The Islamic Antiquities of Badung: A Contribution to History of the Bugis Community in Bali

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Introduction

The island of Bali is known as a living museum. Such a description would be truly appropriate because in this island, the Hindu civilization has been able to survive. Moreover, in modern times, this « Indonesian classical » tradition has provided the integral and emotive elements of Balinese society. In contrast with other parts of the Indonesian archipelago, the Balinese communities are still Hindu in the majority; the demographic data show that Moslem communities are almost « marginal » in the present population of Bali. These two religious-cultural contrasts have implications for archaeological and historical research which has had a tendency to study the Hindu antiquities. Nevertheless, this is no reason to ignore Islamic archaeological research in Bali. In fact, such a study in other Indonesian regions has given us the crucial evidence to establish that the Islamic period in Indonesia emerged with the decline of the Indonesian Hindu-Buddhist Classical period. This perspective contextualizes claims for a golden era of the Netherlands East India Company [VOC] as made by certain European scholars of Indonesian historiography (Leur, 1955; Lombard, 1990], II: 18-19; Guillot, 1995: 23-24).

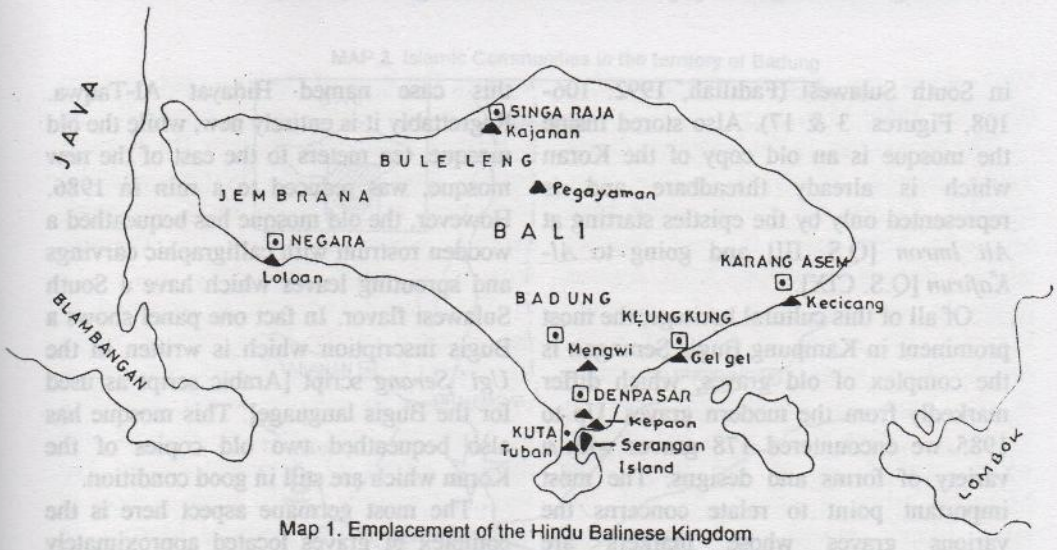
If the Hindu-Buddhist expansion had been limited only to some parts of the western realms of Indonesia such as Sumatra and Java, as well as some traces along the southern and eastern coast of Kalimantan, but also well-developed in Bali, then between the eleventh and the seventeenth centuries, the advent of Islam introduced cultural and spatial homogenization almost throughout the Indonesian archipelago. In that vast geographical expanse, which has been stimulated by the commercial network of Southeast Asia, the cultural regions developed their specific characteristics during the Islamic period.

Concerning this spatial formation of Nusantara's regions, Professor Denys Lombard (1996 [1990], I: 15-17, Map 1) has divided them into six categories: [1] the Strait of Malaka zone, also the center of Malay civilization; [2] the Strait of Sunda, which consists of the western part of West Java, and Lampung in the southeast of Sumatra, controlled by the supremacy of the sultanate of Banten; [3] the Java Sea zone, including the south coast of Kalimantan, which has been ruled by Javanese overlords ever since the Majapahit period; [4] the South Sulawesi [Celebes] zone which, because of the economic and political influence of the Goa and Tallo Makassar kingdoms, was able to develop a commercial, political and cultural network that included the east coast of Kalimantan, Buton and Sumbawa;

[5] the Moluccan territories which were integrated through the politic and economic supremacy of the Ternate and Tidore sultanates; and [6] the territories of the Balinese which, through the persistence of Hinduism centered in Bali from early times, came to include the regions of Blambangan [East Java] and the western coast of Lombok Island. If the characteristics of the first five can be explained clearly, Lombard avoided identifying the nature and significance of the Balinese territorial zone. Apparently, because of certain considerations to the effect that Bali lies outside the sphere of Islamization, it has been considered to constitute a unique zone, and this is one reason for the decision by the Dutch government to make Bali one of its special administrative territories after the colonial war in the early nineteenth century.

With this historical-geographical view, the author has proposed an idea for how we can apply research on the topic of Islamic archaeology within the Balinese territorial zone (Fadillah, 1999). We have seen that the first five zones were focused on particular sultanate traditions. Hence we might hypothesize that Islamic elements possibly penetrated the Balinese territorial zone, namely the island of Bali itself, the Cape of Blambangan and certain parts of Lombok Island, even though Hindu-Javanese traditions here survived in their essence. We propose this argument on the premise that Bali has been lying in the cross-traffic of the Moslem traders from as far away as the Strait of Malaka, in the direction of the spice-producing Mollucas islands, via the northern coast of Java. Moreover, neighboring islands such as Bima (Noorduyn, 1986: 3-5; Chambert-Loir, 1989: 83-102), some parts of the northern coast of Flores, and Timor (Spillett, 1998: 64), had been colonized by Makassar and Bugis traders from approximately the seventeenth century, after the establishment of the Islamic state of Goa and Tallo as an important political and commercial center in the eastern part of archipelago. Developing on this proposal, we can argue that the concept of an Islamic « periphery », and its interaction with the majority Hindu-Balinese society, produces a definite potential for the application of Islamic archaeological research within the Balinese territorial zone (Fadillah, 1999).

Using this diffusionist perspective, the author surveyed Bali in 1984-1986 and 1988-1989 to recover evidence of Moslem colonies marginally integrated with the centers of the Hindu kingdoms. These colonies were generally located in the coastal regions of Bali such as Buleleng [capital: Singaraja], Karangasem [capital: Amlapura], Klungkung [ancient capital: Gelgel], Jembrana [capital: Negara], and Badung [capital: Denpasar] (see Map 1). In this brief article, we would like to restrict our discussion to some archaeological remains at the ancient Islamic settlements of Badung, formerly part of the Balinese kingdom centered at the court of *Puri Pemecutan* of Denpasar. We shall focus on Badung as our subject matter for the practical reason that our research has been intensive there and has resulted in some important data relevant to the development of Islamic archaeological and historical investigations in the region.



Map 1. Emplacement of the Hindu Balinese Kingdom

Capital city of the Hindu Balinese kingdom until the early nineteenth century

Moslem's communities from the seventeenth century to modern era

Islamic antiquities of Badung

Serangan Island. With an area of 1,2 hectares, Serangan Island constitutes a settled area at the level of a *desa* [*kelurahan*] which today falls within the domain of *Kecamatan* Denpasar Selatan, *Kabupaten* Badung, approximately ten kilometers south of the capital of Denpasar. To be precise, Serangan Island forms the delta of the Suwung which is in the process of depositing its sediment load, with the result that the island now presents one continuous land mass with the island of Bali. Serangan is also known to the tourist world as « turtle island » owing to the frequent capture of those animals as one of the original ways of earning a livelihood by the Serangan residents.

The oldest evidence of Islam can be found in the complex of old graves in Kampung Bugis, where until this day all the inhabitants are of Bugis descent. A large proportion of them have sought out their livelihood by shifting to Denpasar city, so that of those who stayed behind, there were only 169 individuals in 1986; far less than would be expected from the crammed status of their graveyard. The Bugis character is otherwise shown by occasional building traces of traditional South Sulawesi houses which are now well and truly in ruins, while the Islamic orientation is clear from the mosque which strikes the visitor's eye, as it is so much more splendid than the clusters of ordinary dwellings of the inhabitants. Unfortunately, this mosque [named Syuhada] has experienced complete restoration, which has destroyed any physical evidence of its original antiquity. However, inside the mosque there is still stored an old rostrum engraved with motifs that produce the appearance of sprouting leaves, as are often found on the panels of old mosques

in South Sulawesi (Fadillah, 1992: 106-108, Figures 3 & 17). Also stored inside the mosque is an old copy of the Koran which is already threadbare and is represented only by the epistles starting at *Ali Imron* [Q.S. III] and going to *Al-Kafirun* [Q.S. CIX].

Of all of this cultural heritage, the most prominent in Kampung Bugis Serangan is the complex of old graves, which differ markedly from the modern graves. Up to 1985 we encountered 178 graves with a variety of forms and designs. The most important point to relate concerns the various graves whose markers are inscribed in Arab and « Lontara » script; « Lontara » being the usual name given to the Bugis and Makassar alphabet. A large portion are made of limestone which is strongly resistant against the weather. The graves which are in the poorest state of repair are those made from timber.

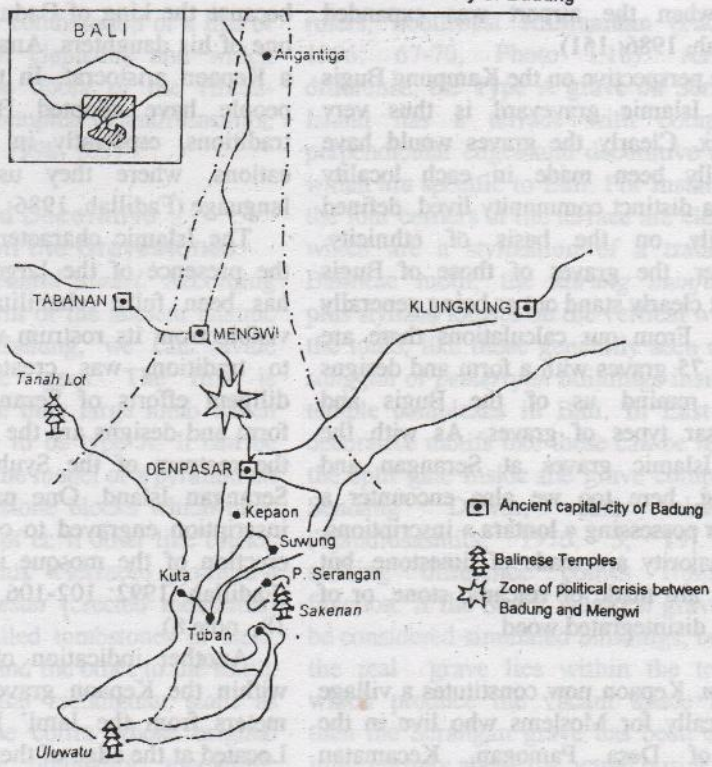
Suwung Kangin. Suwung Kangin today forms a collection of *kampung* [in Balinese, *Panjar*] which are included within the administrative domain of Kelurahan Sesetan, Kecamatan Denpasar Selatan, approximately seven km south of the centre of Denpasar city. The *Kampung Bugis* at Suwung Kangin is located precisely at the mouth of the Suwung River and the majority of the inhabitants are of Bugis descent. The genealogical and cultural aspects are no different from those at Serangan Island. There are strongly inter-woven family ties between the Bugis in these two communities.

As also at Serangan Island, the Bugis specifications of the village at Suwung Kangin are symbolized by a mosque, in this case named Hidayat Al-Taqwa. Regrettably it is entirely new, while the old mosque, ten meters to the east of the new mosque, was reduced to a ruin in 1986. However, the old mosque has bequeathed a wooden rostrum with calligraphic carvings and sprouting leaves which have a South Sulawesi flavor. In fact one panel shows a Bugis inscription which is written in the *Ugi' Serang* script [Arabic script as used for the Bugis language]. This mosque has also bequeathed two old copies of the Koran which are still in good condition.

The most germane aspect here is the complex of graves located approximately 400 meters to the north of Kampung Bugis, within an area of wet-rice fields directly on the banks of the Suwung River. This graveyard has been cut into two by the main road connecting Suwung Kangin and Denpasar.

The graves have suffered a more serious fate than those on Serangan Island. Overwhelmed by a *kemboja* tree [Plumiera ocutifolia] and shrubby undergrowth, many graves have deteriorated badly and are no longer *in situ* because they have been shifted. By our estimates, there would have to be more than 100 graves, although only 99 could be recorded. All of the graves made from massive blocks of limestone have been engraved and exhibit a variety of decorations. But all of them conform to the prototype of Bugis and Makassar graves which are found in abundance in old graveyards in South Sulawesi. This feature is further illustrated by the use of the « lontara » script on some of the gravestones.

MAP 2. Islamic Communities in the territory of Badung



Tuban. Remains of a certain old port of the Badung kingdom are located on the Badung isthmus, a large portion of which has been converted into the Ngurah Rai international airport, approximately 24 km to the southwest of Denpasar city. The name Tuban perhaps was given by Javanese traders in memory of their land of origin. Perhaps the former port included various residential clusters, each occupied by its ethnic group, but the one which has lasted the best until now is « Kampung Bugis », where the majority of the inhabitants are certainly of Bugis descent.

As with other Bugis villages, the Islamic character is prominently shown by the mosque, which stands proudly next to the road leading to the airport. The complete restoration of this mosque makes it difficult to identify its antiquity. One archaeological indication is the complex of graves which is located 500 meters to the east of Kampung Bugis. Unlike the other Islamic graveyards in Badung, Tuban includes a sacred grave which specifically was constructed to commemorate an aristocratic figure from Madura, and which was moved here to make way for building the airport. Another 95 graves were also moved here owing to the construction of the airport. The first graves were moved during the years 1932-1933, and the last in

1962 when the airport was expanded (Fadillah, 1986: 151).

The perspective on the Kampung Bugis Tuban Islamic graveyard is thus very complex. Clearly the graves would have originally been made in each locality where a distinct community lived, defined primarily on the basis of ethnicity. However, the graves of those of Bugis descent clearly stand out as being generally *in situ*. From our calculations there are around 75 graves with a form and designs which remind us of the Bugis and Makassar types of graves. As with the other Islamic graves at Serangan and Suwung, here too we also encounter a number possessing « lontara » inscriptions. The majority are made of limestone, but several are made of volcanic stone, or of largely disintegrated wood.

Kepaon. Kepaon now constitutes a village specifically for Moslems who live in the area of Desa Pamogan, Kecamatan Denpasar Selatan, about five kilometers from Denpasar city. As well as Javanese, Madurese, Bugis, and even Palembang Malays, Balinese who have embraced Islam also live at Kepaon. This Islamic village is a single dwelling place for immigrants in the interior of Badung, and lies in the midst of Balinese villages. The Kepaon Moslems obtained special rights from the king of Badung to organize the wet rice which is the inheritance of the kingdom and is known as *tanah duwe* (Ranteg, 1984: 49). This endowment was given because of their service in helping the king in the battle against Mengwi. Their relationship with the kingdom is not only political but also involves marital ties, because the king of Badung once married one of his daughters, Anak Agung Rai, to a Kepaon aristocrat. In turn the Kepaon people have adopted Balinese cultural traditions, especially in their communications, where they use the Balinese language (Fadillah, 1986: 125).

The Islamic character is indicated by the presence of the large mosque which has been fully rehabilitated. Its age is visible from its rostrum which, according to tradition, was created through the diligent efforts of Serangan Bugis. The form and designs are the same as those of the rostrum of the Syuhada Mosque on Serangan Island. One panel presents an inscription engraved to commemorate the erection of the mosque in the year 1908 (Fadillah, 1992: 102-106, 113, figure 3 & 18, note 8).

Another indication of age is present within the Kepaon graveyard, about 300 meters from the Jami' Kepaon Mosque. Located at the edge of the road through the *desa*, this complex includes 55 graves which can still be seen in a good condition. As with the graves in the other complexes discussed, we also find here a large number which follow the Bugis-Makassar model, with variations. Various grave markers have inscriptions in *jawi* [Malay-Arab script]. Certain grave markers stand apart from the typical gravestones by being characteristic of Javanese gravestones, as indicated by paired markers together looking like a brace of brackets as we can see in the grave complex at Troloyo, Trowulan, East Java (Damais, 1957; 359; Ambary, 1984: 354). That form of gravestone reminds us of the decoration which resembles a *kala* [giant] and *makara*

[mythical animal; combination of a fish or crocodile and an elephant] and which originated on the doors of the Hindu-Buddhist *candi* temples (Tjandrasasmita, 1976: 4; Ambary, 1998: 103).

Typological and Decorative Observations on the Gravestones

The terraced pyramid model. According to the general form of the ancient Islamic gravestones of Badung, we can divide them into three types. The first is constituted by the only large tomb which we may consider to be type A. It can be characterized by the model of a pyramid on a terrace of limestone blocks which have been laid on top of each other like bricks. On the top of this « terraced pyramid » there are two *mesan* [erected monoliths] which can be called tombstones or stele, one to the north and the other to the south. They overlie a flat rectangular stone as well as the stone coffin whose original form recalls the prehistoric megalithic tradition (see Fig. 1).

The form of this grave, known by the residents as the burial place of Puak Matoa or Puak Gede, is not hard to find in South Sulawesi, which was originally used to signify the burials of rulers such as we can see in the graveyard complexes of the Makassar rulers in Tamalate [Goa], Tallo, Jeneponto and Bantaeng, and of the Bugis rulers in the royal graveyards of Jera Lompoe [Soppeng], Watan Lamuru, Wajo and Bone. This form of grave can be found beyond South Sulawesi, for instance in the graveyard complex of the rulers of Bima in Dantaraha, East Sumbawa (Ambary, 1984: 429, Photo 96) or, even further away, in the complex of graves of the Kotawaringin rulers, Southwest Kalimantan (Fadillah, 1996: 67-70, Photo I.18). As one difference, the Type A grave on Serangan Island has a terrace with completely perpendicular edges and decorative motifs which are specific to Bali. For instance, at the four corners of the terrace are elements which are a stylization of a traditional Balinese motif, the *karang menjangan*, plus stylized lotuses on the vertical walls of the tomb, like those generally seen on the *sanggah* or *pemerajan* buildings inside the temple complexes in Bali. In East Java, decorative motifs like these can be seen on the split gate inside the grave complex of Sendang Duwur, and elsewhere (Tjandrasasmita, 1976: 5, 19). One striking difference comes from the function. If the South Sulawesi graves can be considered simulated buildings, because the real grave lies within the terraces which produce the vacant space inside, then the Serangan grave has been erected in its entirety above the actual burial place.

The stone coffin model. The second class of graves, which we may call type B, is characterized by a tomb formed by long, rectangular stone slabs raised directly above the place of burial. Those stone slabbed boxes, which possess two long sides and two broad sides, furnish an empty space in their middle which has the shape of a stone coffin as known in the megalithic tradition of various places in Java, or as made of wood (but here including a cover) in South and Southeast Sulawesi [Bugis, *duni*; Toraja, *erong*]. In the central empty space, two grave markers are erected, one at the north to indicate the head region, and the other at the south to

indicate the region of the feet (see Fig. 2). Overall, this grave type B appears like an elongated version of a South Sulawesi type of grave. Examples can be encountered in the royal graveyard complexes of the Makassar and the Bugis. Oddly, this form of grave is also regularly used in the Malays' royal graveyards in Kalimantan, such as Kotawaringin (Fadillah, 1996: 68: Photo 18), Sambas and Mempawah (Ambary, 1984: 434, Photo 132-134), not to mention Patani in far south of Thailand (Bougas, 19: 25, Fig. 7). Specifically in the case of the graves made of wood, in general the two longer slabs have their ends designed like the sides of a staircase, similar to the *candi* [Javanese Hindu-Buddhist temples] which have facades that resemble stylized *makara*.

Tombs made of slabs, whether of stone or wood, produce a coffin which furnishes vertically extensive spaces. These empty spaces may be utilized by artists to create various decorative motifs. Geometric motifs are generally found in the Bugis and Makassar of South Sulawesi, but a specific feature of Badung, such as on Serangan Island and Kepaon, is the motif which the Balinese call the *swastika* [SS] or *patra mesir*. This motif is typically chiseled into the wooden panels, either on the buildings found inside the Balinese temples, or on the Balinese traditional houses.

As regards the floral motifs, many examples are the same as the South Sulawesi motif, that is, they are in the form of sprays with small interconnected leaves but without any flowers. In addition we find the traditional Balinese floral motif, known as the *patra punggel*, which is almost identical with the renowned decorations from Jepara in Central Java. But the most prominent is the Bugis-Makassar motif with decorations of tapering leaves. In addition, on the sepulchers and its gravestones, are found designs of small flowers attached together symmetrically. That motif is known in Bali as *mas-masan*, and is frequently employed on the decorated panels of traditional Balinese houses, as well as in Java's palaces, for example at Cirebon, where it is chiseled onto the interior edgings of the building's roof.

Meanwhile, a motif which is not prominent is Arabic calligraphy. When used it was applied to the northern and southern ends of the coffin, which are technically known as the *gunungan* by archaeologists. This form of decor is generally employed for religious messages such as confessions of faith and statements of the year of death, realized with highly artistic hand writing on the *gunungan*, and combined with other decorations.

The simple grave model. The third class of graves, which we may call type C, is identified only by having two grave markers erected above the burial place (see Fig. 3). Even this simplest grave has the form and decorations which are typical of South Sulawesi. The South Sulawesi tradition is moreover emphasized by the inclusion of funerary dedications written in the « lontara » script, as well as the exhibition of geometric and floral motifs, and Arabic calligraphy.

Figure 1. The Terraced Pyramid Model (Type A grave)

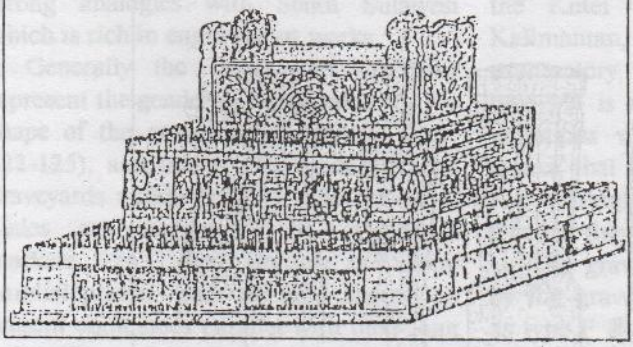


Figure 2. The Stone Coffin Model (Type B grave)

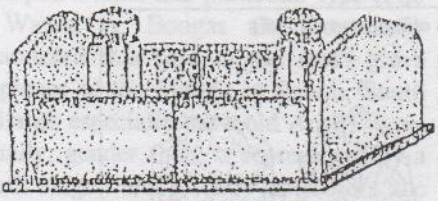
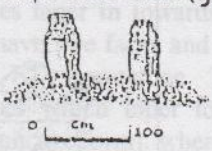


Figure 3. The Simple Grave Model (Type C grave)



Symbolic significance. Apart from the material indications of Bugis and Makassar cultural aspects indicated by the graves, the graves also reflect behavioral patterns which specifically reflect the status symbols of the deceased. The type A grave, with its single example (on Serangan Island), is known to mark the burial of a Bugis personage who locally bears the title of *Puak Matoa* or *Puak Gede*. Within the Bugis tradition, this title is usually given to the heads of semi-autonomous settlements within the domain of kingdoms which are ruled by an aristocrat with the title *Arung*, as is the case in Wajo (Pelras, 1996: 112) and Soppeng (Caldwell, 1995: 399-401).

Generally speaking, this type of grave is reserved for a ruler or other very high aristocrat within South Sulawesi. However, this would not be a sufficient reason to conclude that the type A grave at Serangan reflects such an elevated status, because a personage occupying the rank of *Puak Matoa* is not a member of the aristocracy. Rather, such a title would be associated with the public figure of the village, who heads the Bugis community in its trade negotiations or in the defense of the State. The king of Badung, Cokorde Pemecutan III, would appear to have recognized the Serangan individual with greater respect than would be accorded to the mere post of *matoa* [chief of the settlement]. The other Bugis settlements in Badung had their *matoa*, but these figures did not possess the charisma of the Serangan Island personage.

Figure 4. The Graves of Males (Type M)

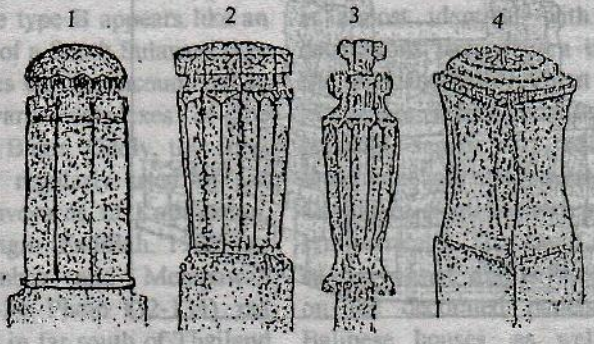
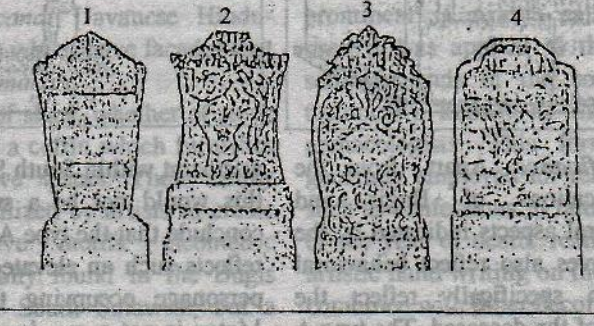


Figure 5. The Graves of Females (Type F)



On the other hand, we have examples of a different level of status in the type B graves, which are encountered in considerable numbers in all of the Islamic graveyards in Badung. Various epigraphic data provide traces of a class of Bugis nobles titled *ompo* [*opu*] and *puang*, titles which are generally ascriptive in South Sulawesi. But others evince indications of rich merchants who are called *nakhoda* [a captain or possibly the owner of a sailing fleet]. Of course, the exhibition of noble status with a built-up grave would also be available to wealthy individuals among the commoners. Meanwhile, the average commoners would be commemorated merely with type C graves, whose identifying feature is paired gravestones facing each other.

Different types of stele. The motive to convey special recognition through symbolic messages, either religious or artistic, can also be realized by the shape of the gravestones [Bugis: *mesan* or *mesana*], and the very complex designs on them. Taking this point, again we have

strong analogies with South Sulawesi which is rich in engraved art works.

Generally the Bugis and Makassar represent the gender of the deceased by the shape of the gravestone (Fadillah, 1989: 122-125), and this is also evident in the graveyards within Badung. The graves of males are represented by cylindrical markers in the form of long parallelepipeds, and markers shaped to present eight sides parallel with their long axis. These can classified as type M [male]. Numerous variants have been developed within this particular type (Fig. 4). Wayne A. Bougas also commonly encountered this type in the royal grave complexes of the Malays in Patani, South Thailand, especially the « old Aceh » type. Actually, gender there is represented by a raised edge along the apex of the gravestone for males, and a flat edge for female burials, but he further writes that these gender markers were adopted from Indian traditions (Bougas, 1988: 31).

Type M1 is the form of cylindrical gravestone whose two ends are symmetrical. Type M2 includes the group of gravestones whose upper diameter is larger than their lower diameter, of the same form as the Aceh type of gravestone during the reign of Iskandar Muda (Othman Yatim, 1988: 33). Type M3 is the type of gravestone which has the shape of a cup or flower vase, with two or three knobs on top; as well as the numerous examples which can be seen in South Sulawesi, exactly the same form is encountered in Kubo Ayah, Patani, South Thailand (Bougas, 1996: 68, Fig. 1 & 17). Ambary (1984: 428, Photo 93) illustrates the same type of gravestone in the grave complex of the Kutei rulers in Tenggarong, Est Kalimantan, and says the upper promontory is like a « *stupa* ». Finally, type M4 is shaped like a small boat with variations which differ in their vertical aspect, that is, depending on whether they rise straight up perpendicularly, or whether they have a conical form.

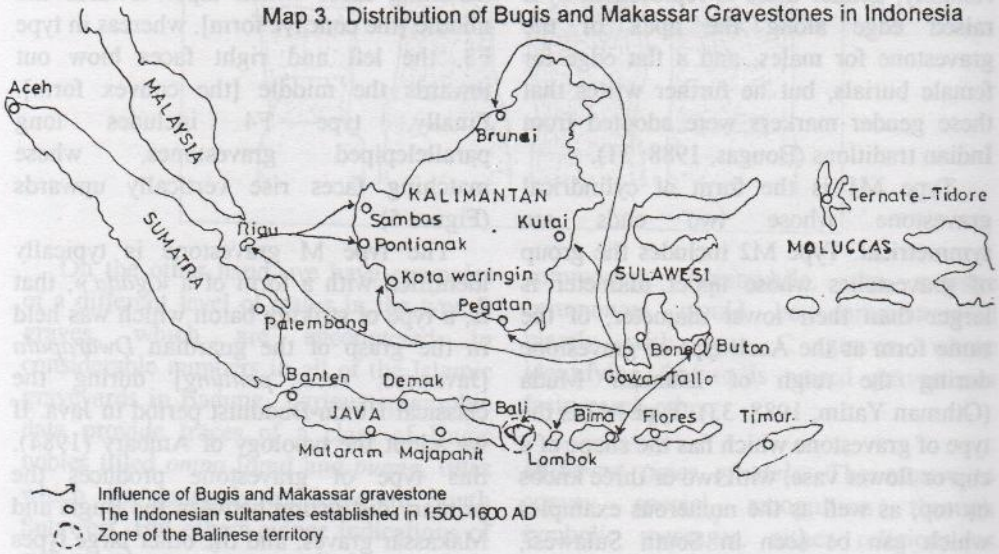
The graves of women are represented by flat gravestones which we can classify as type F [female], with variations visible in the modifications made to the left and right faces of the gravestone. These variations can be classed as follows. Type F1 includes gravestones whose two matching faces taper in towards the base, so that they have five faces and a peg-like foot. Type F2 gravestone have two matching faces which taper towards the middle [the concave form], whereas in type F3, the left and right faces blow out towards the middle [the convex form]. Finally, type F4 includes long parallelepiped gravestones, whose matching faces rise vertically upwards (Figure 5).

The type M gravestone is typically identified with a form of a « *gada* », that is, a type of striking baton which was held in the grasp of the guardian *Dwarapala* [Javanese: *reco pentung*] during the classical Hindu-Buddhist period in Java. If we adopt the typology of Ambary (1984), this type of gravestone produces the primary distinction between the Bugis and Makassar graves, and the other large types such as the Aceh type [which Othman Yatim (1988) prefers to call *Batu Aceh*], the Demak-Troloyo type which is extremely popular in Java, and the Ternate-Tidore gravestones which are the

distinguishing feature of the Maluku [Moluccas] graves.

The distribution of Bugis and Makassar gravestones in Indonesia is widespread indeed, encircling all of South Sulawesi in the Bugis as well as the Makassar royal graveyards, from Mamuju and Mandar to the far south, beginning from Ujung Pandang in the west to Bone in the east. Beyond South Sulawesi, we meet the same types of gravestones in the physical vestiges of the trading towns and ports along the coasts of Kalimantan, Sumatra, Malaysia, Patani and Brunei. In eastern Indonesia we find this type beginning at Buton, extending through Bima and Sumbawa, and continuing to Bali (see Map 3). The wide distribution of this type is not hard to understand because large numbers of Bugis and Makassar traders have maintained a long-distance trading network from at least the seventeenth century, and continuing to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These traders established their settlements in the places to where they had roamed, whilst continuing their ritual traditions and art forms which they knew in their place of origins.

Map 3. Distribution of Bugis and Makassar Gravestones in Indonesia



Epigraphic Data on the Gravestone and the *mimbar*

Arabic calligraphy on the gravestones. Let us now see how the artistic sentiments are manifested through the means of Arabic calligraphy. As is the case with so many other graves in Indonesia, the graves of Serangan Island, Suwung, Tuban and Kepaon have became monumental media to immortalize religious messages with the use of the curvilinear Arabic script. If classified according to the contents of the messages, four categories of calligraphy are found:

[1] Declarations of the unity of God. The *syahadat* declaration [*La ilaaha ila Allah, Muhammad Rasul Allah* (There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet)] is the verbal expression made by a person who enters into the Islamic religion, and which is also uttered at each prostration during prayers [*shalat*] and indeed on every occasion a Moslem prays. On the Badung graves, we encounter this decalation of faith inscribed with a calligraphy which is striking and very beautiful, and which sometimes fills the entire outside face of the ends of the coffin [the *gunungan*]. This location would seem to be chosen so that the declaration would be quickly seen by anyone looking at the grave.

[2] Admonitions to remember Allah, his Messenger, and the Four Main Caliphs. The short version of this calligraphic message can be found for example on a stone coffin at the Serangan graveyard. It reads: *Nur Qaul'al-Haq Allah Muhammad Allah.* The full version can be found at the Serangan graveyard, as follows: *La ilaaha ila Allah Muhammad Rasul Allah Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman, Ali.* It is important to note that these sayings can also be found inscribed on the wall panels of various houses of the Moslem inhabitants of Loloan Timur, Jembrana. The front wall of the house bears the calligraphic passage relating to Allah and Muhammad, then the flanking walls of the house are in turn incised with the calligraphic passages which mention Abu Bakar, Umar, Usman and Ali. According to Moslem traditions, the mention of these four *Khalifat al-Rasyidin* constitutes an object of honor towards them. Because of this, reading the verse [*shalawat*] and appropriate salutations [*salam*] are usually echoed for them in the second sermon [*khotbah*] during the Friday prayers after the preacher's honorific epithet finishes the prayers, and the salutation to the Prophet and his family.

[3] Prayers for the deceased. Prayers at the graveside are generally uttered at the moment when the deceased leaves on his or her journey. The other purpose for these prayers for the deceased is to remind the living that the moment of death will strike them down too. This message has indeed been incised for posterity on several graves at Badung. One of the gravestones in the Kepaon complex is an example bearing the « seal » of this prayer: *Allahumaghfir lahu war hamhu* [...] (May God forgive the deceased [...]).

[4] Explanatory accounts of the deceased. In general these messages utilize the Malay language written in Arabic script. There is almost no attempt to convey these messages in a calligraphic form, but rather in a script which can be easily read. An example appears on the face of a coffin-gravestone at the Serangan graveyard:

« *Hijrat-al-Nabi shalallahu `alaihi w'al-salam 1292 telah pulang ke rahmat Allah (di) Serangan hari Sabtu* » [died in 1292 Hijrat-al-Nabi at Serangan on Saterday]. A coffin in the Kepaon graveyard bears the message: « *`Abd-al-Rahman pulang ke rahmat Allah pada bulan Rajab tahun 1245* ». (Abd-al-Rahman passed by God in Rajab 1245). Another example from this same graveyard is found on a coffin: « *Muhammad Manshur pulang ke rahmat Allah pada tanggal 16 Rabi`ul Akhir Hijrat-al-Nabi 1225* » [Muhammad Manshur passed by God on Rabi'ul Akhir 16, 1225 Hijrat-al-Nabi].

Lontara inscriptions on the gravestone. The Bugis identity of the graves stands out most strongly from the inscriptions written with the *lontara* script. On the basis of our observations, this script has been utilized at the Serangan, Suwung and Tuban graveyards. The use of this script, which can usually be found within almost all the old graveyards in South Sulawesi, is primarily to explain the reasons for the erection of the tombstone [stele]. All of these inscriptions provide expressions which address this process, for instance *salama mesana* [may this grave survive well], *salama majepu* [in memorial], *tampuna mesana* [this is his gravestone]. These phrases, taken from the Bugis language, are commemorial utterances associated with the burial ritual which comes to a close with the construction of the grave, as signalled by the erection of the gravestones which thus become the prime marker of the deceased. In general these inscriptions convey an account of the name, occasionally associated with the date of death in Arabic script. Here are some of the examples from the Serangan graveyard: « *Salama panesa wangatampu Ana'na Dau* » [in memorial to whom born the Daud's son], « *Salama majepu mesana Pua(ng) Basela Ompo* » [in memorial (stele) to 'Lord' Ompo], and « *Tampuna mesana La(nga)ba* » [The tomb of La-(nga)ba]. A coffin-gravestone combination has this message: « *Salama majepu Mesana Ana'na Anakoda Bega ri Laleng Taun He (Allah, Muhammad) Hijrat-al-Nabi 1284* » [in memorial (stele) to a son of Anakoda Bega died in 1284].

On the basis of the epigraphic data which are well inscribed on the graves as well as on the gravestones, we can find some which are precisely dated and, thus, demonstrate that there are indeed old graves in Badung which possess inscriptions. At the Serangan graveyard, the oldest date is 1269 Hijrah in the Moslem calendar [AD 1852]; at the Suwung Kangin graveyard, the dates begin at 1183 Hijrah [AD 1769]; the dates start at 1268 H [AD 1851] at the Tuban graveyard; and at the Kepaon graveyard, they begin at 1225 H, or AD 1810 (see the table below).

These dates allow us to propose the interpretation that the efflorescence of the Bugis settlements at Badung had occurred by approximately the end of the seventeenth century, at which time the Gelgel kingdom was experiencing its decline, while Badung began to strive towards becoming an independent kingdom. Thus, the arrival of South Sulawesi traders to the Badung area may have commenced by the early seventeenth century, as was the case with the other port complexes in Bali.

List of the Old Tombstones
According to Typology and Epigraphic Data

Site	Bugis & Makassar Gravestones								Dates	Total
Cemetery	Type M				Type F					
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4		
Serangan	21	20	18	18	43	15	41	2	1269 -- 1335 H [AD 1852-1916]	178
Suwung	24	7	3	7	37	2	16	-	1183 -- 1331 H [AD 1769-1912]	96
Tuban	18	7	-	14	9	10	14	5	1268 -- 1336 H [AD 1851-1917]	77
Kepaon	7	-	12	15	7	1	-	6	1225 -- 1332 H [AD 1810-1913]	48
T o t a l										399

Note: In the Kepaon graveyard, we recorded seven gravestones of the Demak and Troloyo type which however had no dating evidence in association.

The Arabic and Buginese inscriptions on the rostrums.

Other remains of inscriptions, which testify to the presence of South Sulawesi culture and an Islamic identity, are visible on the rostrum of the mosque located in Kampung Bugis at Suwung. This rostrum of *mimbar* [*m-n-b-r*] is made of wood with decorations which consist of floral and calligraphic motifs.

The first calligraphic message is a *syahadat* declaration of faith [*La Ilaha ila Allah Muhammad Rasul Allah*] chiselled on the upper part of the arch of the rostrum. The second is a *shalawat* admonition to remember the Prophet [*Allahuma Shalli`ala Muhammad Wa`ala alihi Muhammad*] located on the upper part of the left and right sides of the rostrum. These two calligraphic messages are accompanied by floral motifs, beautifying the panels of the rostrum, the place which exudes the most sacred message within the mosque. The location of this calligraphy, breathing out the unity of God, is itself hooked to the function of the rostrum, the place where the preacher delivers advice on the faith on every Friday prayers, *Idul Fitri* holiday or *Idul Adha* holiday, and also the place to which the attentive devote their *ma'mum*.

The Bugis character is illustrated on the panel on the lower part of the rostrum. On the vertical face we find an inscription which details the erection of the rostrum. This inscription utilizes the Bugis

language written in *jawi* script, a combination conventionally called « *Ugi' Serang* », a term derived from the two words « Bugis » and «Seram », which suggests that this script was adopted from the Maluku people as they used to know *jawi* or *pegon*.

The inscription is transcribed and translated below: « *Penesange perenggeng masigi Puak Matoa Haji Sulaiman Wa' Makernu natepu 24 Upu'na Sya'ban Sannat 1311 na'e [?] perengeng mimbare riyaseng Yahya Puak Gede Tamat 18 Sya'ban Sannat 1315* » [The situation regarding this mosque is that it was looked after by Puak Matoa or Haji Sulaeman, alias Wak Makernu. The mosque was finished being built on 24 Sya'ban 1311 Hijrah (27 Februari 1893). The rostrum was looked after by Yahya or Puak Gede, and finished on 18 Sya'ban 1315 Hijrah (13 Januari 1897)].

A commemoration along these lines is also found on the rostrum at the Jami' Kepaon Mosque. Its twin is the Syuhada Mosque at Serangan. Local tradition has it that these mosques were built by a Bugis artist from Serangan Island. As with the rostrum at the Suwung and Serangan mosques, the Arabic calligraphy found on the upper section of the arch consists of the *syahadat* declaration of faith. Meanwhile, the recorded message which utilizes the Malay-Arabic script and the Malay language is found on the lower section of the rostrum, on the right side. This inscription, transcribed and translated, runs as follows: *Bahwa inilah tanda peringatan tatkala mendirikan masjid Jami' al-waqaf fi syahri Jumadil Akhir Sannat Hijrat'al-Nabi 1326 al-fadhal al-shalatu w'al-salam* [This commemorates our construction of the Jami' Al-Wakaf mosque in the month of Jumadil at the end of the year Hijrah Nabi 1326, *al-fadhal al-shalatu w'al-salam*].

Tentative entry of Islam

In discussing the Islamic history of Indonesia, scholars generally begin with the geographical and chronological perspectives. Scholars taking a geographical perspective note that the Indonesian Archipelago has been a maritime cross-roads between Western Asia and Oriental Asia from very ancient times. Hence Islam may have came to Indonesia using the « indianization » routes, moreover the Moslem traders could have extended their networks as far as the eastern archipelago. The chronological perspective has been summarized to the effect that Islam penetrated Indonesia by successive steps at points along the cross-roads where the spice trade offered the allure of profits. From these viewpoints, some historians have presented a theoretical case that the islamization of Indonesia has occurred as a continuous process. N. A. Baloch (1980: 56-57). for example, has divided this process into four phases. [1] Early contacts of the local people with the visiting Moslems during their in-transit stopovers in port towns between the seventh and eighth centuries. [2] The visiting Moslems take up residence to create their own households within the territory of Indonesia; process of fraternization with the indigenous population; establishment of Islamic communities in port towns and adjoining areas from the ninth to eleventh centuries.

[3] Growth of the Indonesian Moslem communities in the coastal regions and adjoining hinterland; development of community organization, and the establishment of Islamic states from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. [4] Widespread consolidation of Islam as part of the growing process of cultural and political integration and the indigenous people's struggle against colonial domination from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries.

The same general process can probably explain the case of the coming of Islam to Bali. However, one difference lies in the fact that, from early times, Islam did not disperse across the island to the same degree as in other Indonesian regions, but has had the tendency to remain quite « marginal ». We also know that no Islamic state was established in the later phases. Hence, although Islam may have came to Bali by the same general process, we have to ask why the geographical and chronological details did not cohere. Here we face certain difficulties as our data are still indicative and the textual sources concerning the islamization of Bali are very rare and quite difficult to interpret.

The earliest information may be given by the *Babad Dalem*, one of the Balinese manuscripts held in the Lontar Library, Faculty of Letters, Udayana University, Denpasar. One of its passages speaks of a messenger from « Mekah » who arrived in order to introduce Islam to Gelgel, the capital of Klungkung, the Hindu Balinese kingdom which at that time was under the authority of Dalem Watu Renggong [1480-1550]. The text however continues that this proselytizor of Islam failed to win a magic duel against the Balinese king and finally returned without any success (Fadillah, 1992: 102, note 11). The term « Mekah » in this case has been debated by the local historians, but they have agreed to identify it with some place along Java's northern coast, probably Demak (Berg, 1927: 141-144; Putera Agung, 1981: 164-165; Wirawan, 1980: 7). This hypothesis may well be proposed because Demak was popular as one of the centers of the movement for islamizing the central regions of Indonesia at around the sixteenth century. According to Wirawan (1980: 11), one of the senior historians of Denpasar's Udayana University, this story of the (presumably Javanese) missionary may not signal the first tentative inroads of islamization.

In the following text of the same manuscript, we find further information that in the period of a former king, Dalem Ngelesir, approximately in the fourteenth century, a group of forty Javanese Moslems from Majapahit arrived as followers of the Balinese king when he returned from a traditional royal reunion in the capital of Majapahit. Although no-one knows what their role was, certain historians have argued that they should be considered only as the servants of the king. For this reason, Wirawan (1980: 4) assumes that the arrival of these Majapahit Moslems to Gelgel was not for the specific purpose of introducing Islam to the Hindu Balinese community. However, not long afterwards, one of the Majapahit Sivaite priests named Danghyang Nirartha arrived at Gelgel, during the reign of Waturenggong, in order to consolidate Hinduism in Bali. In the author's opinion,

if this manuscript could be considered a reliable source, the latter mission took place because of the fact that at this time Majapahit was facing a political and economic crisis in which the northern Javanese port towns had largely fallen beneath the authority of the Moslem trading elite.

The limited sources discussed above supply little possibility of secure knowledge. We can only hypothesize that the introduction of Islam to Bali in the early phases had taken place through the agency of some Islamic missionaries from certain parts of coastal eastern Java. However, whereas Islam progressed in the interior of Java with the decline of the Hindu Javanese kingdom of Majapahit and ther the establishment of Islamic states such as Mataram in central Java, we know that in Bali, where royal authority has been concentrated in Gelgel in Klungkung District, Moslem societies have survived only in the coastal regions. Professor Hasan M. Ambary has proved the ancient heritage of the little Moslem community located in Gelgel by the existence of the mosque and its decorated and inscribed *mimbar* [rostrum]. The mosque and rostrum, considered as Islamic relics, have continued to attract members of the community to practice their Islamic rituals until the present day (Ambary, 1985: 41-42).

These historical phenomena demonstrate that the Javanese movement to expand Islam in Bali was anticipated by Danghyang Nirartha's mission from Majapahit. His program was strongly supported by the authorities in Bali who then sponsored some major temples [*pura*] in Bali such as Uluwatu at Jimbaran, Tanah Lot at Tabanan, Sakenan on Serangan Island, etc. (Wirawan, 1980: 4; see Map 2).

Early contacts by the Moslem traders

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Islam was completely integrated in the states characterized by the authority of sultanates in the port towns of the Archipelago. At this time, the island of Bali was the only place in Indonesia where Hindu states had survived, under the governance of the Gelgel dynasty. In the period of Dalem Watu Renggeng [1480-1550], probably in the middle sixteenth century, the Balinese kingdom claimed that the Cape of Blambangan in eastern Java, Lombok and Sumbawa fell under the authority of Bali. As explained above, at this time, after the failure of islamization, Gelgel had further developed the Majapahit Hindu tradition because of the mission of Danghyang Nirartha. We can say that Gelgel had successfully orchestrated the emergence of a Balinese « *sentiment d'appartenance* » [feeling of memberships] in order to display community identity in opposition to (and interaction with) Indonesia's Islamic society. Nevertheless, this fact did not place Bali in isolation. Political and economic contacts continued with those port towns already dominated by Islamic communities. We have some indication of this from the *Babad Dalem* which informs us that the southeastern coast of Bali, particularly the coast of Tulamben in Klungkung, was being visited by *wong sunantara* or *wong nusantara* [Nusantara

men], the Balinese term for « strangers », probably visitors from other Indonesian port towns. This manuscript passage may indicate that Bali was already open to commercial relations by approximately the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Further interesting information is recorded that when Gelgel was ruled by Dalem Sagening [1580-1650], the successor to Watu Renggong, the first Dutch traders, commanded by Lintgensz and Manuel Rodenborch, arrived and stayed from the 9th to the 16th of February, 1597 (Wirawan, 1980: 5). Unfortunately, that commercial mission was not successful. We assume that when Bali was ruled by Sagening, Gelgel faced chronic political difficulties from both internal and external factors.

Oral tradition tells us that there was an internal political crisis at the Gelgel court. This could well have been implicated in the shift of the royal capital to Klungkung (the present capital district), inaugurated by Dewa Agung Jambe [1650-1686], Sagening's successor. On the other hand, we see that at approximately the same time, the Javanese Islamic sultanate of Mataram was enforcing its hegemony in Java itself and in certain other parts of the Indonesian Archipelago, including some level of predominance over Blambangan by about 1635.

The other challenge came from places in the east such as Makassar. From the beginning of its period under Islamic rule, Makassar frequently furthered its territorial expansion in the islands of Nusa Tenggara, through campaigns such as the 1618 expedition to Bima led by Lokmok Mandalle of Goa. During the period of Sagening's reign, the Balinese kingdom has tried to anticipate the threat of Makassar's hegemony with the 1624 treaty concerning the territories in Sumbawa and Lombok belonging to Bali and Makassar respectively (Crawfurd, 1820: 517). But this prophylactic safeguard did not long stand up. Goa's successive expeditions in 1626, 1633 and 1640 brought Bali's erstwhile vassals in western Sumbawa and Lombok beneath the control of Makassar (*Dagh Register*, 1626; Wirawan, 1980: 5; Suwitha, 1984: 89-90).

The 1624 treaty which had previously been agreed between Sagening and Sultan Alauddin was clearly of no benefit to Bali. The serious threats from both within and outside had the result that Klungkung experienced political decadence, and even more fatally, Bali disintegrated as a political unit. Hence during the reign of Dewa Agung Jambe [1650-1686], Klungkung's vassals of Buleleng, Karangasem, Mengwi, Tabanan, Jembrana and Badung became independent polities. Nonetheless, as a cultural remnant of their former status as vassal kingdoms, they still acknowledged the authority of the ruler of Klungkung as a spiritual power and the direct heir of Majapahit (Wirawan, 1980: 5).

Because Bali became divided into small political units, the island was beset by rivalry between the local kingdoms. Despite the political problems, independent polities near the coast flourished. This brought economic development to each of these little localities, and opened Bali up from its isolation within the network of inter-island business. Unfortunately, the advent of

foreign traders received extremely little attention in the Balinese texts, and indeed some of the relevant accounts were only written at a later date.

For example, at Loloan, the major port within the kingdom of Jembrana, colonies of Islamic traders from South Sulawesi, Pontianak and even Trengganu [on the north coast of West Malaysia] started up in the second half of the seventeenth century. The *Hikayat Haji Sirat*, a Malay manuscript written by Bugis descendants in Loloan, tells us that Bugis people were already in Jembrana by approximately 1669. The first traders who entered this port appeared in four armed *perahus* from Wajo [writers are inclined to believe that they were more probably a fleet of Bajaus, who used to undertake a great deal of maritime trade in Nusantara] under the leadership of Daeng Nakhoda [which is actually the title of the ship's captain]. He and his 20 followers requested permission from the ruler of Jembrana to establish a trading colony there (Reken, 1979: 17). Thanks to them, Loloan then became the permanent territorial basis for other traders, principally from Pontianak and Trengganu (Sodrie, 1985: 776-790; Fadillah, 1988: 22). The present writer's 1989 survey in Loloan encountered traces of dwellings which had the form of groups of meeting houses which remind us of the traditional model of a house in South Sulawesi and also in Peninsular Malaysia (Murniathi 1988: 90-155).

As regards the north coast of Bali, which partly remained under the control of the Buleleng kingdom, Ginarsa and Suparman collected local sources which told of the presence of Bugis people in Buleleng by approximately 1642. The dating information was collected from the heroic sagas of Jayaprana and Layonsari which mention the arrival of Bajau people with *candra sengkala*: « *duk mangurit, sri puspa jihwa ka warna* » [1564 çaka or AD 1642] (Ginarsa & Suparman, 1979: 22). The descendants of these South Sulawesi traders formed their own colony in Kajanan, Singaraja, popularly known as Kampung Bugis, alongside other Moslem colonists from Java (Handayani (1986). Their traces are preserved in the ancient mosques which have been studied specifically by for his Doctorandus sub-thesis in the Department of Archeology at Udayana University.

Unfortunately, there are no local sources which definitely discuss the arrival of Bugis people within the area of the Badung kingdom. However, in their paper at the « Seminar on the History of the Entry of Islam in Bali » (Moeljono *et al.*, 1980: 35), Wirawan & Arigalung opined that the Bugis had come to Badung at around the second half of the seventeenth century. Their opinion is based on the evidence that at that time people from South Sulawesi arrived in Jembrana, which is situated along Bali's south coast. There are also suggestions that the Bugis arrival had commenced before that, because the ports of Badung were opened up even while that kingdom remained a vassal of Gelgel.

For instance, it is said that in 1586 Portuguese traders stopped in at Kuta, one of the ports of Badung along its western beachfront. Some time after the Portuguese shifted their trading routes, into Melaka, to follow the northern and

southern coastlines of Kalimantan, the Dutch traders retraced the footsteps of the Portuguese. A Dutch party, under the command of Cornelis de Houtman, stopped in at Kuta in 1597 (Lekkerkerker, 1910: 8; Ranteg, 1984: 55). Following that, Cornelis Heemscherk came to Kuta to realize a trading relationship with Gelgel (Lekkerkerker, 1910: 13; 1926: 315). This trading relationship lasted at least until between 1663 and 1660, and was the first to involve deals in opium and slavery (van Eck, 1880: 67). The Bugis seized an important role in the slave trade. They continued to deal in slaves until 1715 despite the opposition from the Dutch traders (Lekkerkerker, 1923: 219; Nielsen, 1928; Putera Agung, 1971: 39).

The Bugis communities at Badung

Traders certainly increased their frequentations at the ports of Badung after that kingdom freed itself from Gelgel's control, or at least when Gelgel's domination was merely nominal, between the middle of the seventeenth century and the early nineteenth century. Consequently, as well as Kuta, the other port which began to be exposed to business contacts was located to the east of Kuta, namely Tuban. This name reminds us of an important port along Java's north coast, especially as the toponym of Tuban is also located along the south coast of Makassar, as indeed recorded on an early Portuguese map (Pelras, 1977: 237). Lekkerkerker (1922: 212-213) gave that port the name *Westerstrand*, in contrast to *Oosterstrand* which was used for the second port of the same name on the isthmus of Badung [as mentioned previously]. Because the waters in that port enclosed a lot of coral reefs and were shallow, only small boats could dock at Tuban, those whose weight did not exceed 100 *lasten* [± 25 ton] (G. Lauts, 1848: 138-140). On the southeastern side of Kuta, a small port was located to take advantage of the mouth of the Suwung River in front of the island today known as Serangan. But because of the shallow depth of the water, this port was visited only by small groups of Bugis traders.

From those ports, Badung exported a range of produce such as rice, coffee, coconuts, vegetable oil, and slaves too. The kingdom exchanged those products for opium, ironwares, Indian and European cloth, as well as tobacco and various porcelain wares (Putra Agung, 1971: 38-47).

We can find information on the population of Badung during the early nineteenth century. During the time of Gusti Ngurah Made Pemecutan [1800-1810], Badung was estimated to rule over 110,000 subjects, including 20,000 foreigners made up of Bugis, Malays, Javanese, Chinese, Arabs and Indian (Lauts, 1848: 103; Van den Broek, 1935: 160-184). Among these foreigners, the Bugis formed the largest group and were generally stationed near the ports of Kuta, Tuban and Serangan, whereas the other foreigners tended to prefer to reside in the trading centres of the city, not far from Puri Pemecutan. As a reverberation of that historical factor, settlements can still be found near Denpasar called *Kampung Jawa* and *Kampung Arab*, whereas settlements named Kampung Bugis are generally quite some distance away, along the coast, near the ports.

Unlike the other foreign residents, the Bugis played politics within the Badung kingdom. Not content with acting merely as shipwrights and traders, the Bugis also convinced the king to allow them to form one of the kingdom's troops. The rivalry between Mengwi and Jembrana caused Badung to enter into a disorderly battle (van Eck, 1880: 211; Lekkerkerker, 1922: 205; Ranteg, 1984: 20-21).

Information along these lines came from the traditions of the Pemecutan palace as well as those of the Bugis community. For instance, during the reign of Cokorde Pemecutan III [Gusti Ngurah Pemecutan], whose title was Batara Sakti, a battle ensued over an attempt to seize the frontier boundary shared with the Mengwi kingdom. In opposition to Mengwi's expansion, which had already commenced during the late eighteenth century, Bugis fighters under the direction of Puak Matoa [known as Puak Gede in the Balinese version], along with the Madurese community led by Raden Sastroningrat, became involved in defending the sovereignty of Badung (Fadillah 1992: 113, note 8). In recognition of their service, the Bugis received a special right and various concessions to build a permanent presence. Utilizing these concessions, the Bugis chose to inhabit Serangan, Suwung Kangin, Tuban, and Angan Tiga [on Badung's frontier in the direction of the centre of the island]. The first three took the form of residences as of the Gelgel period, whereas the Madurese and Javanese communities along with certain Bugis have since been assimilated within the customary community of Kepaon, a village surrounded by wet rice. Kepaon was a flourishing estate of the kingdom (see Map 2).

In contrast to the earlier settlements of the Javanese, Arabs, Chinese and Indians, which have been transformed beyond recognition during the urban development of the city of Denpasar, the Bugis settlements still offer us elements of their ancient past. Their settlements are very distinct from the settlements of the Balinese majority. Symbolized by the mosques, which have been repeatedly restored, authentic remains which have not yet succumbed to modernism and urbanism present themselves to us. These remains include the ancestors' graves, albeit their tendency to lie forgotten and to have become degraded with the passage of time.

Conclusion

From the archaeological data which have analyzed above, we now possess the body of information to contemplate the knowledge on the history of the Islamic « minority » which flourished as a localized tradition at the heart of Hindu civilization. These antiquities in the Badung area, whose traces have only recently been brought to scholarly attention, have an important significance for expressing the origins and efflorescence of the settlements of Moslem traders along Bali's south coast. As regards their age, these antiquities are clearly much later than the early Islamic antiquities from many other parts of Indonesia. However, we must admit that these data at the very least constitute evidence on human history, providing dates, reflecting the persistence of a non-

Hindu Balinese culture along with various elements of cultural borrowing, and showing some assimilation of the Islamic Bugis minority.

From the socio-economic perspective, these archaeological antiquities provide us evidence that Islam also had its network in Bali, the island which, until today, has remained the arena for prehistoric and classical archaeological fieldwork programs of Indonesian archaeological research. The Moslem pioneers have bequeathed us their graves, rostrums and mosques, along with old texts of the Koran. In fact they played a double role, initially parading the regional and interregional changes and, subsequently, becoming involved in the political affairs of the Hindu Balinese kingdoms, as per their participation in the defence of the sovereignty of the local power wherever they stayed and enjoyed their economic basis.

Therefore, these Bugis and Javanese antiquities provide a limited quantity of data which constitute an important appendix to the unique Islamic history of Bali. This history is not focused on the centers of the « large traditions » which flourished in the lands of the sultanates, but is a history in the « small tradition » vein. Sailors, traders and perhaps various farmers, along with a group of Moslems dedicated to the service of the Hindu king, truly realized their actions and their importance in the political and economic growth of the kingdoms.

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