated, as was a common practice among colonial invaders who did not fully understand local practices and wished to alienate the reader from the local population, dismemberment of enemies may not have been an uncommon practice on the Banda Islands. Moreover, there is a likeness to the treatment of the decapitated heads of Admiral Verhoeven and his companions, which were pierced on Bandanese battle lances.<sup>59</sup>

The Dutch continued to perform justice in the proximity of Fort Nassau, as a map from 1791 shows that the gallows<sup>60</sup> was moved to an even more prominently visible location at the front of the southern gate (Figure 21). As this gate functions as the central entrance within the fort and provides the access to the sea, it must have been frequented by visitors and employees alike. The act of moving the gallows to this location, therefore, can be considered a deliberate act of scaring off unwanted behavior and emphasizing dominion.

Dutch supremacy was not only claimed through the obligatory travel passes, which could be obtained at Fort Nassau, but the VOC also exercised its power to control the production of nutmeg through the destruction of nutmeg trees. This intentional destruction limited the supply to the European markets, resulting in higher prices. It also ensured that all nutmeg went through the hands of VOC employees as illegal nutmeg trees and those of native varieties, such as the elongated nutmeg<sup>61</sup> were destroyed. Another strategy of the Dutch merchants to retain the monopoly, which may have been inspired by the Bandanese, is the myth that nutmeg seedlings would only thrive if planted after the digestion and excretion of the nutmeg by a nutmeg pigeon.<sup>62</sup> Around 1662, however, the

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<sup>59</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 29.

<sup>60</sup> On the map indicated as *gerechtsplaats*, meaning the place of judgement.

<sup>61</sup> These varieties still grow in other areas of Indonesia, such as Papua, and are considered to be of inferior quality compared to the round nutmeg from the Banda Islands.

<sup>62</sup> These birds are called *Noote-eters* in Dutch, *Burong Pala* in Malay and *Falor* on the Banda Islands. Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche kruid-boek*, 2:20.

*perkeniers* discovered the right timing to plant the nutmeg and were able to defy this myth by planting and transplanting nutmeg seedlings without the help of these nutmeg birds.

The natural environment was also used as a source for chalk, as the Dutch removed coral stones from the sea and burned them repeatedly to produce white chalk. This chalk was not only used to plaster the walls, but also to cover the nutmeg to prevent nuts from rotting.<sup>63</sup> The mace was processed separately, and transported in bags made of *rottang* and *cocoja* leaves, plants native to the Banda Islands. The bigger leaves were harvested and trampled on by slaves at the place of harvest, as the act of trampling would ensure the growth of new plants. After this process, the leaves were used to line the bags. During the process of filling of the bags, the mace would be sprinkled with salt water. This processing took place at open areas at the *perkeniers* complex and the then processed nuts and mace were transported and stored at Fort Nassau and Fort Belgica.

### *Soundscape and Viewshed*

Besides the activities that occurred at the direct vicinity of Fort Nassau, the site is also connected to its extended (natural) landscape through the sensorial ties created by vision and sound. ‘Soundscape’ is a term introduced by Murray Schafer to describe the acoustic qualities of a particular landscape.<sup>64</sup> He argues that within the larger soundscape, certain locations are marked by sounds that are unique to a site, which are called ‘soundmarks’. The current soundscape of the Banda Islands at large, and Fort Nassau in particular, is quite different from the historical situation when Fort Nassau was still an active site. However, through examination of visual sources as well as historical documents, it is

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<sup>63</sup> Rumphius, 2:19–20.

<sup>64</sup> Schafer, *The Soundscape*.

possible to describe the historic soundscape which informs how the site interacted with its surrounding landscape.

The immediate surrounding landscape of Fort Nassau is characterized by the open space of the bay between the southern shore of Banda Neira and the fort, and the eastern coast of Banda Besar. The bay creates both an open viewshed and an open plain for sound to reverberate. That sounds carried well between these shores is evidenced by the perceived attack on Sonck in 1621, as the shots that were fired in the village Selamon on the eastern shore of Banda Besar were heard at Fort Nassau.<sup>65</sup> This sound initiated the response of Jan Pieterszoon Coen to send his troops to Banda Besar, where the village was violently taken and put to the torch.

However, the soundscape on the bay was also used prior to the construction of Fort Nassau, when the trade still mostly carried out onboard the ships. This is evidenced by several remarks on military practices in 1605 by historian Van der Chijs. He states the trumpets sounded and three shots were fired by musketeers to celebrate a successful treaty.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, per request of the Bandanese, the musketeer salvos were followed by three shots of the cannons, as a “[...] sign that the Council of Banda and Admiral negotiated well and all business was handled to a good effect and brought to a successful end”.<sup>67</sup> These sounds would have carried over the water, and alerted the Bandanese far and wide that something important had just happened. After business was conducted, Admiral van der Hagen left the islands with a salute of five cannon shots.<sup>68</sup> That the cannons remained to be used during celebratory events for the Dutch colonists is signified by Van der Berg’s

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<sup>65</sup> Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 139–41. See Chapter 3, section “Revenge at Fort Nassau”.

<sup>66</sup> Van der Chijs, 26.

<sup>67</sup> “tot een teycken, dat den Raedt van Banda met den Admirael so wel genegotieert hadden ende dat alle saecken tot een goet effect ende tot een goet ende waren gebrocht”, Translated by J. van Donkersgoed from Van der Chijs, 26.

<sup>68</sup> Van der Chijs, 28.

mention that they used to fire the cannons at the yearly celebration of the conquest of the Banda Islands.<sup>69</sup>

These examples indicate that musketeer salvos and cannon fire were used to celebrate important moments. However, the origins of these type of salvos can be traced to military use at funerals. Johan de Moelre notes that the burial of the remains of Verhoeven and his men within the walls of Fort Nassau were accompanied by three musketeers salvos and five blasts of the cannons from the ships.<sup>70</sup> This military practice is still upheld, as the three musketeer salvos are referred to as the ‘three rifle volley’. According to the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, this practice of firing three rounds with a rifle over the graves of fallen force members and political leaders can be traced back to European dynastic wars.<sup>71</sup>

As the area of dominion and commerce expanded, the distances between defensive outposts increased as well. Although the direct line of vision between Banda Besar and Banda Neira made communication rather easy, contact with the farther lying islands faced more delay and a loss of accuracy. Therefore, sound was an effective and quick way to communicate, as is clear from a report of 1796 which states that twelve shots were fired from the island Ay to alert that foreign ships were approaching.<sup>72</sup> A similar soundmark

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<sup>69</sup> Van den Berg, *Het verloren volk*, 84.

<sup>70</sup> de Moelre, “Journael Ende Verhael/ Vande Alle Het Gene Dat Ghefien Ende Voor-Ghevalen Is Op de Reyfe, ...,” 52. Van der Chijs mentions that the burial was concluded with three musket salvos and five cannon charges from each of the ships Van der Chijs, *De vestiging van het Nederlandsch gezag over de Banda eilanden, 1599-1621*, 45.. However, Valentijn stated that there were three musket salvos and three cannon charges fired Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858, 3:73..

<sup>71</sup> The firing of three rifle volleys (rounds) over the graves of fallen armed forces members and political leaders can be traced to the European dynastic wars, when fighting was halted to remove the dead and wounded. Once an area was cleared of casualties, three volleys were sent into the air as a signal to resume fighting. U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, “Gun Salutes.”

<sup>72</sup> Van Boeckholtz, “Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796.,” 422.

was used at a little outpost on one of the peaks on the island Banda Besar (Figure 5).<sup>73</sup> Because this location held an expansive view over the islands, the outpost was provided with several cannons which would announce the approach of foreign ships.

Another hint to a historic soundmark at Fort Nassau is the presence of a *klok* on the north-west bastion Delft, as depicted on Figure 21. The nomenclature of the Dutch word *klok* is interesting, as it not only refers to the physical object of a large metal bell but also to any type of machine that tells the time. Presumably, the bell on Fort Nassau could have been used to sound the hour, a sound that may have been echoed and repeated on each plantation, which were equally equipped with bells to alert the slave laborers when their work started and ended. Besides indicating time, the *klok* may have been used to sound the alarm during enemy attacks or to warn about an impending natural disaster. No other map or illustration is known that features this bell, nor is there a bell known in the museum collection that is associated with Fort Nassau. The local museum, however, does house a collection of bells that were taken from former *perken* (Figure 64). Moreover, it is possible that the bell of Fort Nassau was reused to function in the bell tower of the nearby church, which does feature a clock tower and bell to draw people to church and sound the hour.

Besides the use of sound, the views from Fort Nassau would have played an important role in its function to supervise movements and activities on the Banda Islands. Its location was chosen due to its proximity to the sea, as well as determined by the geological formation of the island Banda Neira. As discussed in Chapter 3,<sup>74</sup> the site initially selected for the construction of Fort Nassau was on top of the hill behind its current location. This higher elevation would have been chosen for strategic purposes, as

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<sup>73</sup> Van de Wall, *De Nederlandsche Oudheden in de Molukken*, 539. He would have referred to one of the redoubts as depicted on Figure 3.

<sup>74</sup> Chapter 3, section “Construction of Fort Nassau as Provocation”.

it would have provided a better view over the bay and sheltered the fort from direct cannon fire from foreign ships. Fort Belgica was therefore created as a second military structure to supply this visual information, after Fort Nassau was built to provide quick shelter and defense on the lower elevation. In addition to the direct line of vision between Fort Nassau and Fort Belgica, these forts were visually connected to the extended fortification system of the Banda Islands (Figure 5). This system included similar sized forts, like Fort Hollandia on Banda Besar and Fort Revenge on Ay, but also smaller outposts such as Kijk in de Pot on Gunung Api and Voorzichtigheid on Banda Neira.

One focal point within this visual network was the flag post on top of Papenberg, the highest elevation on the island Banda Neira (Figure 5 and 9). The view from this point, however, did not always result in accurate information, as is testified in a report from 1796 which states that the foreign ship *Orembaai* was misperceived to be the ship of the Commander.<sup>75</sup> Easy access to the top of the Papenberg is no longer available due to the rapid growth of jungle vegetation, the steep, ill-maintained path and the infestation of mosquitoes. The remnants of a stone construction on the utmost top of the mountain are all that remain of the previous outlook. Even the view is currently obscured by a plentitude of trees. However, an impression of what the view must have encompassed is described by Des Alwi's memoirs, in which he wrote: "Looking to the southeast I could see the deep blue harbor of Neira and Gunung Api, the district of Kampong China and Negreh, the wharf, Fort Belgica with its five huge towers, and the western part of Banda Besar and its bay".<sup>76</sup> He also recounts that his grandfather, Said Baädilla, re-erected a flagpole at this location when he returned from his European trip in 1909.<sup>77</sup> He paid a flagman to hoist a white flag

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<sup>75</sup> Van Boeckholtz, "Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796.," 445.

<sup>76</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 126.

<sup>77</sup> Alwi, 129.

every time a ship from the north, north-west or north-east was sighted, and thus the site regained its function to alert the residents in Neira of maritime traffic.

However, current residents seem unaware of an old Dutch post on top of the mountain, although a nearby site on a slightly lower elevation is revered and visited as an important *keramat*. These are places that hold spiritual power, which can be visited and offerings can be placed to obtain favors. This *keramat* in particular is powerful, as it is the location where an important holy man is buried.<sup>78</sup> As certain Islamic norms have become more prevalent in the Bandanese community during the last decade<sup>79</sup>, this *keramat* is no longer visited as frequently as before, when offering such as chickens or goats were made to obtain favors.<sup>80</sup>

The use of flag signaling as an effective method of communication was not only used on the land, but incoming ships would make their intentions known using this visual method. In the report of 1796, it is mentioned that an English ship was spotted with a red flag on its *gaffel*<sup>81</sup>, which inspired the Dutch to take defensive actions.<sup>82</sup> A day later, a smaller ship was spotted with Dutch sails and flying a peace flag, carrying letters of surrender to the English. Notably, this sign of peaceful conduct was the reason why the sailors were received and heard, as the Dutch had already taken a defensive position and could have fired at any sight of misconduct or threat. At night it would have been impossible to signal between the fortifications using flags, and therefore they used

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<sup>78</sup> Fieldnotes February 15, 2019.

<sup>79</sup> This observation is based on several accounts of foreign travelers who have frequented Banda throughout the years. Particularly, archaeologist Peter Lape informed me that during his fieldwork in 1997, hardly any women wore a hijab, while nowadays it is sporadic to see women with uncovered heads (fieldnotes 23 February, 2019).

<sup>80</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 123–24.

<sup>81</sup> *Gaffel* is a spar to which the mainsail is attached to on sailboats.

<sup>82</sup> Van Boeckholtz, “Bandasche Aanteekeningen over Het Einde van Het Jaar 1785, En Het Begin van 1796,” 422–24; Greenwood, *The Sailing and Fighting Instructions or Signals as They Are Observed in the Royal Navy of Great Britain.*, 31.

signaling fire and the soundscape to alert the other fortifications.<sup>83</sup> These signaling fires connected the outer lying islands Run and Ay with a small outpost on the Gunung Api, Kijk in de Pot, which was visible from Banda Besar and the fortifications on Banda Neira (Figure 5).

### **Intangible Cultural Heritage**

The meaning of Fort Nassau is not only informed by its architectural history, and its (sensorial) ties to its surrounding landscape, but also by the continuing cultural practices of the Bandanese community. Although the Banda Islands are rich in intangible cultural heritage practices, such as the rowing of the *kora-kora* boats and preparation of various culinary dishes, this section continues to explore those practices and beliefs that inform the meaning of Fort Nassau to the local community.

#### *Cakalele Dance*

When asked about the value of Fort Nassau to the local Bandanese community, the answer is invariably linked to the Bandanese Massacre and how this is commemorated through their *Cakalele* warrior dance. The *Cakalele* dance is a cultural manifestation that symbolizes the warrior prowess of each *desa adat*.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the movements of the dance, the colors of the costumes and the number of dancers differ in each village. The symbolism of the number of dancers refers back to the pre-colonial time when the islands were divided into the *Orilima* and the *Orisiwa*, meaning the group of five and the group

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<sup>83</sup> Fieldnotes November 20, 2015.

<sup>84</sup> Wrangham et al., *Spice Islands*, 1995, 38.



of nine.<sup>85</sup> The number of dancers in the *Cakalele* dance reflects this ancient dichotomy. All villages on Banda Neira belonged to *Orilima* and have five male dancers.

Throughout the ages the meaning and costumes of the dance have evolved. The current interpretation refers to the Bandanese Massacre in 1621, when 44 *orang kaya* were captured and decapitated at Fort Nassau.<sup>86</sup> The stage for the performance includes the erection of five bamboo poles for the dancers to dance around, representing the stakes on which the heads of the Bandanese noblemen were displayed. An important element of the performance is the encouragement of local people attending the event, who chant and rhythmically yell to encourage the dancers. The *Cakalele* dance is one of several dances performed during the *buka kampung*<sup>87</sup> accompanied by dances performed solely by or together with female dancers. These include the *maruka*<sup>88</sup>, young unmarried girls, and the *mama lima*<sup>89</sup>, the wise elder women. The symbolism behind the colors, attributes and movements can relate to specific characters and aspects from oral history or refer to one of the three religions that the islands have encountered. Within *adat* God is perceived as the divine power who revealed itself in the Banda Islands first through Hinduism, then Islam and later Christianity.<sup>90</sup> The majority of contemporary Bandanese islanders are Muslim and therefore Islam is perceived by them as the true religion. However, the influence of the other two main religions are acknowledged through certain symbols and rituals within the *adat*, such as the offering baskets and the white dove.

The *Cakalele* dance as an intangible cultural practice is not unique to the Banda Islands, as it is performed in various manners throughout the Molucca province. The

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<sup>85</sup> Aveling, "Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600," 37.

<sup>86</sup> Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 55.

<sup>87</sup> *Buka kampung* is an *adat* ceremony on the Banda Islands, the name literally means "open village". Only when the village is open, the *Cakalele* dance may be performed.

<sup>88</sup> *Maruka* are young girls representing the purity of Islam

<sup>89</sup> *Mama Lima* are the elder women in *Orilima* villages who play an important role in preparing the *adat* festivities.

<sup>90</sup> Fieldnotes November 21, 2015.

*Cakalele* of the Banda Islands is unique though in its evolution, as it has incorporated aspects of trade through costume (Chinese silks, Aru Paradise birds and Portuguese helmets) and added elements to commemorate the local history. The Chinese in particular are said to have been involved with *adat* traditions, as they gave gifts to the traditional leaders and might have sponsored the ceremonies.<sup>91</sup> Especially the *desa adat* Namasawar on Banda Neira has many references to China, including the yellow and red clothes and the dragon depicted on the flag and boat.<sup>92</sup> This *desa adat* encompasses the merchants street in the village Neira, which is referred to as *Kampong China* (Chinese village). On occasion, the *desa adat* Namasawar performs the *Cakalele* dance on top of Fort Belgica which also lies within its district (Figures 47 and 49).

Because Fort Nassau also lies within the district of Namasawar, I discuss the *Cakalele* performance as performed by this *desa adat*. This village is part of *Orilima*, and therefore has five dancers perform the *Cakalele* dance around five erected bamboo poles. Pieces of cloth tied on top of the poles represent the remains of the *orang kaya* that were displayed as such after they were decapitated and quartered. During the dance, it is possible for the dancers to become possessed by the spirits, in which case the dancer needs to drink some of the sacred water that is kept within the *rumah adat*.<sup>93</sup>

The *Cakelele* dance can only be performed after lengthy preparations for the opening of the village ceremony called *buka kampong*. In anticipation for this ceremony, villagers from all ages are engaged with their contribution to the cultural festival.<sup>94</sup> The older men teach the young ones how to interpret the warrior roles of the *Cakalele* warrior dance, and the strongest of the village are gathered to train others to row the *kora-kora*

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<sup>91</sup> Fieldnotes February 13, 2019.

<sup>92</sup> Fieldnotes February 13, 2019.

<sup>93</sup> Fieldnotes February 1, 2019.

<sup>94</sup> Fieldnotes November 20, 2015. Winn, "Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku," 115–16.

boat. Meanwhile, members of the community gather at the *rumah adat* to prepare offerings to be placed at certain *keramats* across their village. Each of these locations represent a part of the local history, a certain event or particular person, that needs to be acknowledged before the village may be opened. The *tifa* drums alert the village when it is almost time for the ceremony, and the sound entreats the villagers to come to the *rumah adat*. When the dancers perform the *Cakalele*, the audience encourages the dancers on with yells like ‘ai ai ai ai iooo’ or by singing songs about their oral history. Through the references of the *Cakalele* dance to the Bandanese massacre that occurred at Fort Nassau, this memory is kept alive and is enforced as a part of the local identity.

The Bandanese Massacre is also commemorated through a painting in the local cultural- and historical museum, which depicts a violent scene taking place in front of Fort Nassau. Figure 67 shows this painting, which depicts the scene of the massacre of the *orang kaya* by Japanese mercenaries within a bamboo enclosure in front of Fort Nassau. At first glance, the central figure, a kneeling *orang kaya*, has a likeness that resembles the fierce martial artist and actor Bruce Lee. This resemblance might have been intentional to incite instant respect and admiration for the courage of the Bandanese. Regretfully, little is known about the origins of the painter, except the artist’s name Sofri Rino Hasan Basri. He came from Jogjakarta to fulfill the commission by Des Alwi to create the paintings in the museum. The details of the painting reveal that this scene is largely inspired by fantasy: the fort is depicted with four instead of two gates, has its name plastered on the northern wall and an incorrect date written on the wall, 1607 instead of 1617. Other details, though, seem to be deliberately specific, such as the five bamboo poles on top of which the heads and some other body parts of the *orang kaya* are displayed on the right upper corner.

The impaled heads are a direct reference to the continuing practice of the *Cakalele* dance on the Banda Islands. Historically, this dance might have been performed without

these poles, as is suggested by a print of the *Cakalele* performance prior to the Bandanese Massacre (Figure 15).<sup>95</sup> An accompanying text states that this type of gathering and the performance of the *Cakalele* occurred prior to attacking an enemy village. It states that the village Neira was aligned with Ay and Run, which are also part of *Orilima*, against their enemies Labetacca, Wayer and Kombir. The fine etching shows a group of native people sitting cross-legged in facing rows, with a plate of food in front of each, while two men walk past the rows handing out more food. In between the rows there are two fully-adorned warriors, taking certain dancing stances to the sound of the drums and cymbals. There is a second smaller grouping of men, sitting in a tight circle away from the dance and music, who are served by two men. Behind this seated group there is a wall with structures behind it, and the composition is divided by a tree under which the musicians are performing.

In 1646, Commelin published a similar print, but according to his accompanying text it depicts a guest banquet during which the young are taught how to handle weapons through ‘play’ (Figure 16).<sup>96</sup> He also mentioned how a paradise bird would be featured on some of the helmets, a practice that still continues in modern-day attire of the *Cakalele* dancers (Figures 15 and 15). The description of his image shows that the Dutchmen were probably unaware of any deeper meaning behind the dance. However, the creation of this print does indicate that it must have been an impressive sight for the colonists, and served to provide a visual memento of the Bandanese otherness. Moreover, in the version printed by Commelin, the composition was altered with the addition of a group of Dutch spectators on the right. Their distinctly separate standing position from the seated group of

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<sup>95</sup> De Bry, *Quinta pars Indiæ Orientalis*.

<sup>96</sup> Commelin, *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Goectroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, 23.

Bandanese might indicate that the Dutch would not have been official onlookers, as they were not invited to sit down and share in the food.

In both these prints, the bamboo poles are absent while these are currently an essential part of the choreography of the *Cakalele* dance. This suggests that these were added after the Bandanese massacre of the *orang kaya*, and shows how this cultural tradition has evolved through time in an effort to commemorate past events and the sacrifice of the Bandanese *orang kaya*. This is especially important considering the fact that the original Bandanese population was decimated on the Banda Islands, and a large influx of imported slaves from different regions were the ones who would have continued the cultural practices. This indicates the strong ties of the Bandanese to their land and its history rather than ties through ancestry.

### *Supernatural Presence at Fort Nassau*

Belief in the supernatural is part of everyday life for both young and old across Southeast Asia. In his research, Denis Byrne describes these practices as *popular religion*, which he argues is rendered as a signifier for a culture to be in a primitive state due to longstanding investments by the West.<sup>97</sup> By characterizing these beliefs as primitive, the people that adhere to these beliefs are placed in a different time, rendered Other and therefore an authorization is justified for academic scrutiny, subjugation and exploitation.<sup>98</sup> Byrne therefore argues that it is a mistake for academics, and heritage scholars in particular, to disregard these beliefs as mere superstition as it can enact colonial paternalism. Even without his warnings, any scholar who has worked on the Banda Islands will confirm that the supernatural cannot be ignored if an understanding and acceptance of the community

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<sup>97</sup> Byrne, *Counterheritage*, 6.

<sup>98</sup> See also Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*; Said, *Orientalism*.

is sought. Nevertheless, it was only after my repeated returns to the Banda Islands that people started to open up more about the supernatural presence that resides at various (colonial) sites. These insights were only shared after my confirmation that I believe in these spirits, and respect the validity of stories that were going to be shared with me.

The presence of supernatural powers is an integral part of intangible practices as well as the interpretation of historical and sacred sites on the Banda Islands. These sites exude power through the presence of spirits, and therefore in the experience of the Bandanese these sites have agency. Anthropologist Phillip Winn explains this as:

“In the Bandas, experience of place is not marked by envisaging agency in terms of an essential 'interiority' but more as 'agent-plus', residing not only in the actor but in a region outside the actor to which they must accede.”<sup>99</sup>

Therefore, the way in which the Bandanese experience their surroundings is not so much an internal process, as it is informed by the agency of their environment. In his research, he describes the Banda Islands as *tanah berkat*, meaning that the Bandanese believe these islands are blessed.<sup>100</sup> This belief is still alive, as the Bandanese believe God had given them nutmeg as a rich source of income, and when the prices for nutmeg dropped God gave them tuna.<sup>101</sup> The sacredness of the Bands Islands is also evidenced by the treatment of the land by the *Banda asli*, as they still take off their shoes when they arrive on the island.<sup>102</sup>

Besides visiting certain sites that are inhabited by spirits, called *keramat*, the Bandanese believe in a set of good practices, called *pamali*, which will keep you from being harmed by the spirits. An old resident from Banda Neira explained to me that *pamali* are like morals, but it is also combined with magic and the strength of your belief.<sup>103</sup> These

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<sup>99</sup> Winn, “Graves, Groves and Gardens: Place and Identity - Central Maluku, Indonesia,” 26.

<sup>100</sup> Winn, “Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku.”

<sup>101</sup> Fieldnotes June 5, 2016.

<sup>102</sup> Fieldnotes July 19, 2017.

<sup>103</sup> Fieldnotes June 2, 2017.

moral practices include what you should not do and words you should not utter. For example, from 6 PM the front door needs to be closed to keep the devil out, and an unmarried woman should not sit alone in front of the door. When visiting a *keramat*, one should ask permission with a respectful posture and utter the word *permissi*.<sup>104</sup>

According to Des Alwi's memoirs, the Banda Islands are habituated by *orang halus*, who have their headquarters in the *rumah kampung*, and meeting places or 'guard posts' at several spots in the islands, such as at the old forts, several big rocks near the beach, in the woods, or even under an old tamarind tree.<sup>105</sup> During my fieldwork I have noticed the wide variety of sites that are considered *keramats*, ranging from seemingly random stones to foundations, trees and graves. Whether a place is truly a *keramat* can be felt, as several Bandanese have pointed out their goosebumps when they are describing a certain site or when we were visiting them.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, they believe that if you are born with a caul, you are able to see the spirits, although it is possible for everyone to sporadically see them. The spirits are especially active during *malam jumat*, Thursday night before Friday morning, which is the day of prayer for Muslims.<sup>107</sup> According to Des Alwi, many of the *keramat* derive their power from deceased Bandanese leaders or warriors who died or are buried there.

Following Des Alwi's logic, it would seem that Fort Nassau would be a location where these spirits dwell as well. Not only is this location closely tied to the narrative of the Bandanese massacre, it was a site of capital punishment for many decades that followed. When I asked the residents in the direct vicinity of Fort Nassau about whether the site was haunted, they responded rather matter-of-factly that it is.<sup>108</sup> One informed me

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<sup>104</sup> Fieldnotes May 23, 2017.

<sup>105</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 122.

<sup>106</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>107</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, 127 and fieldnotes 2017-2019.

<sup>108</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

that the cries of people are heard every night from the ‘Portuguese’ well, where the body parts of the *orang kaya* were deposited. Moreover, the sounds of the clinking of the irons that bound the prisoners can be heard. This sound was also described by a fellow Bandanese as *anji ruti*, the sounds of the chains of bound people, which was heard at the site by their father and grandfather.<sup>109</sup> Besides these native spirits, one resident mentioned that there is a ghost of a Dutch lady who sits under the big old tree in front of their house, on the north-side of Fort Nassau.<sup>110</sup> She does not have a name, and she does not make a sound, many Bandanese have seen her and ask *permissi* before walking underneath the tree at night.

The residents near the site informed me that they are not scared of the ghosts, and acknowledge that there are many spirits that dwell at Fort Nassau as there are a lot of cannons and violence that had happened there.<sup>111</sup> One of residents stated that the fort was truly haunted when it was still overgrown. However, since the restoration team had removed the vegetation the site looks modern, the area is light and clean and therefore the ghosts have left.<sup>112</sup> This is in accordance with the memoirs of a village leader, who told me his childhood memories when he and his friends would go fishing for ghosts with a banana on a string.<sup>113</sup> He saw the gigantic spirit of Papoea, who took his banana, but this spirit is no longer on the Banda Islands. According to the leader, this is due to the many modern constructions, such as buildings and streetlighting.

However, the spirits not only roam at night as is evidenced by the anecdote of a lecturer of the local college. A class of students was brought to Fort Nassau for an outdoor lecture on the history of the site, when a girl became possessed by a spirit as they sat down

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<sup>109</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>110</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>111</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>112</sup> Fieldnotes October 11, 2017.

<sup>113</sup> Fieldnotes February 17, 2019.



in the southern gate.<sup>114</sup> First, she started crying, then she sat up with one leg crossed like a man and asked for cigarettes. Even though the girl never smoked, during her possession she inhaled the smoke deeply and exhaled it through her nostrils; according to the instructor just like an old man. She then stated that they had to be respectful of this site, not make loud noises and keep it clean. After this message she collapsed and woke up, not remembering what happened. One of the other students remarked that a nearby traditional village had performed *buka kampung*, and this could have caused the stronger presence of the spirit during the day.

### **Concluding remarks**

In conclusion, Fort Nassau is an example of an early Dutch fortification built with the intention to impose power and retain control over the population and trade of the Banda Islands. Due to the maritime nature of this trade, the fort was constructed in proximity of the water with easy access to transportation as well as a good view over the bay. This viewshed was also important to connect the fort visually and audibly with other fortifications, which used a signaling system to alert the main government that resided in Fort Nassau about incoming ships.

Besides these connections between Fort Nassau and its natural environment, this chapter presented the multitude of values that connect the fort to its surrounding landscape and how its history is important for the local history and cultural practices. These values, whether tangible or intangible, provide insight to the historical and contemporary use of fort for the local, national and international community.

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<sup>114</sup> Fieldnotes February 20, 2019.

## **Chapter 5: Heritage Management on the Banda Islands**

As explored in Chapter 2 and 3, the Banda Islands have a rich history with roots in local traditions and ties to the Dutch colonial expansion and domination over the archipelago. Moreover, Banda Neira embodies both the start of the colonial occupation of Indonesia and is tied to the struggle for Independence as the place of exile for several Indonesian revolutionaries. Fort Nassau is only one heritage site among many that embodies part of this historic legacy and is a current example of an initiative by the provincial government to revitalize Bandanese heritage in an effort to increase tourism to the islands.

In this chapter, I elaborate further on the various forces that influence heritage management on the Banda Islands. Starting with a description of the political situation of the Banda Islands within the Republic of Indonesia, I continue to describe the various efforts that have been made by governmental, non-governmental and local institutions to preserve the cultural and natural heritage on the islands. Moreover, I emphasize the explicit wish of the Bandanese to take an active role in the development of the tourism industry on the islands, as well as the restoration activities conducted at the heritage sites. This expressed desire provides an additional impetus to develop a cultural landscape-approach for the Banda Islands, in which its living heritage is recognized and the local community is empowered to manage their heritage resources in such a way as they deem suitable.

## Political System

The political system in Indonesia can be hard to navigate, with its 17,508 islands<sup>1</sup> and 34 provinces which are divided into regencies and further sub-divided into smaller districts. The Banda Islands are situated in the Moluccas province (*Maluku*), currently led by the Governor (*Gubernur*) Said Assagaf whose office is located in the province's capital Ambon City (*Kota Ambon*) on the island Ambon. Within the province Maluku, the Banda Islands fall within the regency Central Maluku (*Kapupaten Maluku Tengah*), currently led by regent (*Bupati*) Tuasikal Abua from the regency's capital Masohi on the island Seram. Central Maluku is divided into 18 districts (*kecamatan*) and the Banda Islands are their own district referred to as Banda. Within this district there are six official villages on the island Banda Neira, led by a democratically chosen village head (*kepala desa*). Three of these villages correspond with the traditional village affiliations (*desa adat*), which are led by the traditional leaders (*kepala adat*). These administrative villages are Nusantara, corresponding with the *desa adat* Namasawar, Dwiwarna, equivalent to the *desa adat* Ratu, and Baru, the seat of the *desa adat* Fiat. The other three administrative villages are Merdeka and Rajawali, which are affiliated with Fiat, and Tanah Rata, which is affiliated with Namasawar.

Due to the various layers of governmental control, it is difficult to navigate the bureaucratic maze when organizing events or projects on the Banda Islands. Local governments have to work their way up the chain of command and travel to their regency's capital Masohi on the island Seram. Seram lies farther removed from the Banda Islands than the provincial capital Ambon. The issue of following the chain of command lies in the limited means of transportation, as people need to transit in Ambon in order to get to

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<sup>1</sup> Different counts of the number of islands exist, therefore I have chosen to use the number that the Embassy of Indonesia uses on their website <https://www.embassyofindonesia.org/index.php/basic-facts/>.

Masohi from Banda Neira. Some initiatives are led from the province though. Archaeological projects, for example, are coordinated by the provincial office in Ambon, called *Balai Arkeologi Maluku*. However, the restoration of Fort Nassau and the excavations are conducted by *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya Maluku Utara* (BPCB), located on the farther removed island Ternate. Travel between these islands is expensive and strenuous, which complicates communication and approachability for local governments who need to work together with these institutions. And here I have merely discussed the bureaucratic maze on regional level, as the communication with national ministries who implement law and policy is even farther removed from local agents.

The history of the Banda Islands has resulted in a local community that consists of a mixed ethnic and religious people. According to the latest published population count in 2012, the district Banda has 11,269 male residents and 11,107 female residents; 22,376 residents in total.<sup>2</sup> The Bandanese people speak Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and a local dialect which incorporates words from Dutch, Portuguese, Ambonese and Javanese. Most of the population is Muslim, but there is a small Christian minority who remained or returned to the islands after the religious riots between the Muslims and Christians in 1999.<sup>3</sup> As described in Chapter 2, the Banda Islands were largely depopulated by the Dutch when they violently took possession of the islands in 1621. The ancestry of the Bandanese people has since been mixed with slave laborers who were imported from various regions of Indonesia, intermarriage with Dutch colonists, Asian and Arab traders, and more recent immigrants that came to the island to make a new life. This does not impact their allegiance to the local culture, however, as everyone who was born on the Banda Islands is considered to be Bandanese. One recent immigrant explained that the local residents

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<sup>2</sup> Komisi Pemilihan Umum Republik Indonesia, “Data Agregat Kependudukan Per Kecamatan (DAK2).”

<sup>3</sup> More about this recent history in Chapter 2.

call themselves Bandanese before they explain where their parents or grandparents were from.<sup>4</sup> This local loyalty is typical for the pride Bandanese have in their islands, as people on nearby islands like Ambon will always first tell you where their families originated.

### *National Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Policies*

The wealth of the Banda Islands' natural and cultural resources has not gone unnoticed, despite its remote location from the seat of power in Jakarta. Several sites across the islands were marked as cultural sites with a white information sign (Figure 36). This old sign informed the visitor about the name of the site in Indonesian and declared that vandalism at the site is prohibited by law no.5 from 1962.<sup>5</sup> In 2010, the Indonesian president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono enacted a new law specifically designed to protect cultural heritage of the Republic of Indonesia. According to this law, cultural heritage is defined as:

“Material cultural heritage are Cultural Heritage Objects, Cultural Heritage Buildings, Cultural Heritage Structures, Cultural Heritage Sites, and Cultural Heritage Areas on land and / or in water that need to be preserved because they have important values for history, science, education, religion and / or culture which needs to be determined through a process.”<sup>6</sup>

Following the new impetus of this cultural heritage law, the old white sign was replaced with a new information sign which declares the site protected by this law, stipulates the aim of cultural heritage conservation and describes the punishments for damaging sites

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<sup>4</sup> Fieldnotes October 9, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Perusahaan Daerah.

<sup>6</sup> Translated from original: “Cagar Budaya adalah warisan budaya bersifat kebendaan berupa Benda Cagar Budaya, Bangunan Cagar Budaya, Struktur Cagar Budaya, Situs Cagar Budaya, dan Kawasan Cagar Budaya di darat dan/atau di air yang perlu dilestarikan keberadaannya karena memiliki nilai penting bagi sejarah, ilmu pengetahuan, pendidikan, agama, dan/atau kebudayaan melalui proses penetapan.” From Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 11 Tahun 2010 Tentang Cagar Budaya*, sec. BAB I-Pasal 1.

that are considered cultural heritage. According the article 3 of this law, the conservation of cultural heritage aims to:

“a. preserve the nation's cultural heritage and humanity's heritage; b. to enhance the nation's prestige and values through cultural heritage; c. strengthen the nation's character; d. improve people's welfare; and e. promote the nation's cultural heritage to the international community.”<sup>7</sup>

The aims as described in this article, as well as the definition of cultural heritage, emulates the language used for World Heritage by UNESCO, with an emphasis on the importance of heritage for a large (international) audience and an academic scientific approach to conserving material heritage.

However, the plea for the conservation of cultural heritage at Fort Nassau is targeted towards Indonesian visitors, as the information is written in Indonesian. In order to appeal to this public, it expresses a desire to preserve heritage with the aim of improving people's welfare, and article 56 stipulates that everyone can participate in protecting cultural heritage.<sup>8</sup> Despite this positive message, another clear aim of this information sign is to deter domestic tourists and local residents from damaging the site by stating the punishments for misconduct.<sup>9</sup> Article 105 states that:

“[e]very person who intentionally damages cultural heritage, [...] shall be sentenced to a minimum imprisonment of 1 (one) year and a maximum of 15 (fifteen) years and / or a fine of at least Rp. 500,000,000.00 (five hundred million rupiah)<sup>10</sup> and a maximum of Rp. 5,000,000,000.00 (five billion rupiah)<sup>11</sup>. ”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Translated from original: “a. melestarikan warisan budaya bangsa dan warisan umat manusia; b. meningkatkan harkat dan martabat bangsa melalui Cagar Budaya; c. memperkuat kepribadian bangsa; d. meningkatkan kesejahteraan rakyat; dan e. mempromosikan warisan budaya bangsa kepada masyarakat internasional.” From Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, sec. BAB II-Pasal 3.

<sup>8</sup> Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, sec. BAB VII-Pasal 56.

<sup>9</sup> Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, sec. BAB VII-Pasal 66 and BAB XI-Pasal 105.

<sup>10</sup> Rp. 500,000,000.00 or five hundred million ≈ \$35,600.

<sup>11</sup> Rp. 5,000,000,000.00 or five billion rupiah ≈ \$356,100.

<sup>12</sup> Translated from original: “Pasal 66 (1) setiap orang dilarang merusak Cagar Budaya, baik seluruh maupun bagian-bagiannya, dari kesatuan, kelompok, dan/atau dari letak asal. (2) setiap orang dilarang mencuri cagar budaya, baik seluruh maupun bagian-bagiannya, dari kesatuan, kelompok, dan/atau dari letak asal.” ... “Pasal 105 Setiap orang yang dengan sengaja merusak Cagar

Considering that the average salary in Indonesia is Rp. 2,500,000 ( $\approx$  \$183) per month, it is safe to claim that these are high punishments meant to shock and scare people into good behavior and to indicate that the Indonesian government is serious in their efforts for cultural heritage conservation.

In addition to the cultural heritage, the Indonesian government has long been involved in the conservation of the natural heritage of the Banda Islands. In 1997, part of the archipelago was designated as a Marine Protected Area (MPA) covering  $\sim 9.7$  mi<sup>2</sup> (25 km<sup>2</sup>), which was expanded to a network of MPA's covering  $\sim 386$  mi<sup>2</sup> (1,000 km<sup>2</sup>) in 2009. In 2014, the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (*Menteri Kelautan Dan Perikanan*) declared  $\sim 9.7$  mi<sup>2</sup> (25 km<sup>2</sup>) of the bay between Banda Neira and Banda Besar a protected aquatic park (*Taman Wisata Perairan*: TWP) called TWP Laut Banda. The impetus for this designation is the increasing human population and natural threats due to global warming, which threaten the socioeconomic and ecological wellbeing of these waters.<sup>13</sup> The zoning plan for the TWP Laut Banda demarcates a large sustainable fisheries zone, including a sub-zone for pearl and seaweed cultivation, a rehabilitation zone for new coral rocks, a core zone and a utilization zone for diving tourism (Figure 13).

According to the conservation data gathered by the Directorate General of Maritime Area Management (*Direktorat Jenderal Pengelolaan Ruang Laut*), the TWP Banda is considered a protected seascape according to the IUCN standards of category V, which are defined as follows:<sup>14</sup>

“[a] protected area where the *interaction of people and nature over time* has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural

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Budaya sebagaimana dimaksud dalam Pasal 66 ayat (1) dipidana dengan pidana penjara paling singkat 1 (satu) tahun dan paling lama 15 (lima belas) tahun dan/atau denda paling sedikit Rp. 500.000.000,00 (lima ratus juta rupiah) dan paling banyak Rp. 5.000.000.000,00 (lima miliar rupiah).”

<sup>13</sup> Menteri Kelautan Dan Perikanan, Keputusan Menteri Kelautan dan Perikanan, pt. BAB I-A.

<sup>14</sup> Direktorat Jenderal Pengelolaan Ruang Laut, “Data Kawasan Konservasi TWP Taman Laut Banda”.

and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values.”<sup>15</sup>

This definition clearly stresses the importance of the relationship between people and their natural environment. Following this approach, the Directorate keeps track of all types of (cultural) activities that are held within the protected maritime zone in the Banda Islands.

One example of the Directorate’s interest in the cultural maritime activities on the Banda Islands is a recent site visit by Karto Wongsopatty in April 2018, when he visited the islands to witness a seasonal fishing practice for *Uli* (*Lysidice Oele*)(Figure 51).<sup>16</sup> These wormlike creatures live in the sand and between the coral rocks in the tidal areas of seawater. Here they procreate by growing a special tail which is shed during the breeding period when the full moon shines in April to release the sperm or eggs they contain. The *Uli* only appear for about 30 minutes to an hour each night during its short annual season, during which the Bandanese people fish for these nutritious worms with traditional equipment made from soft, lint-made cloth strapped around sticks to form a triangle net. The locations where these *Uli* worms can be found are located within the TWP park, in areas that are delineated for local traditional methods of fishing.

The Directorate’s interest in these traditional fishing practices is aligned with their mission is to revitalize local wisdom.<sup>17</sup> Not only does local wisdom involve sustainable practices that support the management of TWP Laut Banda, it also increases the active role the local community in the governance of the maritime park. Their participation and engagement are essential to boost the mutual trust between the community and the managers of the TWP Laut Banda. Moreover, the Directorate perceives this tradition of

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<sup>15</sup> IUCN, “Category V.” Emphasis added by J. van Donkersgoed.

<sup>16</sup> Wongsopatty, “Timba Uli Dan Pengelolaan TWP Laut Banda.”

<sup>17</sup> Wongsopatty.



fishing for *Uli* as an opportunity to boost economic benefits of the park for the Bandanese community as they can engage tourists in this local practice through either observation or by participation in the act of fishing or preparation of the worms in diverse local culinary dishes. In addition to this, the Directorate mentions that this tradition has a socio-cultural value, including preserving this tradition for the next generations and strengthening the ties between villages and family, friends and relatives through participation in this annual tradition.

Besides the TWP Laut Banda, the volcanic island Gunung Api has been designated as a natural park (*Taman Wisata Alam: TWA*) by the Ministry of Forestry since 1992. In a relatively small area like Gunung Api, the wide range of national ministries that have stakes in this park include the Ministries of Forestry, Maritime Affairs and Fisheries, Tourism, Human Development and Education and Culture. Besides these national institutions, regional and provincial sub-government institutions enact their programs, as well as national and international NGOs. Despite the wide range of ministries that have a stake in the conservation and sustainable development of Gunung Api, construction activities have taken place despite the prohibition to build within the 2.6 mi<sup>2</sup> (6.71 km<sup>2</sup>) of the park area, including a cold storage for which electric and water infrastructure had to be constructed, a water reservoir and residences for multiple families who moved permanently here.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, several Bandanese developers have started to construct luxury private guest lodges on the bay of the Gunung Api, facing the harbor of Banda Neira. A team of local tourism innovators on Banda Neira would like to develop eco-tourism for Gunung Api, which already is a popular mountaineering destination for tourists.<sup>19</sup> However, the people

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<sup>18</sup> Fieldnotes February 18, 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Fieldnotes January 27, 2019.

who moved to the island now claim the land as theirs and do not want to change their lifestyle.

### *NGOs and Des Ahwi*

Besides the national efforts, there are two non-local NGOs that are quite active on the Banda Islands: the international U.S.-based organization Rare and the Indonesian Coral Triangle Center (CTC) which is based in Denpasar, Bali. Rare organizes projects on the Banda Islands aimed at maintaining biodiversity and support local sustainable fishery practices. They started social marketing projects in 2015 to spread awareness about sustainable fishing methods.<sup>20</sup> During my fieldwork in 2016, Rare's marketing campaign supported by the Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries focused on certain 'no take zones' which were promoted through flyers, cartoons and banners across the various islands written in the local dialect.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, they organized activities throughout the Ramadan month sponsoring food and drinks to break the fast and sermons that discussed how God gave us the earth to guard and protect.

As Rare focuses on the education of sustainable practices to the local community at large, the Coral Triangle Center (CTC) has a more targeted management approach as they develop trainee-programs for local volunteers and develop policies that are enforced by said volunteers.<sup>22</sup> The CTC's interest in the Banda Islands concerns the complete ecosystem with coral, seagrasses and mangroves that provide a home for 397 coral and 683 fish species, including endangered species such as the hammerhead shark, Napoleon Wrasse (*Cheilinus undulates*) and Mandarin fish (*Synchiropus splendidus*). They have

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<sup>20</sup> Fieldnotes November 21, 2015.

<sup>21</sup> Fieldnotes 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Fieldnotes June 6, 2016.

been an active force behind the development of the various MPA's in the Banda archipelago and their continuous presence from their local office on the island Ay involves activities for coral reef protection and rehabilitation performed by 15 members. The monitoring of the reefs is conducted by the volunteers, which according to the center's local coordinator, increases the pride of the Bandanese as "they are able to do what scientists do"<sup>23</sup>. Their results are sent to the scientists at CTC for analysis. The local coordinator added that he repeatedly tells the volunteers that: "You already have more knowledge about what lives here than we have, we can only contribute with what we know."<sup>24</sup> In other words, the Bandanese who live on the island and work daily in the surrounding maritime environment know more about what lives here and the increase and decline of species than an outsider. The role of the non-local expert is to contribute to the observations of the local volunteers with scientific information and analysis of the data that the locals collect.

The CTC has supplied this full-time voluntary operation in Ay with a boat and funds for training.<sup>25</sup> The gas for the boat is covered by the fees tourists pay to snorkel and dive at the coral reefs. The daily snorkeling fee was instated by the CTC with local support in 2014, and is set at Rp. 25,000 (~ \$1.75) per day and Rp. 100,000 (~ \$7.10) per week. Besides instituting this snorkeling fee, CTC has reinstated the traditional practice of *sasi* with the assistance of the *orang adat* and local government. This sustainable fishing management practice was not practiced for over 40 years, but it is now endorsed by legislation and those who do not adhere to the *sasi*-restrictions are fined. The *sasi*-restrictions are not only placed on maritime resources such as the sea cucumber, but also on the harvest of nutmeg and papaya, and it determines where you are allowed to graze

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<sup>23</sup> Fieldnotes June 6, 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Fieldnotes June 6, 2016.

<sup>25</sup> Fieldnotes June 6, 2016.

your animals. If you pluck a nutmeg from a tree that is not yours, you have to pay Rp. 50,000 ( $\approx$  \$3.55) per nutmeg. To put these amounts in perspective, the largest Indonesian banknote denomination is Rp. 100,000.

Besides these NGOs that focus on marine conservation, the Banda Heritage and Culture Foundation (*Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda*, often referred to as Yayasan) has conducted many cultural heritage conservation projects and owns several historical buildings on the island Banda Neira. This influential local organization was founded by Des Alwi, one of the Bandanese children who was adopted by Mohammad Hatta during his exile on the Banda Islands. Due to Alwi's ties to the political leaders of the Republic of Indonesia, he was able to set and implement policies on the Banda Islands without much regional interference. The extent of his power on the islands is apparent considering his nickname, the King of Banda.<sup>26</sup> With the fall of General Suharto's regime in 1998, decentralization was accompanied by an *adat* revival and *adat* was used as a voice for the local community against state control.<sup>27</sup> One of my informants explained that due to further decentralization and policies that focus on local empowerment, the kind of top-down approach that Alwi practiced is no longer possible as the permission of the local community has to be obtained for new projects and regulations.<sup>28</sup>

Des Alwi had a particular vision on how to develop heritage tourism for the Banda Islands, including the idea to create an 18<sup>th</sup>-century theme park.<sup>29</sup> He realized the appeal Bandanese colonial architecture and heritage had to a Western elite clientele and therefore built a colonial-style boutique hotel next to the main portage of Banda Neira in the 1980s with a direct view on the Gunung Api. His hotel and political affiliations offered him the

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<sup>26</sup> Michell, *The Great King That Never Was: Banda Islands*; John McBeth, "Terror in Paradise: 'King' of Idyllic Isles Quells Ethnic Violence."

<sup>27</sup> Takano, "The Concept of Adat and Adat Revivalism in Post-Suharto Indonesia," 80.

<sup>28</sup> Fieldnotes February 18, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Alwi, "Re: Funding Assistance for Restoration Projects in Banda. Addressed to Dutch Ambassador P. Brouwer.," January 23, 1997.

possibility to develop high-end tourism on Banda Neira, as his hotel boasts visits from many celebrities such as the famous deep sea explorer Jacques Cousteau, the Dutch Prince Bernhard, the British Princess Diana, Sarah Ferguson, Mick Jagger of the Rolling Stones, and the multi-talented comedian Bill Bailey.<sup>30</sup> With the revenue of his business and through his political ties in Jakarta, he sponsored and led the revival of local *adat* traditions such as the *Cakalele* dance<sup>31</sup> by funding new clothes for the dancers and the necessary offerings, and the revival of the *kora-kora* boat race. Besides the increase of profit through cultural tourism, this sponsoring earned him the title of *Orang Lima Besar*, like his grandfather Said Baädilla before him. Therefore, despite the intent of the decentralization policies to empower the local community, Des Alwi managed to use *adat* to strengthen his political and cultural power in the Banda Islands.

His hegemony over *adat*, and the interpretation of cultural heritage on the Banda Islands, is exemplified in an anecdote that was told to me by a leader of the *Banda asli* from Banda Ely, one of the settlements created by the Bandanese refugees in 1621.<sup>32</sup> As is widely acknowledged by current Banda residents, these are considered to be the ‘true’ Bandanese, *Banda asli*, who still speak in the old Bandanese language and practice Bandanese pottery-making, skills which are forgotten on the Banda Islands. In 1995, this leader wanted to share the original history of the Bandanese people during a festival, and this idea was well-received by the provincial Tourism Board, but rejected by Alwi who did not want the original Bandanese to return to the Banda Islands. According to the village elder, Alwi had reinvented the Banda Islands and did not want the original knowledge to conflict with his story. However, as is evidenced by the current discussion regarding *perigi*

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<sup>30</sup> Alwi, “Welcome to the Maulana.”

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of the *Cakalele* dance, see Chapter 4, section “*Cakalele* Dance”.

<sup>32</sup> Fieldnotes June 22, 2017.

*rantai* and the ‘Portuguese well, Alwi’s interpretations of Bandenese heritage are currently being questioned and the ‘true’ history is sought after.<sup>33</sup>

Among his most important accomplishments, Des Alwi considered the restoration of the houses where Hatta and Sjahrir resided during their exile, as well as the establishment of the local cultural museum.<sup>34</sup> A later Indonesian publication, commemorating Alwi’s legacy after his death in 2010, is filled with personal stories from local, national and international friends and family that were acquainted with Alwi.<sup>35</sup> One of these memoirs is written by Prabowo Subianto, a popular presidential candidate for the Indonesian election in 2014 and 2019. If he had won the election, this may have opened the door for Alwi’s descendants to plead with the highest authority for more political traction for the Banda Islands, showing how Alwi’s legacy still continues today.

Opinions about the legacy of Des Alwi on the Banda Islands vary. Some residents condemn his displacement of people to construct his hotel or to achieve heritage restorations along the bay in front of Fort Nassau and the Governor’s residence (*Istana Mini*)<sup>36</sup>, while others reminisce about the time when the Banda Islands had a strong political defender who could make things happen with ‘one phone call to Jakarta’. For example, while he was alive there was regular and reliable transportation to the Banda Islands and he would drive around town every day to make sure people were not building where they were not allowed or that they were not deviling the streets with rubbish.<sup>37</sup> Since Alwi passed away in 2010, his legacy still influences cultural heritage conservation as this

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<sup>33</sup> For the discussion regarding these wells, see Chapter 3, section “Revival and Renovation”.

<sup>34</sup> Alwi, *A Boy from Banda*, xii–xiii. Des Alwi even went as far to alter Willard Hanna’s book from 1978 when his foundation reprinted the book in 1991, adding the restoration of the house Hatta was exiled to. Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1978, 128–30; Hanna, *Indonesian Banda*, 1991.

<sup>35</sup> Sinjal et al., *Des Alwi: Dari Banda Naira Menjadi Indonesia*.

<sup>36</sup> For a discussion about these displacements, see Chapter 3, section “displacement and Community Perception”.

<sup>37</sup> Fieldnotes October 13, 2019.

is conducted according to his vision by his foundation and local stakeholders who worked closely with him during his lifetime.

### *Efforts to Increase Political Traction*

A recurring theme within my conversations with Bandanese residents was their resentment about the difficulties they face due to their low political status as a *kecamatan*.<sup>38</sup> They reminisce about the time when the Banda Islands were so important for the Indonesian-Dutch colony that they had their own governor, who resided in the prestigious *Istana Mini* on Banda Neira. This is not to say that they reminisce about being subjected to the colonial government, as they refer to the national government as the ‘*Compani*’, indicating that their issue is that the power is not in the hands of the people.<sup>39</sup> The means to locally enact policy was reduced each time the area was demoted as an political entity, from province to district to *kecamatan*. During the colonial regime this occurred hand in hand with the spice trade, as once the monopoly of nutmeg was broken and prices dropped, the highest political status on the islands was reduced from Governor to a *Bupati*. Later it was reduced further to become a *kecamatan*, and with each reduction in status, the power to enact policy and obtain funding was transferred to other regions. The Bandanese are convinced that policies could be better managed and implemented locally, and therefore support two separate initiatives to gain more political and administrative power: to become an autonomous zone (*Daerah Otonomi Baru*: DOB) and a special economic zone (*Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus*: KEK).

Although it seems that the efforts for the Banda Islands to become a DOB-region have failed, I will remark here that this would have offered the islands an equal political

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<sup>38</sup> Fieldnotes June 3, 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Corten and van Dun, “Inheritance ‘Van Oom Coen’: Report of a Technical Mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001,” 3.

status as the past when they still had their own Governor. Under DOB, Banda Neira would function as an administrative center for the local government, which would feature visa services and offer a seat to their own Governor who could petition directly to the national government.<sup>40</sup> The issue Bandanese currently experience is that everything has to go through either Masohi or Ambon, governmental institutions with outsiders that live far from the Banda Islands and therefore do not know what is best for the islands. Since Des Alwi died there has not been a focal person on the Banda Islands who can activate these distant institutions, although the Bandanese acknowledge that there is a need for new regulations which are made by and for the Bandanese community. One of the current weaknesses is that outsiders can easily come to the Banda Islands and buy land, which drives up the prices for the local residents.

In 2017, when the attempt to designate the Banda Islands as a new autonomous zone (DOB) was still in process by a group of lobbyists in Jakarta, a separate team from the national and provincial government came to Banda Neira to propose an alternative plan for a special economic zone (KEK).<sup>41</sup> On May 25, 2017, a public consultation meeting was organized to present and discuss the plans to develop about 2,500 ha of the Banda Islands and its surrounding sea as a KEK zone. KEK is identified as a special economic zone which “has geo-economic and geo-strategic excellence and serves to accommodate industrial activities, exports, imports, and activities other economies that have high economic value and power in international competitiveness.”<sup>42</sup> The anticipated economic benefit that the KEK-designation could bring for the Banda archipelago is centered around the development of tourism, but it would also benefit the maritime and forestry resources through regulations and local reinforcement. Some of the most notable changes that the

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<sup>40</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>41</sup> Fieldnotes May 25, 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus, sec. BAB II, Pasal 2. Translated by J. van Donkersgoed.



KEK-designation would bring includes a local licensing service, tax reduction, simplification of employment including permits for foreigners to acts as directors or commissioners, local visa services and easier processes to buy land (Table 3). Lastly, the KEK-team argues that designating the Banda Islands as a KEK will assist in the World Heritage nomination of the archipelago because it will simplify creating and implementing conservation management plans.<sup>43</sup>

The KEK-team crafted a masterplan to develop the islands as a special economic zone for tourism in 2015, which includes the conservation of the marine park TWP Banda Laut as designated by the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (Table 3). The KEK-team proposes to apply similar regulations around other islands in the archipelago and to supply the islands with facilities, infrastructure and funds to implement the park regulations. To further develop the KEK-plans for the Banda Islands through the process of environmental impact analysis, the team is obligated to hold public consultations by Indonesian law.<sup>44</sup> Besides this meeting, citizens were allowed to make suggestions and voice their opinions through a written response to the announcement in a local newspaper. The input gathered through these written responses as well as the meeting will be used to create the reference work which will inform the committee who will develop and evaluate the KEK-policy.

During the question and answer session, as well as during my conversations with residents after this meeting, several Bandanese have voiced their concern about becoming a KEK-area because it would mean that the Banda Islands will still be governed by the government in Ambon.<sup>45</sup> The general consensus is that these outsiders are more concerned with the economic potential of tourism, rather than with the quality of life or respect for

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<sup>43</sup> Fieldnotes May 25, 2017.

<sup>44</sup> Presiden Republik Indonesia, Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Tentang Perkoperasian.

<sup>45</sup> Fieldnotes May 25-26, 2017.

*adat* of the local people. For example, concerns were raised during the public consultation about the effects that an increase in tourism would bring, including the issue of waste management. More pointedly, questions were asked about effects of the proposed new airport, that will either displace dozens of families or destroy a coral reef and disturb a sacred location for one of the *desa adats*.<sup>46</sup> Another concern regards the proposed large-scale renovation of historical buildings on the island: the Bandanese residents mentioned repeatedly that these conservation activities are only welcome if the restoration would look like the original and local workers would be employed to perform the work. One informant told me after this meeting that if you want to see modern buildings, you can go to Ambon, but the main appeal of the Banda Islands is that there are many original old colonial buildings which have been torn down elsewhere.<sup>47</sup> These concerns and responses from the Bandanese surprised the KEK-team, which did not anticipate such informed opinions from a remote island community.

The fear the Bandanese expressed about losing control, rather than gaining more political traction, is not wholly ungrounded. According to one informant, a company needs to be created to manage the KEK-area.<sup>48</sup> This organization would be owned 40% by the province, 40% by the local government and only 20% by the Banda *kecamatan*. The board of this company would be chosen by these parties, and therefore the fear is that the board would consist of friends of politicians rather than people who are educated and knowledgeable about sustainable tourism. If this company is created, the KEK-board will function as a governmental body and could allow unwanted activities such as jet ski's and parasailing with a flick of their pen.<sup>49</sup> This example was used to illustrate how the board

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<sup>46</sup> Fieldnotes May 25, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>48</sup> Fieldnotes October 9, 2017.

<sup>49</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

could be driven by economical gain, rather than focus on sustainable activities that would benefit conservation on the islands.

To reiterate, the Bandanese would like to gain more political traction so that they themselves could set regulations that outside investors would have to comply with. To quote a local leader of a tourism business in Banda Neira: “You can come and invest, but only on these conditions. This is who we are, this is our *adat*. *Adat* people know what is best for Banda, and Banda belongs to the Bandanese and should stay Bandanese.”<sup>50</sup> However, the KEK-designation would make it easier for foreigners to buy land and develop projects in the Banda Islands, and according to an informant, the government would receive part of the profits from developments.<sup>51</sup> Corruption within this system is therefore a danger, which could affect especially the natural and cultural conservation of the islands in favor of economic benefits. Therefore, rather than waiting for a change in political status, focal agents of the local community are gathering together to enact the change and strengthen their voice as a strong local stakeholder.<sup>52</sup>

### **Efforts to Become UNESCO World Heritage**

Since 1998, there have been multiple efforts to enlist the Banda Islands as a UNESCO World Heritage site. The objective to become a UNESCO World Heritage site is often accompanied by a political desire to strengthen a particular aspect of (national) identity and stimulate economic growth through the heritage tourism industry, which generates employment, income and development.<sup>53</sup> The designation of a heritage site is therefore a subjective progress of presenting a cultural site with a particular aim to appeal to a certain

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<sup>50</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Fieldnotes May 26, 2017.

<sup>52</sup> More about these efforts in section “Local Initiatives”.

<sup>53</sup> Herbert, *Heritage, Tourism and Society*, 12–13; Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 10.

national and international sentiment. As Hitchcock et al. said: “Heritage sites are therefore designated as significant in some way; and their meaning and significance are interpreted and explained by various actors, often with different interests and views.”<sup>54</sup> The various efforts that have been conducted to present the Banda Islands as a World Heritage site therefore provide insight into how the islands are presented within the international framework of UNESCO.

In 1998, a Dutch delegation affiliated with the national cultural agency (*Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg*: RDMZ)<sup>55</sup> visited the Banda Islands at the request of Des Alwi, who desired their support in the renovation of the *perkeniers*-residence Spantje By and assistance for a UNESCO World Heritage nomination for the Banda Islands.<sup>56</sup> In the letter addressed to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, the RDMZ team proposes that the Banda Islands would be a good candidate for a ‘mixed nomination’, as both the cultural and natural heritage qualities are deserving of World Heritage status. The forts in particular are mentioned as an example of “shared cultural heritage from the VOC-era”<sup>57</sup>. In response, Dutch Ambassador Brouwer replied that the Embassy rejoices at the efforts by the Dutch agency to propose the World Heritage nomination to two Dutch ministries, and he would address the nomination during his cultural consultation between Indonesia and the Netherlands.<sup>58</sup> From a later correspondence in July 1998, it becomes clear that the Dutch Embassy is assisting Des Alwi and his daughter Tanya with the support of the World Heritage nomination for the entire Banda archipelago.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 10.

<sup>55</sup> Former state agency for monument care for the Netherlands, nowadays the Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed (RCE).

<sup>56</sup> Asselbergs, “Letter Addressed to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta,” February 17, 1998.

<sup>57</sup> Asselbergs.

<sup>58</sup> Brouwer, “Letter Addressed to the Rijksdienst Voor de Monumentenzorg,” March 1998.

<sup>59</sup> Wolters, “Letter Addressed to the Rijksdienst Voor Monumentenzorg,” July 1, 1998.

Throughout these letters, the intent of the Dutch government agencies is clear to nominate the Banda Islands as a mixed site, for both its cultural and natural heritage values. The Indonesian Ministry for Education and Culture replied to this initiative in a letter on August 11, 1998, which states that it would proceed with a Tentative List nomination on the basis of their formulated arguments:

1. "The Banda Islands had once a role in a network of trade and communication involving many nations within a vast area;
2. The Banda Islands form a 'multi-layer' site, witnessing the prehistoric, pre-colonial, colonial, and the Indonesian national movement periods;
3. Banda is a 'monument of human tragedy', because it was the scene of genocide when the remaining original inhabitants had been forced out of the islands;
4. Banda is also a memorial to our struggle for national independence as it was the place where prominent Indonesian leaders had been exiled."<sup>60</sup>

Although there was a consensus that the Banda Islands have the potential to become a World Heritage site, the efforts seem to have stopped around the time of the religious conflicts in 1999. In a letter to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta, an employee of the RDMZ expresses that further development for the nomination should come from the Indonesian government, rather than the Dutch government.<sup>61</sup>

However, Des Alwi and his daughter Tanya continued to lobby and in 2005 their efforts were rewarded when the Banda Islands were enlisted on the Tentative List as a natural site based on the criteria (vii) and (x).<sup>62</sup> In addition, Fort Belgica was enlisted on the Tentative List as a cultural site, despite the large-scale restorations conducted under the supervision of Des Alwi in 1991, which were criticized by the RDMZ as "disastrous"<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> Sedyawati and Department of Education and Culture, "Letter to UNESCO Office, Jakarta," August 11, 1998.

<sup>61</sup> Attema, "RE: Banda Eilanden - Letter to the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta," April 27, 1999.

<sup>62</sup> Criterium (vii): to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance. Criterium (x): to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation. Centre, "The Criteria for Selection."

<sup>63</sup> Wieringa and Attema, "Verslag Werkbezoek Banda Naira, Lonthor En Ay - 21 Tot 23 Oktober, 1997," 21. The English version of this report, which was sent to Des Alwi, contains a more nuanced assessment without this adjective.

In 2014, after Des Alwi passed away, his daughter Tanya approached Rutgers University for advice to continue the efforts to enlist the Banda Islands as a World Heritage site. Based on the expertise of Rutgers' program in Cultural Heritage and Preservation Studies (CHAPS) in the concept of cultural landscapes, the potential was perceived to develop a new heritage narrative within the UNESCO framework which would combine the natural and cultural heritage assets of the Banda Islands. Therefore, efforts were again made to enlist the Banda Islands as a mixed site, similar to the previous attempt which was supported by the Dutch RDMZ.

Due to the nature of a mixed nomination, the Ministries of Culture and Education (*Kementarian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan: DIKBUD*), Marine Affairs and Fisheries (*Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan: KKP*), Tourism (*Kementerian Pariwisata: Kemenpar*), and Environment and Forestry (*Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan: KLHK*) should be involved to create an all-encompassing management plan. Therefore, the Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Cultural Affairs (*Kementarian Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan: PMK*) took the initiative to lead the re-nomination process of the Banda Islands as a mixed site and hosted a public consultation workshop on the Banda Islands in 2014 to present the idea and gauge public opinion.<sup>64</sup> During the question and answer session, the Bandanese made some acute observations about the absence of certain ritual sites from the nomination and expressed their concern that the Banda Islands has much more culture to offer than was presented. Another Bandanese resident asked whether UNESCO would act as a new colonizer, as it would be able to implement regulations for the local Bandanese and potentially suppressing their way of life. However, the presenters were able to appease the Bandanese with reassurances and at the end of the workshop a petition was signed, in

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<sup>64</sup> Fieldnotes December 11, 2014.

which all people present at the workshop agreed to work together to make the nomination of the Banda Islands for the UNESCO World Heritage List a success.

However, the approach to pursue a mixed site nomination was met with apprehension at the World Heritage office at DIKBUD.<sup>65</sup> In 2000, the DIKBUD office started the lengthy process of enlisting the Bali *subak*-system to be inscribed on the World Heritage, however it was deferred in 2008.<sup>66</sup> After four years of rewriting the nomination dossier, it was finally inscribed in 2012. In order to justify the cultural landscape-approach, they urged that the link between the people and their environment must be made more explicit. Moreover, during the discussions concerning a potential World Heritage nomination with national, provincial and local stakeholders, a common remark was that the Bandanese Massacre should not be foregrounded in the nomination despite the importance of its history to the local community. Rather, by focusing on the maritime aspects of Bandanese heritage as a trading center and as an ecological treasure house, the international character of the heritage could be emphasized while downplaying the (negative) colonial history of this area.<sup>67</sup> As colonization is seen as such a delicate matter, even though it is a historical fact, local, regional and national agents rather emphasize the multicultural aspect of in their heritage narrative about the Banda Islands.

Likewise, the nomination was received with caution at the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (*Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed*: RCE), a frequent partner and advisor for cultural heritage projects in Indonesia.<sup>68</sup> They urged the necessity to implement sustainable conservation plans prior to World Heritage nomination, as the success of the nomination will depend on a devoted and professional group to maintain these regulations. Fort

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<sup>65</sup> Fieldnotes December, 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Arbi, "Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage," January 2, 2020.

<sup>67</sup> Fieldnotes May 17, 2017.

<sup>68</sup> Fieldnotes December 22, 2014.

Nassau was used as an example of a restoration project without a long-term plan, as the site is being restored for the sake of restoration rather than to serve an active role and purpose for the local community. Moreover, they questioned whether the heritage on the Banda Islands would meet the authenticity standards of UNESCO if Fort Belgica was included, especially if Fort Nassau would be plastered with a layer of cement as well.

Nevertheless, the Banda Islands were marked as a potential site for a UNESCO World Heritage nomination. The first phase to enlistment is to nominate the site for the Tentative List, which acts as a waiting room for nomination projects to be executed by the national government. Regarding the Tentative list, UNESCO states that:

“State Parties are encouraged to harmonize their Tentative Lists at regional and thematic levels. Harmonization of Tentative Lists is the process whereby State Parties, with assistance of Advisory Bodies, collectively assess their respective Tentative List to review gaps and identify common themes. The outcome of harmonization can result in improved Tentative Lists, new nominations from State Parties and co-operation amongst groups of State Parties in preparation to nomination.”<sup>69</sup>

The Tentative List for Indonesia was revised by DIKBUD in 2014, with the aim of assessing the preparedness of the (local) stakeholders for a potential nomination.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, the idea emerged to promote especially heritage sites that relate to the coastal cities built during the Dutch colonial times, among them the Banda Islands. In order to optimize communication and set shared goals across governmental levels, it is key for local initiatives to align with the national agenda. In the case of the tentative list nomination for the Banda Islands, it was therefore decided to emphasize the maritime component: both the ecological values as well as the intangible heritage that connects the Bandanese to their marine environment. This emphasis aligns with the nation-wide policy set by the current

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<sup>69</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” l. 73.

<sup>70</sup> Arbi, “Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage,” January 2, 2020.



Indonesian President Joko Widodo, whose political focus is on developing the maritime strengths of Indonesia.

In 2015, the Banda Islands were re-submitted to UNESCO's Tentative List as a mixed site. As a mixed site-nomination, the nomination for the Banda Islands comprises both cultural and natural values for Outstanding Universal Value (OUV). Besides the natural criterion (x), the nomination addresses cultural criteria (iv) and (iv). Criterion (iv) states that the proposed heritage site is "an outstanding example of [...] a landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history".<sup>71</sup> For the Tentative List nomination of the Banda Islands, criterion (iv) is justified as;

"[...] remains of forts, ports and features of a comprehensive plantation system that are illustrative of the Western colonial era and its quest for a monopoly of nutmeg production. In addition, Banda Neira, which functioned as the main center of the Banda Islands during the Dutch reign, later became the location to which several independence fighters, including Mohammed Hatta and Sutan Syahrir, were exiled during the struggle for the independence of Indonesia. The history of the Banda Islands thus encompasses both the start of colonial rule and Indonesia's struggle for independence."<sup>72</sup>

This criterion emphasizes a link to European history as well as highlighting its importance to national identity and prowess. Criterion (iv) is complemented by criterion (vi), which states that the heritage site should: "be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance."<sup>73</sup> Two cultural traditions are mentioned in the Tentative List nomination that exhibit this connection to the tangible heritage, which are the *Cakalele* warrior dance and the *kora-kora* war boats.<sup>74</sup> The *Cakalele* is described as a commemorative performance for the massacre of the Indonesian warriors that resisted

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<sup>71</sup> UNESCO, "WHC.19/01," sec. 77.

<sup>72</sup> UNESCO, "The Historic and Marine Landscape of the Banda Islands."

<sup>73</sup> UNESCO, "WHC.19/01," sec. 77.

<sup>74</sup> UNESCO, "The Historic and Marine Landscape of the Banda Islands." See also Chapter 4, section "Intangible Cultural Heritage".

Dutch rule, and the latter as a traditional mode of transportation which was historically used to welcome Portuguese traders.

*Since Tentative List nomination*

After the initial community workshop in 2014, it became clear that another workshop was needed in which the community was more actively engaged to give input on the content of the nomination file. For this purpose, a team of heritage professionals affiliated with CHAPS traveled to the Banda Islands to organize a participatory community workshop in November 2015. This workshop included a community mapping exercise, during which groups of Bandanese were asked to draw the locations of cultural and natural resources. Afterwards, the Bandanese participants presented their group findings to the team and community. As the tentative nomination was already submitted, the information gathered during this workshop was aimed to become part of the final dossier, when the respective ministries would push the nomination forward.

In 2016, however, the nomination project became side-tracked as the idea within DIKBUD arose to develop a serial nomination for the ‘Spice Route’ instead of pursuing a single nomination for the Banda Islands.<sup>75</sup> The Operational Guidelines for UNESCO define such serial properties as having two or more parts that have clearly defined “cultural, social or functional links over time that provide, where relevant, landscape, ecological, evolutionary or habitat connectivity”.<sup>76</sup> The potential of the Molucca region for such a nomination was expressed by the Director General of Culture Hilmar Farid during the World Culture Forum in 2016. He noted how this area played a central role on the world

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<sup>75</sup> Arbi, “Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage,” January 2, 2020.

<sup>76</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” sec. 137a.

stage in the trade of spices, and that the link between people and their marine environment had developed into a vibrant island culture.<sup>77</sup> The ‘Spice Route’ narrative is therefore not exclusively Indonesian, nor even a regional Indian Ocean narrative, but rather a transnational narrative that connects East and West, North and South.<sup>78</sup> To pursue the idea for such a serial nomination, DIKBUD organized, in conjunction with the UNESCO office in Jakarta, a workshop titled ‘Indonesia Maritime Cultural Corridor; Potential World Heritage Nomination’ on November 28-29, 2018. Due to the multi-faceted nature of serial properties, these nominations are lengthy processes. Therefore, single sites that are connected to this network, such as the Banda Islands, are not discouraged to proceed with their individual nomination plans.

However, the shifted perspective has led to a stagnation of the nomination process for the Banda Islands, which is further enhanced by the disconnect between the national government and local/regional agents.<sup>79</sup> As the Republic of Indonesia relies on a decentralized system, their wish is that local communities and the provincial government initiate and execute plans. However, there is a national agenda and budget that needs to facilitate developing management plans and fund the nomination process, and the lack of communication and agreement between institutions results in inertia. In the case of the Banda Islands, the national governments want to pursue a ‘Spice Route’-nomination, however there is not enough traction for this at the local levels. This apprehension may be justified, as serial nominations comprising of various districts, provinces and local cultures not only will need to work together on a political level, but also agree on a heritage narrative together. This was stipulated by the World Heritage Committee in 2019, as each component of a serial nomination of a cultural property

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<sup>77</sup> Fieldnotes October 2016.

<sup>78</sup> Arbi, “Regarding Banda Islands Nomination for UNESCO World Heritage,” January 2, 2020.

<sup>79</sup> Fieldnotes May 17, 2017.

“should contribute to OUV<sup>80</sup> of the property as a whole in substantial, scientific, readily defined and discernible way, and may include, inter alia. intangible attributes. The resulting OUV should be easily understood and communicated.”<sup>81</sup>

Since Des Alwi started to pursue a World Heritage nomination in 1998, a decade has passed without a designation for the Banda Islands. Although World Heritage nominations are notoriously arduous, and the site have only been relisted in 2015 as a mixed site, some Bandanese residents have become skeptical that the nomination will ever happen. A prominent administrative leader on Banda Neira is an example of this wait-and-see attitude, as he stated that although he is proud that Banda is under consideration, he will await instructions from the central government regarding a heritage management plan.<sup>82</sup> More importantly, he expressed his hope that the infrastructure will be improved with reliable and recurring transportation to and from the island in preparation for the World Heritage nomination and increase in tourism.

The increase in numbers of tourists that will come to the Banda Islands was mentioned frequently by Bandanese as a positive outcome of the potential World Heritage nomination.<sup>83</sup> The potential increase in income from tourists is welcome, as long as the tourists respect local culture by dressing appropriately and not bringing drugs to the islands. Other positive impacts that are anticipated through the nomination are projects to keep the Banda Islands clean, preserve their heritage and help with education. The Bandanese have a particular wish to learn English, in order for them to interact with the

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<sup>80</sup> OUV stands for Outstanding Universal Value, which is described by the Operational Guidelines as: “The cultural and natural heritage is among the priceless and irreplaceable assets, not only of each nation, but of humanity as a whole. The loss, through deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized assets constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world. Parts of this heritage, because of their exceptional qualities, can be considered to be of “Outstanding Universal Value” and as such worthy of special protection against the dangers which increasingly threaten them.” UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” sec. 4.

<sup>81</sup> UNESCO, sec. 137b.

<sup>82</sup> Fieldnotes May 23, 2017.

<sup>83</sup> Fieldnotes 2014-2019.

tourists and increase their income. Lastly, one informant told me that as UNESCO is there to preserve culture and ecology, it will help the Bandanese to realize the rich resources they have and help protect them.

However, some Bandanese have expressed their skepticism about the positive impact the World Heritage status would bring and are rather fearful for potential negative consequences. Similar to the plan to develop the Banda Islands into a KEK zone, the fear is that the World Heritage status will attract outsiders who will invest and buy land and properties on the Banda Islands. Lured by the profit offered for their properties, the fear is that current residents will leave the center of the town and that this would lead to a loss of local authenticity. One Bandanese hotel manager told me that “Banda does not need to wear make-up to attract”<sup>84</sup>, meaning that the Banda Islands do not need a World Heritage status to attract tourists as it is already a good place which only needs to be improved through the support of local practices. The islands do not need large (international) investors to better them, and their fear is that if the World Heritage status is pushed forward before protecting the interests of the local Bandanese community, the Banda Islands could become “[...] a name without a soul.”<sup>85</sup>

One aspect everyone seems to agree on is the need for and benefits of maritime conservation around the Banda Islands, which lies in the Banda Sea. This area is only ranked second in the marine conservation priority list of Indonesia, based on the high diversity of coral reef species, the high reef habitat density and endangered species, and the strategic role of the Banda Sea in marine life connectivity patterns and life-cycles.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, the vast depths of the Banda Sea this area serve as an important haven for reefs during sea level regressions and as a repository of tropical marine species which are

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<sup>84</sup> Fieldnotes October 9, 2017.

<sup>85</sup> Fieldnotes October 9, 2017.

<sup>86</sup> USAID, “Geographic Priorities for Marine Biodiversity Conservation in Indonesia,” xvii.

especially affected in shallower seas due to global climate change. The Banda Sea lies within the center of the so-called Coral Triangle, a region spanning provinces of East Timor, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and the Solomon Islands, containing over 25,000 islands providing a habitat for over 75% of the world's known coral species.<sup>87</sup>

The importance of the natural environment in the Banda Islands is acknowledged under criteria (x) on the Tentative List document for the UNESCO World Heritage nomination, marking the marine environment of the islands

“[...] contain[ing] the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.”<sup>88</sup>

This importance of the area is not only recognized by the CTC and UNESCO, but also by the national government. As mentioned, multiple national policies have already been enacted to protect the ecology of the marine environment of the Banda Islands, and initiatives to expand the protected area by delineating more MPA's at other islands such as Ay and Hatta have been set in motion.<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, the marine wealth of the Banda Islands also contributes to tourism on the islands through the diving industry. As one of the diving masters on Banda Neira attested, the marine wealth at the Banda Islands attracts a knowledgeable crowd of marine enthusiasts, especially the presence of the rare hammerhead sharks that group there.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Coral Triangle Initiative, “Geographic Priorities For Marine Biodiversity Conservation In Indonesia”; Veron et al., “Delineating the Coral Triangle.”

<sup>88</sup> UNESCO, “WHC.19/01,” sec. 77.

<sup>89</sup> See section “National Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Policies”.

<sup>90</sup> Fieldnotes November 20, 2015.

## Local Concerns and Initiatives

Besides the initiatives conducted by national and international organizations, the Bandanese are active in creating projects and establishing groups to increase tourism and well-being on the Banda Islands. During my conversations with local Bandanese residents, two points were often repeated:

1. They are proud of their islands and heritage;
2. They believe that they are the best stewards of their islands and heritage, despite their limited political power.

The level of engagement and eagerness to have their voices heard has been remarked on by various outsiders, such as government officials and international stakeholders. However, community engagement programs are often aimed at giving locals a better appreciation of their heritage, while local communities are already aware of its value.<sup>91</sup> The Bandanese awareness of their heritage values has increased due to their interactions with tourists and heritage practitioners that have visited and studied the islands during the past decades. Therefore, Bandanese people who are directly and indirectly involved in the tourism industry on Banda Neira are aware of issues concerning authenticity, waste management and foreign investment. As a result, several local residents have banded together in various projects to tackle these issues and strengthen their position as the local community.

### *Nutmeg Production*

One of the local concerns is the nutmeg production, as the nutmeg from the Banda Islands is of the highest quality, yet the farmers do not receive a good price for their produce.<sup>92</sup> As a government official from Ambon remarked, the nutmeg monopoly still continues in a

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<sup>91</sup> Byrne, "Archaeology and the Fortress of Rationality," 87.

<sup>92</sup> Fieldnotes February 2019.

different form, as the raw nutmeg is still processed by the Dutch (outsiders) and this processed product is sold with a much higher profit.<sup>93</sup> If nutmeg were to be processed correctly for the international market on the Banda Islands, the profits for the Bandanese farmers would increase. However, there are some issues with how the raw nutmeg is currently treated, as they are insufficiently dried in the sun on the streets of the villages (Figure 49).<sup>94</sup> While the Dutch still controlled the production of nutmeg, smoke houses were used to dry the spices thoroughly. However, most smoke houses are in ruins and this process is costly, while the smoked nutmeg receive the same price as those that are dried on the street.<sup>95</sup>

Therefore, several Bandanese residents attest that the quality of nutmeg has decreased since Independence, as the Bandanese are not trained in the proper ways of processing nutmeg for the global market.<sup>96</sup> Besides drying the nutmeg in the sun rather than smoking them, some pluck the nutmeg before it is fully ripened and plant the nutmeg trees too close to each other. However, my Bandanese informants agree that there is great economic potential in the spice production, as every tree of 5 years old can produce between 13-22 lb. (6–10 kg) of nutmeg and 8.5-15 lb. (4–7 kg) of mace.<sup>97</sup> The older the tree, the more productive it becomes, as one tree of 150 years old produces up to 44 lb. (20 kg). In order to revitalize the nutmeg production, ideas circulate among local and provincial agents to restore the smoke houses and build factories to professionally process and package the nutmeg locally.<sup>98</sup>

Besides the production of nutmeg and mace, the Bandanese already process and produce local products with these spices, dry fish and package wild almonds on a small

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<sup>93</sup> Fieldnotes November 19, 2015.

<sup>94</sup> Fieldnotes 2015, 2016.

<sup>95</sup> Fieldnotes June 11, 2016.

<sup>96</sup> Fieldnotes 2015-2019.

<sup>97</sup> Fieldnotes November 20, 2015.

<sup>98</sup> Fieldnotes 2019.



scale. One of their main products is nutmeg jam, which reportedly was invented by innovative Bandanese slaves when a severe hurricane damaged the nutmeg harvest in 1778.<sup>99</sup> As the nutmeg had fallen prior to being fully ripened, the spices could not be processed for the international market. The *perkeniers* therefore allowed the fallen unripe fruit to be gathered, and a jam was produced from the outer layer that protects the inner mace and nutmeg (Figure 49).

The tradition of making this nutmeg jam continues. It is proudly served at every hotel and homestay with breakfast, and is sold in local shops as a souvenir. The jam is also served on top of pancakes and for the traditional cookies baked especially for the celebrations at the end of the Ramadan fasting month. After inquiry, however, I was informed that the jam is nowadays made from the ripe nutmeg fruit, and no longer only as by-product when a harvest fails during bad weather.<sup>100</sup> The unripe fruit which has fallen prematurely is still not wasted, as one Bandanese has experimented and developed a method to derive oil from the young unripe nutmeg, which has great value even in its raw form.<sup>101</sup> The potent oil is said to cure headaches, stomach aches and all kinds of other ailments.

Besides the production of nutmeg jam and oil as merchandise, the *perken* are a source of income for local tourist guides who show visitors the nutmeg groves and explain them about the production of spices. Therefore, initiatives to revitalize the nutmeg production go hand in hand with the idea of encouraging ecotourism to the islands. The aim of ecotourism is to develop tourist operations which are conducted with a respect for environmental and ecological constraints.<sup>102</sup> Developing tourism industry in such a way is

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<sup>99</sup> Wright, "The Moluccan Spice Monopoly, 1770-1824," 4-5.

<sup>100</sup> Fieldnotes May 25, 2017.

<sup>101</sup> Fieldnotes May 24, 2017.

<sup>102</sup> UNESCO, "Understanding World Heritage in Asia and the Pacific: The Second Cycle of Periodic Reporting," 81.

considered a sustainable approach to tourism development, as it is the opposite of the commercial pursuit to create mass tourism, which is a trend the local Bandanese try to avoid. Moreover, as is attested by the Japanese Law on Promotion of Ecotourism from 2008, this approach to tourism can be used to empower local communities alongside natural conservation efforts.<sup>103</sup> Similarly, the UNESCO office in Jakarta has initiated a regional effort entitled ‘The Power of Culture: Supporting Community-Based Management and Sustainable Tourism at World Heritage Sites’ in Southeast Asia.<sup>104</sup> To this purpose, the Republic of Indonesia has published a report on the sustainable tourism strategy at the World Heritage site in Bali, which indicates the government’s interest in and support for developing similar strategies across the country.<sup>105</sup>

### *Adat and Sasi*

The Bandanese adhere to two sets of regulations: the administrative legal laws and local traditional law which can be referred to as *adat*. Besides local law, *adat* encompasses a conglomerate of traditions, morals and cultural practices. Although *adat* is not enacted by formal legislation, it is recognized as a legitimate management framework by national and provincial agents. *Adat* is upheld by a group of people involved in the *adat* traditions, the *orang adat*. Like the Bandanese society, *adat* has evolved over time and is currently focused on place: the Banda Islands.<sup>106</sup> This emphasis probably helped the integration process of many generations of immigrants who came to the Banda Islands, as it gave them an identity and a sense of belonging based on their newly established ties to the land,

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<sup>103</sup> UNESCO, 32.

<sup>104</sup> Centre, “Supporting Community-Based Management and Sustainable Tourism at World Heritage Sites in Southeast Asia.”

<sup>105</sup> Dharmiasih et al., *Sustainable Tourism Strategy: Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: The Subak System as the Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy*.

<sup>106</sup> Winn, “Tanah Berkat (Blessed Land): The Source of the Local in the Banda Islands, Central Maluku,” 114.

rather than ancestry. Even the *perkeniers* families were welcomed and actively involved in *adat* practice.<sup>107</sup> In contrast, the Bandanese traditions as continued at the refugee settlements in the Kei Islands are focused on ancestry and collective memory.<sup>108</sup>

The adaptive nature of *adat* was confirmed by one of the village elders, who attested that every generation performs *adat* slightly differently as the Banda Islands become more industrialized and connected to the outside world.<sup>109</sup> Despite these changes, *adat* retains its importance as long as the value of *adat* is transferred to the next generation, who need to be trained and commit to *adat* whole-heartedly.<sup>110</sup> This transference is essential because *adat* is one of the three pillars on which Bandanese society leans. Like fire needs warmth, fuel and air, a strong society needs *adat*, religion and government. However, there are some Bandanese who argue that the strength of *adat* is weakening and they suggest that re-establishing contact with the *Banda asli* could strengthen the importance and allure of *adat*.<sup>111</sup>

Although the *adat* practices are sacred to the *orang adat*, they indicated that it is no problem for tourists to witness the *adat* performances such as the *Cakalele* dance or the *kora-kora* boat race, as long as the tourists dress appropriately. Disrespectful behavior at *adat* sites has resulted in harm to the people who misbehaved, therefore the Bandanese are careful about informing outsiders about proper behavior.<sup>112</sup> Prior to the performance of the *Cakalele* and the *kora-kora* race, a particular set of actions and offerings are required for the opening ceremony by the *orang adat*, which is unique to each village and shrouded with mystery. These ceremonies are costly and can therefore only be performed

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<sup>107</sup> Fieldnotes 2019, Winn, pp. 387-388.

<sup>108</sup> Kaartinen, *Songs of Travel, Stories of Place*; Kaartinen, "Handing Down and Writing Down."

<sup>109</sup> Fieldnotes June 2, 2017.

<sup>110</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

<sup>111</sup> Fieldnotes February 7, 2019.

<sup>112</sup> Fieldnotes July 18, 2017.

when there is a sponsor (either a wealthy tourist or the government for the annual cultural festival). The *Cakalele* dance is therefore rarely performed, to the disappointment of many a tourist. For this reason, a local dance group was established who perform non-*adat* dances to entertain the tourists or perform at local festivities such as weddings.<sup>113</sup>

*Adat* emphasizes the togetherness of the community within their environment, and *sasi* is considered an especially apt *adat* regulation which mandates the community be respectful towards nature.<sup>114</sup> *Sasi* represents local regulations that prohibit foraging, fishing or hunting for certain resources on land and sea. For example, on the land there is a *sasi*-restriction on hunting the sacred Maleo non-flying bird and eating its eggs, and on plucking nutmeg from certain trees that have been marked by the *orang adat* with a string of leaves around the trunk (Figure 52). The *sasi*-regulations on the maritime sources are more well-known, such as the prohibition on the gathering of sea cucumbers. On the island Hatta, the *sasi*-regulation declares that it is prohibited to gather these for two years, then the season is opened for five days, after which it is again prohibited for another 2 years.<sup>115</sup> The CTC, building upon this local knowledge, is working to revive *sasi* on the island Ay, supported by an inclusive community-driven management program that is responsible for routine monitoring of the coral reef and biodiversity.<sup>116</sup>

Ideas have been raised to develop new *sasi*-prohibitions, such as a restriction on throwing plastic in the ocean and a prohibition on plucking unripe nutmeg from trees.<sup>117</sup> These initiatives not only show how a traditional system such as *adat* can help battle the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, but also how through *adat* the Bandanese community has been acting as stewards for their natural (heritage) resources. The vitality of this intangible

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<sup>113</sup> Fieldnotes August 4, 2017.

<sup>114</sup> Fieldnotes November 19, 2015.

<sup>115</sup> Fieldnotes November 21, 2015.

<sup>116</sup> Fieldnotes June 6, 2016.

<sup>117</sup> Fieldnotes May 30, 2017.

cultural heritage of the Banda Islands further illustrates how this cultural landscape is formed through a continuous cultural dialogical process between people and their environment.<sup>118</sup>

### *Tourism Board*

After the death of Des Alwi, the strong political voice for the Bandanese seemed to be lost and the community left to the whims of those that merely want to derive economic gain from the Banda Islands.<sup>119</sup> Therefore, most Bandanese residents agree that there needs to be a strong organization on the Banda Islands that can take his place in initiating policies, developing projects and dealing with governmental institutions. Such an organization would fit well within the *living heritage approach*<sup>120</sup> to heritage management, which focuses on the empowerment of the local community to take control, set the agenda and make decisions.

In 2012, the first steps towards such an organization were made in the form of a Tourism Board, consisting of various local stakeholders in the tourism industry, which runs on funds that its members voluntarily invest.<sup>121</sup> The aim of this Tourism Board is to protect common interests and prevent big investors from outside taking over the tourism sector. As one of the members proudly proclaimed, none of the other islands in the region have such a board made of local stakeholders, which indicates that the Bandanese have many ideas and the ability to stand together as a strong competitor.<sup>122</sup> Although the board is cautious of outside investors, help from non-locals is welcomed to help draft proposals with the right language in order to get the funding needed to make projects a reality.

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<sup>118</sup> See Chapter 1 and 4.

<sup>119</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>120</sup> Poullos, "Discussing Strategy in Heritage Conservation," 23.

<sup>121</sup> Fieldnotes June 8, 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Fieldnotes October 7, 2017.

Moreover, they are interested in the best practices of managers at other tourism sites, such as Bali and Raja Empat, and learning how to prevent possible negative effects of tourism.

The issue with the Tourism Board was that it was acting without being an officially authorized organization. Moreover, it consists only of Bandanese that work directly with the tourism industry, hotel and restaurant holders, tour guides and employees from the Pelni boat company<sup>123</sup>. In order to set local policy and address *adat* issues, a different kind of organization should be established which includes the *adat* leaders, the administrative village leaders and leaders of the fishing communities<sup>124</sup> as well as the people who work in the tourism industry.<sup>125</sup> In pre-colonial times, such an inclusive governing body existed when leaders and other spokesmen from competing villages would meet on neutral ground in the village Ortatta on the island Banda Besar.<sup>126</sup> Therefore, the idea to create an inclusive Ortatta Board was put forward multiple times during the preparations and execution of the grand festivities of ‘Pesta Rakyat Banda’, which the Tourism Board organized to commemorate the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Breda Treaty.<sup>127</sup> The provincial office has already attested that they would support the creation of such a governing body and assist in creating guidelines to regulate tourism.<sup>128</sup>

On the other hand, the provincial government seems to be merely interested in pushing for an increase in the numbers of tourists and to promote the Banda Islands as a

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<sup>123</sup> The most reliable means of transport to and from the Banda Islands.

<sup>124</sup> The fishermen are an important and large group on the Banda Islands, as 50% work in this sector and they should have a say in what happens on the Banda Islands. Previously this group has kept distanced from the tourism industry, as they believed it did not concern them, however recently their attitudes have changed as they have seen the economic benefits tourism brings. Moreover, regulations regarding marine conservation directly pertains to them.

<sup>125</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>126</sup> Aveling, “Bandanese Culture and Society, about 1600”; Valentijn, *François Valentijn’s Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien: met aanteekeningen, volledige inhoudsregisters, chronologische lijsten, enz.*, 1858.

<sup>127</sup> Fieldnotes October 11, 2017. The Breda Treaty was ratified on July 10, 1667, in which the English relinquished their claim on the island Run in exchange for the Dutch colony New Amsterdam. See also Chapter 2, end of section “Arrival of the Dutch in the Banda Islands”.

<sup>128</sup> Fieldnotes May 19, 2017.

‘new Bali’. However, the Bandanese residents have repeatedly told me that they want to avoid becoming a second Bali, which is characterized by the negative effects that come with mass tourism and big investors. Rather than exponentially increasing the number of tourists, the board members indicate that they want to attract ‘good quality’ tourists who respect the local culture and are willing to pay a fair price for good service. Currently, the limited and unreliable means of transportation to the Banda Islands have had the effect of limiting the flow of tourists.

On June 15, 2019 the Tourism Board was transformed into a legally recognized organization led by Des Alwi’s granddaughter Mita Alwi, called the *Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda* (APB).<sup>129</sup> The establishment of this organization was attended by community leaders, and the board includes Bandanese residents who do not work directly in the tourism industry. As this organization is a recognized partner of the regional government, this organization offers the opportunity to develop an *adaptive manager community*, as discussed by Katrin Prager.<sup>130</sup> This type of community acts as a knowledge network which maintains the link between living heritage, as it is performed by local agents who understand changes within society and its challenges. Therefore, this kind of bottom-up management is better able to cope with the non-static nature of the cultural landscape of the Banda Islands. As local residents, the members of the APB are highly aware of what they deem threats and able to respond more quickly than governmental officials. Prager therefore notes that it would be most effective for governments to invest and support these existing social networks, rather than establish new groups.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Wala, “Pembentukan Organisasi Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda Sebagai Kebijakan Pelaku Pariwisata.”

<sup>130</sup> Prager, “Collective Efforts to Manage Cultural Landscapes for Resilience,” 219.

<sup>131</sup> Prager, 219.

Such threats to the Banda Islands are already perceived by its members, as unwanted activities such as the hunting of the local cuscus<sup>132</sup> and speargun fishing have been spotted across the islands.<sup>133</sup> Clear regulations therefore need to be made and exhibited at the entry points of the archipelago: the port and the airport on Banda Neira. Some members have proposed hanging a banner there which informs visitors of undesired behavior, including speargun hunting or cuscus hunting, mining or use of anchors which damages the coral, wearing of inappropriate clothing, illegal camping and alcohol in public spaces, as well as the punishment for throwing garbage in the sea or street. Moreover, the members have indicated that regulations must be set for outside investors, including a rule that restorations and new constructions must be to be built according to the original style and shape of colonial architecture on Banda Neira.

#### *Warna-Warni*

One of the desired regulations by the APB members is to regulate the manner in which restorations are conducted, which according to them ha to look like the original.<sup>134</sup> In Banda Neira the perception of authenticity is therefore aligned with the standards set by institutions like UNESCO and ICOMOS who argue for material authenticity. However, these remarks were made by Bandanese who live and work on Banda Neira, the center of tourism activities for the Banda Islands. It is therefore important to note a clash in the perception of authenticity with the Bandanese who reside on the nearby island Banda Besar, who have developed an alternative colorful way of promoting their heritage sites.

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<sup>132</sup> An arboreal mammal within the family *Phalangeridae*. In some regions in Indonesia these animals are hunted and eaten, but not on the Banda Islands.

<sup>133</sup> Fieldnotes January 27, 2019.

<sup>134</sup> Fieldnotes October 11, 2017.



The first controversy occurred during preparations for an elaborate *adat* ceremony which is held every ten to twelve years on Banda Besar, called *cuci perigi*<sup>135</sup>. A local team from Banda Besar received funding from Bank Indonesia to beautify the town in anticipation of the crowds that would gather for the event. This funding was used to buy a variety of paint colors and on July 25 they started painting the over 300-year-old staircase to the sacred well. That same day a cry of dismay was uttered on Facebook, suggesting that the staircase looked like a traditional layered cake (*lapis kue*) and that the historicity was gone (Figures 68 and 69). Although this negative post quickly went viral and was picked up by local news, the overall response to the transformation of the stairs was mainly positive. People replied that they thought it an innovative approach by the local millennials to attract more tourists, as the colors gave the stairs a modern look that would be great for taking selfies.

The bright array of colors used for the staircase is reminiscent of the paint which Bandanese use each year to improve their houses during Ramadan, which is celebrated as a month of renewal (Figures 55 and 56). In the past the houses were white, gray and some yellow, but since the price of nutmeg has risen the people on the island Banda Besar have been able to invest in bright paint colors.<sup>136</sup> The practice of painting sites in bright colors, also referred to as *warna-warni*<sup>137</sup>, is practiced throughout Indonesia.<sup>138</sup> It is claimed not only to increase tourism to these ‘Instagrammable’ places, but also help environmental awareness as local residents keep their streets clean and beautiful. Political candidates

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<sup>135</sup> This means “cleaning the well”, which briefly describes the aim of the ceremony: to clean the sacred waterwell in the village Lonthor on Banda Besar. This cultural practice is recognized by the Republic of Indonesia as National Intangible Heritage and is much treasured by the Bandanese.

<sup>136</sup> Fieldnotes June 11, 2016.

<sup>137</sup> This can be literally translated as colors.

<sup>138</sup> Syaifulloh, “Warna-warni Ruang Publik yang Berlebihan.”

even give money to villages to paint their streets in order to win votes and goodwill (Figure 70 and 71).

After the (local) success of painting the stairs, a group of unemployed millennials were encouraged by the local village leader to develop similar tourism attractions after the *cuci perigi* event had ended.<sup>139</sup> Their task was not only to clean around the local colonial Fort Hollandia, but also to create viewing platforms “something like they see on the internet, like from Ambon and Bandung”<sup>140</sup>. The platforms were constructed *kotong rojong*<sup>141</sup> and the group of millennials paid for the material themselves. At the moment I visited, a brightly colored platform next to a large tree overlooking Gunung Api and the bay had already been constructed and a second platform made from local bamboo in the shape of a heart was ready to be painted (Figures 57 and 58). It took them a month to finish the large wooden platform and they used the bright colors to create a wow factor. Everyone in the village has been very supportive, the only restriction that they have been told is not to paint the fort. The third platform has since been constructed in the shape of a boat, so people can take pictures as if they are on the bow of the Titanic (Figure 71).

This second project at Fort Hollandia was also received with mixed responses on and off the internet, with the residents from Banda Besar accusing the people from Banda Neira of being jealous of their colorful improvements. The people from Banda Neira were mostly concerned with the damage to the tree which the millennials had painted to attract attention to the platform, and that international tourists might not appreciate the bright colors and prefer a natural background.<sup>142</sup> When the site was visited by some of the vocal residents, and assurances were made not to damage the natural view, this second project was accepted as a local initiative that spoke of the enthusiasm to increase tourism. The

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<sup>139</sup> Fieldnotes February 17, 2019.

<sup>140</sup> Fieldnotes February 17, 2019.

<sup>141</sup> Voluntary labor performed for the welfare of the community.

<sup>142</sup> Fieldnotes February 17-25, 2019.

transformations have been picked up by travel blogs, such as [travelingyuk.com](http://travelingyuk.com), which refers to this as “phenomenon of decorating touristic spots”<sup>143</sup> to create ‘Instagrammable’ backdrops (Figure 71).

The innate need to immortalize the moment in which a tourist visits a location is older than social media, as the many tags at heritage sites around the world attest. Regarding this practice, one Bandanese told me: “We all die, but I can leave my mark, someone from the Banda Islands has visited here. This is actually history for the future, it marks our existence now.”<sup>144</sup> Similarly, it can be claimed that the millennials in Banda Besar are marking their existence and claiming these colonial heritage sites as their own through the transformative act of *warni-warni*. As Dennis Byrne remarks, local people may have a different use for heritage than heritage practitioners and conservationists might deem appropriate, as this approach often preferences the material thing over the wishes of the local people.<sup>145</sup> Therefore, in the case of the village Lonthor, the act of *warni-warni* might be seen either as a defilement of the material authenticity or a celebration of local pride in their heritage.

### **Tourism Development on the Banda Islands**

The type of tourism that the Banda Islands attracts is two-fold: marine tourism including diving and snorkeling activities, and heritage tourism centered around the historic sites and cultural practices. Especially the latter is an area that provincial and local governments are trying to expand, through investing in the restoration of Fort Nassau and organizing large events such as the commemoration of the Treaty of Breda in 2017. These

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<sup>143</sup> Lestari, “Dihias Spot Foto Instagenic, Bererapa Sudut Pulau Lonthoir Banda Neira Benarkan Tampah Menarik?”

<sup>144</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>145</sup> Byrne, “Archaeology and the Fortress of Rationality,” 87.

activities are organized to stimulate heritage tourism, which is sometimes derided as a “history-making business”<sup>146</sup> as it can encourage activities that commercialize the past. These activities are a means of presenting heritage in a certain light, with a particular purpose, and thus heritage can be transformed by local, state and international actors to appeal to the domestic and international public.<sup>147</sup>

In order to make heritage sites marketable to suit this particular image, these sites are treated as an unchangeable thing to fit a certain image that is thought to appeal to the heritage tourist. The heritage tourism industry is therefore accused of “[...] indulg[ing] in nostalgia for the past and in the presentation of the exotic and an idealized and ‘essentialized’ Orient”<sup>148</sup> and pristine nature around the world. Due to the nature of this type of management that tries to preserve heritage in a time vacuum, its contemporary connection to the community and the evolution of heritage practices alongside the development of a society are neglected.

Regarding this issue, Walsh states that “History as heritage dulls our ability to appreciate the development of people and places through time”., He continues that the heritage industry “[...] successfully mediates all our pasts as ephemeral snapshots [to be] exploited in the present”.<sup>149</sup> As the term snapshots suggests, these stationary static representations of a moment in time do not allow for a complete exploration and appreciation of a site. Taking Fort Nassau as an example, Chapter 3 attests to its long and intricate life-history. However, the history concerning the Bandanese Massacre is used as snapshot for a quick and exciting appeal to the heritage tourist. The stimulation of an uncontrolled heritage tourism industry therefore raises concerns about the possible

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<sup>146</sup> Shaw and Williams, *Critical Issues in Tourism*, 203.

<sup>147</sup> Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 3.

<sup>148</sup> Kennedy and Williams, “The Past without the Pain”; in Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 7.

<sup>149</sup> Walsh, *The Representation of the Past*, 113, 149.

debasement of culture and its decontextualization. Moreover, Priscilla Boniface and Peter Fowler discuss this process as a form of cultural colonization and tourism as neo-colonialism.<sup>150</sup> They argue that in the interest of tourism development, local culture is represented 'better' than reality through simplification, distortion, fabrication and fragmentation.

The fear to lose their local identity through these processes of simplification and decontextualization has been voiced by Bandanese residents, who expressed their trepidation that through an increase in tourism the Banda Islands would become a 'new Bali'.<sup>151</sup> However, the opportunity heritage tourism offers to share their culture, cuisine and the beauty of the natural environment with visitors is regarded positively. As Russell Staiff mentions, visitors to heritage places

“[...] can be regarded as being in dialogue with places, objects and landscapes; as having a dialogic relationship with parts of our planet marked out as being special (for whatever reason) and with something from the past/present that needs to be kept (for whatever reason, official or unofficial) for the future”.<sup>152</sup>

The Bandanese want to be part of this conversation by guiding tourists around themselves and taking selfies with travelers from around the world. These activities increase their pride in their heritage and environment and allow them to provide context to the sights that are seen by the visitors, as well as confirming that the Banda Islands have something to offer that cannot be found elsewhere.

In order to retain the genuine local culture and limit the growth of tourism to the Banda Islands, the members of the Tourism Board have expressed that they would like to see more home-stays on the island and to set a regulation for a maximum of 15 rooms per

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<sup>150</sup> Boniface and Fowler, *Heritage and Tourism in The Global Village*, 2–20, 152–62; Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, *Heritage Tourism in Southeast Asia*, 9.

<sup>151</sup> Fieldnotes February 16, 2019.

<sup>152</sup> Staiff, *Re-Imagining Heritage Interpretation*, 174.

hotel.<sup>153</sup> The small scale of lodgings will encourage closer contact with the Bandanese personnel and hosts, and more jobs all across the island. Outside investors are welcome, as long as they work directly with Bandanese who are the legal owners and retain the rights to the property.<sup>154</sup> The knowledge and experience to be gained from outside the Bandanese archipelago is widely acknowledged, either through education by sending their children outside of the archipelago, or by interacting with the visitors that come to the islands.<sup>155</sup>

Most Bandanese do not travel far outside the archipelago and are therefore only exposed to tourism practices elsewhere to a limited degree. Two of the main heritage locations where people from the islands travel to (for study, visiting family or work) are Ambon and Ternate. As these cities have active provincial cultural heritage agencies, the heritage sites on these islands function as an example of the potential of the Bandanese heritage sites. The smaller forts that are scattered on the islands Ternate and Tidore<sup>156</sup> are managed by local residents who have adorned the sites with flowering bushes and maintain them as vegetable gardens (Figure 72).<sup>157</sup> The multi-purpose function of the fort as a tourism attraction as well as farming ground seem to be effective, as the residents are invested in keeping weeds at bay and cleaning the site regularly. Around Fort Nassau a similar practice was seen. However, due to the restoration activities these plants and trees will be bought and removed (Figure 37).

The largest fortification on Ternate is called Fort Oranje, named after the Dutch royal family Oranje-Nassau like Fort Nassau on Banda Neira. Fort Oranje is fronted by a well-kept park with large, modern, orange cut-out letters spelling the name of the fort

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<sup>153</sup> Fieldnotes June 1, 2017.

<sup>154</sup> Fieldnotes May 27, 2017.

<sup>155</sup> Fieldnotes February 9, 2019.

<sup>156</sup> Ternate and Tidore were important competing sultanates within the historic spice trade for their clove production.

<sup>157</sup> Fieldnotes June 12, 2017.

(Figure 71).<sup>158</sup> Contrary to the smaller forts, this complex is still in use by the army and looks well-maintained, until you walk further than where the average tourist goes, to see where the walls are overgrown and crumbling (Figure 73). In other words, the façade is well-kept and prepped to be ‘Instagrammable’, while what lies behind the façade is in a state of ruin and decay.

The focus on creating visual appeal for social media for heritage sites is part of the policy that aims to attract regional and national attention and more tourists to the Moluccas region.<sup>159</sup> Especially in Ambon, several photography projects were initiated with government support to change the online perception of the city. Previously, when you would search for Ambon, you would get visual imagery of the past religious conflict. After the government-sponsored photography projects, pictures of heritage and beautiful scenery in Ambon pop up in the search results.

However, the encroachment of technology and social media is not perceived as a good development by all. A tourist guide from Ambon told me that, although social media helps to spread a message, it can also become an impetus for destructive behavior in order to get attention.<sup>160</sup> Moreover, she noted that during the *cuci perigi* ceremony on Banda Besar, many drones were flying through the air to capture the sacred ceremony. The noise that these drones made took away from the sacredness of the moment. The influence of the internet was also mentioned by a well-traveled Bandanese, who mentioned that especially Facebook is influential amongst the Bandanese residents as it functions as their main source of information. However, because they neither travel nor fact-check the posts they read, these Facebook users are quite susceptible to trends and opinions shared on this platform.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Fieldnotes June 12, 2017.

<sup>159</sup> Fieldnotes May 19, 2017.

<sup>160</sup> Fieldnotes February 23, 2019.

<sup>161</sup> Fieldnotes October 13, 2019.

### *Transportation and Waste Management*

A major issue with the efforts to increase the number of tourists to the Banda Islands is the limited means of transportation to and from the archipelago. The most reliable form of transportation are the massive Pelni ships, which carry cargo and passengers to various areas in the Moluccas. The boats are often packed, with people sleeping on every available surface in the walkways, while the wealthier passengers can rent a cabin from the crew. For many tourists this is a worthy investment, as the Pelni boat *K.M. Nggapulu* takes about 8 hours to travel from Ambon to Banda and the *K.M. Pangrango* takes about 14 hours. When the sea is calm and there are enough passengers, there is a smaller bi-weekly fast-boat which takes about 5-6 hours to travel to and from Ambon. The least reliable mode of transport is by plane, as the airline company can change every half year based on which company manages to get the subsidized contract. The small aircrafts only have twelve seats, and the schedule is often changed last minute or flights are cancelled due to weather conditions.

The remote location of the Banda Islands and difficulty of getting there has been coined by a developer as ‘geographical protection’ against mass tourism to the Banda Islands.<sup>162</sup> He believes that this makes the Banda Islands a perfect location to develop a high-end type of tourism, offering a limited luxury way to get to the island and providing a ‘colonial-style’ luxury stay on the islands. He has a vision to renovate various existing historical buildings into a hotel complex which is intermixed with the current community, bringing jobs to the local community to work in the former *perkeniers* houses for the guests. In his opinion, money is the best motivator, so when people notice that providing good service and keeping the island clean reflects good in their paycheck, they will start transforming the island into a cleaner environment. His ideas are not unique, as a member

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<sup>162</sup>

Fieldnotes June 5, 2016.



of the Des Alwi family informed me that a group of “rich Japanese”<sup>163</sup> approached them to invest in Banda Neira. These Japanese investors wished to rent historic buildings from the Yayasan foundation and Des Alwi family, and restore them into fancy hotel facilities. Each room (or building) would cost around \$300 per night and a percentage of the profits would go to the Yayasan and Des Alwi family.

However, the ‘geographical protection’ of the Banda Islands may be about to change, as plans have been drawn up to create a larger airstrip on Banda Neira to enable larger planes to land, and the connecting airport in Ambon has been expanded to become an international airport. The new airstrip has raised many concerns as it will either displace the people who live in the proposed expansion area or destroy the coral reef below the current airstrip. It will also increase the pollution on the island which is already affecting the water.<sup>164</sup> The local Bandanese proposed that, instead of a new airstrip, the frequency and reliability of the current airline should be enhanced and the current airstrip could be made flat in order to make landing easier.<sup>165</sup> However, the final plans have been drawn to extend the airstrip from about 2,950 ft (900 m) to 4590 ft (1400 m), a project that will cost Rp. 1.5 trillion (almost \$109 million).<sup>166</sup>

The potential increase of tourism that the new airstrip might bring, could also results in an increase of waste on the Banda Islands. The plastic pollution was addressed in an empowering speech by Susi Pudjiastuti, the minister of Marine Affairs and Fisheries, when she visited the islands in 2017.<sup>167</sup> She praised the beauty and wealth of the marine resources on the Banda Islands, but rebuked the community in a motherly way about the waste which was drifting in the sea. Using layman language and rhetorical questions she

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<sup>163</sup> Fieldnotes May 2, 2019.

<sup>164</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>165</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>166</sup> Amar, “Bandara Gorom Siap Dibangun, Runway Bandara Banda Neira Bakal Ditambah.”

<sup>167</sup> Fieldnotes October 22, 2017.

encouraged public participation during her speech. Statements like “fish eat the plastic, and you eat fish; do you like to eat plastic? ... Tourists come to swim in the sea, do you like to swim in the plastic?” received loud responses, and Pudjiastuti promised she would only return to the Banda Islands if there would be no plastic in the ocean. Within this speech, she managed to engage the fishermen population and make them aware that plastic pollution is their problem too, not just a problem for the tourism industry.

The main local contributor to the plastic problem are the single-use plastic water cups which are served at every ceremony, office and household (Figure 75). Due to the limited sources of fresh-water, which are completely absent on some islands, the Bandanese have adopted the usage of sourced water which is imported from the mainland. The issue of limited water resources will only increase as the number of tourists will increase to the island.<sup>168</sup> The plastic waste around the islands are not only locally produced, but also waste from all around the world that washes up in the bay in various stages of degradation.<sup>169</sup>

Local residents are concerned with the management of the increasing amount of garbage that is produced on the islands by tourist and residents alike. Since 2010, a local non-profit organization has initiated education programs about the negative effects of plastic waste, created a workgroup who produce products such as bags and wallets from plastic waste, and more recently a regular garbage pick-up service across Banda Neira.<sup>170</sup> With the contributions of the households that are connected to the network, they have purchased a wagon and gas for the transportation of the trash to the designated area near the airport. The plastic waste is also used as fill for the foundation of houses, since construction sand is very expensive (Figure 56). The same group installed grates in the

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<sup>168</sup> Fieldnotes October 15, 2017.

<sup>169</sup> Fieldnotes May 28, 2017.

<sup>170</sup> Fieldnotes May 26, 2017 and February 2019.

open sewers to reduce the plastic waste that lands in the sea and the group collects waste from the sea surrounding the island three times a week.

These various trends concerning the development of tourism for the Banda Islands can be summarized by the example of the initiatives on the island Hatta, which aims to be a waste-free island by the year 2020.<sup>171</sup> The programs on this island are based on the condition that everyone on the island should benefit from the tourists which now frequents the island for its outstanding coral reefs and dolphins. The money from the snorkeling permits is managed by the community, and gatherings are held to include the whole community. For example, during such a gathering it was decided that nobody is allowed to build with concrete or build two-story buildings, and that boats must be tied to poles on the beach rather than risk damaging the reef with anchors.<sup>172</sup> These rules have become village law, and outsiders who wish to visit or invest in the islands need to adhere to this law.

### **Concluding remarks**

In conclusion, heritage management on the Banda Islands is currently conducted by policy makers that seem to be merely interested in economic gain, while the Bandanese feel unable to enact policy or draw the attention of provincial and national governmental agents for the needs they have. The Bandanese feel that when government officials come to hold a public consultation, they are not upfront about the possible consequences nor interested in changing their project to something that would benefit the community. Therefore, the hope is that the APB will be able to function as a mediator, to alert the

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<sup>171</sup> Fieldnotes 2019, October 7, 2017.

<sup>172</sup> Fieldnotes November 21, 2015.

community about hidden agendas and develop initiatives that will benefit the Bandanese community, rather than a political provincial or national agenda.

Moreover, this association could act as a strong local partner when the Indonesian ministries decide to continue with the World Heritage nomination of the Banda Islands. As the current Tentative List nomination presents the heritage of the Banda Islands as a cultural maritime landscape, this could enable a bottom-up management plan that would empower the association further to set regulations and implement a vision for the conservation of their heritage.

## Conclusion

*“Just as it pleased our Highest Creator, in order to keep humanity occupied, to hide glittering stones, red metals, and other gems in the depths of the earth, in the same way He hid two precious spices, cloves and nutmeg, on a few islands in the farthest corners of the Eastern oceans.”<sup>173</sup>*

As this quote by Georgius Rumphius – a botanist employed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) alludes, the European colonial conquest was set to gather the riches of the world for the profit and enrichment of the European states. The spices nutmeg and mace were of particular interest to the VOC, and as I discuss in detail in Chapter 2, the company went to great and violent lengths to establish a monopoly on its trade and production in the Banda Islands.

The act of restoring Fort Nassau could therefore be considered problematic, as it seems like an act of restoring the ‘glory’ of the Dutch occupation and presence in the Banda Islands for a Dutch audience. In an effort to mollify this perspective, the history and heritage of the spice trade is presented by the Indonesian government as concerning all of humanity, similar to Rumphius’ statement about the treasures of the world. This approach aligns with the aim of UNESCO, which supports heritage conservation for certain locations (including the Banda Islands) in an effort to serve “mankind as a whole”<sup>174</sup>. However, the assumption that world heritage belongs to all humankind implies an equal access to consume and interact with this heritage, while in fact the power-imbalance of heritage politics favors the politically powerful rather than the local community.

Despite the negative history attached to the site, the Bandanese community frames its history as a tribute to the Bandanese who fought for their islands, and they regard Fort Nassau as a remnant of this past and as a reminder of the time when their nutmeg

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<sup>173</sup> Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche kruid-boek*, 2:14.

<sup>174</sup> UNESCO, World Heritage Convention.

production was the envy of the world. This local perspective therefore mediates colonial nostalgia with the pride the Bandanese have in the history of the islands. As such, empowering the local community to present, manage and interpret the site will not only negate the colonial legacy, but also inform visitors and residents alike about a history from which the Bandanese derive pride.

In order to achieve local empowerment, I propose that implementing a cultural landscape-approach will acknowledge the traditional system of *adat* and enable the Bandanese community to take charge of the cultural and natural heritage of the Banda Islands, including Fort Nassau. To attest how Fort Nassau serves as an example of a heritage site within the larger cultural landscape of the Banda Islands, the section ‘The Tangible and Intangible Heritage Values of Fort Nassau’ below addresses the two research-questions that relate to Fort Nassau: ‘How can the historical documents inform us about the sensorial, social and political importance of Fort Nassau?’ and ‘What are the tangible and intangible heritage values of Fort Nassau, and how have these evolved over time?’. These answers will inform how Fort Nassau, and any other heritage site on the Banda Islands, derives meaning from its history and how it connects to the larger surrounding natural, cultural and social landscape. Moreover, I describe how approaching the Banda Islands as a cultural landscape emphasizes its evolving character, and therefore argue that the contemporary renovation activities at Fort Nassau are merely a new phase in its life-history.

After describing Fort Nassau as an example of a heritage site on the Banda Islands, the next section ‘Management of Cultural Heritage on the Banda Islands’ continues to answer the sub-questions: ‘What are the heritage values of the Banda Islands, who formulated them and to what purpose?’ and ‘What is the stakeholder-role of the local community in the ongoing and future interpretation and management of

heritage values in the Banda Islands in Indonesia?'. Special emphasis is given to the traditional management system through *adat* and the explicit wish of the local community to gain more political power and control over their islands' assets.

Lastly, I conclude this research by answering the main research question: 'How can the study of the life-history of Fort Nassau inform us about the larger cultural landscape of the Banda Islands and how can this research lead to a more inclusive understanding and management of the cultural heritage values of the Banda Islands?'.

### **The Tangible and Intangible Heritage Values of Fort Nassau**

Fort Nassau on Banda Neira was the first colonial structure built by the VOC in the Banda Islands archipelago and its construction incited all-out war between the Bandanese who were protecting their autonomy and land, and the Dutch who demanded land and trade rights to the resources of the archipelago. Not only was its construction an act of colonial domination over the Bandanese people, the fort continued to function as a place of political power throughout the ages. This colonial domination is exhibited as local residents and traders had to apply here for travel permits, justice was served in the vicinity of the fort and its storage of spices functioned to control the supply of spices to the rest of the world.

However, to regard Fort Nassau merely as a tangible site that embodies the Dutch violent conquest of the Banda Islands would be a misrepresentation of the complex multifaceted meaning that the site has accrued over time for the local community and outside stakeholders. In order to describe this colonial site in its complexity, attention should be given to how the site interacted with the larger natural landscape, how the site was used to impress Bandanese residents and visitors alike, and what lead to the current local perception of the site as an embodiment of the maritime trade in which the spices from

the Banda Islands played a major role on a global scale. Moreover, for them the fort is a prominent reminder of the Bandanese Massacre, which is commemorated through the *adat* practice of the *Cakalele* warrior dance in their effort to honor the Bandanese who died trying to retain autonomy over the islands.

The surrounding maritime landscape informed the function of Fort Nassau as a central location where spices were stored and traded through its tangible connection with the sea. Its nickname *Waterkasteel* emphasizes this connection to the nearby bay and the water that flowed to the fort through the waterway and surrounding moat. Therefore, the landscape informs the function of Fort Nassau, as it would lose its character if it would be placed in a different landscape. This maritime connection is used by the Bandanese residents as an argument to reconstruct the waterway, as restoring the connection to the sea would show visitors the maritime function of the fort and highlight its past importance for the global trade in spices.

Restoring the waterway is only one of the (possible) renovation activities that can be conducted at Fort Nassau. Besides reconstructing the missing northern bastions, the provincial office *Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya* (BPCB) has initiated the removal of vegetation on top the remaining walls, around the fort and in the moat. Moreover, the walls have been fortified with new bricks and stones, which are covered with a layer of plaster. This approach of covering the original stonework with a smooth layer of plaster has been scorned as inauthentic and ‘over’-restoring by Dutch conservation experts in relation to a similar treatment of Fort Belgica. However, historical documents indicate that the walls had been continuously plastered with chalk made from coral stones during the Dutch colonial occupation of the islands. Although the reconstruction uses modern materials, as constructing with coral is no longer allowed due to the protected status of the



coral reefs, the practice of plastering the walls could be regarded as a continuation of previous maintenance.

Besides the aesthetically similar smooth surface as created by BPCB, this approach of renewing the physical material of a heritage site has a wide-spread precedence across the Southeast Asian region. As Byrne stated: “Whereas heritage conservation seeks to stabilize the built fabric, popular religion cannot seem to abide stasis”<sup>175</sup>. Although Byrne describes this practice in relation to popular religion, in Indonesia the renewal of sites using modern material seems to be disconnected from popular religion and based more in their aesthetic view of modernity. This aesthetic can be described as *warni-warni*, which involves the repair and smoothening of (historic) sites, after which the surface is painted in bright colors. On the Banda Islands, *warni-warni* was first exercised on the historic staircase in the village Lonthor on Banda Besar, which has attracted much admiration from local residents and Indonesians at large.<sup>176</sup>

However, the Bandanese that reside on the island Banda Neira are not enamored with this approach. As this island is the center of tourism in the archipelago, they have the highest degree of interaction with international visitors and government officials. These interactions may have shaped their differing aesthetic, as they believe that the historic sites should look like the original and use the original materials. When the bastions were being rebuilt by construction workers from outside the archipelago, this caused discontent as the reconstructed walls looks visually different from the original remaining walls. As the walls are currently plastered over, this difference is no longer visible.

The aim of BPCB is to preserve the fort, and the adding of the layer of plaster will act as a conservation method for the walls. The smooth surface will make it more difficult

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<sup>175</sup> Byrne, *Counterheritage*, 4.

<sup>176</sup> See Chapter 5, section “Warni-Warni”.

for vegetation and mosses to settle in the nooks and crannies, eliminating this threat for the integrity of the walls. It is probable that this was the reason why *perkeniers* had to plaster the walls in the past, and the current layer of modern plaster can be considered an appropriate method to discourage further decay. The current activities are therefore merely another layer of restoration, only with a new aim: to preserve the fort in order to make it a safe tourism destination.

Especially the re-creation of the staircases shows the intent of enhancing safe access to the battlements of Fort Nassau to a wider public. Moreover, the battlements have been fortified in order to prevent injury to visitors when leaning over the battlements. Although these various restoration activities could be considered an attack on the authenticity of the fort, perceptions about what authenticity constitutes has changed within heritage conservation during the past decades. A significant example to compare Fort Nassau with is the fortified city of Carcassonne in France, which was restored by Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who has been criticized for over-restoring sites to fit his perception of a medieval city. Despite previous objections in 1985, the city was enlisted on the UNESCO World Heritage list in 1997.<sup>177</sup> The argument made for its acceptance was due to, rather than despite, his restoration campaign that created the much-treasured site today.

The argument of ‘over’-restoring has been made especially against the restoration of Fort Belgica. Although the restoration diverted from the last use-period of the site, the reconstructed battlements actually mimic an older use-phase.<sup>178</sup> After its restoration, the site now features as a visual emblem for the Banda Islands and is even featured on the Indonesian rupiah as a national treasure. Similarly, although the new layer of plaster on

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<sup>177</sup> Centre, “Historic Fortified City of Carcassonne”; Askew, “The Magic List of Global Status: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Agendas of States,” 69.

<sup>178</sup> See Chapter 4 for the full discussion of Fort Belgica.

Fort Nassau could be considered an attack on its authenticity, it is actually mimicking a historic process of maintaining the physical integrity of the fort. Moreover, once the fort has been restored to its full extent, it is anticipated to gain a similar affinity to the local community and (inter)national public as Fort Belgica.

In short, the historical documents and visual material about Fort Nassau allude to the many restorative phases that the fort has gone through in its life-history, as well as the manner in which the fort was connected to the larger maritime and fortified landscape. The current restoration by BPCB can therefore be regarded as the newest layer in the evolutive nature of this heritage site, as it is being prepared to serve a new function as a tourism destination. Once the renovation campaign is concluded, the fort is anticipated by the local community to serve as a strong symbol of the Bandanese independent spirit, their historic sacrifice to retain their autonomy, and the importance of the islands in history for the global spice trade.

### **Management of Cultural Heritage on the Banda Islands**

The history of the Banda Islands plays an important role in the formation of the local identity of the Bandanese, which inspires their strong independent spirit. This identity is not only shaped by the fierce resistance the Bandanese showed against the European invasion, but also through the role that they played producing the world's supply of nutmeg and mace, and the prominence the islands had within the Dutch East Indies colony. Since Indonesian Independence, however, the islanders feel forgotten as the seat of power is far removed from their islands and national attention is focused on prosperous areas such as Java and Bali.

Currently the decision-making powers remain at the district, provincial and national levels, and the aim of these stakeholders is to increase the economic prowess of

the Banda Islands through stimulating fisheries, maritime and cultural tourism. However, the Bandanese feel that some of these activities are not targeted towards their needs, and they feel excluded from the restoration activities, as craftsmen from outside the Banda Islands archipelago are hired to perform the work. In order to gain more political control over the projects occurring on the Banda Islands, and to be able to propose projects at the national government level, the Bandanese are looking for ways to increase their political visibility. Although the initiatives to become an autonomous zone (DOB) or a special economic zone (KEK)<sup>179</sup> seem to be fruitless, the Bandanese have gathered within a new association (APB)<sup>180</sup> which has been officially recognized by the province.

This effort by the Bandanese to gain more political traction could result in the empowerment of the local community to implement their own heritage plan, which is in accordance with the objectives of a cultural landscape approach. As a cultural landscape is shaped through the actions of the local community, these peoples should be the main decision-maker concerning heritage and environment regulations. Empowering the local community to take decisive action not only enforces their role in shaping and preserving heritage for future generations, it also acknowledges that cultural landscapes are dynamic and constantly evolve through the contemporary use and meaning of the landscape. One approach to this empowerment would be legally recognizing the authority of the local *adat* and making this an integral part of the management plan.

Although the APB seems to be focused on the development of tourism on the Banda Islands, the board has an all-encompassing perspective of the various aspects that are included in tourism development on the Banda Islands. Rather than the provincial agency who regards tourism merely as an economic resource, the Bandanese are well aware of the

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<sup>179</sup> The autonomous zone is called *Daerah Otonomi Baru* (DOB) and a special economic zone within the Republic of Indonesia a *Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus* (KEK).

<sup>180</sup> *Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda* (APB), see also Chapter 5.

potential social, cultural and natural effects an increase in tourism could entail. These include positive effects such as economic benefits, improvement of infrastructure, more jobs, international engagement and an increase in local pride. However, negative effects that lie in the wake of an increase in tourism are a loss of local identity, encroachment by big investors, pollution and other unwanted behavior. Therefore, they aim to impose local rules and standards in order to ensure the sense of place on the Banda Islands. These rules include a request to dress modestly, not to use spearguns for fishing, not to throw garbage on the street or in the water and to use local tourism facilities.

Besides these regulations that apply to incoming visitors, the Bandanese tourism association also wants to implement regulations to mandate that new tourism businesses are small-scale, that business owners are local and that restoration work conducted on the island is performed by local workers and with approval of the board. By instating this approval, the board hopes to limit colorful restorations of old buildings and ensure that the decaying buildings on the islands will be rebuild as authentic as possible. Although there is an urge elsewhere in Indonesia to construct new modern buildings, the Bandanese recognize that their assembly of old buildings is rare in the Indonesian archipelago and wish to preserve it to show the world how important the Banda Islands once were in the global spice trade.

The hopes of this APB is that through their institution, the local Bandanese will gain more control over the activities and projects conducted on their islands, especially regarding the natural and cultural heritage which is a source of attraction for the domestic and international tourists. As they acknowledge the importance of cultural heritage, they are closely connected and informed by the *adat* leaders, who provide council and instructions to the board members regarding conduct, timing and organization of tourism activities concerning *adat* rituals and sites. Therefore, their aims show the potentials

positive effect of local empowerment for the conservation and development of cultural heritage in a sustainable manner.

### **Research Conclusion**

The study of Fort Nassau's life-history illuminated that this colonial fort has undergone many restorations over the years, and that the current ongoing reconstruction of the northern walls is a mere addition to the multi-layered fabric of this site. Besides the ever-evolving physical state of this site, the cultural and historical ties between the fort and its surrounding social and natural landscape has changed over time. For example, the location on the bay physically connected the fort to the maritime environment and trade, the prowess of the fort functioned as a symbol and site of suppression and judgement over the Bandanese residents, and the fort is a physical reminder and haunted site for the spirits of the Bandanese Massacre. Through these tangible and intangible values, the fort is an example of a dynamic heritage site that is currently undergoing a new phase of interpretation through restoration to serve a tourism purpose.

This approach to Fort Nassau is distinct from the material-based approach which is biased by a certain (political) favoritism to present a historic site as an authentic object from a particular time, disregarding the later and contemporary functions which the site developed over time. Describing my research site as a cultural landscape therefore allows for an acknowledgment of heritage as a process, which allows for multiple narratives and interpretations to be included simultaneously and for the heritage site to continue its use-value in our current time. Moreover, the cultural landscape-approach stimulates the integration of the local voice in its management through the acknowledgement of the *adat* traditions that provide meaning to the site.

Implementing this cultural landscape-approach is timely as Fort Nassau is undergoing extensive restoration and the Banda Islands are on the Tentative List to proceed with a full UNESCO World Heritage nomination. The manner in which the history of the Banda Islands is phrased to please an international public is a clear example of how the cultural landscape of the Banda Islands can be interpreted from different angles. For example, one historical angle of the cultural landscape focuses on the nutmeg trade, in which Fort Nassau features as a site that symbolizes the efforts of the Dutch to gain control over the spice production at the Banda Islands and to protect its trade by building fortifications. However, from another angle, Fort Nassau symbolizes the struggle the Bandanese fought against the Dutch dominance and their sacrifices to protect their hegemony.

This play of words to diminish the role of the Dutch, and place its global importance through trade in a spotlight, is a common practice for the nomination of negative heritage for the UNESCO World Heritage List.<sup>181</sup> Having a site enlisted on the World Heritage List is seen as prestigious and therefore countries aim to present themselves in the best light possible. Besides that, negative heritage sites are political in essence, as they often display the cruelties committed by former governments or other State Parties. In the case of Fort Nassau, it could hurt the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia, for example, if the latter would emphasize the events of 1621.

Therefore, by highlighting the islands as a unique natural environment that produced the spices nutmeg and mace, and as an integral part of a large international trade network, the Indonesian government not only diminish the colonial negative history of the Banda Islands but also highlight its maritime and international importance. The actual

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<sup>181</sup> Sophia Labadi, *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: Value-Based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*, (Lanham, Md: AltaMira Press, 2013).

restoration of Fort Nassau may be regarded as a symbolic form of this interpretative process, as the cracked walls and negative history are being covered up by a fresh layer of plaster, creating a spotless smooth surface to be admired by all.

Moreover, the current restoration of Fort Nassau indicates that the Indonesian government is invested in developing the tourism potential of the Banda Islands. Through the act of restoring and revitalizing the fort, the site will not only gain a new layer of meaning, but also enter a new stage of usefulness. As Julian Smith states, cultural landscapes exist as long as cultures give meaning to them.<sup>182</sup> In the case of the Banda Islands, the fabric of the cultural landscape is currently changing as new agents are coming in and claiming different interests and perspectives on the values of sites like Fort Nassau. Because cultural landscapes exist in a constant flux, as flexible and evolving sites, these recent developments should not be regarded as inauthentic or disrespectful to the previous layers of history. As in the case of Fort Nassau, these current restorations should rather be considered as adding a new layer *on top of* preceding historical activities: not only by literally adding a new layer of plaster, but also by creating a new layer of interpretation and meaning for today's communities. Through exploring and reinterpreting a historic site, our current society contributes to its meaning and so becomes an integral part of a site's history and future legacy.

The role of the contemporary Bandanese community should therefore be central to the establishment of a comprehensive management plan. Through the acknowledgement of the authority of the *adat* traditions and knowledge, the local community can be empowered to set regulations and assert influence in the manner that the natural and cultural heritage on the islands is preserved and promoted.

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<sup>182</sup> Smith, 186.



In conclusion, through the exploration of Fort Nassau's life-history, the evolving character of heritage sites becomes clear, especially as it is tied to a larger cultural landscape. The site has been restored many times, and through the reconstruction of certain elements such as the waterway, historic connections to its surrounding natural landscape could be reinstated. However, the exploration of the restoration activities has also shown the low intensity of involvement of the local people in the restoration activities. Not only do they physically want to contribute to the restoration of one of their heritage sites, they desire to be more informed about the plans for the fort as it could involve the displacement of many residences.

Therefore, I argue that by regarding the Banda Islands as a large cultural landscape which is shaped by the activities of the local community, the Bandanese community can be placed in a position of power and control. By acknowledging this interrelation between people and their heritage through the *living heritage* approach, heritage is able to change and evolve along with the society that creates and maintains it. On the Banda Islands, an important role is set by the *adat* leaders who maintain the traditional knowledge system and inform the enterprising Bandanese residents of the local tourism board. As the cultural heritage activities on the Banda Islands are closely aligned with their efforts to boost tourism, it is through the local tourism board that local empowerment in the heritage management of the islands is to be sought.

## Glossary

### Note on Language

Navigating language was a challenge when working on the written sources about the Banda Islands, as the villages, islands and people have been named differently by Indonesian, Dutch, English writers, and even among the same linguistic groups there are discrepancies about the correct spelling of names. One example is an island that is referred to as *Rosonggin* by the original Bandanese that live in the Kei Islands, Maluku, whom still use the old Bandanese language. This language is no longer present on the Banda Islands, and the current residents of the Banda archipelago refer to this island as *Hatta*, after the nationalist Mohammad Hatta who was exiled to the Banda Islands and loved to spend time on this island. Although this is the current official name of the island, in historical sources refer to this island and its village as *Rozengain*, *Rosengin*, *Rosengein*, *Rossingeyn* or any variation on this spelling. The multiplicity of the naming of this island becomes even more apparent when we search for it on the widely-used search engine Google Maps, which calls this island ‘Pulau Rozengain’ (*pulau* means island), but when a cursor is placed upon the island, the island is labeled ‘Hatta Island’.

In an effort to make it easier for the reader to understand the geography and track which sites are mentioned in the text, this glossary presents a list with the names of places as I have used throughout my dissertation and lists their historical variations. Moreover, I have included a vocabulary list with all the foreign words, institutions and abbreviations (both Dutch and Indonesian) which I have italicized throughout the text.

## List of Places

See Figure 3 for the location of the Bandanese islands and places included in this list and the text. See Figure 5 for a map of the fortifications included in this list.

\* indicates the name refers to an island.

Ay*	Ai, Pulo-Ay, Poelewaij
Banda	Kepulauan Banda, refers to the entire Banda archipelago
Banda Besar*	Groot Banda, Pulau Banda, Lonthor, Lonthoir, Banda
Banda Neira	Islands that acts as the main commercial center, hosting the main port and the airport
Batavia	Contemporary Jakarta
Kombir	Combeer, Combir
Gunung Api*	Goenoeng Api, Vuurberg, Groene Ape
Dender	Demmer, Oudender
Dender, redoubt	Dender, Dannex, Morgenster
Hollandia, fort	Lonthor, Lontoir
Keraka	Isles des femmes, t' Vrouweneiland, Crakal
Kijk in den Pot, redoubt	Kota, Keyk in den Pot, Kijck in den pot, Kijk in den poth
Kuijlenburg, redoubt	Culenburg, Cuijlenburg, Kuylenburg, Kuilenburg, Culemborg, Salomon
Labetacca	Lawataka, Labetacke, Labbetacca, Lautaka, Lappetacke
Lakui, redoubt	Lacoy, Lakoeë, Lackoij, Lackoey, Lacquooy
Lonthor	Lontoor, Lontor, Lonthoir, Lontoir Name of the village on the island Banda Besar, also used to indicate the island Banda Besar
Maluku	Moluccas, Molukken
Nassau, fort	Kasteel Nassau, Beneden kasteel, Water kasteel
Neira*	Naira, Neyra, Poelepetacke
Neira	Naira, Nera, Neyra Township on the islands Banda Neira

Oerien, redoubt	Storm, Uring, Ourien, Oering
Ortatta	Ortatan, Ortattan, Oertatan, Ortatte, Orang Datang, Ortetan
Pulau	Poeloe, Poulo, Poullu, Pulo Translation: island
Ratu	Ratoe
Rosingin	Rozengain, Rosengin, Rosengen, Rosengein, Rosonggin, Rozengin, Rossingeyn, Rossingeyn, Rossengain, Rosolanguim Village on the island Hatta, currently the settlement is also referred to as Hatta.
Hatta*	After Indonesian Independence the island has been renamed from <i>Rosingin</i> to Hatta to honor the nationalist Mohammad Hatta who had frequented the island during his exile to the Banda Islands.
Rhun*	Run, Roen, Poulluron, Poeloron, Poeleron
Selamon	Selamma, Slamman, Salamme, Salamma, Salommon
Sjahrir*	Pisang, Keat, Piessang
Manukan*	Manukang, Suanggi
Voorzigtigheid, redoubt	Voorzichtigheid, Voorsigtigheyd, Voorsigtigheyt, Voorsigtigheijt
Wayer	Waeyer, Waer, Waijer
Wayer, fort	Concordia, Oerangie, Orangie, Wajer

### List of Abbreviations and Foreign Words

Translations and explanations of words with asterisk are based on the information from *De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank*, the digital integrated language bank created by the Institute for Dutch Language.<sup>1</sup>

Adat	Framework of norms, values and rules that are kept by the <i>orang adat</i> , the traditional leaders. <i>Adat</i> also serves as a conduit for the conservation and education of oral history and other forms of intangible heritage including dance and village ceremonies.
Anji ruti	The sound that the chains of bound people make.

<sup>1</sup> Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal, “De Geïntegreerde Taal-Bank: Historische Woordenboeken.”

APB	<i>Asosiasi Pariwisata Banda</i> , translates as Association Tourism Banda, the new inclusive organization which concerns itself with all matters related to tourism on the Banda Islands.
Atap*	Palm- or other types of leaves that were processed to function as roof covering for houses, overhang or even vehicles in the East Indies.
Balai Arkeologi	Archaeological center located on the island Ambon.
Banda asli	Original Bandanese that fled the Banda Islands to escape the violence of the Dutch East India Company. Two notable villages are Banda Eli and Banda Elat on the Kei Islands, where the residents still identify as Bandanese, maintain cultural traditions and speak the Bandanese language.
BPCB	<i>Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya</i> , provincial conservation office in Ternate.
Buka kampung	<i>Adat</i> ceremony on the Banda Islands, the name literally means ‘open village’. Only when the village is open, the <i>Cakalele</i> dance may be performed and the <i>kora-kora</i> boat may be put into the water.
Bupati	Leader of an Indonesian regency, <i>kapupaten</i> .
Cakalele	Warrior dance performed across the Molucca province, but which has a special regional significance in the Banda Islands (Figures 15, 16, 47 and 48).
Camat	Leader of an Indonesian district, <i>kecamatan</i> .
Controleur	Junior official in the colonial Dutch-Indies, who stood directly underneath the resident who oversaw the region.
CTC	Coral Triangle Center, focused on marine conservation from an office located in Denpasar, Bali.
Cuci perigi	A ceremony to clean the sacred waterwell in the village Lonthor on Banda Besar, literally it means ‘cleaning the well’. This cultural practice is recognized by the Republic of Indonesia as National Intangible Heritage and is much treasured by the Bandanese.
Desa adat	Traditional villages, see Figure 4.
DIKBUD	<i>Kementarian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan</i> , Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture.
DOB	<i>Daerah Otonomi Baru</i> , a designation to indicate an autonomous zone within the Republic of Indonesia.
<i>f</i>	Dutch currency referred to as the Dutch Guilder or florijn.
gezagsdrager	Dutch word for a person of authority.

Gubernur	Governor, elected leader of a province in the Republic of Indonesia.
Guna-guna	Magical powers possessed by <i>adat</i> people.
Heer Generael	Dutch title meaning Lord General.
Heeren XVII	Dutch name for the board of the VOC, consisting of 17 representatives of the various regions in the Netherlands that were involved in its trade.
Ijselsteentjes	Brick stones baked from clay derived from the Dutch river Ijsel. Depending on the way these are baked, they can be red or yellow of color. See also footnote 14 in chapter 3, Figure 44.
Indies	Also: East Indies. South and Southeast Asia, most often referring to the Malay Archipelago. Native name is Nusantara. Area includes the contemporary countries Brunei, Christmas Island, East Timor, Indonesia, Malaysia, Papua New Guinea, Philippines and Singapore.
Kabupaten	Regency which falls under the governance of a province in the Republic of Indonesia.
Kecamatan	District which falls under the governance of a <i>kabupaten</i> .
KEK	<i>Kawasan Ekonomi Khusus</i> , a designation to indicate a special economic zone within the Republic of Indonesia.
Kemenpar	<i>Kementerian Pariwisata</i> , Indonesian Ministry of Tourism.
Kepala adat	Traditional leader of a <i>desa adat</i> .
Kepala desa	Democratically chosen leader of administrative village within a <i>kecamatan</i> .
keramat	Site of spiritual significance where offerings are left to obtain favors or to ask for permission to open the village ( <i>buka kampung</i> ).
KKAB	<i>Kelompok Kreative Anak Banda</i> , meaning cooperation creative children Banda, a local organization led by Bandanese adolescents organizing projects to the betterment of the Banda Islands.
KKP	<i>Kementerian Kelautan dan Perikanan</i> , Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fishery.
KLHK	<i>Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan</i> , Indonesian Ministry of Environment and Forestry.
KNIL	<i>Koninklijk Nederlands-Indië Leger</i> , the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army.
Kommunitas Banda	Closed Facebook-group on which those who identify as Bandanese or are interested in its community exchange local news.

Kora-kora	Traditional boats that are used to welcome important guests and to race each other in the annual boat race. The <i>desa adats</i> have a ritual <i>kora-kora</i> which can only be rowed during <i>buka kampung</i> , while other villages have national <i>kora-kora</i> which have no traditional importance and can be used at any time of the year.
Kotong rojong	Voluntary labor performed for the welfare of the community.
Landvoogd*	A representative of the absent sovereign, who rules the land in his place.
Malam Jumat	Thursday night, literally its means Friday night as it contains the first hours of Friday. This day is considered important amongst the Muslim population, as a day of prayer.
Maritim	<i>Kementarian Koordinator Bidang Kemaritiman dan Sumber Daya</i> , Indonesian Coordinating Ministry for Maritime Affairs and Natural Resources.
MPA	Marine Protected Area
Nasi kuning	Traditional breakfast consisting of yellow rice, served in banana leaf or paper with spicy fish, coconut, noodles, cucumber, and sometimes an egg or fried tempeh.
NHM	<i>Nederlandsche Handelsmaatschappij</i> , a semi-private company from the Netherlands who ran the nutmeg-monopoly after the VOC disbanded.
Orang halus	Spirits who roam at the <i>keramats</i> and have their headquarters in the <i>rumah kampung</i> .
Orang kaya	Bandanese noblemen, who had political power and acted as focal tradesmen. The name literally means 'rich men'.
Orilima	Also written as <i>Orlima</i> or <i>Ulilima</i> . The word is a conglomeration of the word <i>orang</i> , meaning people, and the number <i>lima</i> , 5. Orilima therefore refers to the party of five people.
Orisiwa	Also written as <i>Orsiwa</i> or <i>Ulisiwa</i> . Orilima refers to the party of nine people.
Orlima besar	Head of both the contemporary Orilima and Orisiwa <i>adat</i> groups.
Oud- Nederlandse Stelsel	Old Dutch System, an architectural school which was exported and implemented across the world by both the <i>VOC</i> and <i>WIC</i> .
Pamali	A set of good practices which will keep you from being harmed by the spirits that roam the Banda Islands.
Perk	Nutmeg plantation, also called 'lusthof'.
Permissi	Word uttered to ask permission to be present at <i>keramats</i> .

PMK	<i>Kementarian Koordinator Bidang Pembangunan Manusia dan Kebudayaan</i> , Indonesian Coordinating Ministry for Human Development and Culture.
RCE	<i>Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed</i> , the Dutch governmental agency for cultural heritage, formerly known as RDMZ.
RDMZ	<i>Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg</i> , the previous name for the Dutch governmental agency for cultural heritage, currently called RCE.
Reduit*	Redoubt, a military construction in the interior to which the defenders could retreat, when constructed in the vicinity of forts this was built in the shape of a low round tower.
Rijksdaalder	A cupronickel or silver coin of the Netherlands, equal to 2½ guilders: <i>f</i> 2,50. <i>Rijksdaalders</i> are silver Dutch coins, used during the mid-16 <sup>th</sup> – 19 <sup>th</sup> century. Later this term was used to name the coin that represented 2.5 gulden, the Dutch currency before the Euro. <sup>2</sup> According to the historical currency converter, one <i>rijksdaalder</i> in 1660 would have bought 1.40 gram of gold, which at the exchange rate from 2015 could be bought for \$52.33. <sup>3</sup>
Roede*	A measure of length, the actual length of a <i>roede</i> could range between 7 to 21 feet.
Rugis	Displacement and disowning of properties by the Indonesian government in return for minimal payment.
Rumah adat	Building were the objects that are important to the <i>desa adat</i> are kept. <i>Buka kampung</i> is the ceremony during which this location plays a central role, as it is here where the people of the village gather to perform offerings and dances.
Saujana	An Indonesian concept that resembles the concept of cultural landscapes, literally is means ‘as far as you can see’.
Tanah berkat	Blessed land.
Tifa	A single-headed hourglass-shaped membranophone.
TWA	<i>Taman Wisata Alam</i> , designation for natural parks by the Indonesian Ministry of Forestry.
TWP	<i>Taman Wisata Perairan</i> , designation for aquatic parks by the Indonesian Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Fisheries.
Vaandrig*	A young officer in the infantry, often of noble blood who would carry the flag ( <i>vaandel</i> ) of the compagnie.

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<sup>2</sup> Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal.

<sup>3</sup> Edvinsson, “Historical Currency Converter.”



VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oostindische Company</i> , the Dutch East India Company.
Wambuis*	A tight piece of clothing worn over the shirt by men, covering their upper body until their hips.
Warung	Small family-owned store, often run by women.
Warni-Warni	A practice of painting houses, streets and touristic sites in bright colors to create an 'Instagrammable' backdrop for selfies.
Waterpas*	An archaic Dutch military term for a horizontal platform that is raised in order to support cannons.
WIC	Abbreviation for <i>West Indische Compagnie</i> , the Dutch West India Company.
Yayasan	<i>Yayasan Warisan dan Budaya Banda</i> , the Heritage and Culture Foundation for Banda which was established by Des Alwi.

## Appendix I: Figures

### Maps and Illustrations



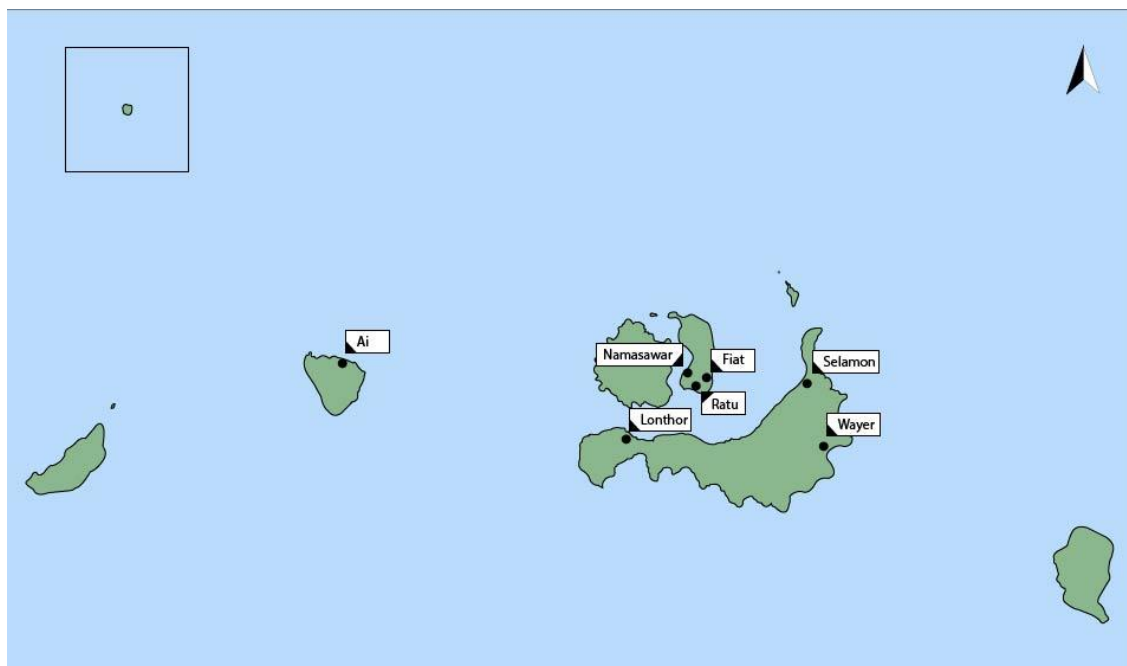
**Figure 1:** Map of the East India Isles. Cary, John, *Cary's New Universal Atlas*, containing distinct maps of all the principal states and kingdoms throughout the World. From the latest and best authorities extant. London: Printed for J. Cary, Engraver and Map-seller, No. 181, near Norfolk Street, Strand, 1808.



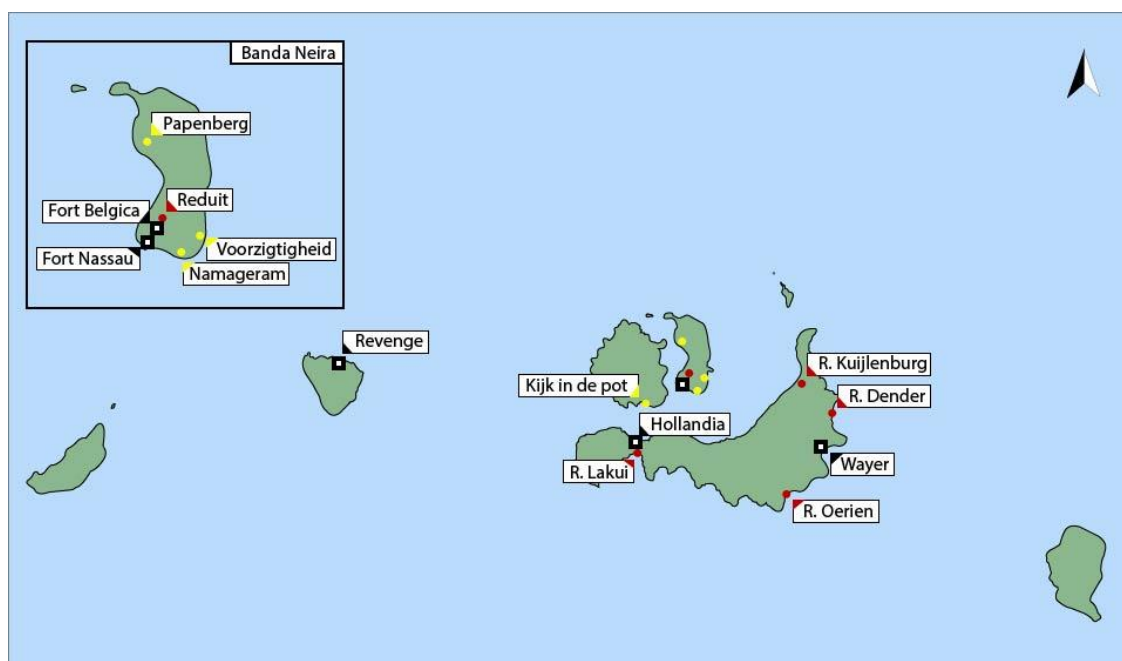
**Figure 2:** Map of the Banda Islands and its location within Indonesia. Made by Lencer CC BY-SA 3.0, publicly available on [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banda\\_Islands\\_en.png#filehistory](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banda_Islands_en.png#filehistory).



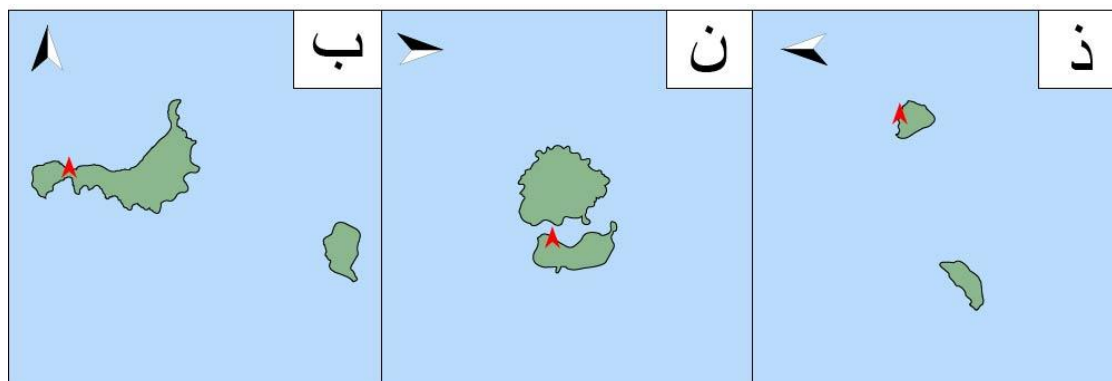
**Figure 3:** Map of the Banda Islands indicating the names of the islands marked with black triangles, and the villages that are mentioned in the text are marked with red dots. See the glossary for a full list of the various spelling of the islands and villages. Created by J. van Donkersgoed.



**Figure 4:** Map of the Banda Islands with the locations of the seven traditional villages (*desa adat*). Created by J. van Donkersgoed.

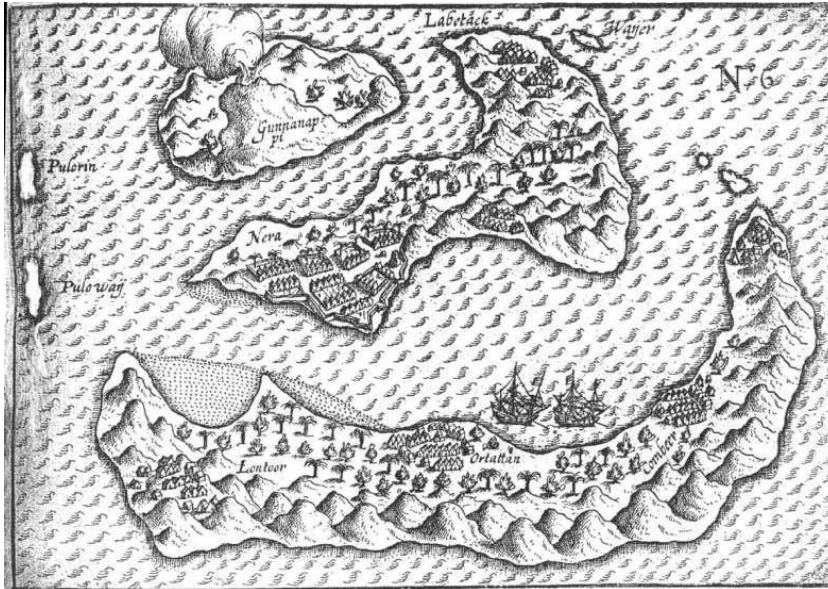


**Figure 5:** Map of the Banda Islands with the defensive works created by the Dutch. The black-and-white squares indicate forts, the red dots indicate the location of the redoubts (*reduit*) and the yellow dots indicate outposts. Due to the concentration of defensive works on Banda Neira, an enlargement of this island is placed in the left corner. Created by J. van Donkersgoed.

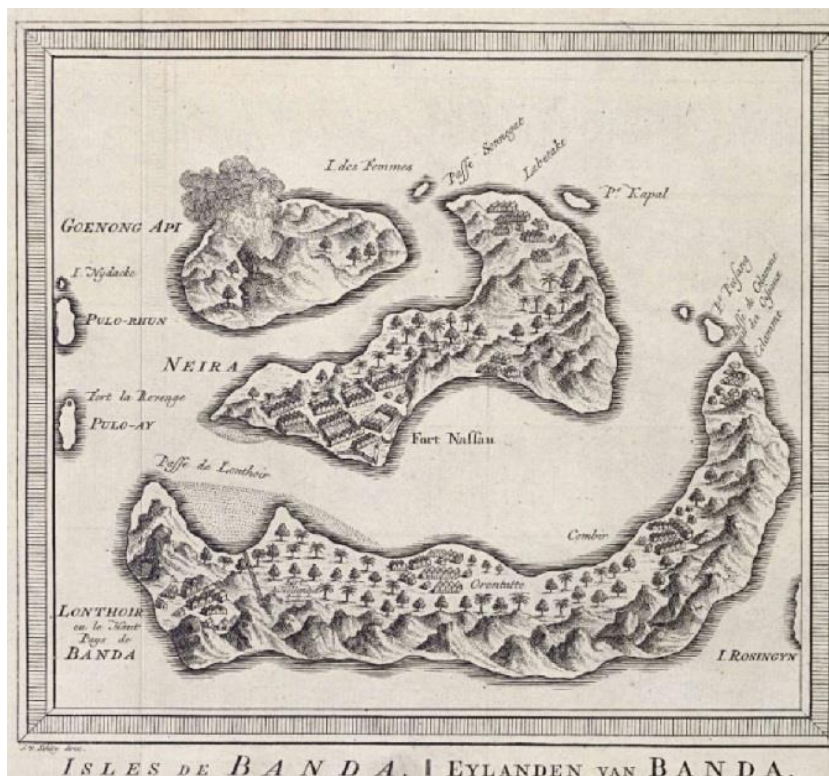


**Figure 6:** Arabic letters Bā (ب) representing the islands Banda Besar and Hatta, Nūn (ن) representing Neira and Gunung Api, and Dāl (د), representing Run and Ay. The islands are oriented from the standpoint of the main villages Lontor, Neira and Ay, facing the Gunung Api as a reference point which is indicated with a red arrow. Created by J. van Donkersgoed.





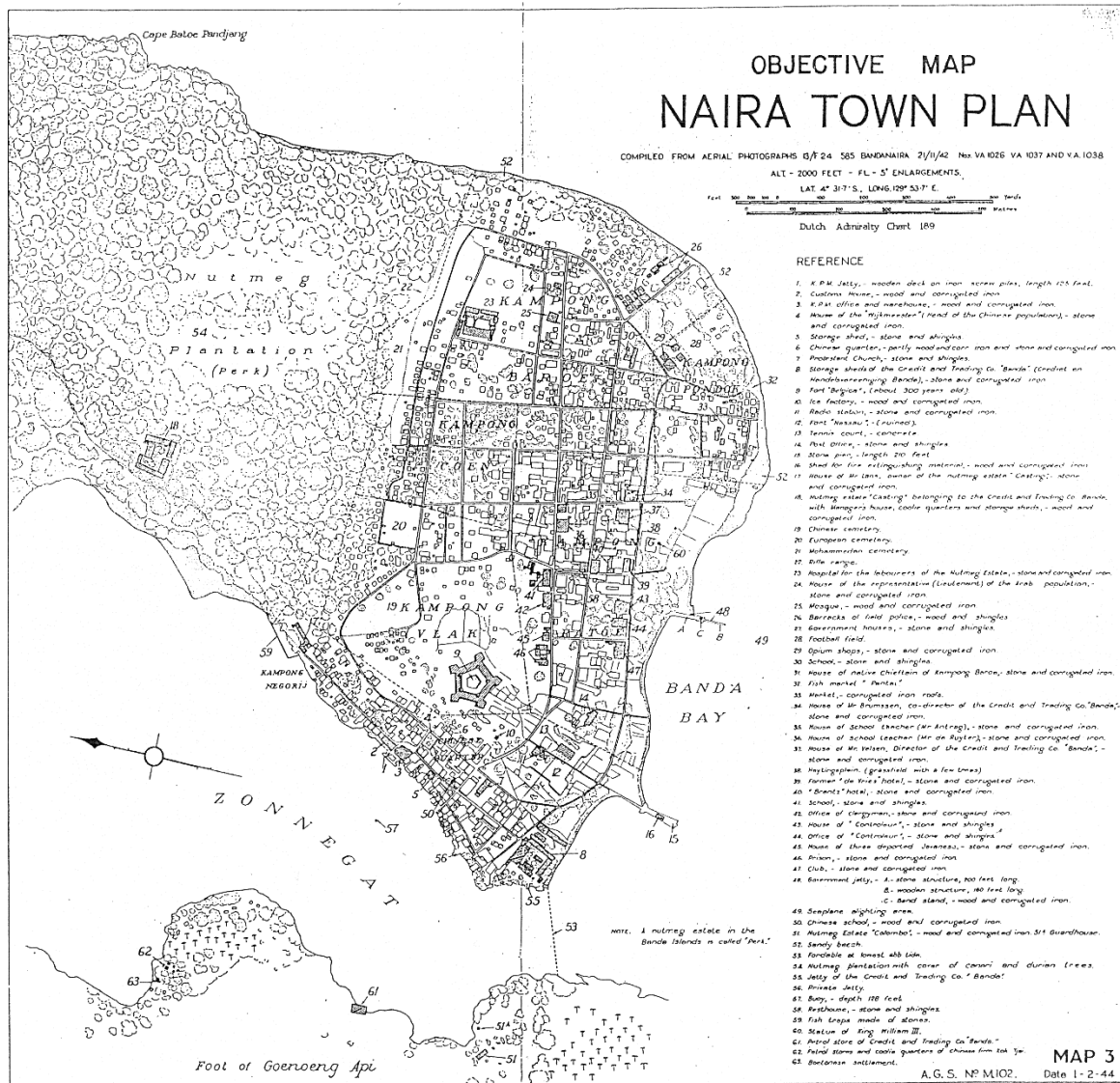
**Figure 7:** Map depicting a distorted view of the Banda Islands, showing important villages, natural formations and shallow parts of the bay. On the southwest corner of the island Neira a wall is depicted to shelter the residential houses within. Published in "Het tweede boeck, iournal oft dagh-register" by Jacob Cornelisz van Neck, p. 21 in 1601. Cf. University Library, Amsterdam, inv. nr. O 60 641, 21 and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. nr. RP-P-OB-75-377 and RP-P-OB-75-391.



**Figure 8:** Jacobus van der Schley based this chart on Figure 7, however, the wall on the southwest corner is now labeled as Fort Nassau. It was published ca. 1753 and is part of the collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, number 693 C 6 dl XI, to. p. 93.

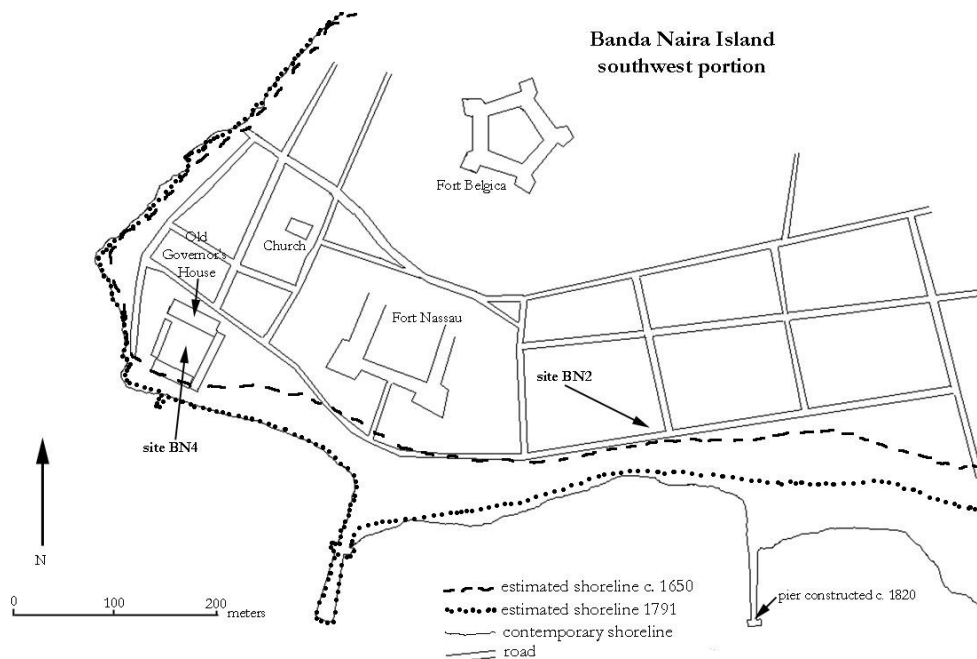


**Figure 9:** View over Banda Neira and the active volcano Gunung Api. The pier leading to Fort Nassau is clearly visible, surrounded by a busy bay filled with maritime traffic. Behind Fort Nassau there is a flag on top of the highest elevation, Papenberg, on the island Banda Neira. Johannes Rach, *Het Gezicht van Banda, ziende de Brandende Bergh van voore in tverschiet het Edelen Comps Castel met desselfs gebouwen en Gebergten van de Reede af te zien*, 1760-1780, pen and brush drawing on paper, 13.98 x 20.47 inch (35.5 x 52 cm), National Library of Indonesia, object number BW70.

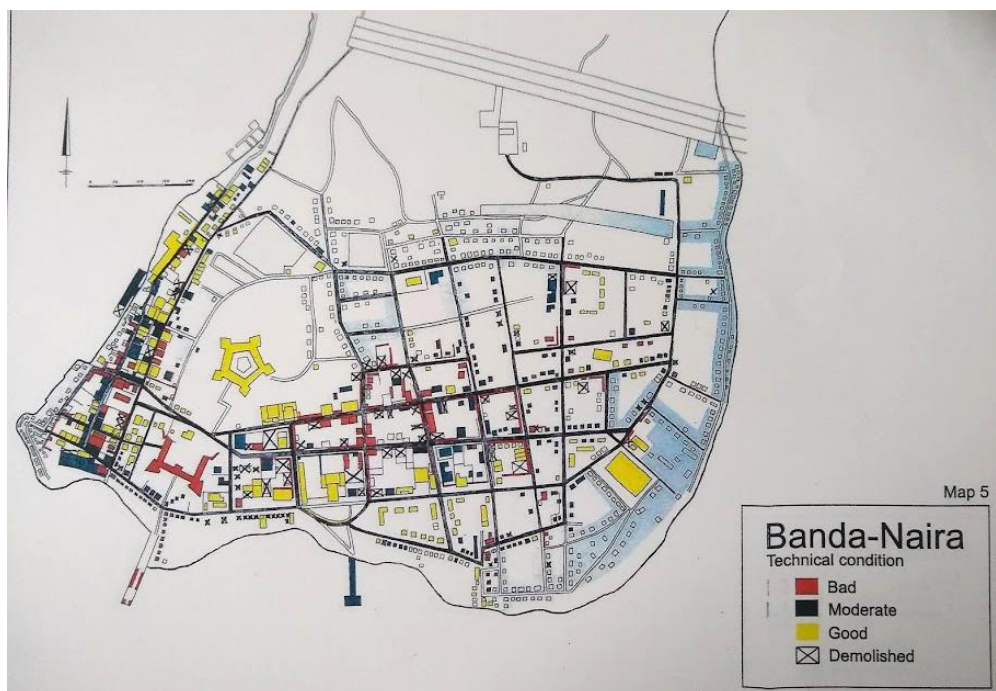


**Figure 10:** Map of the southern part of the island Banda Neira. Number 12 indicates Fort Nassau (ruined) and next to it a dark rectangle with the number 13 indicates the tennis court (concrete). Allied Geographic Section, Map 3: objective map Naira town plan, compiled from aerial photographs 13/F 24 585 BANDANAIRA 21/11/42 ALT 2000 FEET, 1 February 1944, available online at <https://repository.monash.edu/items/show/38619?c=o&m=o&s=o&cv=o&xywh=-2138%2C45%2C9961%2C5746>.





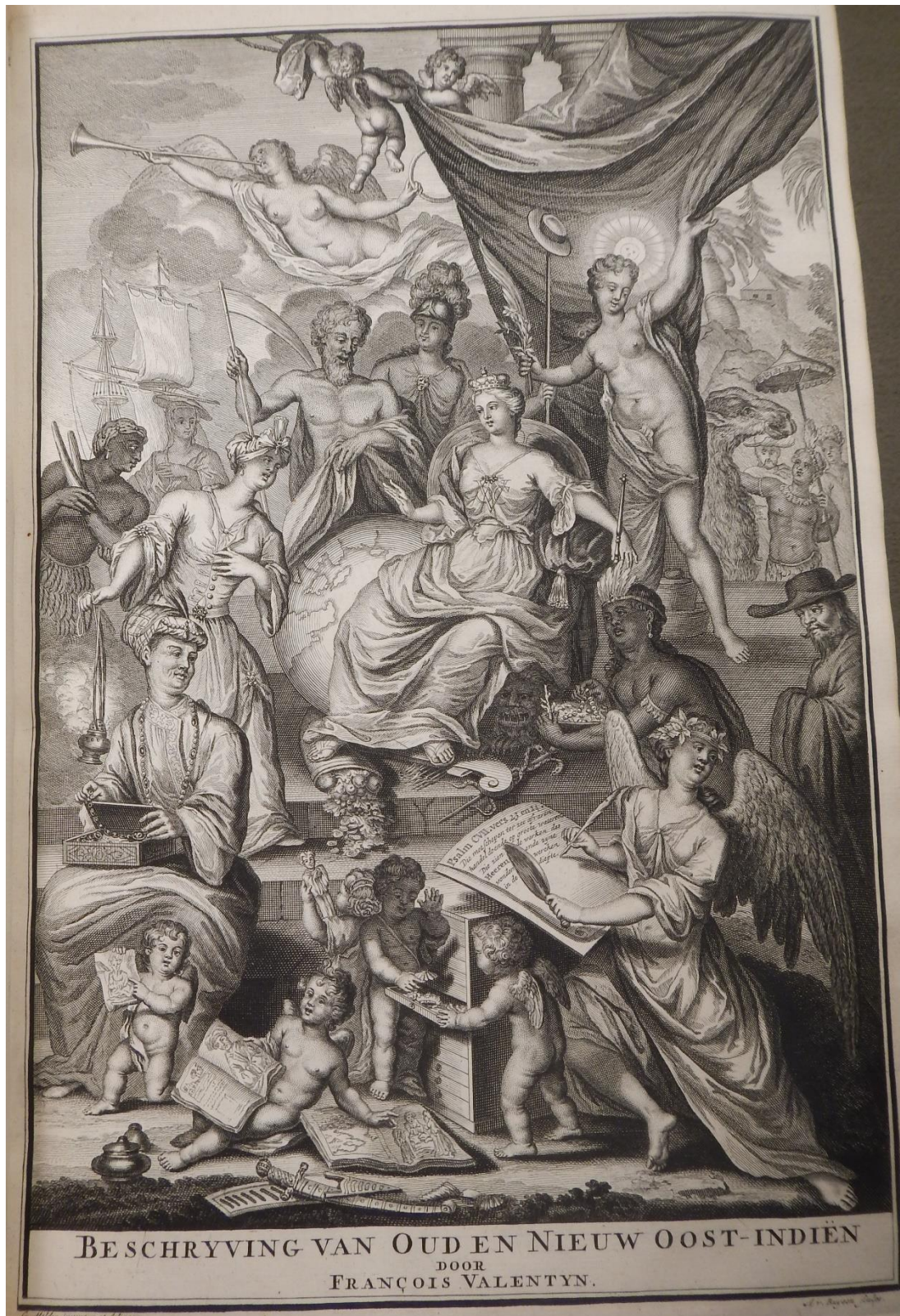
**Figure 11:** Change of the southern shoreline from c. 1650 – 1791, including the reclaimed land in front of Fort Nassau. Peter Lape, “Composite map showing shoreline progradation since 1650”, 2000, *Contact and conflict in the Banda Islands, eastern Indonesia 11th-17th centuries*, page 175.



**Figure 12:** Map of the southern part of Banda Neira with an assessment of the technical condition of the historical buildings. Jean-Paul Corten and Peter van Dun, *Map 5*, 2001, printed in *Inheritance 'Van Oom Coen': report of a technical mission to the Banda Islands in October 2001*.

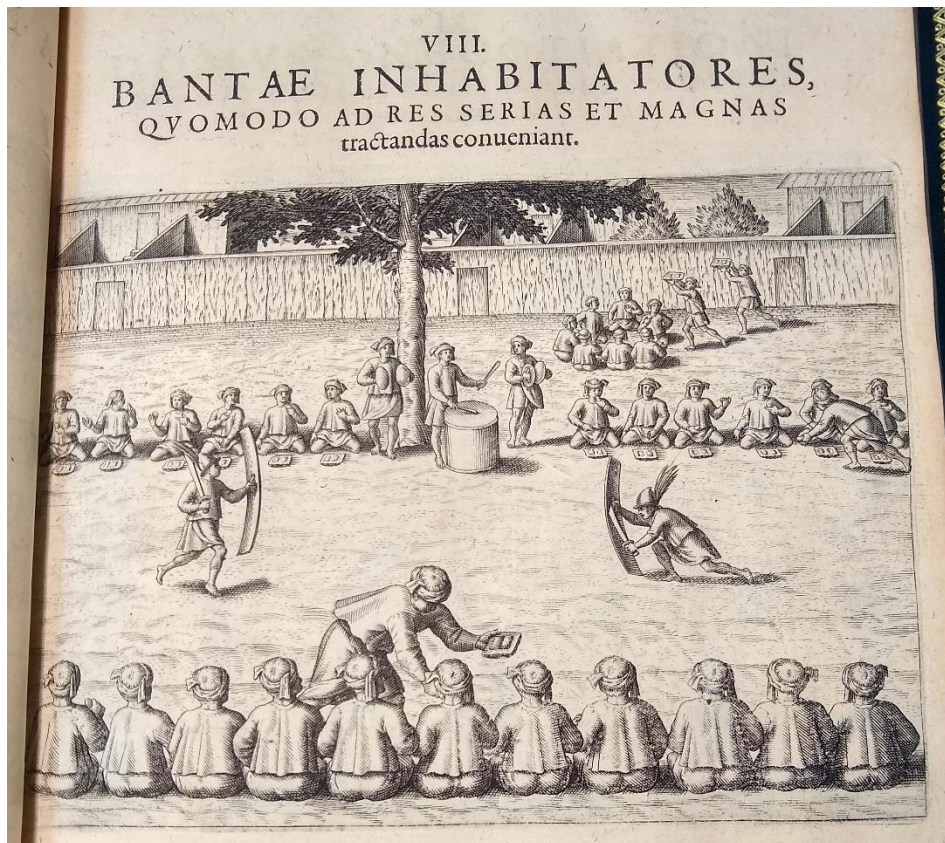






**Figure 14:** Cover page from part 1 of *Beschryving van Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724) by Francois Valentijn, photographed at the Kroch Library Rare & Manuscripts at Cornell University on April 2, 2017 by J. van Donkersgoed.





**Figure 15:** Unknown, “VIII. Bantae inhabitatores, qvomodo ad res serias et mangnas tractandas conueniant”, 1601, print, published in *Quinta pars Indiæ Orientalis ...* by Johann Theodor de Bry, accessed at William H. Scheide Library in Princeton, object number 23.13.

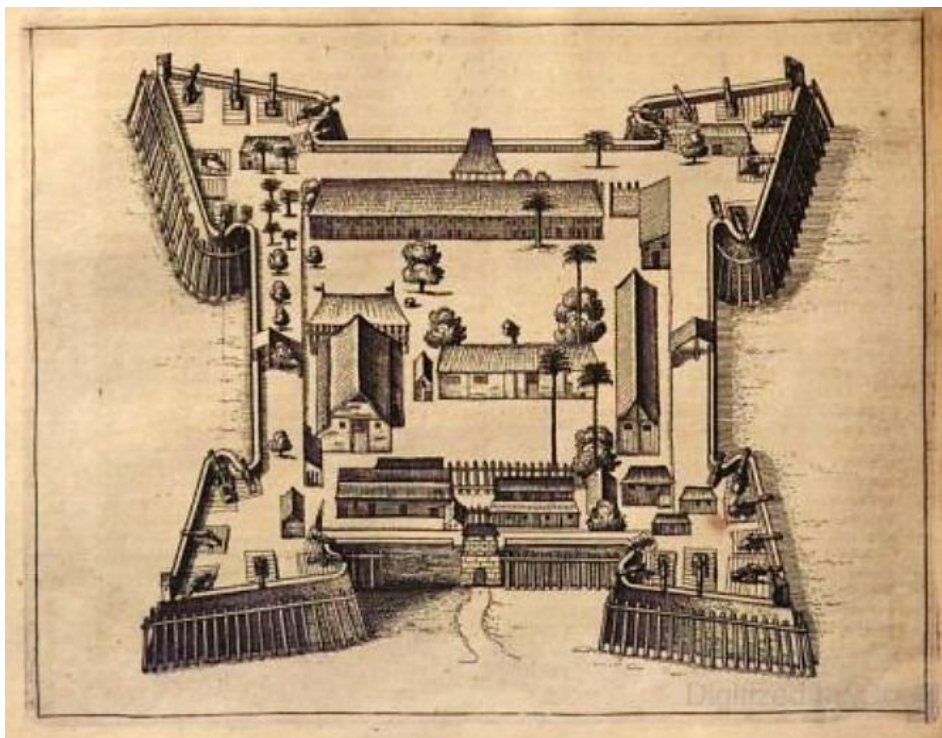


**Figure 16:** Unknown, “Afteeckeninge van hare gastmalen”, 1646, print, published in *Begin ende Voortgangh ...* by I. Commelin, plate 17, page 23.

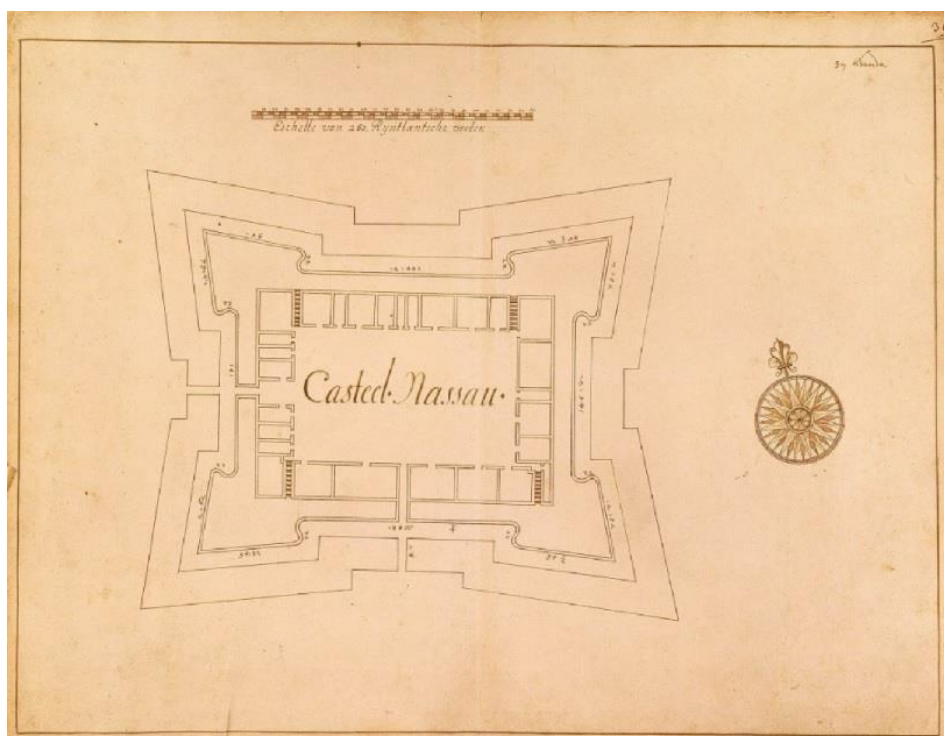


**Figure 17:** Print depicting the Verhoeven Ambush around the time that the Dutch constructed Fort Nassau. The fort is depicted on the right upper corner, with four boats that come ashore to carry the Dutch delegation. In the right-lower corner the Dutch are seen in a forested area as they discover the decapitated bodies of their comrades. in between this scene and the fort, the fight between the Dutch and Bandanese is depicted. From Arthus, G., 1628. *Historia Indiæ Orientalis: Ex variis auctoribus collecta, et iuxta seriem topographicam regnorum, prouinciarum & insularum, per Africae, Asiæ que littora, ad extremos usque Iaponios deducta*, included in Lape 2000, 74.

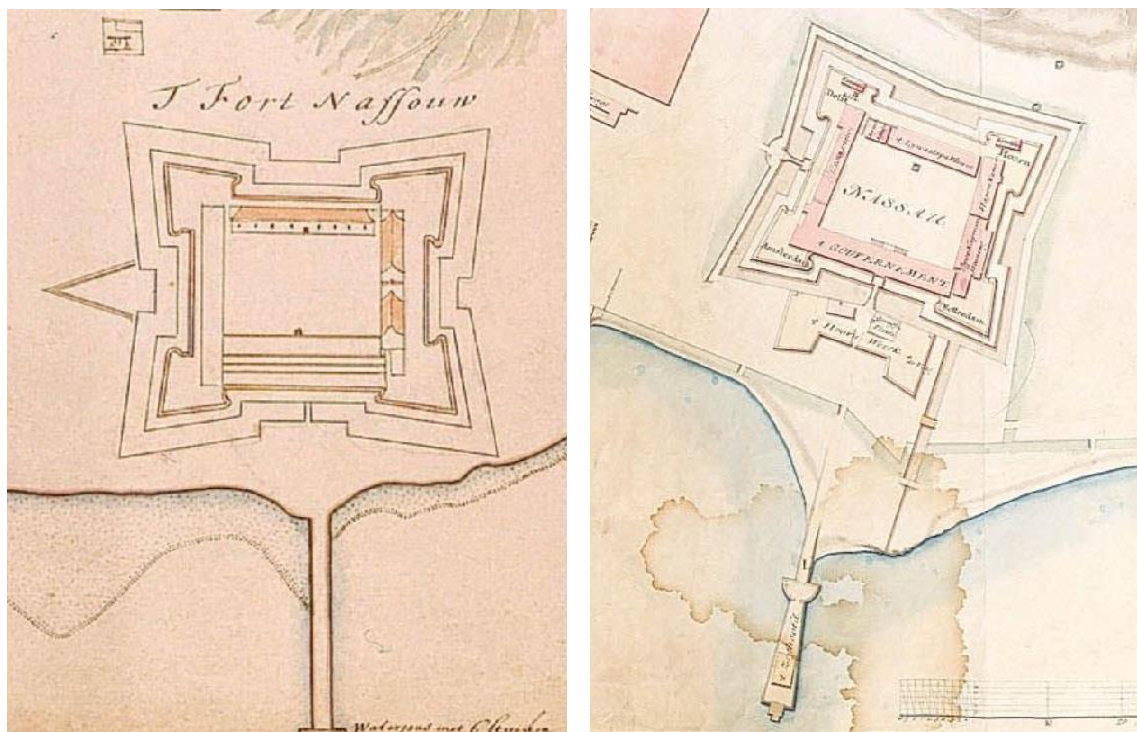




**Figure 18:** First architectural sketch of Fort Nassau, including the wooden palisades and the array of cannons. Print from I. Commelin, *Begin ende Voortganch II*, Amsterdam 1646, *Voyagie Verhoeven*, p. 51.



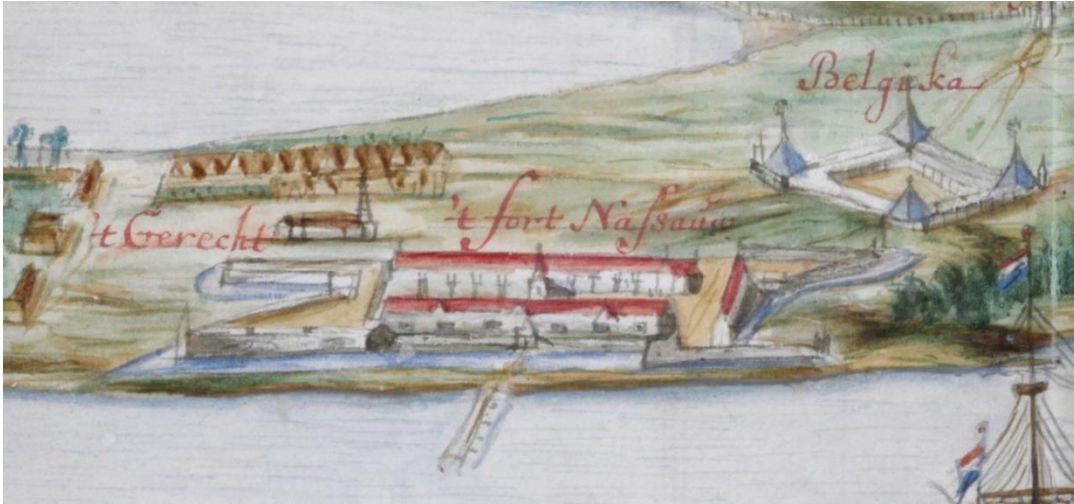
**Figure 19:** Map of Fort Nassau, with a surrounding moat, a western and southern gate and bridge crossing the moat. Anonymous, *Plan van t' Casteel Nassau*, c. 1651, drawing on paper, 13 x 16.34 inch (33 x 41.5 cm), Nationaal Archief, object number VEL1358.



**Figure 20:** (left) Detail from a larger map depicting the southern tip of Banda Neira. Fort Nassau is surrounded by a moat with a bridge at the southern gate, but the western gate is not depicted. At that side of the fort a defensive ravelin has been constructed, and in the northwestern vicinity the gallows are depicted. Isaac de Graaff, *t' Eyland Neira*, 1690-1734, colored drawing, 20.83 x 29.13 inch (53 x 74 cm), Nationaal Archief, object number VEL1359.

**Figure 21:** (right) Detail from a larger map depicting the southern tip of Banda Neira. The four bastions are labeled with the names of the Dutch cities Delft, Hoorn, Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In front of the southern gate a hornwork is added, labeled as *hoornwerck* upon which a square indicating the location of the place of justice, labeled *gerechtsplaats*. Carl Friedrich Reimer, *Plan van het Zuydelykste deel des Eylands Neira, vertoonende de situatie der forten Nassau en Belgica, met de stad en naastgeleegene bevestigde Posten, Batterien, Paggers enz.*, 1791, colored drawing on paper, 50.19 x 57.87 inch (127.5 x 147 cm), Nationaal Archief, object number VEL1361.



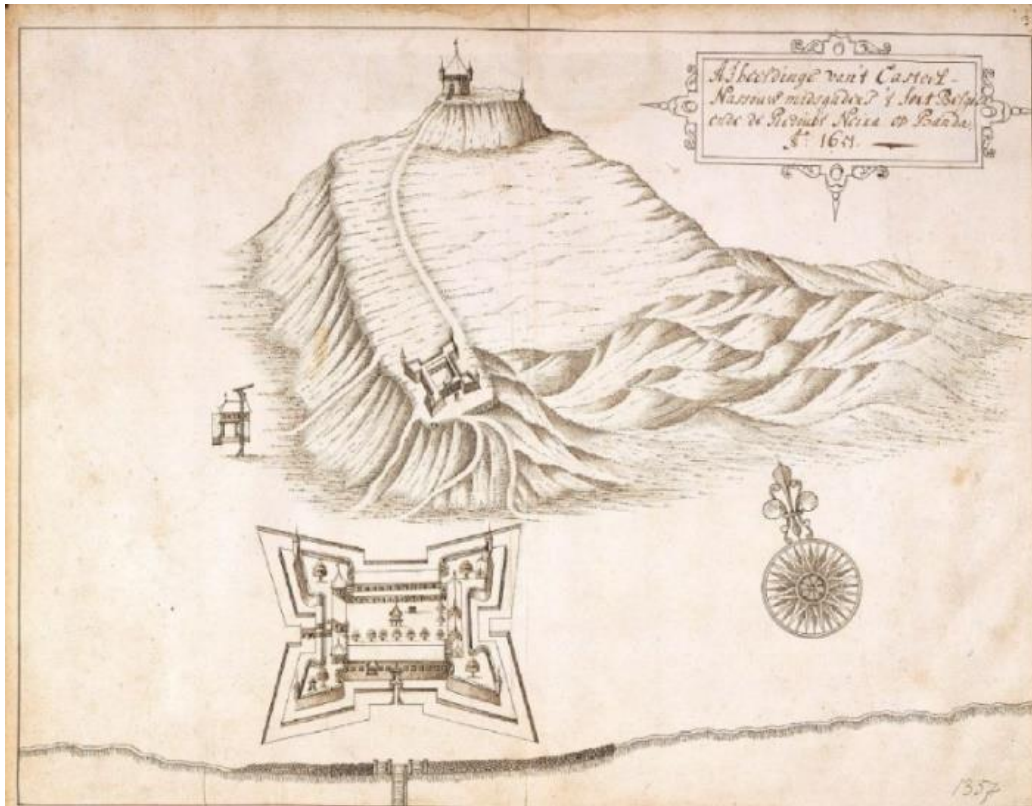


**Figure 22:** Detail from a larger drawing of the southern tip of Banda Neira. Johannes Vingbooms, *Aldus Vertoonde Hem het Eijland Neijro, Een van de Eijlanden van Banda, Alwaer 't kasteel Nassau, En 't fort Belgica op gelegen is*, c. 1660, watercolor on paper, 6.3 x 12 inch (16 x 30.5 cm), British Library, object number ADD.34.184-33.

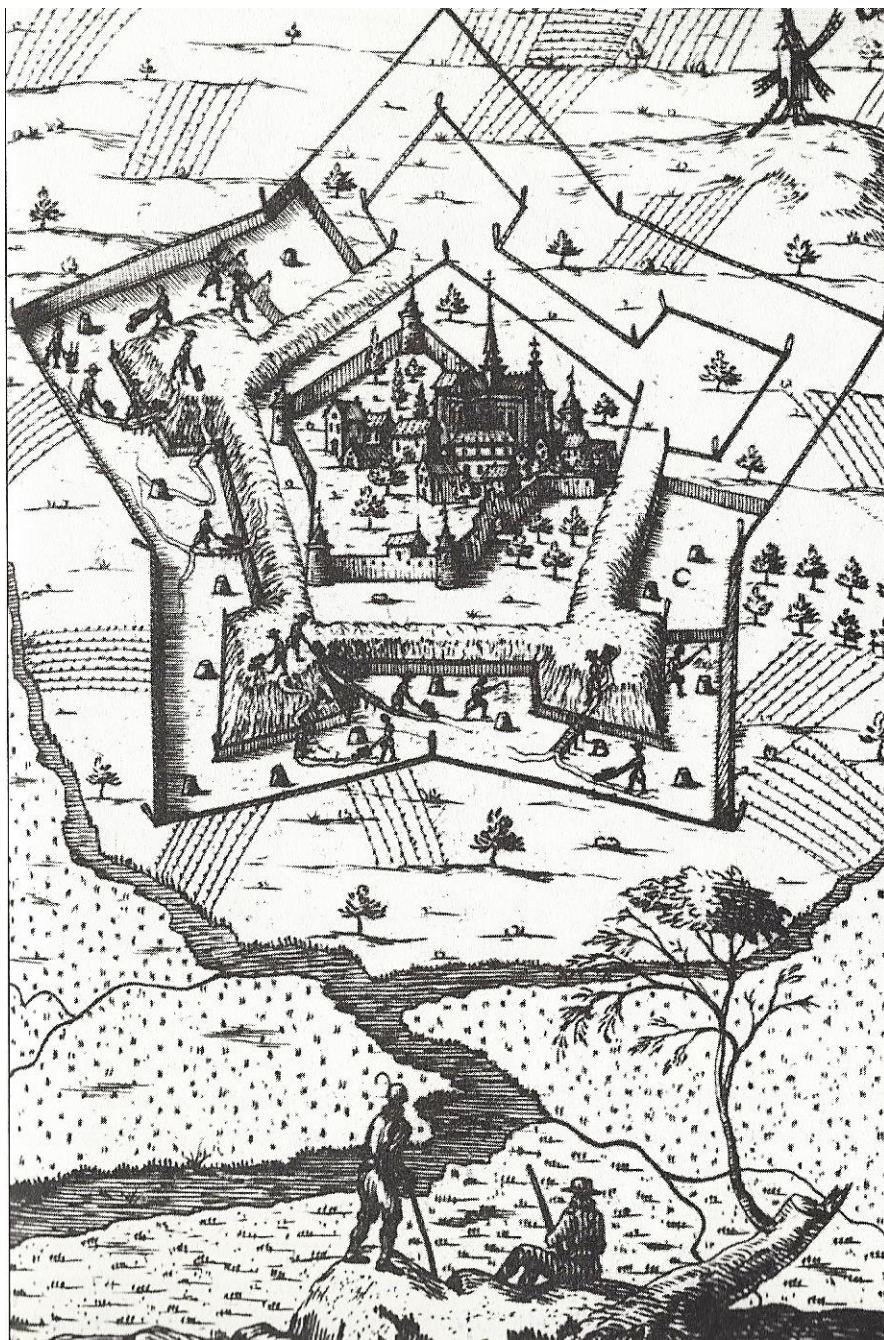


**Figure 23:** Detail from the oil painting on canvas depicting the southern tip of Banda Neira. Johannes Vingbooms, *Neyra*, c. 1665, oil on canvas, 38.19 x 55.12 (97 x 140 cm), Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, object number SK-A-4476.



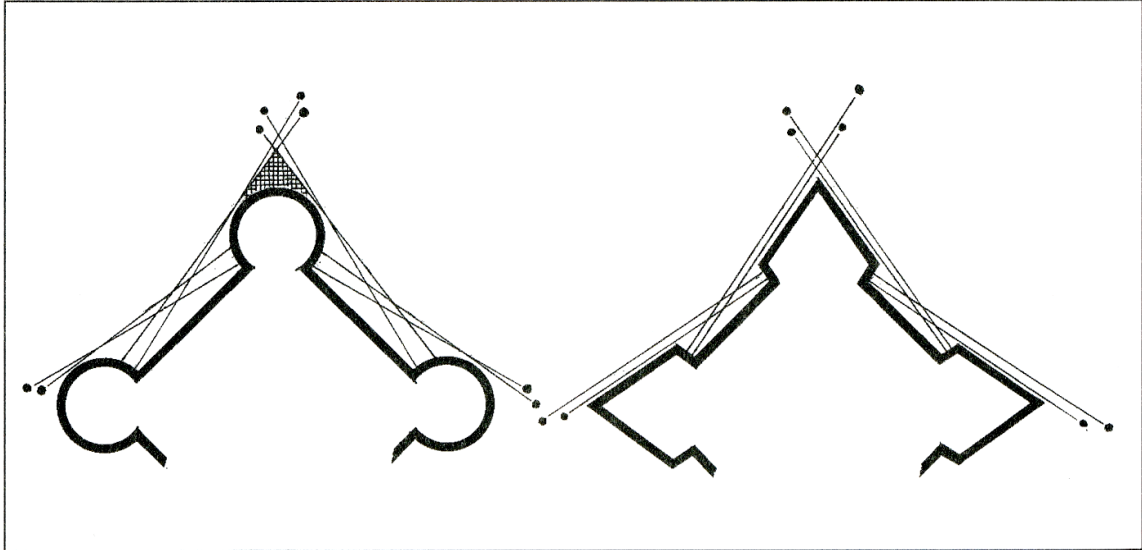


**Figure 24:** Aerial view of the fortifications on Banda Neira, Fort Nassau on the lower elevation, Fort Belgica midway the hill which is overlooked by a Reduit. Moreover, the artist depicts the pier and the gallows in the northwestern vicinity of Fort Nassau. Johannes van Nessel, *Afbeeldinge van t' Casteel Nassauw, mitsgaders t' Fort Belgica ende redoubt Neira of Banda*, 1651, pen drawing on paper, 13 x 16.34 inch (33 x 41.5 cm), Nationaal Archief, object number VEL1357.

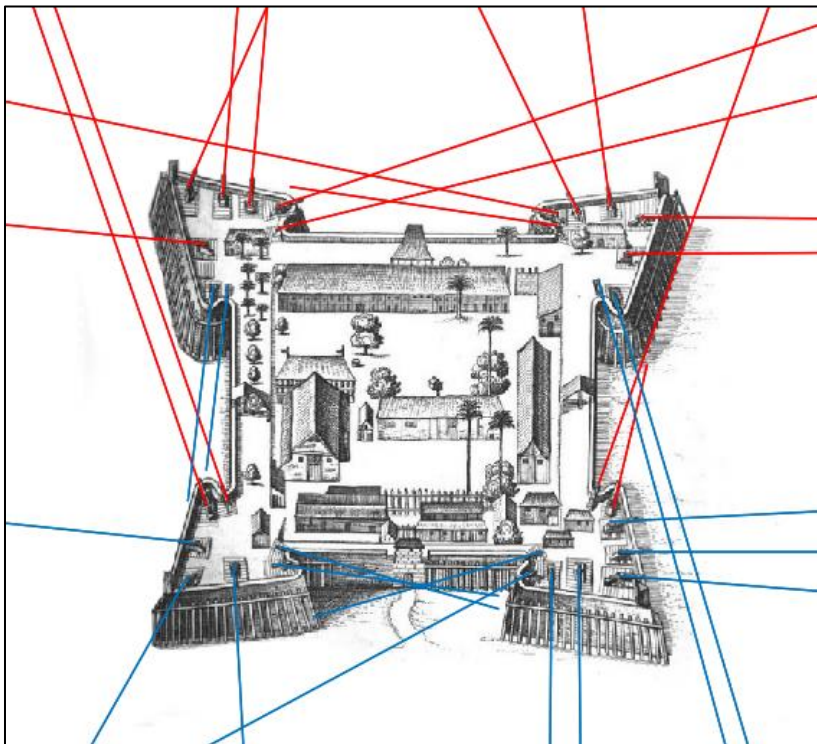


**Figure 25:** Illustration depicting the several stages of piling up the body of the rampart while digging out the moat. (Source: Guignard, Chevalier de. *L'école de Mars*, 2 vols, Paris 1725, as it appears Duffy, Christopher. *Fire & Stone: The Science of Fortress Warfare, 1660-1860*. [2nd ed.]. London: Greenhill Books, 1996, p. 51).

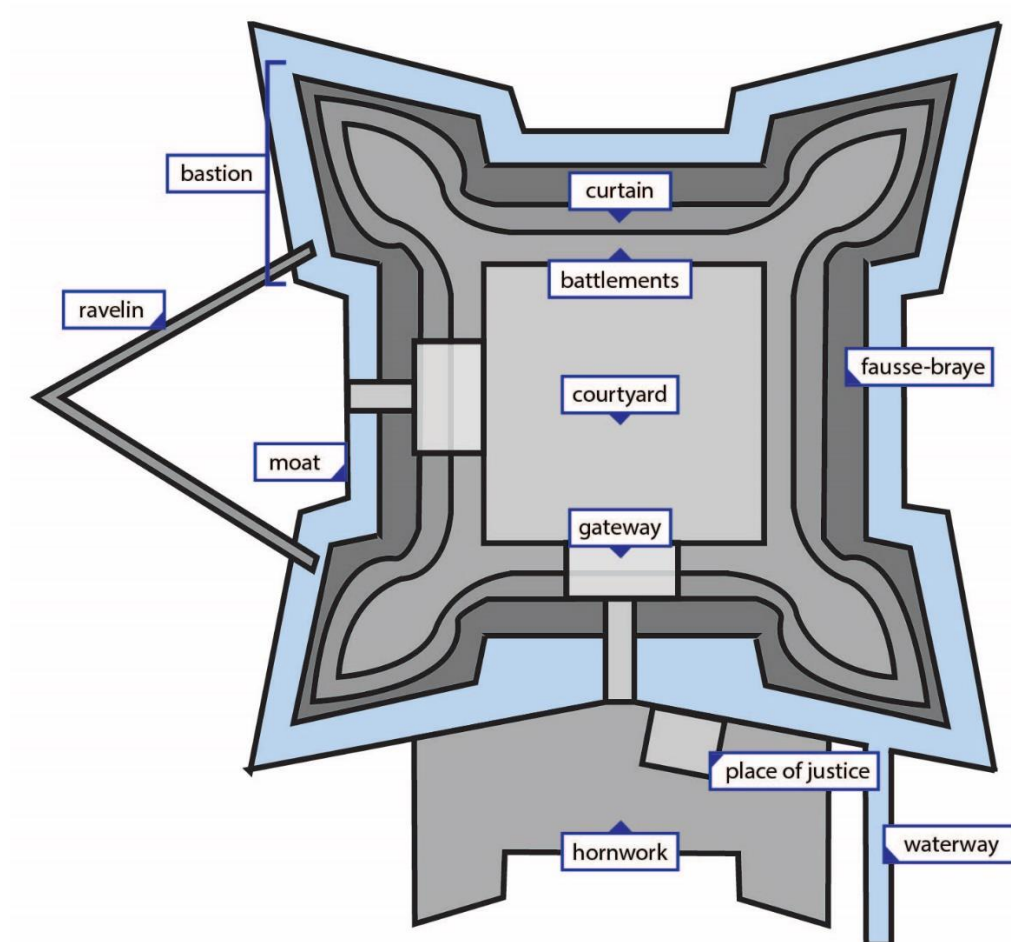




**Figure 26:** The lines on this figure trace the possible trajectories of cannonballs fired from neighboring towers to attack the approaching enemy. Left: the black area marks the “dead zone” where cannonballs cannot be fired, and therefore a safe zone for the enemy to approach and climb the tower. Right: the bastion design eliminates this “dead zone”. (Source: Duffy, Christopher. *Fire & Stone: The Science of Fortress Warfare, 1660-1860*. [2nd ed.]. London: Greenhill Books, 1996, p. 10).

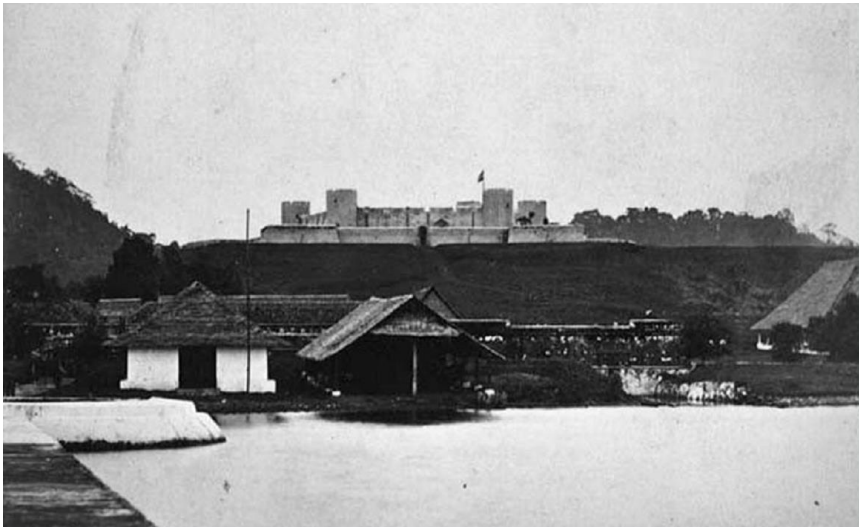


**Figure 27:** Trajectory of the canons traced on top of the first depiction of Fort Nassau (see figure I-17). The blue lines trace the aim of the cannons on the two southern bastions, and the red lines indicate the trajectory of the northern cannons. Illustration created by J. van Donkersgoed, based on Commelin 1646.

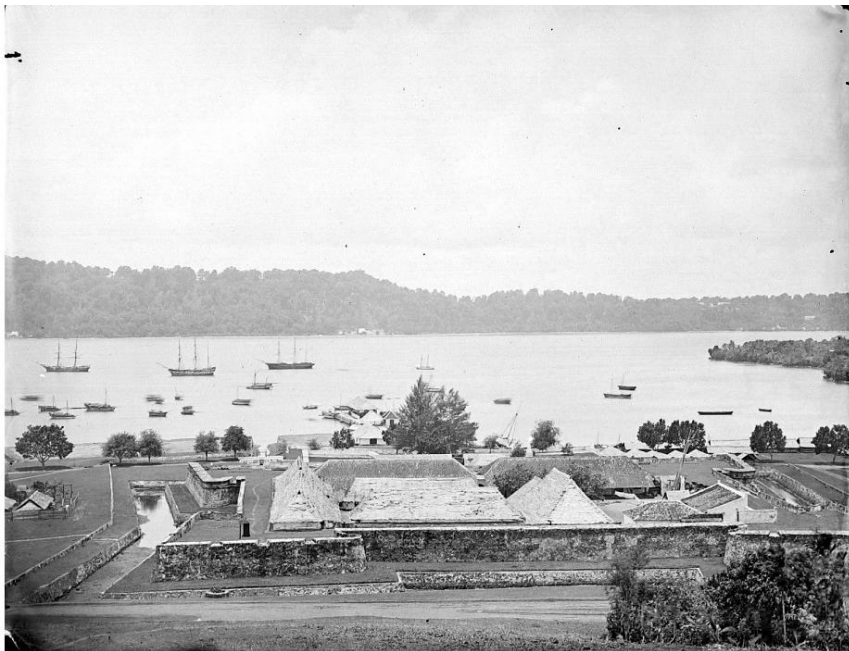


**Figure 28:** Sketch of the various architectural elements present at Fort Nassau at various times. Created by J. van Donkersgoed.

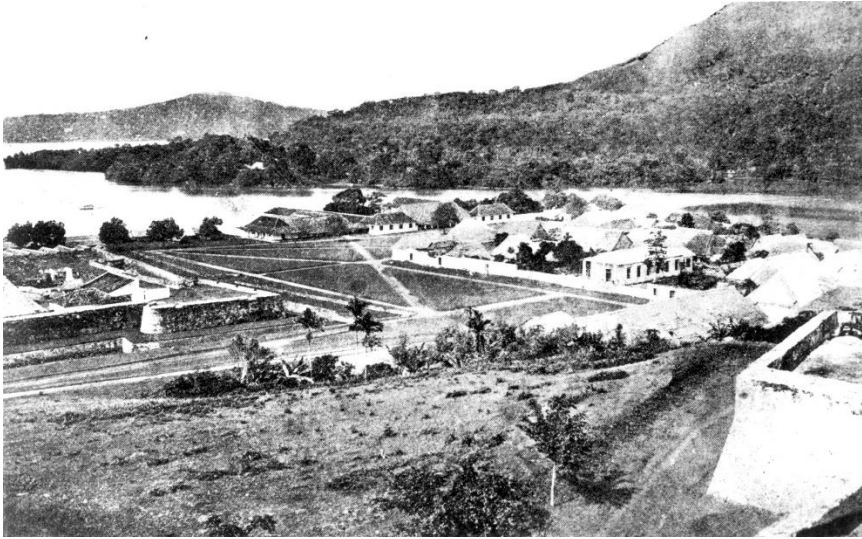
## Photographs of Fort Nassau



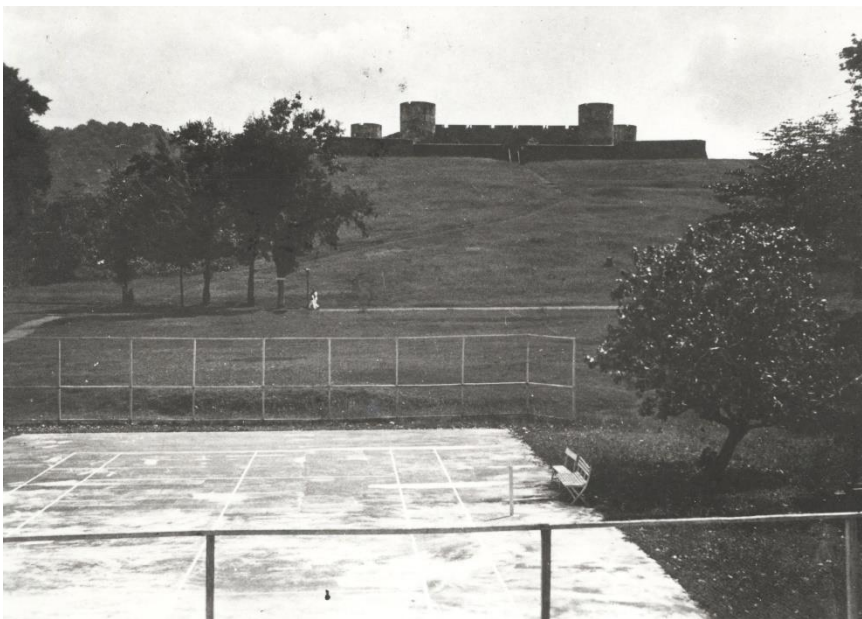
**Figure 29:** View from the bay of Fort Belgica and Fort Nassau, which is partially obscured from sight with residential buildings. Woodbury & Page, *Fort Belgica, Bandanaira*, 1857-1874, digital repository Wereldculturen (<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/>), 2 3/8 x 3 3/4 inch (6 x 9,5cm), object number TM-60021158.



**Figure 30:** Fort Nassau seen from on top, with water running through the surrounding moat and an intact northern wall. Hendrik Veen, *Bovenaanzicht van Fort Nassau, Bandanaira*, 1860-1890, Collodion wet plate process, digital repository Wereldculturen (<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/>), 7 13/16 x 9 15/16 inch (19.9 x 25.2 cm), object number TM-10021964.



**Figure 31:** Photograph taken from the battlements of Fort Belgica of the northwest bastion of Fort Nassau. Unknown photographer from the Dutch Royal Navy, *Fort Nassau en de Goenoeng Api (rechts) gezien vanuit fort Belgica te Banda, Bandaneira, Molukken in de jaren 1870-1890*, 1870-1890, digital repository Dutch Institute of Military History (<https://nimh-beeldbank.defensie.nl/>), object number 2158\_033137.



**Figure 32:** Unobscured view of Fort Belgica from the plaza of Fort Nassau. The northern walls are absent and the plaza is transformed into a tennis court for leisure. Unknown photographer of the Royal Marine, *Fort Banda, Bandanaira, Nederlands-Indië*, 1910, digital repository Dutch Institute of Military History (<https://nimh-beeldbank.defensie.nl/>), object number 2158\_033040.





**Figure 33:** View of Fort Nassau taken from the hill below Fort Belgica. The northern wall is absent, and the plaza contains a playing field as well as some buildings and a radio antenna. Unknown photographer, *Zicht op VOC fort Nassau in Bandaneira*, 1925, photo-paper, digital repository Wereldculturen (<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/>), 7 2 15/16 x 4 1/8 inch (7.5 x 10.5cm), object number TM-60014634.



**Figure 34:** View of the western gate of Fort Nassau, the walls and northwestern bastion are overgrown and the antenna of the radio station on the plaza can be seen above the walls. Unknown photographer, *Uitvalspoort van fort Nassau te Banda, Bandaneira, Molukken*, digital repository Dutch Institute of Military History (<https://nimh-beeldbank.defensie.nl/>), object number 2158\_033139.





**Figure 35:** Southern gate of Fort Nassau with the old white information sign to the right of the entrance. Photograph by Syahrudin Mansyur, taken on November 11, 2007, Pusat Dokumentasi Arsitektu, object number 8101Btg64-F102.



**Figure 36:** Information sign propped against a tree within the walls of Fort Nassau. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, created on May 22, 2017.





**Figure 37:** Vegetable garden outside of the reconstructed walls of Fort Nassau. Photograph taken by J. van Donkersgoed on October 11, 2017.



**Figure 38:** The old “Portuguese” well at the reconstructed north-eastern bastion of Fort Nassau. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, created on October 26, 2017.





**Figure 39:** View of the southern wall of Fort Nassau, with freshly plastered moat walls and cleaned fort walls to reveal the inscription “Anno 1617”. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, created on November 18, 2015.



**Figure 40:** View of the southern wall of Fort Nassau, the walls are starting to be covered with moss again and the letters “Anno 1617” are barely visible. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, created on April 1, 2019.





**Figure 41:** Original staircase tile and the reconstructed cement tiles, creating a safe ascend for tourists to access the southern battlements of Fort Nassau. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on February 20, 2019.



**Figure 42:** Reconstructed northeastern bastion with a new staircase. On either side of the staircase the excavation is visible which attempted to find the original location of the staircase. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on February 10, 2019.





**Figure 43:** Inner courtyard of Fort Nassau seen from the southern battlements. The outline of the tennis court is still visible, despite vegetation which is being managed by the grazing of the cow. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on January 31, 2019.

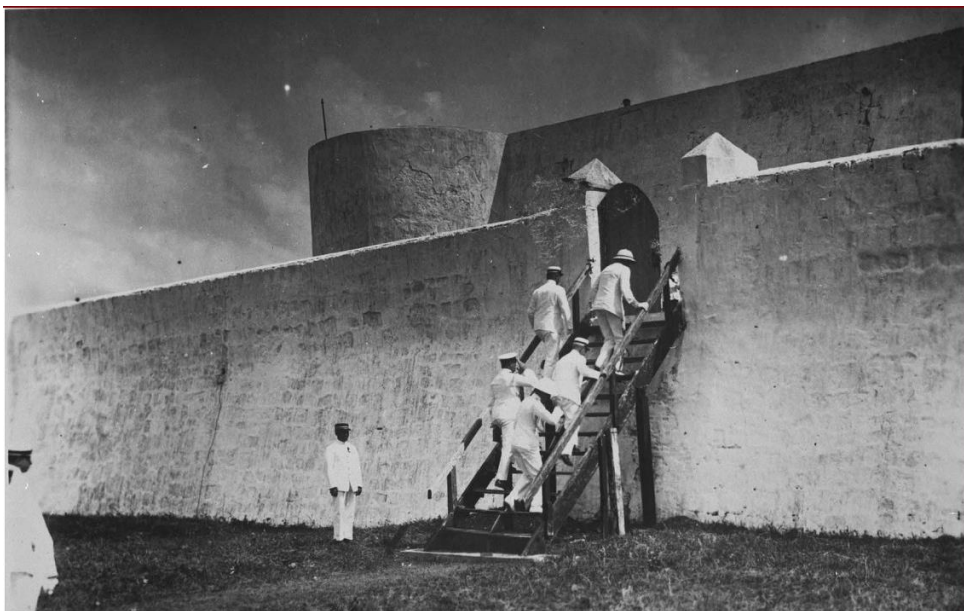


**Figure 44:** Southern gate, also known as the "Waterpoort" with original decorative masonry of red and yellow *ijsselsteentjes*. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on January 31, 2019.



**Figure 45:** Impression of how Fort Nassau could be restored, including the waterway (upper left) and water running through the moats. Picture taken from the report “Gambar Kerja - Pekerjaan: Perencanaan Pemugaran Benteng Nassau Tahapi”, created by the Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan - Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan - Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya in 2015.

### Photographs of the Banda Islands



**Figure 46:** View of the southern entrance to Fort Belgica as the Governor-General accompanied by colonial officials ascend the wooden stairs to inspect the restored fort. Unknown photographer, *Een zwartwit foto van de gouverneur generaal die een bezoek aflegt aan het gerestaureerde Fort Belgica op het eiland Banda Besar*, 1930-1936, black-and-white negative, digital repository Wereldculturen (<https://collectie.wereldculturen.nl/>), 3 3/4 x 5 11/16 inch (9.5 x 14.5cm), object number TM-60033450.





**Figure 47:** View of the southern entrance to Fort Belgica as the several *Cakalele* warrior dancers from the *desa adat* Namasawar ascend the stone stairs. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, created on October 12, 2017.



**Figure 48:** Performance of the *Cakalele* dance on top of Fort Belgica by the dancers of the *desa adat* Namasawar with a crowd of onlookers including local people and tourists. This dancer is one of the captains and wears a replica of the Portuguese helmet, adorned with a paradise bird and a crafted dragon. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on October 12, 2017.





**Figure 49:** Upper left is a photograph of nutmeg growing on a tree, and the upper right showing the two spices within the yellow outer layer separated and drying in the sun. The lower left shows the mace drying in the sun, and the lower right are the nutmeg nuts before their wooden husk is cracked open after the drying process is complete. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed.

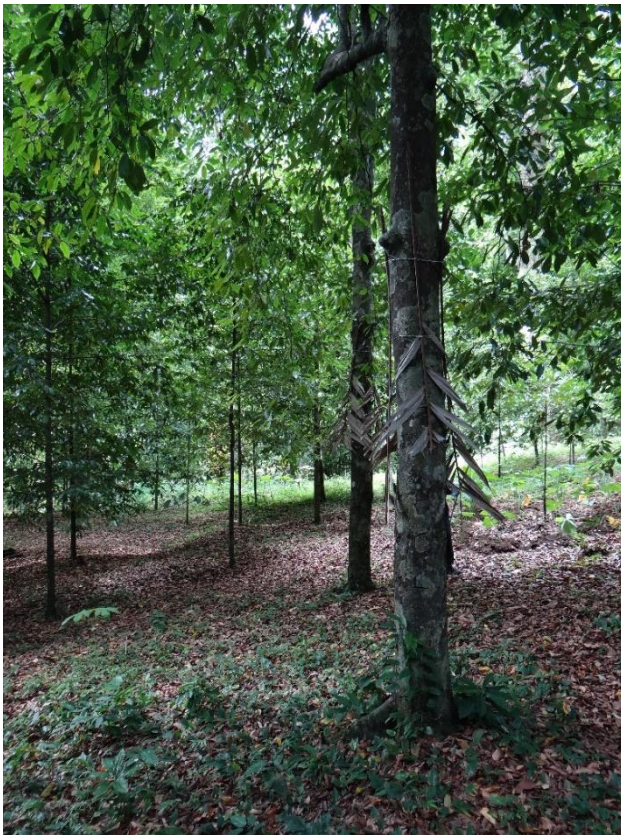


**Figure 50:** Display of ritual objects from the *desa adat* Fiat, including the jar containing the replica's and original Spanish flag, sacred water in a glass bottle and items used during the *Cakalele* performance including a paradise bird to top the Portuguese helmet, the swords and a shield. Photograph taken by J. van Donkersgoed on August 4, 2017.





**Figure 51:** Uli worms. Photograph taken by Karto Wongsopatty in 2018, published at <https://kkp.go.id/djprl/bkkpnkupang/artikel/3215-timba-uli-dan-pengelolaan-twp-laut-banda>.



**Figure 52:** Palm leaves tied around nutmeg trees to indicate a *sasi*-prohibition to harvest from these trees. Photograph taken on the island Banda Besar by J. van Donkersgoed, October 22, 2107.





**Figure 53:** Extending pier located in front of Fort Nassau after walking through a small residential area. At the end of the *landhoofd* there are two buried cannons which serve as bollards. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on October 16, 2017.



**Figure 54:** The broken artifacts that were uncovered during the restoration activities of Fort Nassau. Photograph J. van Donkersgoed, taken on May 29, 2017.





**Figure 55:** Brightly painted gateway to the neighborhood Varhouvent, a phonetic spelling of the name Verhoeven. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed on July 16, 2017.



**Figure 56:** Two brightly painted houses on the island Banda Besar. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed taken on May 24, 2017.



**Figure 57:** Brightly painted viewing platform with bench and heart-shaped floral array, and a brightly colored signpost marked with various stages of an individuals' love-life. Photograph taken by J. van Donkersgoed on February 17, 2019.



**Figure 58:** The soulmate room, *rumah jodoh*, right after its completion with the Gunung Api in the background. Photograph taken by J. van Donkersgoed on February 17, 2019.





**Figure 59:** Sun Tien Kong temple on Banda Neira. Left the sign above the entrance to the small temple, which main altar is featured on the right photograph. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed on June 8, 2016.



**Figure 60:** Stepping stone in front of the Chinese temple on Banda Neira with the imprint of the Dutch East India Company's logo. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed on June 8, 2016.





**Figure 61:** The monument constructed around the well, which commemorates the sacrifice the orang kaya made to defend the Banda Islands. This monument is known as *parigi rantai*, the “chained well”. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed on August 4, 2017.



**Figure 62:** Taken at the *parigi rantai* during the annual ceremony to honor the slain orang kaya. Photograph posted on Facebook by Sudaphan Pohl on May 7, 2018.





**Figure 63:** Entrance to the Cilu Bintang Estate boutique hotel on Banda Neira. In the pavement a tile with the map of Fort Nassau is depicted, and the logo of the Dutch India Company is painted on the pillar bases. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on August 4, 2017.



**Figure 64:** The Dutch Reformed Church on Banda Neira with its clock tower which chimes on Sunday and for special occasions. The right photograph is taken in the local cultural museum of one of the bells that are exhibited there. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed, left taken on February 2, 2019 and the right on January 30, 2019.



**Figure 65:** Plastic waste repository which will be used as a foundation for a new house. Photograph taken by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on July 26, 2017.



## Miscellaneous

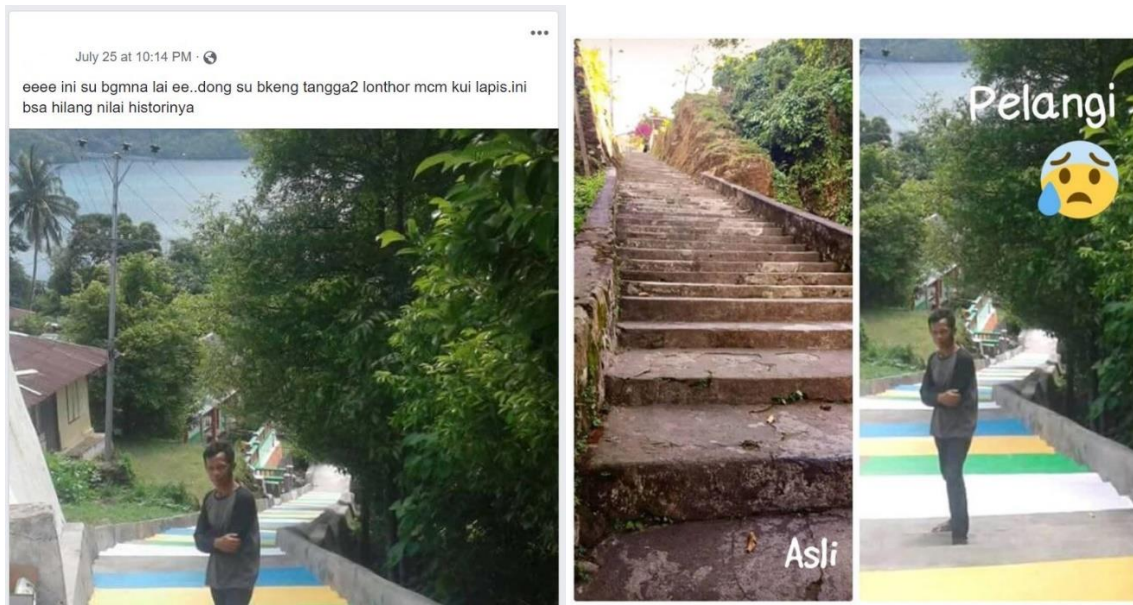


**Figure 66:** Jacob Waben, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, 1623-1699, oil paint on panel, Westfries Museum in Hoorn.



**Figure 67:** Sofri Rino Hasan Basri, *Bandanese Massacre*, paint on canvas, Rumah Budaya in Banda Neira.





**Figure 68:** Left the initial Facebook post with the outcry that the stairs in Lonthor look like a layered cake, and on the right a post that followed the same day with a comparison between the “old” look of the stairs and the ongoing painting activities. Posted on Facebook on July 25, 2018.



**Figure 69:** Before and after the colorful repainting of the stairs in the village Lonthor on the island Banda Besar. On the right photograph the logo of Bank Indonesia is painted on a rock alongside the staircase. Photographs by J. van Donkersgoed, taken on August 1, 2017 (left) and February 17, 2019 (right).





**Figure 70:** Example of the practice of brightening the neighborhood with bright colored paint in Ambon. This particular neighborhood received money from a political candidate to purchase the paint in an effort the win favor with its residents. Photographs taken by J. van Donkersgoed on February 22, 2019.



**Figure 71:** Creating “Instagenic” backdrops is a popular method to attract more tourism. The left is taken in front of Fort Oranje in Ternate, written in large colorful modern letters in front of the fort. The right shows the finished third viewing platform on the island Banda Besar, imitating the hull of a boat as a scenic backdrop in front of the Gunung Api. Left image posted on Instagram on December 20, 2019 by ar.akbarnooriyan, the right image was posted on Instagram on April 8, 2019 by anoo\_13.





**Figure 72:** Well-maintained vegetable garden at the Spanish Fort Tahula (used by the Dutch since 1663) on the island Tidore. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed taken on January 24, 2019.



**Figure 73:** End of the well-maintained façade of the battlements at Fort Oranje on the island Ternate. Photograph by J. van Donkersgoed taken on June 12, 2017.



**Figure 74:** Smallest denomination of the Indonesian banknote, right the new bill which was introduced in 2016 featuring Fort Belgica and the Gunung Api on the backside.



**Figure 75:** Single-use water cups which are provided with straws of the popular Indonesian brand Aqua. Opensource image available at <https://www.kindpng.com/imgv/ihxTbmJ-air-minum-aqua-hd-png-download/>.



## Appendix II: Tables

	<i>Material-based approach</i>	<i>Value-based approach</i>	<i>Living heritage approach</i>
<b>Premise</b>	Aim is the preservation of the fabric of monuments	Recognize current heritage values	Continuity of heritage's function and practice
<b>Power structure</b>	Top-down expert-led management system by conservation professionals	Stakeholder-group involvement under supervision of conservation experts	Community-based with a secondary role for conservation professionals
<b>Preservation focus</b>	Tangible heritage	Tangible heritage acknowledging intangible heritage	Intangible heritage acknowledging tangible heritage
<b>Process</b>	Significance of heritage resides in the fabric and contemporary human activities are often regarded as harmful to the physical heritage site.	Heritage management is a social and political process to acknowledge the values communities attribute to heritage sites alongside conservation.	Continuity of use and function of heritage is enabled through the empowerment of the community, even if this leads to loss of historical fabric of a heritage site.

**Table 1:** After Poullos (2014). Material-based approach is also referred to as “conventional” approach or “authorized heritage discourse”.

<i>Antiquarian bias</i>	<i>Commemorative bias</i>	<i>Aesthetic bias</i>	<i>Ecological bias</i>
18 <sup>th</sup> century	19 <sup>th</sup> century	20 <sup>th</sup> century	21 <sup>th</sup> century
Archaeologist	National historian	Architect	Community-driven
Remnants uncovered and valued as ruins	Remnants preserved and restored to certain time-frame to commemorate the past	Remnants of the past reproduced and multiplied to create pleasing areas	Remnants of the past are revitalized to serve a new function in today's community

**Table 2:** Four different phases in conservation practices throughout history, as described and identified by Julian Smith. The first row names the “bias”, the second the age in which it arose, the third states its main agent and the last row summarizes how remnants were interpreted during that era. (Smith 2015, 182–84).

No	Program	Location	Target	Funding
1	<u>Plantation</u> (nutmeg / kenari)	Rhun, Ay, Naira, Banda Besar, Hatta	2018-2021	Ministry of Agriculture
	Development of seed source of main garden	Banda Besar	2018 - 2021	Local government
2	Development of small-scale products from nutmeg <b>industry</b>	Banda Naira, Banda Besar	2018 - 2021	Ministry of KUKM, Ministry of Industry, Local government
	Development of nutmeg pure industry on large scale		2018 - 2020	
	Development of nutmeg flour industry on large scale		2018 - 2020	
3	<u>Infrastructure support</u> Port repair	Banda Naira	2017	Ministry of Transportation Department
	Road repair		2021	Local government
4	<u>Marine</u> Ice supply & cold storage		2017	Marine and Fishery ministry
	Diesel supply packed dealer fisherman (SPPN) subsidized fisherman			
5	Development of fish landing port	Banda Naira Banda Besar	2017-2018	Marine and Fishery ministry
6	Rehabilitation of coral reefs	Gunung Api, Strait Zonnegat, Banda Naira	2018	Marine and Fishery ministry
7	Setting up of nutmeg plantation & kenari forest for tourism purpose	Banda Islands	2017-2018	Agricultural Ministry, Tourism Ministry, private investors
8	Cottage and hotel development	Banda Naira	2017-2021	Tourism Ministry, private investors
9	Adat culture tour, setting up of tour, perigi tua, heirloom well)	Banda Islands, Lonthor	2018-2019	Education and Culture Ministry
10	History tour, revitalization of historic buildings: Istana Mini, Hatta house, Sjahirir house, Tjipto Manakusumo house	Banda Islands	2018-2019	Education & Culture Ministry, Tourism Ministry, Private investors
11	History tour, fort restorations, foreign relics; Hollandia, Belgica, Nassau, Revange, Waer, Selamon	Banda Islands	2018-2019	Education & Culture Ministry, Tourism Ministry, Private investors
12	Religion tour, revitalization of the inscription Islam enters to Banda, old Marak Mosque, Kampung Baru mosque, old church, Banda Klenteng temple	Banda Naira	2018 - 2019	Education & Culture Ministry, Tourism Ministry, Private investors
13	Electricity source: development by PLTS centralized	Banda Neira, Ay, Banda Besar, Rhun, Hatta		Energy and Mineral resource ministry

**Table 3:** Masterplan KEK Banda Tourism. Copied from the powerpoint presentation presented to the public on May 25, 2017 at the office of the local government on Banda Neira.

## Appendix III: Timeline

<b>1339</b>	Early Chinese travel account of the Banda Islands.
<b>1435 - 1464</b>	Construction of Chinese temple in Banda Neira.
<b>1512</b>	Arrival of first Portuguese traders in Banda Neira.
<b>1525 - 1529</b>	Portuguese presence on Banda Neira.
<b>1599</b>	Arrival of first Dutch traders in Banda Neira.
<b>1602</b>	VOC was established in the Netherlands.
<b>1609</b>	Admiral Verhoeven arrives in Banda Neira and is ambushed.  Construction of Fort Nassau started.
<b>1611</b>	Construction of Fort Belgica started.
<b>1615</b>	Dutch VOC-forces are ambushed on the island Ay.
<b>1621</b>	Bandanese Massacre under the leadership of Jan Pieterszoon Coen.
<b>1796</b>	VOC was nationalized, nutmeg monopoly continues under NHM.
<b>1796 - 1802</b>	Banda Islands are occupied by the English.
<b>1810</b>	English capture Fort Belgica and fired at Fort Nassau.
<b>1810 – 1817</b>	Banda Islands are occupied by the English
<b>1860</b>	Slavery is abolished on the Banda Islands.
<b>1864</b>	Monopoly on nutmeg production and trade by NHM is disbanded.
<b>1927</b>	Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir are exiled to Banda Neira.
<b>1942</b>	Banda Neira is bombed by Japanese forces.
<b>1943</b>	Dutch forces surrender to Japan.

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