

PRESERVING OF ANCIENT TOMB SITES IN MAROS BASED ON LOCAL TRADITIONS

Pelestarian Makam Kuno di Kabupaten Maros Berbasis Tradisi Lokal

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Abstrak

Makam kuno merupakan jejak budaya materil sebagai penanda hadirnya Islam di tengah masyarakat, sehingga penelitian ini bertujuan mengetahui nilai penting situs makam Islam, baik dari aspek makam Islam sebagai hasil produk kebudayaan masa lampau, maupun situs makam dari persektif masyarakat, serta memberikan gambaran secara komprehensip tentang perilaku masyarakat Maros dalam melindungi, mengembangkan dan memanfaatkan situs makam Islam berdasarkan tradisi masyarakat. Metode penelitian yang digunakan untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut adalah penelitian kualitatif deskriptif dengan menggunakan strategi perpaduan (mixed methods) antara metode arkeologi untuk melihat makam Islam sebagai hasil produk material kebudayaan, sedangkan perilaku masyarakat dalam berinterkasi dengan situs makam kuno menggunakan metode antropologi yaitu etnografi berorientasi pada topik. Hasil penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa hadirnya berbagai tradisi masyarakat seperti tradisi lisan tentang cerita kesaktian tokoh-tokoh leluhur masyarakat pada masa lampau, telah menggerakkan masyarakat untuk melestarikan dan mengembangkan tradisi yang terkait dengan makam kuno seperti tradisi ziarah di hari-hari kebesaran Islam, ziarah songka bala (tolak bala), ziarah pengharapan, tradisi appanaung, tradisi a'dengka ase lolo (menumpuk padi di lesung atau pesta panen), tradisi mappalanca (adu betis). Tradisi-tradisi tersebut sangat fungsional untuk dijadikan sebagai suatu sistem pelestarian makam kuno berbasis masyarakat. Kata Kunci: Makam kuno, tradisi, pelestarian warisan budaya.

Abstract

Ancient tomb is the product of Islamic culture in Maros. With that in mind, this study aims to find out important values behind the existence of tombs and how the local communities perceive living among those tombs. This is a qualitative descriptive research, incorporating archeological method and topic-oriented etnoghraphy. The former is intended to dig deeper into understanding Islamic tombs as the product of material culture; while the latter is projected to see how the local people perceive the existencence of those tombs. The study indictes that the oral tradition of telling the heroic and supernatural aspects on the people buried in the tombs has moved them to make pilgrimage with various intentions: withstanding destructive power, getting blessings, exercising appanaung tradition, and expressing gratitude after harvest season. There is also that traditional practice done in relation to tomb pilgrimage: calves contest, making it an integral part of preservation system of culturel heritage of Islam. **Keywords:** Ancient tomb, tradition, cultural heritage preservation.

INTRODUCTION

Since the introduction of Islam in the seventeenth century, its teaching has started to make up the integral part of aspects of the local community, burial system no exception. Previously, the dead was cremated (burning the dead bodies) whose ashes put into a jar and put into the ground. Others were put into tombs on rock cliffs, others in the ground facing east-west. All those changed when Islam anvanced, the dead being washed, covered in sheet and put in the ground facing north-east. Lastly, a stone was put on top of the grave (grave stone) (Ambary, 1998, pp. 41–42; Muhaeminah & Makmur, 2015, p. 132; Pelras, 2006, p. 32).

The material culture of Islam spans throughout the regions of South Sulawesi. Tombs in Maros have been extensively researched by many archeologists. Akin Duli et al., (2013) in their study indicate that Islam is influenced by pre-Islam tradition by great proportion and Makassar as well as Buginese by similar extent (Bone and Wajo). Aceh's and Persia's impact are noticeable on the mosque architecture (Duli, Nur, & Rosmawati, 2013).

Artwork-wise, Yadi Mulyadi and Nur (2017) argue that the application of various ornament (spiral and flower motif) and calligraphy on the tombs at Turikale complex indicate representative art and are much away from the cult of any other entity beyond the God Almighty (Allah). Hasim (2017), on the other hand, studies about the culture significance through flowery motif, calligraphy geometry, and lontarak inscription available at the tomb of Karaeng Simbang in Kabupaten Maros as an expression of aesthetics, religion, and social class of the late (Hasim, 2017; Mulyadi & Nur. 2017).

Those studies validate the common belief that Islamic heritage is priceless as important culture of the nation and of Maros particularly. It is imperative that they be managed and preserved so that they can stay in existence until their own due time. Not only are they valuable from cultural richness standpoint, but they are simply worthy of further research in such a way that they can one day be taken as cultural heritage. Once established as cultural heritage, one object is subject to Undang Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2010 tentang Cagar Budaya (Undang Undang Nomor 11 Tahun 2010 tentang Cagar Budaya). Islamic tombs have so far been controlled by the government. Take, for example, Sultan Hasanuddin's grave at Tallo kings' tombs complex being managed as a tourism object. In fact, such practice is allowed by the government, it is even stipulated in official regulation, covering protection, development and utilization of cultural object. The utilization aspect has a lot to do with community involvement, since they are the true heir of a certain culture.

Bearing that in mind, getting local people involved in tombs preservation is a great concept since a cultural tradition is greatly related to Islamic tombs site. People making regular pilgrimage to a tomb may indicate that their doing so is the long awaited answer to making the most of the so-called cultural preservation in local tombs.

People coming on pilgrimage to a tomb is culturally and socially oriented, since culture and social aspect are two sides of a coin that always go hand in hand (Mujianto, 2016, p. 41). In a pilgrimage aspect, a grave keeper is the ritual leader and those coming as the adherents. From another view point, an abstract one, the soul of the late is deemed as an intermediary to deliver our prayer to God Almighty. Grave visiting is a social interaction, benefiting the well being of a grave.

The relationship between tradition and ancient tomb as an artifact is inseperable in cultural concept. J.J. Hoeningman (1973) divides culture into 3 aspects. First, culture is seen as ideas found in a set of ideas, values, norms, regulations and other abstract dimension. Second, the conducts among the society carried out based on social systems are also a culture. Social systems are linked with social classes. Evans-Pritchard argues that social structure (classes) is a solid configuration of Talcott Parsons labels social groups. structure as a system of expectations. Furthermore, Leach believes that it is a set of norms or ideal regulations, while Levistrauss thinks it as opposing models. The third, artifacts are physical realization of concrete ideas in form of activities, materializing in touchable, seen and documented items (Hoeningman, 1973; Kaplan & Manner, 1999; Koenjaraningrat, 2011, p. 74; Sulasman & Gumilar, 2013, pp. 35–37).

Research on Islam Archaeology in Maros has so far relied on the grave as the product of culture. covering past aculturation, ethnicity, and artwork. This study, however, aims to portray the existence and the preservation of tombs based on local culture. To attain that aim, the writer formulates the following research questions: (i) how do the tombs look like? (ii) How does the society view the tombs among them? and (iii) how do people's activities around the tombs benefit the tombs survival?

Based on research questions, this study aims to find out the importance values of ancient tomb sites, both from the aspect of the tomb as past cultural products, as well as the tomb sites from the current local people emic perspective. This paper is also providing a comprehensive explanation of the behavior of the Maros people in protecting, developing, and utilizing ancient tomb sites based on local customs or traditions.

METHOD

This study combines qualitative approach with archeological and anthropological method. Archeological method is taken to examine tomb as a cultural product by describing the form or typology and its setting of space and and that of time (Ambary, 1998, p. 14). How the local perceive living among tombs is analyzed using anthropological approach, topic-oriented etnography. To really accurately measure people's percepttion over the tombs existence in terms of protecting and utilizing department, the writer conducts observation and indepth interview (Spradley, 2006, p. 70).

The trace of Islam heritage examined in this study is related to local tradition practiced around the tomb complex, spanning across administrative area of Maros: coastline, low land and mountainous area (all kecamatans) (Appendix 1). Data are observed and pictured.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

1. The Ancient Tombs as Maros' Cultural Heritage

Maros is the regency with perfect landscape, with karts plateau the second most beautiful one after that in Tiongkok to the east part, becoming home once to prehistoric men. To the west is a coastline as long as 31 km facing Makassar straits. Between the mountains and the shores is a fertile low land, having served as paddy fields for Maros people for a long time now, thus catapulting Maros to becoming rice producer with unprecedented stockings, locally labeled Butta Salewangang (prosperous land).

Kabupaten Maros has a lot of tombs across the area actively visited. To the west of the coastal area, there are a lot of ancient tombs at Kampung Kampala, kompleks makam Tala-Tala Mambue, and Matakko. On the north of the coast, we can find kompleks makam Dampang Marana, Jera Lompoe Lalang Tedong Karaeng Gatting, and Sikapaya (Figure 1).

The low land of Maros has even more numbers of tombs compared to the other two. In the former area of Kerajaan Marusu or kingdom of Marusu (now the capital of Kabupaten Maros), there are kompleks makam Karaeng Loe Pakere (the first king of Kerajaan Marusu), Sayyid Amrullah (first *kadhi* of Kerajaan Marusu), Ko'banga Kassi Kebo (cemetery of Kerajaan Marusu and other kingdom's family member), and kompleks makam Turikale (the cemetery of Kerajaan Turikale



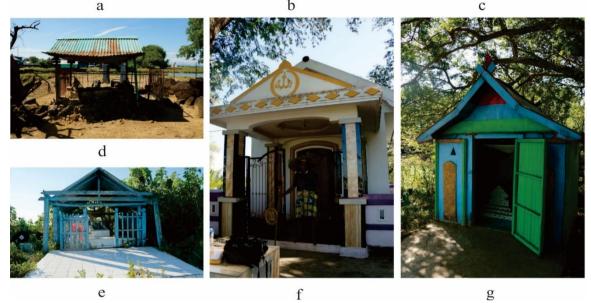


Figure 1. a. Photo of makam Kampung Kampala, b. kompleks makam Tala-Tala Mambue, c. Makam Matakko, d. kompleks makam Dampang Marana,

 e. Makam Jera Lompoe Lalang Tedong, f. makam Sikapaya, dan g. makam Karaeng Gatting (Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan, 2019)

and other family members). To the north, we get to see kompleks makam Karaeng Bontoa Tedong Labboro. and with kompleks makam Karaeng Simbang Kalabbirang, Saukang Kalabbirang, and Simbang cemetery complex to the east. On the south of Maros, there stand kompleks makam Bate Salapang Sudiang and Gallarang Moncongloe (Figure 2).

In the mountainous area, east of Maros covering two kecamatan (subdistrict) namely Kecamatan Camba and Mallawa, there are kompleks makam Arung Cenrana and his family, makam Bau Mangkona son of *tomanurunge* at Mallawa, makam Patongkoe, and kompleks makam Embae (Figure 3).

The tombs found across Maros (Figure 4) indicate that Islam is a set of

values and norms controlling the life there throughout this time. They are the product of abstract system of Islamic teachings, materialized in tombs thus becoming Islmic heritage (Koenjaraningrat, 2011, p. 74; Sulasman & Gumilar, 2013, pp. 35–37). Ambary (1998, p. 26) argues that they are ideofacts, meaning artifacts with primary function on religious ideology of certain society.

The tombs have a great significance to explain the historical journey of society, integrating Islam into the life of the people. They reflect on the glorious days of the late, thus generating the pride on the society. Not only do they symbolize pride, but they also depict knowledge and technology application of the past, metal tools used to carve and cut stones and woods to build the

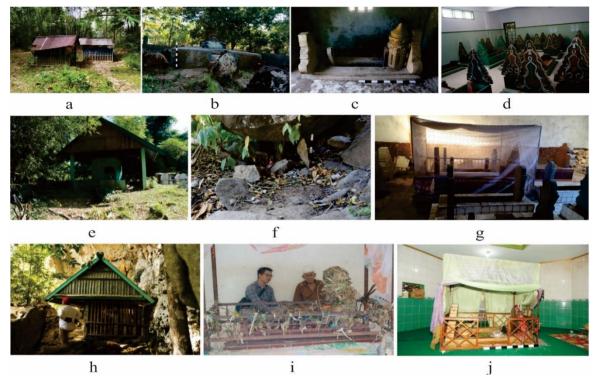


Figure 2. a. Photo of makam Karaeng Loe Pakere, b. makam Sayyid Amrullah, c. makam Ko'banga Kassi Kebo, d. kompleks makam Turikale, e. makam Karaeng Bontoa, f. makam Tedong Labboro, g. kompleks makam Karaeng Simbang Kalabbirang, h. Saukang Kalabbirang, i. makam raja Simbang, dan j. makam Gallarang Moncongloe (Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan, 2019).

tombs. It is a great message for today's generation of the capability of their ancestors.

The significance of tombs typology and their ornaments has a lot to do with the

ideas behind their establishment. The tombs unify them, reminding them of the fact that they are from the same family tree. The practice of housing a tomb is a token of respect to those coming before them. The



Figure 3. a. Photo of makam Arung Cenrana, b. makam Bau Mangkona, c. makam Patongkoe, and d. makam Embae (Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan, 2019).

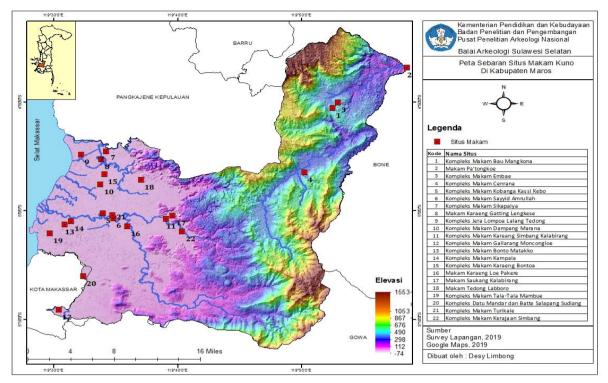


Figure 4. The mapping of the Ancient Tombs (Source: Makmur, 2019)

respect they nurture toward their old family members is materialized in regular cleaning of the tomb complex, shared by most of the community across the nation.

The preservation of cultural values of the past is validated in a pilgrimage. The pilgrimage made to the tombs and other rituals practiced there are nothing but homage paid to the late. An essential part of the practice is to get even the kids coming over to the tombs. Reading aloud a few lines from the Holy Qoran at kompleks makam Turikale, Karaeng Simbang Kalabbirang, Ko'banga Kasi Kebo, Embae, and Arung Cenrana also serves as part of Islamization endeavor.

Pilgrimage is continuously practiced to these days, reminding us that the world is a temporary stay and we all will get to the way of our ancestors. Inscription bearing some words of God reminds us of how powerful the God is.

2. The Local-Based Preservation of the Tombs

The local-based preservation means systems, norms, ethics, beliefs, culture established to regulate how people deal with the tombs. Added to that aspect are stories of the origin and supernatural power possessed by the ancestors buried around their area. The stories are retold orally to the next generation so that its significance will be kept. Sabrani (2015) sees it as traditional culture. The accounts of the great ancestors and miracle performed will remain in the memory to unite the community (Hestiyana, 2015, p. 89; Sabrani, 2015, p. 4; Tisnasari & Supena, 2013, p. 161).

An example would be that account of Bau Mangkona, believed to be the son of *Tomanurung ri* Mallawa (descended from heaven). Bau Mangkona, Mallawa's ancestor is believed to keep the earth safe, reminding them to make a regular pilgrimage to the tomb.

The same goes with oral account of Pa'tongkoe, believed as the first man to have lived at Desa Bentenge. His tomb is a unifying attribute in the community



Figure 5. Pilgrimage at Makam Karaeng Bainea Kampala (Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan, 2019)

(*punnana wanua*). People of the village believe that the tomb can deliver the uttered prayer to God (Allah *Subahanahu Wata 'ala*).

The tomb of Embae, being a healer in his lifetime, is kept well. He was both a healer and ulema at Desa Tellupanue Mallawa. The tombs of Boe Patanna Pa'rasangang, Boe Sanro, Maliungang Daeng Malimpo, and Tu Barania are taken significant by the locals at Kampung Sikapaya Desa Minasupa. People come to pay homage and exercise various rituals. Karaeng Gatting is given credit due to the spring at Kampung Lengkese Desa Tunikamaseang. His tomb is taken cared of well to these days.

The belief that people buried at kompleks makam Tala-Tala Mambue, Matakko and Kampala capable of performing miracles in their lifetime has attracted nearby people, from Kecamatan Marusu especially to come on a pilgrimage 5). Communal belief (Figure over something sometimes gets beyond logics. However, it is not about logical or not, rather, it is about getting traditional values making impact on the society (Barthes, 2003, p. 124; Hasanuddin, 2015; Navis, 1984, p. 4).

The ancient tombs are also a window into the traditional administration of the past, as in the tomb of Karaeng Loe Pakere as the first king being a window into putting Kerajaan Marusu into perspective. Kompleks makam Ko'banga Kassi Kebo is a cemetery of the next-period rulers of Kerajaan Marusu, and makam Sayyid Amrullah as the first *kadhi* of Kerajaan Marusu. The vast inscription of Arabic at cemetery of the Kings of Turikale and family tell a lot about the kingdom's significance in the past.

Believed to have perfomed miracles in the past, the cemetery of Kerajaan Simbang, the tomb of Karaeng Sanrima Pajjoei Daeng Pabelo and that of his wife Petta Besse are the center of ritual nowadays. Kerajaan Simbang had also taken part in Islamization effort, indicated be one its king's tomb in he complex of Masjid Nurul Muttaqin at Kelurahan Kalabbirang Bantimurung. He is believed to be the first person building a mosque and the first to introduce Islam to the people of Kalabbirang and Bantimurrung. Gallarang Moncongloe is believed to have performed miracles because he was the grandfather of Syekh Yusuf Al-Makassari Al-Bantani, making his tomb center of rituals. To the north of Maros, the trace of traditional

kingdoms is found at the cemetery of Kerajaan Bontoa, Dampang Marana, and Kerajaan Lau, attracting a lot of pilgrims due to their roles in the society.

Pilgrimage to tombs is also rampant at major holy days of Islam, like nearing the month of Ramadhan and after Eidul Fitri or Eidul Adha. Newly-married couples also make a pilgrimage to a tomb; some others come on a pilgrimage before hosting matrimony, mainly asking for blessing. People going on a pilgrimage have various reasons; some ask for good fortune (rich, career, health, and descendant) and casting dark power (songka bala). These people come on another occasion if what they ask for come their way. They usually bring some offering, valance, or make some amend on the tomb or sacrifice some animals in chicken, goat, cow, and buffalo.

Besides pilgrimage on old tombs, there is another tradition called *appanaung* by Sikapaya people at makam Boe Patanna Pa'rasangang, Boe Sanro, Maliungang Daeng Malimpo, and Tu Barania carried out to get the blessings of the ancestors to live the life ahead. Another tradition called *a'dengka ase lolo* is store rice on a mortar (lesung) on harvest feast as a form of gratitude to God, coupled with *mappalanca* (calves contest) at kompleks makam Gallarang Moncongloe.

These traditions continue to exist for two reasons: social classes and faith of the society. On the one hand, the old generation uses their authority to make their family members flock to the tombs. On the other hand, there is a widespread belief in the society that people performing miracles in their lifetime can deliver a prayer to God.

The veneration of the souls of the ancestors in Islam period is actually a continuation of pre-Islam habit, a megalithic practice (Hasanuddin, 2016, p. 194). The spirit occupies a high rank in men's life, a higly respected entity to which respect and offering are delivered Tylor

(1874). This type of religion is called animism (Koenjaraningrat, 1997, p. 196).

As a token of respect to the meritorious actions their ancestors had done, people of Maros take good care of the tombs, in their putting a house on a tomb thus resembling a dwelling. Others change the tomb with better materials like ceramics, putting valance and bringing some light along. They carry it out with heart because they believe that the body might be gone, but the soul lives on; the tomb is a symbol of the late.

CONCLUSION

The study of the local traditionbased preservation of the ancient tombs in Kabupaten Maros being through, the writer presents the following conclusions:

- 1. The tombs across Maros, on the coastline, low land, and mountainous area have become cultural heritage to the society since they have been an integral part of their well being.
- 2. As a token of respect to the big-name figures in the past, people of Maros preserve, keep, and protect their tombs by putting a house on them, improving the quality of the tombs with better materials like ceramics and keeping the original grave stone.
- 3. The existence of oral tradition related to the accounts of the great ancestors in the past has moved people to preserve and keep the pilgrimage-related tradition like Islam holy day pilgrimage, *songka bala* pilgrimage, pilgrimage of blessing, *appanaung* tradition, *a'dengka ase lolo* tradition and *mappalanca* tradition (calves contest). Those collectivelynurtured values have strengthened social identity, grown confidence, created solidarity, and created harmony. The well-established tradition is a solid system to preserve the ancient tombs.

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NO	Site		Area	
		Kecamatan	Desa/Kel.	Kampung
1	Kompleks Makam Bau Mangkona	Mallawa	Barugae	Mamappang
2	Makam Pa'tongkoe	Mallawa	Bentenge	Rea Toa
3	Kompleks Makam Embae	Mallawa	Tellu Panuawe	Matajang
4	Kompleks Makam Cenrana	Camba	Cenrana	Benteng
5	Kompleks Makam Kobanga Kassi Kebo	Maros Baru	Baju Bodoa	Kassi Kebo
6	Kompleks Makam Sayyid Amrullah	Turikale	Pettu Adae	Kassi Labuang
7	Kompleks Makam Turikale	Turikale	Turikale	Turikale
8	Kompleks Makam Sikapaiya	Bontoa	Minasaupa	Sikapaiya
9	Makam Karaeng Gatting Lengkese	Bontoa	Tunikamaseang	Lengkese
10	Kompleks Jera Lompoa Lalang Tedong	Bontoa	Ampekale	Pandang- Pandang
11	Kompleks Makam Karaeng Bontoa	Bontoa	Bontoa	Bontoa
12	Kompleks Makam Dampang Marana	Lau	Bonto Marannu	Dampanga
13	Kompleks Makam Karaeng Simbang Kalabirang	Bantimurung	Kalabbirang	Pakalu
14	Makam Saukang Kalabirang	Bantimurung	Kalabbirang	Pakalu
15	Makam Tedong Labboro	Bantimurung	Baruga	Samariga
16	Kompleks Makam Gallarang Moncongloe	Moncongloe	Moncongloe Lappara	Moncongloe Lappara
17	Kompleks Makam Bonto Matakko	Marusu	Bonto Manai	Bonto Biraeng
18	Kompleks Makam Kampala	Marusu	Bonto Mate'ne	Kampala
19	Kompleks Makam Tala-Tala Mambue	Marusu	Nisombalia	Mambue
20	Makam Karaeng Loe Pakere	Simbang	Bonto Tallasa	Pakere
21	Kompleks Makam Kerajaan Simbang	Simbang	Simbang	Paccinikang
22	Kompleks Datu Mandar dan Batte Salapang Sudiang	Mandai	Mandai	Tamarunang

Appendix 1. Table of Administrative Areas of the Ancient Tombs in Kabupaten Maros

(Source: Balai Arkeologi Sulawesi Selatan 2019)