

Tomb Architecture: A Phase of Cultural Development of Bantaeng People in South Sulawesi

Makmur Makmur^{1,*}, Yadi Mulyadi², Hasanuddin Hasanuddin³, Muhlis Hadrawi⁴,
Nila Kalsum⁵, Ade Sahrani⁶, Lucas Wattimena⁷

^{1,3,6,7}Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan

^{2,4}Hasanuddin University

⁵Pemda. Bantaeng

*Corresponding author. Email: makmurdpms@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Bantaeng is one of the areas in eastern Indonesia, precisely in South Sulawesi Province known as Butta Toa or the oldest land, the claim as an old area is supported by archaeological evidence from prehistoric times to history. The existence of Bantaeng in the historical era is evidenced by the existence of a kingdom that in the seventeenth centuries AD made Islam as the official religion of the kingdom. Traces of Islamization in Bantaeng can be proven by the existence of ancient tombs found inland and coastal areas. Ancient tombs as remains of material culture become objects of archaeological study that can reveal various meanings, including the development of a society's culture. Through archaeological research that applies a qualitative approach, the diversity of architectural forms of the tomb has been identified which is characterized by the attributes of stringed jirat, stone chest, variety of gunungan, statue headstone, and flora and calligraphy decorative motifs. The architecture of the tomb shows the phases of cultural development of the Bantaeng people starting from pre-Islamic, the beginning of Islamization and the period of Islam as the official religion of the kingdom. The results of this study show that the cultural development of the Bantaeng community is a continuation of the pre-Islamic tradition. During the Islamic period, the culture of the people experienced rapid development, it can be seen from the architecture of ancient tombs. The mixing of pre-Islamic culture, local people's way of life, and Islamic culture produces a hybrid tomb architecture.

Keywords: *Tomb architecture, Islamization, Culture.*

1. INTRODUCTION

Bantaeng is one of the areas in eastern Indonesia, precisely in South Sulawesi Province, which is known as Butta Toa which means old land. Bantaeng as an old land can be interpreted that the settlement in this area has been going on for a long time. Archaeologically, this is evidenced by archaeological findings in the form of stone artifacts at the Batu Ejaya site, one of the important sites in the periodization of prehistory in Indonesia.

The Batu Ejaya Site area is the starting point for prehistoric human occupation in the Banteang area. Stone artifacts found in excavations (excavations) are early evidence of human civilization. Based on the characteristics of stone artifacts, Heekeren (1972) confirmed that the occupied humans came from the

Australomelanesid race, by Sarasin (1905) this race is more popularly called Toalean (Toala). The arrival of the Toala people in Bantaeng, Bulbeck (2000) estimates that since 4,700 years ago based on radiocarbon tests (Suryatman & Hakim, 2017:19-45).

The presence of ornate pottery fragments in excavation boxes in the Batu Ejaya Site area which are associated in one cultural layer with shale stone artifacts, honed stone artifacts, and bone tapers, is archaeological evidence that the Toala people lived at one time with the Austronesian race (Bulbeck et al., 2000). The arrival of Austronesian speakers in Bantaeng, may not be much different from the Mallawa Maros area, namely, about 3,600 years ago (Hasanuddin et al., 2020). The results of the morphological analysis of pottery in the form of cups, bowls, pots, jars, and plates indicate that the presence of the Austronesian

race made the Bantaeng people experience a phase of cultural development of food processing which was originally only burned but developed into boiled using earthenware containers (Hakim, Mahmud, and Hasliana, 2017: 93-97).

The dominance of the Austronesian race in the ancient village of the Batu Ejaya Bantaeng site, then continued and developed in the culture of using metal and megalithic traditions in the Bantaeng community (Mahmud, 2017:13). Entering the protohistoric period, Bantaeng is increasingly showing off with the advancement of metal culture, this can be proven by the presence of the toponym Takka Bassia (iron processing place) at the Onto site and at the Sinowa site there is the toponym Bonto Bulaeng (gold hill) (Nur, 2017:134). Toponyms Takka Bassia and Bonto Bulaeng are marked with megalithic monuments, giving the impression that megalithic traditions always start from prosperous areas (Mahmud, 2017:15). The fertility of the Bantaeng megalithic settlement area is also shown by the findings of stone mortar as a means of daily life and is closely related to agricultural activities at the sites of Lembang Cina, Onto, Gantarangkeke, and Borong Toa (Hasanuddin, 2017: 160).

The progress of Bantaeng in the protohistoric period to the early historical period, attracted the Majapahit expedition led by Gadjah Mada (1364 AD) to anchor on the coast of Bantaeng (Bantayan) to establish trade relations, the story is immortalized in Mpu Prapanca's verse in the book *Negarakertagama* (Polinggongang 2004:43). The distribution of foreign ceramics as one of the commodities traded at that time, its fragments are now widespread in various parts of Bantaeng. Javanese, Malay, and Chinese traders were very comfortable in Bantaeng, they then perpetuated their presence in the form of Surabaya toponyms, Chinese toponyms, Malacca toponyms (Bogas, 1996).

Openness has brought about fundamental changes to the lives of the Bantaeng people. The peak was when Islam succeeded in shifting the *Patuntung* belief and making Islam the religion of the Kingdom in 1607 AD (Mahmud et al., 2007:138). The study of Islam in Bantaeng has been well reviewed by Irfan Mahmud and his team (2007), the discussion focuses on the process of Islamization to acculturation of Islam and local culture. Traces of material from the process of Islamization in Bantaeng can still be seen today in the form of ancient tombs. The existence of these tombs is not only a proof of existence related to the process of Islamization, but also reflects the cultural development of the Bantaeng people.

In the context of archaeological research, these ancient tombs in Bantaeng can be an object of study in order to see the architecture of the tombs as a phase of cultural development of the Bantaeng people. This is then formulated in the research question, how is the

architecture of the tombs in the Bantaeng area?. Thus, this research focuses on the architecture of the tomb in order to see the development of cognition, ideas, or ideas when Islamic culture enters the living spaces of the Bantaeng people. At the same time seeing the skill of the Bantaeng people to carve and cut stones and wood to be used as tomb buildings. This value can be a spirit for today's society, regarding the intelligence of their ancestors in making various forms of ancient tombs, including decorative motifs.

2. METHOD

Tomb is a cultural product that has many philosophical values, so through the architecture of the tomb it can be a source of data to see the phase of cultural development of the Bantaeng community. To obtain holistic data, the research method used is a qualitative approach. Data collection techniques were carried out by surveying directly to the field to see the architecture of the Bantaeng community graves. This activity is carried out by observing, recording, classifying, measuring, and photographing the findings of the tomb building. All of this is done at close range to obtain archaeological data in its context and surrounding environment. The collected data is then analyzed by classifying, systematizing, and interpreting, so as to produce more extensive conclusions

3. METHOD

Bantaeng people in the historical trajectory of their civilization in the pre-Islamic period, once had a secondary burial tradition by inserting bones into crock in the form of ceramics or clay jars. Evidence from the pre-Islamic burial tradition can be seen from the results of illegal excavations carried out by the community on east-west oriented tombs in the Gantarangkeke area. They found human bones in earthenware crock along with ceramics from the Sung (960-1279), Yuan (1279-1368), Ming (1368-1644) and Sawankhalok (1400-1600) dynasties (Bougas 1996:12-13).

According to David Bulbeck (1992), the Makassar tribal community, including the Bantaeng before 1000 (11th century), had a tradition of treating corpses by crushing the flesh by leaving it in the open, then the bones were collected and then stored in a niche or cave. There are also people who put the bones of their ancestors into earthenware containers and then planted them. In addition to this system, the community puts the intact corpse into an earthenware crock and then buried it, the position of the corpse in the earthenware is like a fetus in the womb.

In the time span between twelfth to sixteenth centuries, Bantaeng people experience a phase of cultural development in treating corpses by burying the body, sometimes some put it in a wooden coffin and

then bury it, the head is in the east with the symbol of the rising sun, while his feet are in the west or the sun is setting. The position of the tomb in pre-Islamic times facing east to west is associated with the journey to death (Bougas 1996:13). Above ground level, pre-Islamic tombs form a very simple tomb architecture, only natural stone mounds form a rectangle oriented east west.

Making mounds for burial purposes has been used by people in other parts of the world since thousands of years BC. Native North Americans from 3000 BC to the sixteenth century AD used the mounds as grave markers. The Qin dynasty in China in 300 BC made the tomb of the first emperor in the form of a mound equipped with 700,000 terracotta warrior statues. In Japan there is a mound-shaped tomb called *kofun*, which was built in pre-Buddhist times since 250 AD (Sopandi 2013:3; Topping 2010:219; Straková 2007:14-15; Haugen 2010:69-72).

In the 17th century, Islamic broadcasting carried out by the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom succeeded in convincing King Bantaeng Karaeng Ma'Jombea about the goodness of Islamic teachings, so that the Bantaeng Kingdom was converted into an Islamic kingdom and followed by the entire community (Sewang 2005:111-112; Abdullah 2016:87; Elmahady 2021:87-88). Along with the adoption of Islam as the religion of the kingdom, there was a change in the royal system, namely the addition of a new structure that had a *sara* function. This structure is held by a *Kadi* (Kadhi) in charge of the issue of prayer, mosque, recitation, marriage, divorce, reference and inheritance (Mahmud et al., 2007:164). While the spiritual aspect, the seeding of Islamic teachings in the early days is still at the level of recognition of God as The One True God and Muhammad is the last prophet as a messenger of God, while other aspects such as *syariat* are still adaptive to the local culture adopted by the Bantaeng people (Sakka, 2014: 72). This process continues along with developments, elements of Islamic culture proceed with the culture of the Bantaeng people, including in terms of funeral traditions.

The development of culture at the time Islam became the religion of the people, the architecture of the tomb experienced rapid progress, which was originally only a natural stone mound then experienced the development of the tomb architecture which was stepped up, getting smaller and smaller so that it looks magnificent. The technique for making tombs is in the form of stacking piles by arranging stones that have been shaped square. As for connecting one stone block to another using the notch technique, this technique is similar to that used in temples (Sopandi, 2013:34). At the foot of the tomb, the stone arrangement is made to form a rectangle, this is done so that it can withstand the load of the building above. The shape of the stepped tomb resembles the construction of a temple building

which consists of three parts, namely the legs, body, and top. The architecture of the tomb like this is a characteristic of tomb buildings in the early days of Islam in South Sulawesi (17th century) and is devoted to the tombs of kings. The distribution of this type of tomb is also found in the Tomb Complex of Sultan Hasanuddin Gowa (tombs of the kings of Gowa), the Tomb Complex of Tallo Kings, the Tomb Complex of Lamuru Kings in Watang Lamuru Bone, and the Tomb Complex Petta Pallase-LaseE (tombs of Tanete kings) in Barru regency.

The magnificent architecture of the tomb is a symbol of the power and glory of the buried person. The stepped or three storey tomb is a depiction of the social class system adopted by the community at that time. Upper class (upper class), middle class (middle class), and lower class (lower class). The social stratification in the people of South Sulawesi, especially Makassar, including the Bantaeng community, has been formed for a long time. The upper class is the nobility, the middle class is represented by the *to maradeka* (free people) consisting of *to baji* (smart and good people) and *to samara* (ordinary people), the lowest class of the *Ata* (slaves) (Makmur, 2016:42).

Another reflection of tomb architecture adopts the concept of a macrocosm consisting of three continents, the upper continent (*boting langi'*), the middle continent (*ale kawa*) and the lower continent (*uru liyu*). Similarly, traditional house building as microcosm representing three parts of the universe, namely *Pammakang* (*para-para* or attic) as *boting langi'*, *Kale Balla* (house body) as *ale kawa*, and *Siring* (column of houses) as *uru liyu* (Soeroto, 2003:32; Soeroto, 2003:121; Raodah, 2012:379).



Figure 1 Social stratification (left), parts of traditional Makassar houses (middle) and the stepped tombs in the tomb complex of Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng (right). Document: Personal Author

The early period of Islam in Bantaeng in the 17th century AD was characterized by the architecture of the tombs which still received a dominant influence from the macrocosmic view, social stratification, and the pattern of building traditional houses of the community. In later times the architecture of the tomb was still made of steps but not too high. Some of them have a wide shape and some are slim so they look more sturdy, some look stiff and some look attractive because of the many decorative motifs and inscriptions on the the *jirat*.

The stepped tomb architecture is wider and not too high so that it looks more sturdy and strong. As a sample, the sizes that represent the shape of the tomb like this are the width of the first step 210 cm, length 371 cm, height 20 cm and the width of the second step 178 cm, length 262 cm, height 14 cm, on each corner there is an ornamental motif of flowers. To get rid of the stiff impression on the three steps, the shape of the foot of the steps is smaller and getting wider so that the edges are similar to a tomb with steps and large, at the top of the three steps the shape of the the *jirat* has *gunungan* (tomb) on the north and south sides. To further beautify this tomb, the third step is given a decorative frame motif on each side. Materials for making this tomb are sourced from yellow sandstone, coral. This form of tomb became a trend for use among kings from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries.



Figure 2 Tombs in the tomb complex of Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng (left) and tomb at the Tomb complex of Manjang Loe Jeneponto (right). Source: Archaeological Center of South Sulawesi 2020

The architecture of the stepped tomb which looks more minimalist is getting smaller and smaller, where each end of the steps or the meeting of the steps is given a straight profile trim to eliminate the impression of rigidity in the building. The construction of tomb buildings no longer adopts the concept of macrocosm, but rather depicts social stratification. Tomb architecture like this is found in the Jeneponto area, one of which is in the Tomb Complex of the Kings of Binamu, namely the tomb of King Binamu VIII, I Palingkei Daeng Lagu. On his grave there are numbers in 1259 H or 1846 AD (Rosmawati 2013: 197). From the figures for the year, it can be interpreted that the shape of the stepped tomb with its more minimalist architecture and the shape of the steps that do not seem monotonous, became a trend in the 18th century to the 19th century AD in the people of South Sulawesi, especially the Bantaeng and Jeneponto areas.



Figure 3 Tombs in the tomb complex of Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng (left) and tombs in the tomb complex of the kings of Binamu Jeneponto (right). Source: Archaeological Center of South Sulawesi 2020

The architecture of the tomb is stepped and minimalist in the Tomb Complex La Tenri Ruwa Bantaeng given floral ornaments and Arabic inscriptions to look attractive and better. In the first step is made plain, while the second step is given decorative motifs tendrils and blooming flowers, each decorative motif repeats and is separated by seam so that it looks like a frame. The fourth step is patterned with tendrils that are circular and centered in the center of the circle, this decorative motif repeats that interlocks between one circle and the next. The topmost step, the fourth step, has an Arabic inscription surrounding the *jirat* inscribed:

إِلَّا إِلَهَ وَلَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَ
 يَا الْعَظِيمِ الْعَلِيِّ بِاللَّهِ إِلَّا قُوَّةٌ وَلَا أَكْبَرُ وَاللَّهُ اللَّهُ
 اللَّهُ

Meaning: Glory be to Allah, all praise is due to Allah and there is no god but Allah, Allah is great, there is no power and no power except with the help of Allah, the Most High and Most Great.

The gravestone used is in the form of a beam with a height of 82 cm and a width of 16 cm, this gravestone has an ornamental motif that is similar to the decorative motifs of *jirat*, namely tendrils and flowers that are in bloom. In addition to decorative motifs tendrils and flowers on the tombstone there is also an Arabic inscription inscribed:

لَهُ لَهُ، شَرِيكَ لَا وَحْدَهُ اللَّهُ إِلَّا إِلَهَ ا
 قَدِيرٌ شَيْءٍ كُلِّ عَلَى وَهُوَ الْحَمْدُ، وَلَهُ الْمُلْكُ

Meaning: There is no god but Allah, there is no partner for Him, his kingdom, and for Him all praise, He gives life, and causes death, and He is able to do all things.



Figure 4 The tomb has decorative motifs and inscriptions in the tomb complex of Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng. Source: South Sulawesi Archeology Center 2020

The tomb building with its architectural form still adopts the shape of the tomb above which is in the form of stepped tomb, but is no longer made wider but has a slimmer and taller shape so that it looks a little stiff. As a sample of the size of the tomb, the first step is 153 cm wide, 240 cm long and 5 cm high. The second step is 112 cm wide, 192 cm long, 24 cm high. The width of the third step is 60 cm, the length is 164 cm, the height is 24 cm and the fourth step is the shape of the foot of the smaller and increasing steps, at the peak of the four steps the shape of the *jirat* has *gunungan* on the north and south sides.



Figure 5 Slender, slightly stiff-looking stepped tomb In the tomb complex of Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng. Source: South Sulawesi Archeology Center 2020

Another tomb architecture is a type of stone coffin tomb whose the *jirat* is made of stone boards, on the south and north sides there are *gunungan* of the *jirat* which are similar to the roofs of traditional Makassar houses. To connect the body of the the *jirat* with the *gunungan*, it is only attached without using a hook or pen to attach it, while the two tombstones are flat, which have been broken. The number of tombs shaped like this is 14 (fourteen) tombs, all of which are located in the Ruwa Bantaeng Latenri Tomb Complex.



Figure 6 Stone coffin tomb in Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng tomb complex. Source: South Sulawesi Archeology Center 2020

The distribution of ancient tombs in the Bantaeng area was found in the interior and also the coast. Based on observations, the architecture of the tomb on the coast with inland Bantaeng is very different, the coastal area of Bantaeng, especially among the nobility, the tomb looks large and majestic, while in the interior its size is slightly smaller. Another difference is the tomb in the interior where the topography of the land is undulating and sloping, the architecture of the tomb is made of a foundation of stone boards for the the *jirat* stand. Some of these foundations are made larger so that the tombs are above more or in groups and there are also special foundations for one tomb only.

The shape of the tomb located in the interior of Bantaeng, precisely in Kampung Batu Village Bonto Lojong, Ulu Ere District, has small steps and has *gunungan* on the south and north sides. There are two techniques for making tombs. First, the body of the the *jirat* is made separately with the *gunungan jirat* (south-north), then to connect it using a hook/pen located at each end of the body of the the *jirat*. After the *gunungan jirat* is connected to the body of the the *jirat*, at the top is a stone board that has been perforated for the tombstone holder, some are directly plugged into the gravestone above the tomb vortex. The second manufacturing technique, namely, the tomb is made from one lump of stone to be made into a tomb that is not separated from the *gunungan* of the *jirat*, referred to as a monolith or antero tomb. There are several variations of the shape of the antero grave tombstones, including one, there is only one gravestone, there are also two tombstones, there is also one in the north which is connected to *gunungan* the *jirat* in the south, and there are two tombstones that are connected to each other.

The architecture of antero tombs in the interior of Bantaeng is different from the antero tombs and the monolithic the *jirat* found in other areas. Antero tombs located in Kampung Batu, Bonto Lojong Village, Ulu Ere District is a characteristic of the architecture of the tombs of the people in the interior Bantaeng. Inside the Kampung Batu tomb complex there are no inscriptions that explicitly indicate the year of manufacture. Tracing the period of making the tomb is done through interviews with the community. Referring to the story of

Mrs. Sangari 80-year-old (interview 08/03.2017), that her grandmother named Daeng Tinra was buried in the tomb complex of Kampung Batu. If one generation is 25 years old, then the tombs in Kampung Batu are estimated to have been made 130 years ago or the 19th century to the 20th century AD.



Figure 7 Antero's grave in Kampung Batu Bantaeng. Source: South Sulawesi Archeology Center 2020

At several sites of ancient tombs in Bantaeng, there are also tombs that use figurine tombstones. The existence of this statue's gravestone is in the Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng tomb complex. The gravestone of the statue that only shows the head and face is quite complete, namely there are eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth and ears. The gravestone motif of this statue is in the form of a face mask/mask that has a calm character on the face (Utomo, 2000:23). The tombstone of the statue in this tomb complex, based on the narrative of the caretaker, came from another location which for protection purposes was then stored in the information office of the site of the Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng tomb complex.



Figure 8 The gravestone of the statue in the Latenri Ruwa Bantaeng tomb complex (left) and Gravestones of statues in Kampung Lamporo, Bonto Karaeng Bantaeng Village. Source: South Sulawesi Archeology Center 2020

The findings of the tombstones of statues that are still intact are found in the hilly valley of Kampung Lamporo, Bonto Karaeng Village, Sinoa District. In this location was found a human-shaped statue headstone whose right hand on the chest, left hand on the stomach with the size of the statue's gravestone being 29 cm high from the ground, bottom width 15 cm, body width 17 cm, face width 14 cm. The findings of the tombstone statues in Bantaeng confirms that pre-Islamic elements still exist in the life of the Bantaeng people during the Islamic period, which has become the official religion of the Bantaeng kingdom. The contact of local culture with Islamic culture goes side by side. The shape of the tombstone of the statue is not considered a personification of the deceased, but as a personification of respect for the spirits of the ancestors accompanied by ceremony of death whose function is to expel evil spirits (Mahmud, 2007:162).

4. CONCLUSION

The architecture of tombs in ancient tombs in Bantaeng has developed along with the interaction and cultural contacts that took place in this region starting from prehistoric times. Archaeological traces of pre-Islamic burial sites found in Bantaeng show the existence of a secondary burial tradition and respect for buried figures. This is evidenced by the provision of graves in the form of pottery crock along with Chinese ceramics. Respect for the buried figures continued in the Islamic period, but not in the form of the provision of grave provisions, but in the form magnificent architectural form of the tomb. This can be seen in the form of the stepped *jirat* on the tombs of the kings and nobles of Bantaeng which is a representation of the macrocosmic view, social stratification, and the traditional house building pattern of the Bantaeng people.

The architecture of the tomb shows the phases of cultural development of the Bantaeng people starting from pre-Islam, early Islamization and Islamic period as the official religion of the kingdom. The results of this study show that the cultural development of the Bantaeng community is a continuation of the pre-Islamic tradition. During the Islamic period, the culture of the people experienced rapid development, it can be seen from the architecture of ancient tombs. The cultural development of coastal areas has accelerated progress starting from the 17th century AD, while inland areas began to develop later in the 19th century AD, this is due to the isolation of the interior.

The shape of the tomb building is a mixture and adaptation of various cultural elements. The use of statue headstone in Bantaeng confirms that pre-Islamic elements still existed in the life of the Bantaeng people

during the Islamic period. The shape of the steps on the tomb is a microcosm of the universe, an adaptation of traditional house buildings, and a representation of the social stratification of the Bantaeng people. Arabic calligraphy inscriptions are elements of Islamic teachings that represent culture from outside. The mixing of pre-Islamic culture, local people's way of life, and Islamic culture produces a hybrid tomb architecture.

REFERENCES

- [1] Abdullah, Anzar. 2016. Islamisasi di Sulawesi Selatan Dalam Perspektif Sejarah. *Paramita* Volume 26 (1): Halaman 86—94.
- [2] Bougas, Wayne A. 1996. *Bantayan Kerajaan Makassar Awal 1200 – 1600*. Makassar.
- [3] Bulbeck, David. 1992. *A Tale of Two Kingdoms : The Historical Archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Doctoral Dissertation, Australian National University.
- [4] Bulbeck, David, Pasqua, M., Di Lello, A. 2000. Culture History of the Toalean of South Sulawesi, Indonesia. *Asian Perspectives*, 39: 71-108.
- [5] Elmahady, Muhaemin. 2021. Islam Dan Kearifan Lokal Di Sulawesi Selatan Pasca Islamisasi. *Jurnal HIKMAH*, Volume VII (1): 83-104.
- [6] Fakhri. 2017. Fauna dan Strategi Subsistensi Penghuni Situs Panganikang 4000 Tahun Yang Lalu. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 49-86. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [7] Hakim, Budiando. Mahmud, M Irfan. Hasliana. 2017. Gerabah Prasejarah Kawasan Batu Ejaya Dalam Konteks Sulawesi. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 87-104. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [8] Hasanuddin. 2017. Tradisi Megalitik di Bantaeng. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 143-162. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [9] Heekeren, H.R. van. 1972. *The Stone Age of Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- [10] Haugen, Angela Jean. 2010. *Mounded Tomb Cultures of Three Kingdoms Period Korea and Yamato Japan: A Study of Golden Regalia and Cultural Interactions*. Graduate School of The Ohio State University.
- [11] Mahmud, M. Irfan, et. al. 2007. *Bantaeng Masa Prasejarah ke Masa Islam*. Makassar: Masagena Press bekerjasama Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kabupaten Bantaeng.
- [12] Mahmud, M. Irfan. 2017. Menemuka Jalan Kisah kebudayaan tertua Bantaeng. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 1-18. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [13] Mahmud, M. Irfan. 2017. Perhiasan Prasejarah Kawasan Batu Ejaya Bantaeng. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 105-124. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [14] Makmur, 2016. Refleksi Stratifikasi Sosial Masyarakat Bugis Pada Situs Kompleks Makam Kalokkoe Watu Soppeng. *Jurnal Walennae* 14 (1): 37-44.
- [15] Nur, M. 2017. Awal Logam di Bantaeng dan Bentuk Warisannya. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 1-18. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [16] Rosmawati. 2013. *Tamadun Awal Islam Di Sulawesi Selatan, Indoensia: Dari Persektif Arkeologi Dan Sejarah*. Universiti Sains Malaysia.
- [17] Sakka, La. 2014. Historiografi Islam Di Kerajaan Bantaeng. *Jurnal Al-Qalam* 20 (1): 65-74.
- [18] Sarasin, P., dan Sarasin, F. 21905. *Die Toala-Hoehlen van Lamontjong*. Wiesbaden: C.W. Kreidel's Verlag.
- [19] Sewang, Ahmad M., 2005. *Islamisasi Kerajaan Gowa (Abad XVI Sampai Abad XVII)*. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor Indonesia.
- [20] Soeroto, Myrtha. 2003. *Pustaka Budaya dan Arsitektur Bugis Makassar*. Jakarta : Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia dan Balai Pustaka.
- [21] Soeroto, Myrtha. 2003. *Dari Arsitektur Tradisional Menuju Arsitektur Indonesia*. Jakarta : Penerbit Ghalia Indonesia.
- [22] Sopandi, Setiadi. 2013. *Sejarah Arsitektur Sebuah Pengantar*. Jakarta : Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- [23] Suryatman dan Hakim, Budiando. 2017. Teknologi Alat Batu Toalian di Kawasan Batu Ejaya. Dalam *Butta Toa Jejak Arkeologi Budaya Toala, Logam, dan Tradisi Berlanjut di Bantaeng*: 19-48. Yogyakarta : Ombak.
- [24] Straková, Bc. Jana. 2007. *Description and Characterization of the Terracotta Army Footwear*. Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně Fakulta technologická.
- [25] Topping, Peter. 2010. *Native American Mound Building Traditions*. Dalam *Round Mounds and Monumentality in the British Neolithic and*

Beyond : Chapter 14 (219-252). Published by:
Oxbow Books.

- [26] Utomo, Danang Wahyu. 2000. Pengaruh Tradisi
Dan Simbol Megalitik Pada Makam Kuna Islam
Di Sulawesi Selatan. *Jurnal Walennae* 5 (3): 13–
28