

THE MANIFESTATION OF MALAY AND LOCAL CULTURAL ACCULTURATION AT THE BEGINNING OF ISLAMIZATION AT LUWU, CASE STUDY AT LOKKO'E TOMB COMPLEX, PALOPO

Rosmawati

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Hasanuddin University, Makassar,
INDONESIA.

rosmawati@unhas.ac.id

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the acculturation between Malay culture with local culture which can be seen on the tombstone and headstone types at Lokko'e burial complex site in Palopo. At the complex, there are several types of jirat (tombstone) and headstones which show an acculturation of local and Malay cultures, as a cultural remains evidence of the early development of Islamic culture in Luwu' Kingdom. The presence of Malay culture is seen in the used of several Aceh headstone types which developed in Aceh at 16 to 18 centuries AD, whereas the component of local culture were menhir headstone type. The burial complex is the cemetery for the kings, their families and the soldiers of Luwu' kingdoms.

Keywords: Luwu, batu Aceh, Palopo, tomb of Islam, acculturation, Islamisation.

INTRODUCTION

Luwu' Kingdom is one of the greatest and oldest kingdoms in South Sulawesi region. Gowa, Bone, and Luwu' Kingdoms are belonging to a kingdoms family which called as *Tellu Boccoe* kingdom (*tellu* means three, and *boccoe* means prime). Luwu' kingdom is located at the north end of Bone Bay. The first king who established Luwu' (Ware) Kingdom is Batara Guru (Pawiloy, 2002:3). Batara Guru was married with We Nyili' Timo, a god's daughter. Their marriage has given birth to the rulers of Luwu Kingdom, the Second King of Luwu Kingdom who called as Batara Lattu, includes a legendary figure called Sawerigading (Kartodirdjo, 1993:57).

During the reign of Simpurusiang (1268-1293 AD), Luwu' Kingdom was become independent with clear boundaries. It was expanded southward until the Walanae river. Northward to Poso Lake, Mekongga Country (Kolaka), and to the west it was bordered by the Peak of Latimojong Mountain. In the times before Luwu' Kingdoms influenced by Gowa Kingdom, there were several kings who ruled it, includes Anakaji (1293-1330 AD), Tampabalusu (1330-1356 AD), Tanra Balusu (1365-1402 AD), and Tampanange (1402-1426 AD). When Tampanange ruled, Luwu' Kingdom was very stable and the trade was rapidly developed with abundant of sea and forest products. The next successive king in the kingdom was Batara Guru II which ruled from 1426 to 1458 AD. Under his reign, Luwu' was strengthened to face the disturbance from outsider. Next, Lamariawa was ruled the kingdom from 1458 to 1465 AD, and then replaced by Datu Risaung Lebbi (1465-1507 AD) (Pawiloy, 2003:34-42; Duli *et al.*, 2013; Rosmawati, 2013).

The heyday of Luwu' Kingdom was occurred under the reign of Raja Dewa (1507-1541 AD). He is the most famous king among prime kingdoms in South Sulawesi. The expansion of

Luwu' has reached the east coast of the land to Cenrana River. Raja Dewa was allied with Wajo Kingdom. To strengthened Wajo Kingdom, the areas of Larompong, Malluse, and Selo were handed to Wajo Kingdom. In this alliance, Luwu' Kingdom was regarded as the older brother and Wajo Kingdom as a younger brother. The result of this alliance was the seized of Sidenreng Kingdom in the west into a part of Wajo Kingdom. Raja Dewa was also expanded to Bone Kingdom which caused by a dispute between Raja Dewa and Arumpone. Perang Cerana or Cerana War, the war between Luwu' and Bone kingdoms, was started. Luwu' Kingdom was lost. Eventually, Raja Dewa from Luwu' Kingdom was forced to signed a peace treaty which named *Polo Malelae ri Unnyi* (the cessation of war in Unnyi). As the results of the treaty, the dominion of Luwu' in the east part of South Sulawesi was driven out and replaced by Bone Kingdom (Kartodirdjo, 1993:58). The next Luwu' kings were Tosangkawana (1541-1556 AD), Datu Maoge (1556-1571 AD), and Etenri Rawe (1571-1585 AD) (Akil, 2008:74-75). In the reign of La Patiware' Daeng Para'bung (1585-1610), Islam religion was introduced. The King of Luwu was Islamized in Ramadan 15th of 1023 H (or February 4th of 1603 AD) and titled Sultan Muhammad Mudharuddin (Hamid, 1993:339-340; Pelras, 1996:135).

Based on the chronicle sources *lontara'*, along with archaeological data (Bulbeck and Prasetyo, 1998:5-8), it is known that Luwu' Kingdom is the oldest kingdom in South Sulawesi which already established since 13th century (Pelras, 2006:76-78) and then expanded to be a great kingdom which ruled almost all east and west coastal area of Bone Bay and Selayar Island (Pelras, 1996:38). The greatness of Luwu' has caused this kingdom visited by traders from various nations, in particular the Malayan, and that is why before three *mubaligh* or Islam preachers (Sulaiman, Abdul Makmur, and Chatib Bungsu), which are the emissaries of Aceh King (Sultan Iskandar Muda), came to South Sulawesi, they first came to Luwu' to Islamized the king and peoples of Luwu' Kingdom.

Islam religion was introduced in Luwu' Kingdom by the time of king La Patiware' Daeng Para'bung (1585-1610 AD) which Islamized in Ramadan 15th of 1013 H (February 4th of 1603), two years before Gowa Kingdom been Islamized. This King of Luwu' was titled Sultan Muhammad Mudharuddin and he embraced Islam religion after Ma'dika Bua (from vassal kingdom) which named Tandi Pua Oppuna Ware has embraced Islam three month before (Hamid, 1993:339-340; Pelras, 1996:135; Duli *et al.*, 2013; Rosmawati, 2013). After Datu Luwu embraced Islam, Abdul Makmur and Khatib Bungsu continued they travel to Makassar for the same purpose, which are to Islamized the king and peoples of Gowa Kingdom, but in the middle of the journey Khatib Bungsu stopped at Tiro (Bulukumba) to spread Islam religion at the area. At that time, the Islamization of Gowa Kingdom was very important because Gowa Kingdom has become a powerful kingdom and respected by other kingdoms in Nusantara and the traders from stranger nations such as Portuguese and Spain were also tried to spread Christianity (Patunru, 1995:84; Duli *et al.*, 2013; Rosmawati, 2013).

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Ancient tomb complex is an evidence for the presence of Islamic cultural in an area at the past time. Luwu' Kings Burial Complex site at Lokko'e, Palopo, is one of the evidence for the presence of Islam religion at that area. The interesting thing from the burial complex is that there are a strong prehistoric cultural element such as predominantly menhir type and the presence of Malay cultural elements such as several Aceh headstone types at the king's tombs (Duli *et al.*, 2013, 2014; Rosmawati, 2013). This paper tried to discussed this cultural phenomena which come as a blend of Malayan culture and local culture (prehistory) in the beginning of Islam introduction to Luwu' Kingdom.

METHODS

Data used in this research were obtained through survey and direct observation on the burial complex sites, by measurement, description, and take photographs. Classification on the tomb and headstone which used in this paper are based on the classification developed by Rosmawati (2011a, 2013) and Nusantara headstones classification by Hasan Muarif Ambary (1998:95-104) which consists of Aceh, Demak-Troloyo, Ternate-Tidore, and Bugis-Makassar types, meanwhile for Aceh headstone types are based on a classification made by Othman Mohd. Yatim (1988), Daniel Perret and Kamaruddin Ab. Razak (1999), which consists of 16 types (A to Q).

a. The Burials of Luwu' Kings and their families at Lokko'e Burial Complex sites

Lokko'e Burial Complex is a cemetery for several kings of Luwu' Kingdom, their families, friends, and common peoples. This complex is located at Luminda Village, Wara Utara sub-district, Palopo City, South Sulawesi Province. Its coordinate are S 2°59'31.6'' and E 120°11'22.7'', with altitude at eight metre above the sea level. At a kilometre southward from the complex, there is Palopo Old Mosque (Mesjid Jami') which constructed by Andi Abdullah in 1619 AD, and 100 metres southward from the mosque is Luwu' Palace building (Batara Guru Museum).

Historians suggest that beginning of the development of ancient Luwu' Kingdom is in 9th to 14th centuries. When Islam religion was introduced to South Sulawesi, the Luwu' Kingdom was the first regions that accepted the religion. In the beginning, Luwu' Kingdom was visited by *ulama* or Islamic preachers since the Malayan traders have been established a trade contact with Luwu' Kingdom as one of a greatest kingdom in Sulawesi at that time. There were three preachers from Sumatera who brought Islam religion into the kingdom, Abdul Makmur, Datuk Sulaiman, and Khatib Bungsu. First, they came to Pattimang, a place north to Palopo. Another source, a local story, said that Islam in Luwu' was brought by Datuk Sulaiman who sailed to Malangke. In that time, the king of Luwu' was the XV King, which named Labaso Langi or Patiarase' or Andi Patiware which has accepted Islam as an official religion in his kingdom at 1603 AD, and titled as Sultan Mahmud (1587-1615 AD) as his Islamic title. At that time, Datuk Sulaiman has started to teach Islamic concepts to the royal families. In the next development, Andi Patiware assigned his son, Sultan Abdullah (1615-1637), the XVI King, as a developer of Islam religion in Luwu' Kingdom. Capital of the kingdom was moved from Pattimang (Malangke) to Palopo (Tompo'tika') in 1619 AD. In his efforts to spread Islam religion, in 1619 AD, Andi Abdullah built a mosque at Sabbamparu Palopo which known today as Mesjid Jami'. Since that time, Islam has become an official religion of Luwu' Kingdom and teaches to all peoples in the kingdom. Lokko'e burial site was first built by the XVIII King of Luwu (1663-1704 AD), Settiaraja Petta Matinroe ri Tompo'tika', and there were several Luwu' king (Pajung) buried in this cemetery, which are, Settiaraja the XVIII king (1663-1704 AD), La Tenripepang Sultan Abdullah the XXVII king (1778-1810 AD), Daeng Mabaro'e (the crown prince of XXVIII king), Andi Jelling the XXXV king, the graves of queens, and the king's most loved persons (*cenning*) (Mr Usman, through personal communication in June 2nd of 2011). There are numerous graves outside the cemetery's dome which are the graves of Luwu' noblemen and common peoples which are unknown, most of them are already restored by their descendants (Duli *et al.*, 2013; Rosmawati, 2013).

In the site, there are numerous graves which mixed with new graves or restored old graves. Graves with original *jirat* or tombstone types, even though some of them have new *nisan* or headstones, are 36 graves which located inside the *jirat* dome, with 22 stone tomb *jirat* types

and 14 soil mounds. Almost all of graves which located outside the dome have been restored, 25 graves amongst them still could be recognized. The grave *jirat* types in this site are:

1. *Jirat* covered with a dome. There is a grave which have *jirat* covered with a dome (*jirat bercungkup kubah*), that is, a pseudo-tombstone which has a prismatic dome (pyramid). Based on local stories (Mr Usman, personal communication, June 2nd of 2011), the cemetery complex was first built in coincidence with the construction of Mesjid Jami' in 1619 AD. The base of *cungkup* (the construction which cover a tombstone) is rectangular and its body and roof is prismatic. The entrance is at the south and has an arch form. Basic construction is made from the bulk of andesite rocks, meanwhile the body and roof made from bricks. The base and body have rectangular shape with side length of 1000 cm, body height of 180 cm, and roof in a dome shape with total height to the top of the dome of 700 cm. At the top of the dome there is a bulge with lotus shape, and under the *cungkup* there are 36 graves of the kings and their families. *Jirat* types of the grave inside the dome are stone tomb *jirat* made from bulk of andesite rocks at 22 graves, some of them have a hillock (*gunungan*) which decorated with leaves tendrils and calligraphy in a form of Allah and Mohammed name, an 14 graves have soil mound *jirat* types. Those graves use headstone types: (1) Aceh headstone types at nine graves (four graves with C type, two with K types, one with J type, and two with O type); (2) sword type headstone (A) used in 22 graves (nine graves with A1 variant, eight with A4, and five with A5), there are plain headstones, decorated with leaves tendrils, and Allah and Mohammed name; (3) block headstone types (D2) at four graves, with leaves tendrils motive decoration; (4) cylindrical headstone types (I) at 12 graves (four graves with I2 variant and eight with I3 variant), some of them have leaves tendrils decoration; and (5) massive menhir headstone types (L) at six graves. It is unknown which *jirat* is become kings' grave, but the king is believed to be buried used Aceh type headstone, which found at 5 graves.
2. Terraces grave type, which is, a grave with terraced *jirat* with one to three terraces. The body of the tombstone is terraced in a repetition forms of the base, at the top of the tombstone there are one or two headstones. The biggest size is 210 cm in length, 110 cm width, and 97 cm height, and the smallest has 180 cm length, 60 cm width, and 85 cm height. Based on local information (Mr Usman, personal communication, June 2nd of 2011) those graves were made from bricks and andesite rocks which arranged with stack-and-pile technique. Unfortunately, all of those graves are already restored with cement and ceramic, which some of them still have original headstone in sword type (A4) and menhir type (L). The total numbers is unknown because the graves are mixed with new graves, but there are 21 old graves which still could be recognized.
3. Stone tomb *jirat* type, which only consists of a basement made from stone bulks and planted by one or two headstone on it. Usually use sword type headstone (A1, A4, A5), cylindrical headstones (I3), block headstones (D1, D2), and menhir headstone type (L). There are 25 graves with this type.

b. Forms of grave headstones

Total numbers of identified headstones at the burial complex site are 93 headstones, which consists of: (1) Nine Aceh headstone type, four Aceh C type with 62 cm in height, 30 cm width, and 11 cm thickness. One Aceh J type 68 in height and 26 cm in diameter. Two Aceh K type with 56 cm in height, 20 cm in diameter, One Aceh O type with 49 cm in height, 20 cm width, and 10 cm thickness.

Cungkup dome tombstone seen from southward in Lokko'e Burial Complex



Situation inside the dome in Lokko'e burial site



Terraced *jirat*, stone tomb *jirat*, and menhir type headstones (L) at Lokko'e Burial Complex site



Local headstones based on Rosmawati classification (2011a, 2013) consists of (2) 29 Sword headstone type (A), which are, 11 A1 variant of sword type with a sample size 67 cm in height, 28 cm in shoulder width, 10 cm in thickness, and in general, these headstones are plains without decoration; 20 headstones with A4 variant and the sample sized are 64 cm in height, 24 cm in body width, 12 cm thickness, and decorated with leaves tendrils, calligraphy, and medallion motives; and 8 headstones with A5 variant with sample headstone size 47 cm

in height, 21 cm in body width, 10 thickness, and decorated with leaves tendrils, calligraphy, and medallion motives. (3) Seven block headstone type (D) which consists of two D1 variant with sample headstone size 72 cm in height and 18 cm in width, and five D2 variant with sample headstone size 68 cm in height, 20 cm width, and without decoration. (4) Eighteen cylindrical headstone type (I) which consists of four I2 variant with sample headstone size 72 in height, 23 cm in diameter of the body, decorated with leaves tendrils and hem. (5) Thirteen menhir headstone type (L) which massive in general and unorganized with various sizes and forms and the sample headstone size are 221 cm in height and 76 in diameter.

Aceh headstones type C, J, K, and O, in Lokko'e Burial Complex site



Sword type headstones in A1, A4, and A5 variant at Lokko'e Burial Complex site



Block (D2), Cylindrical (I2, I3), and Menhir (L) headstone types at Lokko'e Burial Complex site



c. Grave Decorations

As a whole, there are only few decorated graves in this cemetery, it is limited only to hillock and headstones. Decoration motives which found in the cemetery are *kerawang* (transparent) motives in a form of leaves tendrils and arch line at the grave of Petta Matinroe Tangngana Luwu' and other two grave which have not been identified. Calligraphy motives only found at sword headstone types (A) which carved both inside or outside medallion which contains the prayers cited from Al Qur'an, the name of Allah, and Mohammed. This kind of decoration motives are commonly found at several ancient graves in South Sulawesi (Rosmawati, 2008) and already found at prehistoric burials, i.e., in Enrekang (Duli, 2013), Mamasa (Duli, 2014), and Toraja (Duli, 2015).

Calligraphy, medallion, and leaves tendrils decoration motives at Lokko'e Burial Complex



DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The presence of Malayan cultural influences in forms of Aceh headstone type which found at Lokko'e ancient burial complex at Luwu' show that in its early development, Islam religion at Luwu' has already influenced by Aceh (Malay). As we already knew, far before the introduction of Islam, Malayan traders have already made a trade contact with Luwu' Kingdom. Therefore, when the three preachers arrived at Luwu', they could easily Islamized the king and peoples of Luwu' Kingdom. There were many Islam preachers which have origins at Sumatera, include the three legendary figures who spread Islam religion to South Sulawesi, which are Datuk Sulaiman, Datuk ri Bandang, and Datuk ri Tiro, all of which came from Sumatera, were the early Islam preachers at South Sulawesi in seventeenth century. Many of those Islamic figures who came from Sumatera held high positions in South Sulawesi kingdoms. Logically, this condition could also brought Malay cultural elements into the local cultures which can be seen in the use of several Aceh headstone types and inscriptions with Malay *tasawuf* patterns. The kings were seemingly willing to use new cultures in a form of headstones which imported from Aceh (Malay). This new culture was probably used as a symbol of differentiation and social legitimation (Rosmawati, 2011b).

The arrival of new cultures (Islam and Malay such as *cungkup* and Aceh headstones) did not eliminate the identity of local culture. Pre-Islam culture was continued, such as terraced *jirat*, hillock, stone block, and menhir headstones. There was cultural acculturation as a result of adaptive attitudes of local peoples to imported cultures. Even though there were some cultural changes, however, the essence and values contained in local culture were not changed. Therefore, there were never conflicts among the cultures. This could results in cultural acculturations, which eventually produces a new culture in a form developed Islam from time

to time. Cultural acculturations could be seen in grave architecture components include the position, *jirat* and headstone forms.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In particular, I would like to thank to all friends who helped in this research, they are Prof. Dr. Stephen Chia, Prof. Dr. Akin Duli, and Muhammad Nur. This research is supported by funding from Geran University Research and Ministry of Higher Education Malaysia, University of Science Malaysia, Pinang Island and Hasanuddin University.

REFERENCES

- [1] Akil. 2008. *Luwu, dimensi sejarah budaya dan kepercayaan*. Makassar: Pustaka Refleksi.
- [2] Ambary, H. M. (1998). *Menemukan peradaban, jejak arkeologi dan historis Islam Indonesia*. Jakarta: Logos.
- [3] Bulbeck, F.D., & Prasetyo, B. (1998). Survey of pre-Islamic historical site in Luwu, South Sulawesi. *Walennae*, 1, 29-42.
- [4] Duli, A. M., & Rosmawati. (2013). *Monumen Islam di sulawesi selatan*. Makassar: Identitas Universitas Hasanuddin.
- [5] Duli, A. (2013). The Mandu coffin: A boat symbol of ancestral spirits among the enrekang people of south Sulawesi. *RIMA*, 47 (1).
- [6] Duli, A. M., & Rosmawati. (2014). *Monumen Islam di Sulawesi barat*. Makassar: BPCB Makassar.
- [7] Duli, A. (2014). Shape and chronology of wooden coffins in Mamasa, West Sulawesi, Indonesia". *International Journal for Historical Studies*, 5 (2), 177-186.
- [8] Duli, A. (2015). Typology and chronology of *erong* woodenn coffins in Tana Toraja, South celebes. *Time and Mind, The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture*, 8 (1), 3-10.
- [9] Hamid, A. (1993). *Bugis-makassar dalam peta Islam Indonesia*. Ujung Pandang: IAIN Alauddin.
- [10] Kartodirdjo, S. (1993). *Pengantar sejarah Indonesia baru 1500-1900*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- [11] Mohd. Y. O. (1988). *Batu Aceh, early Islmaic gravestones in peninsular Malaysia*. Kualalumpur: Museum Association of Malaysia.
- [12] Patunru, A.R. (1995). *Sejarah bone*. Ujung Pandang: Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan.
- [13] Pawiloy. (2002). *Ringkasan sejarah luwu*. Palopo: Pemerintah Daerah Luwu.
- [14] Pelras, C. (1996). *The bugis*. Oxford: Balckwell Publishers.
- [15] Pelras, C. (2006). *Manusia bugis*. Jakarta: Nalar.

- [16] Perret, D., & Kamaruddin, A. R. (1999). *Batu Aceh warisan sejarah johor*. Johor Bahru: Yayasan Warisan Johor.
- [17] Rosmawati. (2008). *Pemaknaan inskripsi pada makam kuno katangka di kabupaten gowa*. Makassar: Unhas.
- [18] Rosmawati. (2011a). Tipologi dan perkembangan bentuk jirat dan nisan makam kuno di Sulawesi Selatan. *Jurnal Lensa Budaya*, 6 (2).
- [19] Rosmawati. (2011b). Kehadiran Batu Aceh pada masa awal perkembangan Islam di Makassar, *Internasional Serumpun Melayu*, V, 8-9.
- [20] Rosmawati. (2012). *Bentuk-bentuk peninggalan budaya Islam di kawasan situs tosora*. Makassar: Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Makassar.
- [21] Rosmawati. (2013). *Tamadun awal Islam di Sulawesi Selatan, Indonesia: Dari Perspektif Arkeologi dan Sejarah*. Pinang: PPAG USM-Pinang.