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## Typology of early Islamic graves of Mamuju, West Sulawesi

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### Abstract

A survey was performed in Mamuju in order to obtain information on cultural remains from the early Islamic presence in the area. The variety of forms, styles and the distribution of graves and gravestones relating to the early development of Islam was documented. The survey results showed: a) graves were sometimes lined by rectangular stone beams; and b) gravestones came in a large variety of forms, such as cudgel crowns, kris dagger handles and blocks that were occasionally associated with calligraphic inscriptions. The use of calligraphy on grave features might be linked with the introduction of Islam as one of the two gravestones containing calligraphic inscriptions was erected for an individual remembered for the dissemination of Islam in the region. Pre-Islamic elements were maintained as well, depicted in the gravestone types such as kris dagger handles and menhirs. This merging of styles and forms reflects the process of integration of two cultural traditions—pre-Islamic and Islamic—in the larger Mamuju region and the development of the persisting ideological system.

Keywords: Mamuju, Islamic gravestones, decorative patterns, ideological systems

### Introduction

The spread of Islam through Indonesia is a significant part of the country's history with each region having its own unique story of integration with this system of beliefs. The process of Islamisation in Indonesia has been thoroughly examined and discussed, yet it is still difficult to make strict observations and conclusions on its initial stages of integration as there are few records of it, and those that are available are often not very informative (Ricklefs 2005). While there is no absolute consensus, Azra (1994) summarises the ongoing debates by describing two probable scenarios by which Islam was introduced to Island Southeast Asia (ISEA). First was via Arab traders in the 7th century AD soon after the birth of Islam in the Middle East. The second, dominant opinion amongst historians is that Islam was introduced through Gujarat traders from India in the 12th and 13th centuries AD (Nurmila 2013).

As for the establishment of Islam as a belief system in Indonesia, Ricklefs (2005) states this was likely due to a combination of factors. First, through contact between these foreign Muslim merchants and the indigenous Indonesians, after which local merchants and others embraced the teachings of Islam that the traders brought with them. Second, through Muslims migrating from the Middle East, India, China and other parts of Asia, assimilating with locals and sharing

their faith with their community. Most of the hard evidence of Islamic influence in regions of Indonesia is based on the grave markers that endure even today. Grave markers for Indonesian Muslims first appear in the 13th century AD in the Lamreh cemetery in northern Sumatra where Sultan Sulaiman bin Abdullah bin al-Basir died in 1211 (Ricklefs 2005:3–4).

Tombs and grave markers are a significant resource for documenting the past, not only in observing the cultural trends for burial of the deceased through time, but also for detecting other more complex influences and changes in the region with, conveniently, an associated chronology. This potential is demonstrated in the work of Guillot and Kalus (2008 and numerous articles in *Archipel*) documenting the gravestones of northern Sumatra. This paper addresses the processes of Islamisation through gravestone classification within the Mamuju District in West Sulawesi Province (Sulawesi Barat) during the early Islamic period.

### The history of the entry of Islam into Mamuju

It is still not known with certainty when Islam commenced its entry into the domain of the historical Tapalang kingdom. However, it is thought that the seeds of Islam had been sewn across Mandar by the late 17th century, because by this time the *Lanrisang* agreement had become institutionalised (Anon. 2011).<sup>1</sup> An excerpt from the Balanipa Mandar text, describing the *Lanrisang* agreement, follows (author's emphasis):

Makkedani Arumpone, 'Upappada mua tanae ri Bone tanae ri Menreq usapparanna deceng. Masse ajimuiq sia. Padaniq marola ri petta nabie Muhammad s.a.w, pada pobicaraiq bicaratta, pada porapangngiq rapatta, pada lete ri petawung majekkota, tessi acinnangnge ri abeccukang tessi acinnangngeto ri arajang. Tessi pataqde waram parangngiq, tessipolo tanjengngiq, tessi tato lariwiq. Makkedai Bone nama teppaq Menreq-e, makkedai Menreq nama teppaq Bone. Koniro assituru senna Bone Menreq-e ri lalenna ceppae ri Lanrisang. Inai Arumpone, Torisompae. Inai Maraqdia Balanipa, Idaeng Riosok.'

Translation:

The ruler of Bone spoke, 'I treat the lands of Bone and Mandar as equal, our interests are aligned because we are one family. Together we should kneel before the prophet Muhammad (may Allah bless him and give him peace), we should follow the same rules, equally turn straight to the law and equally use the law to resolve our crises, and not sneer at the other's smaller size nor envy the other's grandeur. We do not deprive each other of wealth, nor exacerbate each other's difficulties or turn to mutual acrimony. What Bone says Mandar believes and what Mandar says Bone believes. This is the *Lanrisang* agreement between Bone and Mandar, between the ruler of Bone, Torisompae and the ruler of Balanipa, Daeng Riosok.'

There is another account for when the Mandar community first became familiar with Islam during the 16th century from contact with Muslim traders, particularly along the coast. At around the same time, Abdurrahim Kamaluddin from Gowa came to meet the leader of Balanipa named Daetta Tommuane to introduce the splendour of Islam. Abdurrahim Kamaluddin propagated Islam by appealing to the grass roots of a populist approach by erecting huts for *pesantren* schools of Islamic studies. The *pesantren* schools and mosques were first built in the Tanggatangga area, within the realm of the historical Balanipa kingdom. Abdurrahim Kamaluddin died and was buried in Binuang, where he is titled the Binuang Master or Master Yusuf. After his death, Islam spread through the areas of Allu, Palili, Binuang and parts of Banggae (Abbas 1999).

<sup>1</sup> Daeng Riosok, the Balanipa ruler mentioned in the agreement, was deposed in the late 1670s and killed in 1681 during an attempt to retake Balanipa (Andaya 1981:253–254), and so this agreement must date to the 1670s.

Another source states that at a feast in honour of the Kutai kingdom (East Kalimantan, in Indonesian Borneo) in 1608, the Mandar people in attendance abstained from any pig meat offered to them. This can be interpreted as suggesting that the Mandar people were already following the tenets of Islam, which include abstinence from pork, before the 17th century (Poelinggomang 2012:90). During the same period, Raden Suryo Dilogo (a *Kapuang* from Java) and Sayyid Zakariah from Maghreb in North Africa came to Pamboang to meet with the ruler (Mar'adia) of Pamboang whose posthumous title is Tomatindo Diagamana ('the one who died within the Islamic faith'). The acceptance of Islam by Mar'adia Pamboang was immediately followed by the Pamboang community.

In the 17th century (AD 1608), Sukkilan Mar'adia Tondo of the kingdom of Banggae (Majene) was visited by Syekh Abdul Mannan (whose title was Tosalama) whose intention was to spread Islam (Abbas 1999). This visit resulted in the acceptance of Islam by the Mar'adia of Banggae. At the same time, Sendana, Pamboang and Tapalang in the Mamuju area were visited by the Islamic missionaries, Raden Suryo Dilogo and Sayyid Zakariah. Raden Suryo Dilogo was a pupil of Sunan Bonang who also came to Sulawesi (from Kalimantan) and set himself up in Mamuju as his first established residency (Poelinggomang 2012:93; Alimuddin et al. 2013).

Some Mandar texts cite Abdul Rahim Kamaluddin as the first person to disseminate Islam in Mandar, specifically in coastal Tammangalle where he first set foot in Mandar. According to the Pattappingan Mandar text, during the reign of Mar'adia Balanipa Kakanna Ipattang, the Tosalama of Binuang, who was known as Abdul Rahim Kamaluddin, converted the leaders and other people of Balanipa as well as the other large communities of Napo, Samasundu, Mosso and Todatodang (Yasil 1999:60–66). However, the Mandar text itself names Kanne Cunang (Mar'adia Pallis) as the first to embrace Islam, followed by the fourth ruler of Balanipa, Daetta Tommuane, also known as Kakanna Ipattang (Alimuddin et al. 2013). According to a Gowa text, Syekh Yusuf Tuanta Salamaka first brought Islam to Mandar. In 1608, several kingdoms in Mandar, including Balanipa, Pambuang, Binuang, Mamuju, Sendana and Tapalang too, embraced Islam (Hamid 1982:15–16).

## Research methods

Fieldwork was based along the coastal lowlands in the west of Mamuju District, namely in the Tapalang Barat and Mamuju subdistricts. Surveys were conducted so as to collect primary data on the early Islamic graves of that region. Survey methods included field observations, photography and recording geographic coordinates of important sites. The equipment used during the survey included measuring tapes, a compass, a GPS and cameras to take photos with a scale and north arrow. Secondary data were also compiled from searching the current literature and reports from previous research. By combining the information from the primary and secondary data, the graves were classified based on the variety of shapes and significant attributes.

## Early Islamic graveyards in Mamuju District

During the fieldwork, five early Islamic graveyards were surveyed and recorded in Mamuju District, two of them in West (*Barat*) Tapalang Subdistrict (Dungkait Cemetery and Tosalama Graveyard II) and three in Mamuju Subdistrict (Tosalama Graveyard I, Tonileo Cemetery and Loa Batu Grave). The descriptions of the local sites, exact coordinates of their location and height above sea level are set out in Table 20.1.

Table 20.1: Five early Islamic graveyards recorded by the author in Mamuju District.

Site name	Administrative location				Geographic coordinates		Altitude (metres above sea level)
	Kampong/ Locality	Desa (village)	Kelurahan (village)	Kecamatan (subdistrict)	South	East	
Dungkait Cemetery	Dungkait	Dungkait	—	Tapalang Barat	2°51'09.9"	118°48'09.4"	15
Tosalama I	Timbu	—	Mamuju	Mamuju	2°40'24.1"	118°54'08.7"	22
Tosalama II	Saranga	Pasa'bu	—	Tapalang Barat	2°51'11.1"	118°50'11.8"	8
Tonileo Cemetery	Baru	Mamunyu	—	Mamuju	2°40'10.0"	118°54'00.5"	14
Loda Batu Grave	—	—	Mamunyu	Mamuju	2°40'27.3"	118°54'11.7"	23

Source: Author's data.

### Dungkait Cemetery

The Dungkait Cemetery is an early graveyard in the town of Dungkait that is not maintained, and overgrown vegetation encroaches the graves (Figure 20.1). The local people have little to no knowledge of the names or ancestries of the deceased. There are 14 graves in the cemetery, some with large paired gravestones and other early gravestones features, all of which are made from sandstone.

One of the graves has a single standing stone with a second gravestone that has fallen down and subsequently been buried by natural sedimentation processes (far right and back of Figure 20.1). The standing gravestone has a rectangular cross-section and a dome-shaped crown. All four faces have calligraphic bas-relief engravings (Figure 20.2). This gravestone is 90 cm above ground surface and 24 cm at its widest point. Its buried counterpart has sharp features made of sandstone that are slightly visible above the ground surface. According to an informant, this is the grave of Pua Andi Belo who proselytised Islam in Tapalang around the mid-19th century (Abdul Majid Gattung, pers. comm., 12 June 2015). On the other hand, a date at the base of the north face of the gravestone that seems to reads 1226 in the Islamic calendar (AD 1811) suggests an earlier age for this grave.



Figure 20.1: Some of the graves found in Dungkait Cemetery, Tapalang Barat, Mamuju District.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.2: Headstone with rectangular cross-section decorated with calligraphic engravings on the upper section of all four faces, Dungkait Cemetery.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.3: Grave with two gravestones, one of them octagonal with a domed top, Dungkai Cemetery.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.4: The third grave with two gravestones mostly buried under the ground surface, Dungkai Cemetery.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.5: The fourth and fifth graves within a retaining wall, Dungkai Cemetery.

Source: The author.

Another grave in the southern part of Dungkai Cemetery also has two gravestones (Figure 20.3). The northern marker is octagonal and is 60 cm high with a diameter of 66 cm. The top is dome shaped, resembling a multiple gyre, and has a variety of ornamental indentations. The southern stone is shaped like the handle of a sharp, bladed weapon (kris dagger) and has little ornamentation. Its dimensions are 44 cm high, 23 cm wide and 9 cm thick.

A third grave in the eastern part of the cemetery has two gravestones that are mostly buried below the ground surface (Figure 20.4). The marker to the north is rectangular that tapers to a pyramid-shaped temple peak with a variety of impressed decorations on its sides. Its height from the ground surface is 29 cm and its width is 21 cm. The southern gravestone has a width of 24 cm and is 7 cm thick.

On the east side of the cemetery is a cluster of graves that include Dungkai Cemetery's fourth and fifth graves (as labelled here) and two other graves. This group of graves is surrounded by a retaining wall that is 20 cm high, built at a later date by the descendants of the deceased, as demonstrated by the cement mortar used to hold the stones together (Figure 20.5). Three of the graves in this group retain both their head- and footstones, whereas the grave markers of the final grave can no longer be seen. The fourth grave's northern marker has a rectangular outline marked with a relief of several hems and impressed bands as well as a dome-shaped top; it measures 71 cm high and 27 cm thick. The southern stone (46 cm high, 28 cm wide and 8 cm thick) is shaped like the handle to a kris dagger and decorated with several spirals. The fifth grave's northern marker has an oval outline and is covered with impressed decorations encircled by calligraphy. It has a dome-shaped top and measures 80 cm high and 49 cm in diameter. The gravestone to the south is rectangular with hems but no calligraphy, and measures 65 cm high and 29 cm thick.

One of the graves has two broken gravestones, round in shape, inside a neighbouring cement retaining wall (far right and behind in Figure 20.5). The gravestone to the north is 44 cm high and 34 cm in diameter, while its counterpart to the south is 38 cm high and 35 cm in diameter. To the east of this grave is another without an enclosing wall, marked by a single gravestone shaped like the handle of a kris dagger. It has spiral and twirled decorations, and measures 52 cm in height, 25 cm in width and 7 cm in thickness.

Approximately 50 m north of the aforementioned group is another cluster of four graves. Two of these are associated with commemorated personages, namely Tumaribawo (also known as Labolong), who proselytised Islam in Tapalang, and his wife, Maddara Takku, also known as Tomapute Darana (person with white (royal) blood). According to information from the head of Dungkait village, Maskur Rahman, and Abdul Majid Gattung, Tomapute Darana was the daughter of a king of Bone (the most powerful of the indigenous Bugis kingdoms whose close relationship with Mandar is reflected in the 17th-century *Lanrisang*

agreement noted previously) who married Labolong (a local Tapalang courageous man) in an act of assistance from the kingdom of Bone (pers. comm., 9 June 2015 and 12 June 2015, respectively). Her memory survives in her grave, which has side walls, crenulated north and south end-markers (*gunongan*) and a gravestone shaped like the handle of a kris dagger (Figure 20.6). The side walls have three levels made from limestone beams. The grave is 179 cm long and 86 cm wide. It is flanked to its east by the grave of Labolong, whose gravestones are broken and have partly collapsed into the grave of Tomapute Darana.



Figure 20.6: The graves of Tomapute Darana, a daughter of a king of Bone, and her husband, Labolong, Dungkait Cemetery.

Source: The author.

### The Tosalama of Timbu Graveyard in Timbu (Tosalama I)

The Tosalama of Timbu Graveyard is located on the middle of a hill in Timbu kampong (Figure 20.7). The majority of the graves in this cemetery are degraded, buried in the ground or obscured by vegetation. The only grave that is well looked after is the principal grave belonging to the *Tosalama* of Timbu. The birth name of this person and his community that gave him the title are not exactly known, though it is agreed that he is memorialised for circulating the teachings of Islam in Timbu.

In its present form, the *Tosalama's* grave enclosure and the two head/foot markers are recent restorations made from cement, but they imitate the original gravestones. The northern marker is shaped like a monolith, measures 70 cm high and 38 cm in diameter, and has several cords around it, which were tied there by pilgrims. The marker at the south, which measures 26 cm high and 18 cm in diameter, has a hexagonal shape and a variety of impressed decorations. The overall shape resembles the gravestones at the Tonileo Cemetery (see below).



Figure 20.7: An example of the graves that are no longer cared for in the Timbu Tosalama graveyard (left); The grave of the *Tosalama* of Timbu, still revered by the local community (right).

Source: The author.

### The Tosalama of Labuang Grave at Saranga, Pasu'bu village (Tosalama II)

Another grave dedicated by a local community to a *Tosalama* is located near the coastline in the Saranga locality (Figure 20.8). The grave has deteriorated over time due to water erosion from king tides from the neighbouring shore line (Figure 20.9). The Pasa'bu village community has built a stone wall to act as a levee against this threat from the sea; however, this too is degrading. The stone beams that cover and enclose the grave are displaced, but the grave form and the gravestones are partly preserved. The body of the grave was made from thin, cuboid beams that were once stacked. Just the northern gravestone remains, and its top is broken. It is made of sandstone and has the shape of a cudgel. Its dimensions are 46 cm in height and 43 cm in diameter. The wall is made of coarse limestone cobbles held together with mortar with an original height of 80 cm and is 9 m long.



Figure 20.8: Arrow points at the grave of the *Tosalama* of Labuang located near the sea at Pasa'bu village.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.9: The *Tosalama* of Labuang's grave in deteriorated condition from beach spray abrasion.

Source: The author.

### Tonileo Cemetery

The Tonileo Cemetery includes the grave of a man named Tonileo, as well as other graves on the same hilltop of people whose names and community affiliations are no longer known. According to Muhammad Kasim, who lives in Tambi where the cemetery is located, Tonileo was the father of Lasalaga (see below) and an immigrant from Bali (pers. comm., 10 June 2015). The graves are set in a bamboo clump on a hilltop, which can be reached by a walking path with concrete steps. Tonileo Cemetery is part of a larger cemetery complex with recent graves on the slopes of this same hill.

The walls and gravestones of Tonileo's grave are made of sandstone with a finishing of ceramic tiles along the upper walls, and a ceramic coating holding together the peaked marker at the north largely obscuring its underlying decorations (Figure 20.10). The grave's outer dimensions are 280 cm long and 143 cm wide, and it has two gravestones. The northern gravestone has the shape of an octagonal cudgel with spiralling incised decorations and a dome-shaped top. It is 86 cm high with a diameter of 38 cm. The southern gravestone is buried up to its neck, and the visible part is shaped as the handle of a kris dagger with spiral designs. Its dimensions are 120 cm high, 19 cm wide and 8 cm thick.

Tonileo's grave lies inside a wooden enclosure built by the local community, along with another grave of an unknown person to the immediate northwest. The latter grave includes walls of stacked sandstone arranged in a rectangle. An end-marker in the north protrudes from the wall with another standing marker made of wood.

Outside of the enclosure are 14 graves, most of which are in a poor condition. One of them still retains its side walls and end-markers, although these have disintegrated to the point where their original form is no longer discernible. The grave is 159 cm long and 57 cm wide, while the head marker is 42 cm high, 87 cm wide and 15 cm thick.



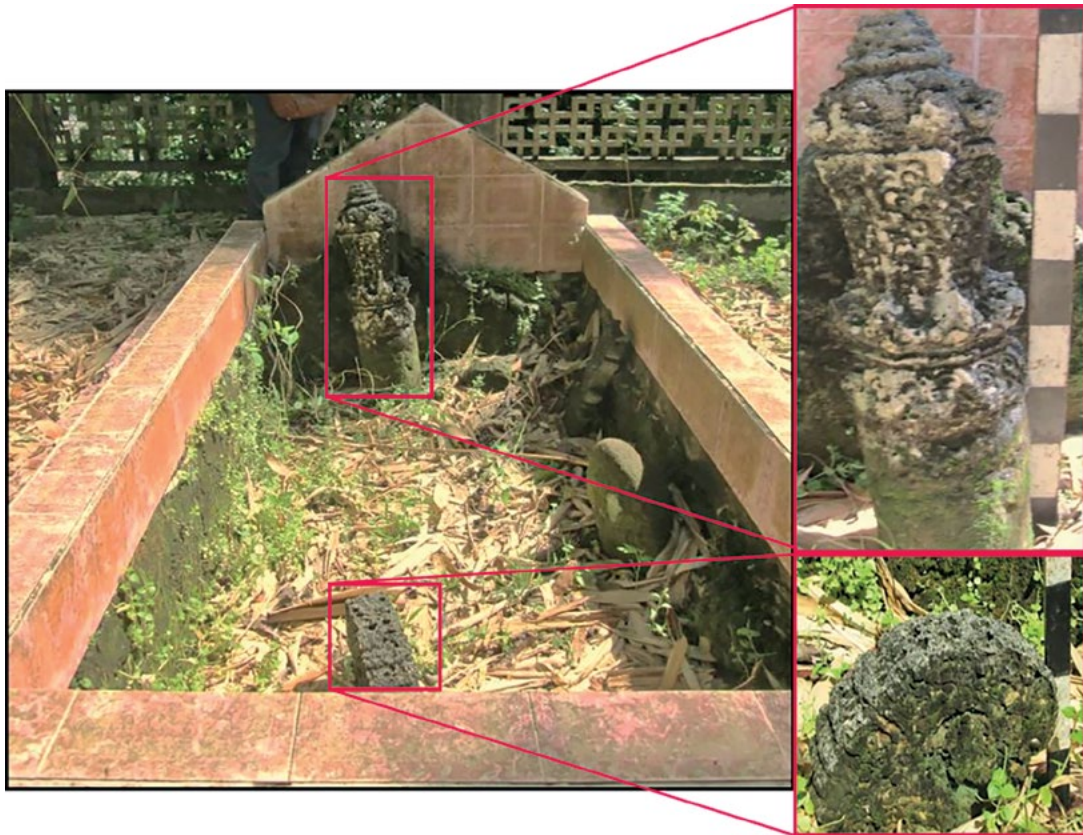


Figure 20.10: The grave of Tonileo with its headstone in the shape of an octagonal cudgel and footstone shaped like a weapon handle.

Source: The author.

Further to the east in this cemetery are six graves that still have their side walls and end-markers, though these are collapsed and lack gravestones. Another grave here, located beneath a large tree, has walls made of sandstone beams, and a footstone at the south. This footstone has a flat cross-section, the shape of a handle of a kris dagger and a variety of spiral decorations.

### **The grave of Lasalaga (Loda Batu)**

The grave shown in Figures 20.11 and 20.12 has two names. One is Lasalaga associated with Mamuju nobility, the other is Loda Batu ('atop rock') used generally by the Timbu community. According to a Timbu community member, Muhammad Kasim, the grave is mostly demolished as a result of a large tree falling on it at around 1950 (pers. comm., 10 June 2015). He added that the original grave had a bowed form (with a small top decker mounted by a gravestone) and was made of stacked rectangular stones with a lid shaped like those of the royal graves of Gowa (the most important of the Makasar kingdoms).



Figure 20.11: The Lasalaga (Loda Batu) grave and modern shelter.

Source: The author.



Figure 20.12: The disturbed condition of the Lasalaga (Loda Batu) grave.

Source: The author.

## Discussion

### Forms of old Islamic Graves in Mamuju

#### *Classification of graves*

In Indonesian dictionaries, *makam* (grave) has the same meaning as *kubur* (burial), which means a hole created in the ground for interring a corpse (Pusat Bahasa 2008:827, 970). In general, old graves include an enclosure, gravestones, covering and end-markers, in various forms.

The variables to be used for defining classes include morphological and descriptive variables. They facilitate a preliminary step towards exegesis, because abstract classes are productive for facilitating archaeological analysis (Thomas 1979:213–217). The classification in this study divides the graves into groups based on their shape attributes. This exercise considers that, in general, the graves have several components (e.g. grave cover, enclosure and gravestones) and several graves have one or two end-markers.

To make the classification of graves simpler, the analytical classification of graves in this research is an adaptation of the classificatory model of Rosmawati (this volume), of which the types listed below were observed during the Mamuju survey.

#### (a) Grave types

- (1) The form covered with a stepped terrace (type B), consisting of stacked terraces ascending to a plateau where one or two gravestones are placed.
- (2) The stone chest form (type E, Rosmawati's type J), which has a long rectangular shape, usually stepped and with raised end markers at the head and foot of the grave.
- (3) The mound form (type F, Rosmawati's types K and L), which is covered by a mound of stones or earth.

#### (b) Gravestone types

- (1) The kris handle form (type C, Rosmawati's D1 style), which includes gravestones shaped like the handle to a kris dagger.
- (2) The cudgel style (type G, Rosmawati's D10 style), which includes gravestones shaped like cudgels.

- (3) The cylindrical form (type H, Rosmawati's D9 style), which includes cylindrical or rounded cylindrical gravestones.
- (4) The menhir form (type J, Rosmawati's D12 style), which includes gravestones shaped like monoliths.
- (5) The block form (type K, Rosmawati's D8 style), which includes gravestones with a block-shaped or cubic base.

Assignment of the field observations to the grave and gravestone classifications is presented in Table 20.2. This classification is based on 12 graves from five sites.

Table 20.2: Typological classification of the graves and gravestones recorded in Mamuju District.

Grave No.	Site	Grave type	Gravestone type		Raised end-markers		Buried personage
			North	South	North	South	
M1	Dungkait	F	G	C	—	—	Pua Andi Belo
M2	Dungkait	F	H	C	—	—	Unidentified
M3	Dungkait	Unidentified	K	C	—	—	Unidentified
M4	Dungkait	E	K	C	—	—	Unidentified
M5	Dungkait		K	K	—	—	Unidentified
M6	Dungkait	E	Unidentified	C	√	√	Tomapute Darana
M7	Dungkait	E	Unidentified	Unidentified	√	√	Labolong
M8	Tosalama I	E	J	G	√	√	<i>Tosalama</i> of Timbu
M9	Tosalama II	Unidentified	G	—	—	—	<i>Tosalama</i> of Labuan
M10	Tonileo	E	G	C	√	—	Tonileo
M11	Tonileo	E	Unidentified	C	—	√	Unidentified
M12	Loda Batu	B	Unidentified	Unidentified	—	—	Lasalaga

Source: Author's data.

Of the three types of identified graves, type E was the most widespread, recorded in six graves: three at the Dungkait cemetery, two at Tonileo cemetery and the grave of the *Tosalama* of Timbu. Type F was identified twice at Dungkait cemetery, and type B once, at Loda Batu (the grave of Lasalaga). There are also two collapsed graves whose condition prevented them from being classified (a grave at the Dungkait cemetery, and the *Tosalama* of Labuan grave), but which are included in Table 20.2 because one or both of their gravestones could be classified.

Five gravestone types C, G, H, J and K, were encountered. Type C was the most frequently observed (seven cases), but always placed at the south of the grave, at the M1, M2, M3, M4 and M6 graves of the Dungkait cemetery and two graves at Tonileo cemetery. Type K was also quite frequently observed, at least at the Dungkait cemetery where it was normally placed at the north end of the M3, M4 and M5 graves, and also at the south end of the M5 grave. Four cases of type G were also recorded, erected as the gravestone at the north end of Pua Andi Belo's grave at the Dungkait cemetery (M1), the Tosalama II grave and Tonileo's grave, and as the gravestone at the south end of the Tosalama I grave. Types H and J were both encountered only once, at the north of the M2 grave in the Dungkait Cemetery and the north of the Tosalama I grave, respectively. There were five gravestones whose type could not be identified, namely both gravestones of the M7 grave at Dungkait Cemetery and the Loda Batu grave as well as the north gravestone of the M6 Dungkait Cemetery grave (Table 20.2).

Accordingly, the graves generally have paired gravestones at the north and the south ends, with the exception of the Tosalama II grave with a single gravestone at its north. However, there does not seem to be any clear relationship between grave and gravestone type. For instance, the type C gravestone occurred in association with both E and F type graves.

Rosmawati (this volume) notes the incorporation of traditional Bugis-Makasar iconography into the tomb and gravestone styles of Southwest Sulawesi, including the tombs shaped like a traditional house or like a Hindu pagoda, and the gravestones shaped like a human figurine, phallus or menhir. Of these, the only example recorded during the Mamuju survey was the menhir gravestone at the Tosalama I grave. However, it should be noted that the kris dagger is a traditional Southwest Sulawesi weapon developed into its currently recognised form during the 14th and 15th centuries in Majapahit Java (Frey 1988), and old Islamic gravestones shaped like kris handles are common not only in western coastal Mamuju (this chapter) but also across Southwest Sulawesi more generally (Rosmawati, this volume). Accordingly, kris handles would appear to be a traditional symbol that was particularly important for the development of a syncretist iconography during the early Islamic period in Mamuju.

### **Chronology and purpose**

While it is expected that Islamic graves date back to the 17th century based on the recorded history of the introduction of Islam to Mandar, there is no direct evidence that any of the graves described here date that early. However, the continuity of iconography with pre-Islamic roots in some of the early graves suggests that some could be that early, especially those graves whose associations are no longer remembered. The perpetuation of this iconography into graves dated from oral history to around the 19th century suggests that the entire 17th–19th-century period could be described as the early Islamic period in Mamuju.

Three of the graves recorded during this survey memorialise personages remembered for disseminating Islam. One is the grave of Pua Andi Belo, who proselytised Islam in the 19th century according to local oral history, and the others are the graves of Tumaribawo and the *Tosalama* of Timbu, whose time of proselytising is unrecorded. Significantly, a gravestone of Pua Andi Belo is one of only two recorded examples with calligraphic inscriptions.

### **Conclusion**

The old Islamic graves recorded at Mamuju District include three grave types—the form covered with a stepped terrace, the stone chest form and the mound form. The stone chest form was the most frequent type, found at the Dungkait and Tonileo cemeteries and the Tosalama I grave. Five gravestone types were documented—the kris handle, cudgel, cylindrical, menhir and block forms. As recorded at the Dungkait and Tonileo cemeteries, the kris handle form was the most frequent, albeit apparently not used for the northern gravestone.

This contribution's coverage of the old gravestones of Mamuju District is restricted to the Mamuju and Tapalang subdistricts along the western coastal strip. To obtain a more complete coverage of the old gravestones of Mamuju District, it would be necessary to collect data across a larger area. Follow-up study is required, and then it would be possible to place the information on early Islamic archaeology presented here within its broader context.

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