

Changes in Tolaki People Burial in Southeast Sulawesi: From Boat-Shaped Grave Coffin (*Sorong*) to Boat-Shaped Islamic Tomb (*Koburu Bangga*)

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Abstract

The first burial system of Tolaki people in prehistoric times and ancient times adopted boat-shaped grave coffin known as soronga or oduni. There were large and small soronga and there were also decorated and undecorated or plain soronga. When Islam was introduced in the Mekongga Kingdom during the leadership of King/Bokeo Laduma in 17th century and in Konawe in 18th century, the burial system was adopted. However, the tradition of using boats experienced a change. During the Islamic era, there were two shapes of grave in the Islamic grave called as ninggeo-nggeo where the grave was placed in a hole made on the side of the excavation and tinandapa where the grave was placed in a hole made in the middle of the excavation and it was intended for elite and influential ruler. There were also four models of tomb types, namely circle (*buboto/loelole*), rectangular (*konahuu*), rectangular step pyramid, elongated (*menda'a*), and boat-shaped (*obangga*). *koburu bangga* tomb. The distribution pattern of the tombs varied, there were converging (*metobu*), circular, and spreading patterns. The shape of tombstone also varied, it resembled pappilus genital, round stone, wide wood and stone, human head, knights grinding stone (*oliro*). It was made of stone, river stone, mountain stone, wood, and even tree was also used as a tomb marker. The boat-typed tomb still maintained because a faith that the deceased need vehicles to go to their destination. It is also affected by maritime world at the past as well as technology that lived in the past used by a collective memory.

Keywords: Burial; Soronga; Boat; Tolaki; Islam.

Introduction

Each ethnic group in this archipelago country has different burial model and system, for example, Toraja uses grave stone coffin resembling boat known as *erong* and Tolaki uses grave boat resembling boat known as *sorong* or *oduni*. Burial culture in the form of *erong* coffin can be found in (Duli, 1999), research on *sorong* is only limited to conservation conducted by archeology students and discussions about the existence of *sorong* grave coffin from aspects of history, function, structure, completeness, as well as culture continuing to this day, such as the boat-shaped tombs (*koburu bangga*) has yet been done. Until now, former secondary cemeteries still can be found in caves or *kumopo* located in the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi.

The existence of ancient tombs during the traditional Kingdom of Komawa and Mekongga still can be found, but their existence is threatened with extinction. It is because no one knows that they have valuable historical value, so no one has willingness to protect and preserve them. Many models of ancient tombs have been lost due to eviction, land processing, or development purposes. In this land, we still can find ancient tombs with various shapes, models, and characteristics. However, research on *sorong* system burial and boat-shaped tomb known as *koburu bangga* has yet conducted widely by experts. Austronesian people have known the form of burial by keeping the corpses in caves or in grave coffins, where Tolaki people called it as *sorong*.

The cave can be proven as a place for burial from the discovery of craved and uncraved

sorong. Other evidences are materials found in the cave, such as the discovery of grave coffin or *kumapo* or *sorong*. Therefore, it confirms that the cave is functioned as cemetery. In addition, piles of skulls and bones are also found inside the *sorong* in the cave (*kumapo*).

In the past, Tolaki people rested their deceased in *sorong* (boat-shaped grave coffin). Before the corpse was brought to the cave or *kumapo* to be stored, funeral had been arranged while drying the corpse. During the drying process, the pus water fell into a jar. After only skulls and bones remained, the corpse and the jar were put in *sorong* grave coffin.

Various types of burials were found to resemble boats, is this an indication of the previous culture in which the burial was done in the cave using a *sorong*. It can be concluded that burial tradition of Tolaki people tend to adopt the previous burial system (Yasni et al. 2019). Aspects related to Tolaki's burial system have not been studied by experts. Many ancient tombs are not preserved and abandoned because the heirs of the tombs are unknown. If it is in detail, the tombs have unique pattern, shape and model. There is a hypothesis that there are several models and patterns of burial of the Tolaki people, which is thought to be a continuation of the previous period.

***Sorong* Culture, Boat-Shaped Grave Coffin**

The forms and types of prehistoric burials in Indonesia are found to be varied. If the corpse is directly buried in the ground, it is called as primary burial and if the corpse is not directly buried in the ground, in which only some or specific bones are buried, it is called secondary burial. Both primary and secondary burial have their own types and characteristics. According to Soejono (1981), in Southeast Asia, prehistoric burial system has been introduced since the epipaleolithic period. The graves adopted secondary burial type with selective secondary burial and primary burial type with fixed position. Indonesia used to adopt temporary open-air burial and burial system has introduced around meolithic period and it continues to develop up in later times. According to data collected, there are four systems to lay the corpse, namely stretched,

lexed, crouched atausquatted, and prostrate position. The burial system in prehistoric time can be categorized into four types: (a) direct inhumation, including primary burial with and without coffin, (b) indirect inhumation, including secondary burial without coffin either complete or selective burial, secondary burial with a new, wooden, or burnt clay coffin or selective secondary burial, (c) combination inhumation, including primary and secondary burial without coffin or primary burial without coffin and secondary burial with coffin, and (d) exposed deposition that often continues with selective secondary burial.

Tolaki people adopt burial system of secondary burial type using boat-shaped coffin *sorong* (Muslimin 1992). It is evidence that the skull cave was used as a burial place for their ancestor put in pottery and ceramics jars. This is supported by the discovery of human bone fragments and several quiet dense pottery and ceramic fragments (Mahmud 2011, 126-127). A *sorong* grave coffin was found in North Pakue Kolaka Utara in 1982, to be precise in Tonggolasi cave, North Pakue Kolaka district. It has length of 4.75 m and width of 70 cm. According to the tradition, the boat-shaped grave coffin belongs to Lamasore, the first Mokole of Kodeoha in Northern part of Kolaka.

Only the deceased of a noble or *anakia* is kept at home in a coffin. If the flesh has been decomposed, then the bones are gathered. The larger *anakia* is kept in *sorong*, while the smaller *anakia* is kept in wooden coffin. Jewelry belonging to the deceased is kept in a smaller *sorong* next to the bones. The burial of the bones is accompanied with a fancy funeral for 10 days, sometimes a month with many buffaloes are sacrificed (Zlabbekoorn 1937, 46). The arrival of explorers and zendeling illustrates the existence of caves in which *sorong* are found. In Konawehea and Tongauna, grave coffins are kept in limestone caves.

Archeological objects related to burial activities are supported by the discovery of Chinese jar fragments, clay jars, human bones, as well as metal and glass artifacts. Characteristics seen in the artifacts (for example, decorative pattern and shapes of pottery, glazes and ceramic materials, variations in metal artifacts, glass bottles) indicates

that burial tradition in cave with skulls kept in jars probably dates back from the prehistoric times (the metal period around early 1000 AD) to historical times, at least around the 15th century as shown by Chinese jar used as grave container from Ming Dynasty. Furthermore, the existence of shale tools (made of obsidian and limestone), polished pickaxes, and pottery jar fragments, as well as combustion residue (either found on the site surface or excavation results) especially in the site of Gua Tengkorak indicating that there was a permanent human activity (Makassar Archaeological Center 2012, 23). Before Islam was introduced in Kendari and Kolaka, around 250 (two hundred and fifty) years ago, there was no grave found in both regions. When someone died, the deceased was kept in a place resembling a boat and it was covered well to prevent animals/insect to enter the boat. The deceased was laid in a place resembling boat called as *Sorong* (Figure 1), and then the *Sorong* was opened to take the bones and put it in a jar. After that, the jar was put in a hole or a cave or *kumapo* at a height that is not accessible to people, sometimes items loved by the deceased was also put it together, such as plates (*opingga*), jewelry, weapons (*ta'awu*), jars (*obenggi*), and other items (Amirudin et al. 2017).

According to the local residents, this cave is intended as burial site for their ancestor. This is in line with archeological indications found on the cave surface, such as human skulls and bones, ceramic fragments (jars or pots), pottery jar fragments (decorated and undecorated), glass bottle fragment, bronze bracelet fragments, millstones, shell fragments (seashell and landshell), iron artifacts fragments as well as beads and clay statues. If it is seen from the frequency and variants of archaeological discoveries in this cave that is very dense, it indicates that burials in this cave took place intensively from generation to generation, at least until deep into historical (pre-Islamic) times (Makassar Archaeological Center 2014, 33-34). An official during the Dutch East Indies named HBA. Konggoasa in 1953/1954 during a military operation against the DI/TII with the "Brawijaya" troops at a place not far from a place called "*Andolaki*", where the Tolaki people, upstream of the Konaweaha river, are now included in the Kolaka area, more firmly in

"*Watumendonga*" there is a "*kumapo*" which is very similar to human "bone-place" holes in mountain holes, such as those found in "Tanah Toraja" (Konggoasa, 1982).



Figure 1. *Sorong*, a boat-shaped grave coffin found in di North Pakue Kolaka in 1982.

Source: Photo of the 2012 Southeast Sulawesi State Museum UPTD Collection.

The discovery of *sorong* in the Porabu cave in Ueesi District, East Kolaka Regency describes that the mouth of the cave faces northeast with a width of 150 cm and a height of 4 m. The cave chamber is 20 m long (Makassar Archaeological Center 2011a; 2011b). On the surface of the cave floor, there are quite a lot of pottery fragments which appear to be dominated by jars. The burial coffin made of wood is called by the local people as *Duni* (Figure 2). The *sorong* looks still intact in the corner of the cave wall. Piles of human bones are found inside the *duni*. *Sorong* was also found in this place, *sorong* is the burial place of the



ancient Tolaki people, and the deceased are put in a special place made of wood in the shape of a boat. Figure 2. The Discovery of *Duni* and Distribution of Pottery Fragments in the Porabua Cave 2.

Source: Anonymous 2013.

The *duni* cover is shaped like a boat and has a length of 90 cm, a width of 40 and a height of 32 cm. If it is viewed from the front, the cover of the *duni* is triangular. On the side of the cover of the container there is a hole in the shape of a parallelogram. The zigzag decorative motif extends to a half oval shape. This *duni* container is a rectangle with a size of 70 cm, a width of 40 cm and a height of 28 cm. Each side has each stalk that is up to 18 cm long. The ornamental motif that is also visible is an elongated zigzag which has a circular motif at the end (Makassar Archaeological Center 2012a; 2012b; 2012c).

There are several reasons why boat-shaped grave coffin was used to keep corpse. First, *obangga* boat was made as a container to keep corpse and then boat-shaped grave coffin (*sorongga*) was made according to the length of the corpse, so there are two types of *sorongga* the long and the short one. The sort *sorongga* is used by children corpse. Second, the boat-shaped grave coffin is equipped with decorative boat cover (*pinati-pati*). There are several patterns found on *sorongga*, such as *ine taulu mbaku* fern shoots, *pine nohu* dimple, *ani-ani* or *pine sowi*, *pinetariwadi*, geometric and other patterns. Third, after the corpse is put in the *sorongga*, a hole is made at the end of the coffin. After that, a porcelain jar or pot (*obenggi*) functioned as "*tirika woa*" to collect the pus of the corpse is placed under the *sorongga*. Based on the discovery of the team, the size of the jar or *benggi* varies, some are small and some large. *Tirika woa* or a container to contain the pus is called *benggi* or *obenggi* made of rock material with brown and black glaziers. The lip of the container is not engraved and there are five ears styled in the form of a lion's head with holes in it placed on the shoulder of the container. *Obenggi* jar found in Kolaka is now stored near the Laduma tomb plot, in the form of a brown round jar that functions as a container for collecting pus from the corpse, called *atirika woa*. However, now it is used as a place to hold water which is used to wash hands when visiting the tomb of Bokeo or King Laduma with the title Sangia Nibandera.

A team of archaeologist discovered an object that resembled a coffin. Objects resembling a coffin in the cave look unusual because carvings are found on the right and left of the coffin that are thought

to contain meaning. Moreover, the coffin is in the middle of a pile of human skulls.

The discovery of this artifact strengthens the suspicion that the cave used to be burial place for certain ethnic group. There are patterns and carvings seen on the object, it looks like a certain carving. The object that looks like a grave coffin is indeed a grave coffin. The local people call it *sorongga*. It is used by the local people to do burial. Besides, ceramic shards are thought coming from Ming Dynasty and coins from Majapahit kingdom from 14th century were also discovered. This discovery breaks the assumption of some people who think that the cave full of skull is a place for slaughtering. The Wotika Cave site is administratively included in the Atodopi Village area, Abuki District, Konawe Regency. Astronomically, this site is located at the coordinates of 3 037'49, 32" South Latitude and 121 0 58'1, 84" East Longitude with an elevation of 165.52 meters above sea level. Waka cave is an alcove type cave which is located right on a fairly steep cliff, east of the Abuki River (Makassar Archaeological Center 2014). *Sorongga* fragment also found in Wotika cave (Makassar Archaeological Center 2012).

There are many *sorongga* shapes found In the Southeast Sulawesi area, one of which is *sorongga* found in Pakue and it is stored as the collection of the Southeast Sulawesi Province State Museum. A boat-shaped grave coffin is also found in the Porabua cave, North Ueesi Kolaka District. Boat-shaped grave coffins *Sorongga* are also found in several caves in Konawe and North Konawe Regencies. A small *sorongga* found in Porabua cave (Figure 3).



Figure 3. Small Sorongga in Porabua Cave.
Source: Melamba 2013a.

Sorong for children corpse has different length and pattern. There a belief that the boat is used as a vehicle by the corpse to go to the destination world or the final world. During the Konawe kingdom and before the influence of Islam, several Konawa kings were rested in *sorong* (boat-shaped grave coffin) (Melamba 2013a). The local tradition explains that Mokole or Tebawo King with title of Sangia Inato and Mokole of Maago King with title of Sangia Mbinauti were rested in *sorong* or boat-shaped grave coffin. The burial locations of the Konawe kings were guarded by palace guards (*ata ilaikaha*) and tomb guards or *ata peteia nggoburu* (Jong 2010). Likewise, according to the local tradition, Kings or *Mokole* and *Bokeo* of Mekongga King were also rested in caves (*kumapo*), especially in *kumapo* or watuwulaa caves.

***Koburu Bangga* (Boat-Shaped Tomb) Burial and Islam: Patterns, Shapes, and Models**

Today, all corpses are buried within 24 hours. The corpse is wrapped in a mat and in a piece of white cloth. A piece of *fuya* paper is placed around the corpse, the neck and cloth are tied a white cloth and the *fuya* paper was tied with rattan. Graves are often covered or fenced with planks. On top of the tomb is placed the betel nut or the betel bag belonging to the deceased (Jong 2010). For Islamic people, the deceased first brings to the mosque before the burial process. The body is wrapped with a white cloth (shroud) from above the head, the waist, and to toe. The bottom of the leg is then tied. It is required that inside the burial ploy, the deceased is not directly in contact with the ground. After leaving the mosque, the body is placed on the bale-bale, after a few steps it is placed again and this is repeated twice (Zlabbekoorn 1937).

The layout pattern of the Tolaki people's tombs varies, some are centered, some are elongated, and some are longitudinal or lined up. To distinguish the tomb of the leader, it is usually made taller and larger or wider. After Islam was introduced, the burial system of Tolaki people still adopted pre-literate cultural elements or ancient times. It is seen from the tradition of using boat (Figure 4) that still continues, but the different is that after the corpse was buried, the tomb on top of

the grave was built to resemble *koburu bangga* boat. The tomb was built using an arrangement of rock, woods, and even there is a boat made of cement. A boat-shaped tomb was discovered by Germany explorer, Dr. Johannes Elbert in Lambandia village, it was made of an arrangement of wood to resemble a boat. In addition, there is also a tombstone that resembles human genital.



Figure 4. Model of the 1911 Boat-shaped Tomb in Lambandia Village, East Kolaka.

Source: Elbert 1911.

The existence of boat-shaped *laika koburu* was recorded by Paul and Fritz Sarasin during their expedition from Kolaka to Kendari. A burial house or boat-shaped *laika koburu*, was reported that, "After half an hour by the river we found a plantation with houses, *Lereti*, and nearby, there were fields, some old graves, some new graves, really the city of the dead. All of tombs here have small dimensions, rectangular shaped handles made of woven or planks with a height of over 1 m and filled with soil to the top; a roof was made above the pillars with decoration without art. The wooden frame located on the terrace is made of clay, usually faces north-south and usually west-east. The tombs contain additional clothing and daily necessities. Apart from that, other objects were hung from ropes, suits and armor of the dead. Inside the coffin we also noticed two human-shaped statues made of wood. It was very rough like those made by children, consisting only of the head and upper body (Sarasin & Sarasin 1905, 123-124). There are several important points that should be noted from the above, first the cemetery ground both the old and new graves. Second, the graves have mound using board to hold the ground, the presence of tools above the grave. Third, the shape of the burial house resembles a boat, see Figure 5.



Figure 5. Burial House in Meraka 1903.

Source: Sarasin and Sarasin, 1905.

A boat-shaped tomb was also discovered in Mokoau Village, Kambu District, Kendari. There were two boat-shaped tombs lined up naturally made of stones arranged to resemble a boat with a stern in the front and back side. This tomb is called *koburu bangga*. The first tomb has a length of 9.30, diameter of 3.50 cm and the tail width or buritan of 2 m as well as width in the head side of 2 m. It has a gravestone in the form of a wide stone mountain. The height of the tombstone is 40 cm and the width of the headstone is 15 cm. the position of the headstone is right in the middle.

The second tomb has smaller and slender size. This tomb is also called *koburu bangga* (boat-shaped tomb). The length is 6.50 and width of 4.30 cm. It also has tombstone resembling male genital made of river stone with a height of 75 cm and diameter of 40 cm. The shape of the tomb is in the form of a mound is fenced around using a river stone arrangement. The distance between tomb 1 and tomb 2 is about 2 meters. Ecologically, both tombs are located in a very fertile ground, around which there are taipa mango trees, and tributaries.

Another boat-shaped tomb can also be found in Buke Village, South Buke Konawe District and even according to the informant in this village, boat-shaped tomb can also be found. Based on our identification, the tomb has a name of Lamanasa, a *Tamalaki* or knight warrior. According to Mburimburi and Rami, the shape and model of the tomb used to be like a boat made of woods arranged to resemble a boat. Besides, a boat-shaped tomb can also be discovered in Baito Village, Baito District, South Konawe Regency and according to Abdul Rahim, the tomb has a name of Tawulo, an official

village head in this area. Tombs having the same model can also be found in Puday Village, West Wongeduku District, Konawe Regency. According to local residents, the tomb is descended from nobles or anakia from Mekongga, whose descendants can still be found in this village. The characteristics of Islamic tombs are usually marked by tombstone stuck on the graves. It is made of stone called watu taholele or tahlilan stone. We also find the boat-shape tomb in Baito Village, Baito District, and South Konawe.

Tolaki people usually take advantage of the position or condition of the hill, in the Tolaki language called as wawombusu or the slope of the earthen mound called as wambusu to create a cemetery ground. Besides, the location of the tomb is near alaa mohewu (small river) or alaa mate (dead river) or close to water sources. Old tombs usually were built around it where the surrounding conditions are shady and cold due to water temperature. Some of Tolaki utilize hilly areas as osu-osu or hills or medium-altitude mountains to place some graves. In addition, family burial plots are usually placed in the lalo una molua area or in the vast grasslands. There are several names for the dead who have been buried for the anakia nobles or the traditional elite, such as *tawe dan o'saa*, *Tawe iKasupute*, *Tawe iAlowu*, *Tawe iTaipa*, *tawe Woisinggote*, *Tawe kokoti*, *Sa'a I Padangguni*, *Sa'a Arubia*, *Sa'a Kapu-kapu*, *Sa'a Molore*, *Sa'a Molawe*, etc.

Today, burial places are located several areas. First is near to the settlement or behind the house or *ibunggu laika*. Second, it is located on a hill or wambusu or near to a mountain. Third is near to the river or alaa. Fourth, is in open area such as weeds (*lalo ndongauna* atau *tongauna*). Fifth, is in waworaha or plantation overgrown with various plants, such as reca nut (inea), mango (taipa), durian (duria), langsung (pinisi). These plants are considered shady and they also produce fruits that can be picked by the descendants every year as *hanu ine pue* or the ancestral heritage of the Waworaha location. In some Waworaha lands, many ancient graves of various shapes were found.

Within 12 hours, the corpse should be buried. Families who come to see the deceased donate money or food ingredients. On that day, if the family is rich, they can sacrifice a buffalo. After

that, the deceased was treated according to Islam. The deceased was bathed, shrouded, prayed, and if he/she was a person having position, a funeral ceremony is hold. It is intended to ask for consent from elders and relatives that the deceased is about to be delivered to the resting place. The body is placed in a stretcher covered with a precious cloth, a favorite of the deceased's family. For prominent people, the deceased is placed in a large stretcher, where the closest family can sit in it, so that dozens of people take turns carrying the stretcher to the grave. At each corner of the huuno stretcher, an umbrella made of white cloth is installed, up to 4 umbrellas in total, a sign that before departure a war dance or umoara is held in front of the departure coffin followed by the beating of a certain gong "tumotabua" as a sign that the deceased is a nobleman.

Tolaki people burial has a complex pattern, for example, after the corpse is already near to the grave, the corpse must be brought around the grave several times and then the corpse can be lowered to the grave. Once the grave is filled, a temporary wooden tombstone was placed on top the grave; one temporary tombstone for man and two for woman. After that, a prayer was sent up by religious teachers by reading talqin. After the prayer has finished, people presenting in the burial may go home after a family has conveyed words of gratitude and then come back to funeral home for lunch or dinner. In the evening, the recitation was held at the funeral home until 3 to 7 nights, and then the first stage of ritual is closed. During the ritual performed for several days, several buffaloes and cows are sacrificed. So, the funeral home always served complete food for the dead spirit, this ritual is called "Meharoa". People are not allowed to sleep and they have to play *meko-kou*, *mekadawu*, *mekatende* games, but it is forbidden to perform *molulo* dance. At the closing of the ritual, families are gathered to discuss the time when the completion of the burial will be held, usually after 40 days, 100 days, or after rice harvest, or in other words, waiting until all members of the family has a free time (Konggoasa 1982).

Evidence of the continuation of burial system with grave goods is explained by the ceramic and pottery fragments spread out on the cave surface functioned as a container to keep

skulls and bones of the ancestors as well as grave goods to the spirit realm (Balar, 2011; Balar, 2012). This condition is discovered in the ancient graves in which porcelain, ceramics, pottery, and other fragments spread out on the grave. Tolaki people have faith that their deceased need a boat and grave goods to go to their new world.

Grave goods during the Islamic era can still be found. There is a burial tradition in which the deceased was buried along with a slave to guard him. In this context, guard is form of loyalty and devotion to the leader or employer. In addition, there is also burial tradition by including the grave goods such as valuable items, namely gold *wulaa*, *ta'awu*, *oliro* (*Tamalaki* whetstone), *obenggi*, *opingga*, *opiso*, porcelain, and etc. The grave goods were discovered from the excavation of several ancient graves in Konawe Village in 1982. When heavy equipment made an embankment, a grave named Taridala (*Kapita Ana Molepo*) was found and then *obenggi* (jar), *opingga* (plat), and some of other objects were also discovered in it (Interview with H. Adam- 87 year old, Lalobi 76 year old in 20 January 2022). Grave goods were also found in burial plots in Tudaone tobu village, *Sanua Wuta*, such as *oliro* (*Tamalaki* whetstone), small porcelain *buli-buli* with the height of 25 cm. *Wula salaka*, *ta'awu*, knife, two *watu ike*, a tool to make *kinawo* made of tree bark were also found. This grave is strongly suspected to contain man body if it is seen from the grave goods showing men's equipment.

In addition to the grave goods found in the tomb and above the tomb. Based on survey results on several tombs, many ceramic or porcelain fragments, pottery, beads and so on were found near to the tombstone. Besides, there was also an issue in the Tawe Kokoti's grave located in Buke Village in 1984 where demolition of tombs was done by seekers and hunters of valuable antiques. Objects stolen were in the form of ceramic porcelain, as well as *ta'awu* weapons and shields in the form of *kinia*. (Anonim 2010).

After Islam had been introduced in the Mekongga kingdom in the 17th century during the reign of Bokeo Laduma with title of Sangia Nibandera, and in Konawe in the 18th century during the reign of King or Mokole Lakidende with the title of Sangia Ngginoburu, the burial system

was affected by Islam in which caves or kumapo was no longer used as a place to keep corpses. In addition, the boat-shaped grave coffins called *soronga* was also abandoned (Melamba 2013b, 256-257). And then they were familiar with the Islamic burial system, in which the corpse is buried in a hole. Burial system used grave mound. Shapes of the grave mound varied, there were round, elongated and some are rectangular grave mound. It can be seen in Figure 6 the shape of the King Lakidende's tomb.



Figure 6. Tomb of King Lakidende II.

A tombstone is an inscription or marker, usually a stone that is placed over a tomb. Tombstones are a tradition in funeral ceremonies in Christianity, Judaism, Muslims and some other religions or beliefs. Tombstones usually have the deceased's name, date of birth, and date of death inscribed above, sometimes along with a personal message, epitaph, or prayer. Some tombstones may also contain pieces of funerary art, especially details in stone reliefs and even certain photographs or sculptures. In the Islamic burial system, the direction of burial is always straight facing north and south. In addition to the direction, the shape of the Islamic graves is in the form of a straight plane, while the Christian graves have the shape of a cross or are combined with other shapes. The shape of tombstone is called *tandai*. Based on our research on Tolaki tombstone, there are foursquare tombstone and even resembling male genital. There is also a headstone without a shape but resembling the original shape. Near the Bokeo Robe tomb in East Kolaka, Lambandia Village, we found a tombstone in the form of a Tolaki army tamalaki grindstone called an oliro made of natural

stone. There is also a tombstone made of wood in the shape of a genital.

Tombstone of Tolaki grave resembles human genital. However, there is also a grave mound of Ambemali (Tusawuta official, Minister of Agriculture in Konawe Kingdom) with height of 2 meter and diameter of 6 meter. Tombstone in the form of a monolith that resembles a phallus was also discovered with a length of 60 cm, width of 20 cm, height of 70 cm (Makassar Archaeological Center 2012). The presence of human ornamentation, which is human genital in the tombstone shows that this is the continuation of pre-Islamic era tradition (megalithic). In prehistoric times, the depiction of human ornaments could be interpreted as a ward against evil disturbances, images of ancestors and at the same time possessing the supernatural powers of those described (Suleiman 1995, 4). The appearance of megalithic decorations on tombs, especially megalithic ornaments, is mainly in the form of geometric decorative patterns, human patterns and animal patterns. Indeed, there is an assumption that the existence of similarities or transitions from pre-Islamic art to Islamic art does not mean that there is a symbolic continuity. Even the takeover of pre-Islamic decorative motifs to Islamic decorative can shift the meaning it contains (Suleiman 1995, 4). In addition, there are tombstone models using mountain stones and river stones. The materials for making tombstone on the Tolaki people's tombs vary. The Tombstone uses living plants in the form of wooden trees / puu gasu, such as banyan (*okapu*), mango (*taipa*), banyan (*okapu*), coconut (*kaluku*) and there are even tombs that do not have tombstone to hide the identity of the tomb or the whereabouts of the person being buried. Only a few people know the person who has been entrusted with the mandate. The number of tomb stone follows the provisions, men shall have 1 tombstone and women shall have 2 tombstones. However, on the tombstone of the empress Bokeo Mambulo in Wonua Mbuteo Village, Poli-polia Subdistrict, there are four tombstones; two mountain stones and two slabs made of river stone that look alive.

There is one thing that is very special, specifically the shape of the tomb, four pillars in the form of stone or wood are located and embedded

in each corner of the tomb, the placing of which is called Tombakuku. The position of the tombstone is exactly in the middle of the pillars. In the tomb of King Mokole Lakidende with the title of Sangia Ngginoburu meaning the first king buried, there are four stone pillars in each corner of the tomb. The model with pillars at the four corners of the tomb has uniqueness in terms of the grave model (Figure 7, 8, 9).



Figure 7. Tombstone resembling male genital in the Lamanagi Tomb in Buka Village, Buke District, South Konawe Regency.



Figure 8. Tombstone resembling male genital in the Ambemali tomb in Kasupute Village, Wawotobi District, Konawe Regency.



Figure 9. Tomb of King Lakidende using Tombakuku four square pillars.

Wide stones are usually stacked around the family burial plot and this stone is called *puhe nggoburu* as the boundary of *tirahi nggoburu* burial plot. It is forbidden to make a new grave that violates the boundary of *tirahi koburu*. A field study of koma family burial plot in Tudaone Village, Konawe District shows wide stones are stacked near to around the family burial plot. In addition to four pillars called as *tombakuku*, wide stones called as *pehu nggoburu* (Figure 10) are functioned to make boundary of Tolaku family plot. The *pehu nggoburu* material is made of wide andesite stone. The stones are stacked sideways to make it looks like a boundary line. The *tombakuku* method was found in the tomb plots of the Koma family who were descendants of Durungge and Moraeno in Tudaone Village, Konawe District, Konawe Regency (Interview with Wedame 76 years, March 12, 2022).



Figure 10. Pehu Nggoburu or the Boundary of Burial Plot.

The Tolaki burial plot is found near to former settlement, river or *alaa*, also on a mountainous hill, near a defense fort and is at an altitude and some are even found on a mountain. The tombs of the upper class, either a king or a *mokole* or *Bokeo*, royal officials, *anakia* or nobles, or a prominent person who has influence are distinguished by aspect of the height of the tomb, the position of the tomb between the tombs around it, the type of headstone, the shape of the tomb, the shape of *jirat*, the position of the tomb placed in front facing to north when compared to the tombs around it.

Tolaki people know two methods to make additional hole in the grave (Konggoasa 1982).

First, an additional hole is made in the west side of the excavation called *ngeo-ngeo* or *ninggeo-nggeo*, commonly known as the grave to rest the deceased in position facing the Qibla. Second, an additional hole is made in the middle of excavation with elongated model "*tinandapa*". According to several informants, *tinandapa* is only intended for noble *anakia*, leaders, or prominent figures or groups. When I was a child, I attended my relative's funeral in 1988 where a long and narrow hole is made in the middle the excavation, called as *tinandapa*. In *tinandapa*, a wide board or *pobaloki* is placed above the corpse to cover it (Tarimana 1993). Meanwhile, in *ninggeo-nggeo* model, a wide board is placed sideway because the additional hole is on the side of the excavation. Today, *tinandapa* is rarely adopted because first, many people are not already familiar with it and second, most of people believe that *ninggeo-nggeo* is Islamic law or Islamic tradition. Third, gravediggers tend to follow the descend family or pay attention to the condition of the excavated soil. Nowadays, if the soil is sandy, or the soil is unstable then it is prone to landslides, especially in rainy weather conditions, so grave coffin is used "*bandala mateaha*". There is no gender exception to adopt *ninggeo-nggeo* or *tinandapa* model.

Stepped tombs, such as the tomb of King Lakidende, the tomb of Tawe Puosu Kalenggo, are in the form of stones arranged in steps that resemble a trasering. Usually, the number of steps is 3 or 5 and 2 or 4 stacks. The tomb is rectangular, elongated beam, or circular. In Asinua Jaya, there is a stepped tomb named *tiu-tiu*, according to the narrative, *Tiu-tiu*'s tomb is the ancestor of the Asinua people. In addition, stepped tombs are found in the tomb of the wife of king Lakidende located in Arombu Village, namely the tomb of Mowina and the tomb of Kalenggo. Besides the shape of the *tondo watu* tomb or stone fort that is arranged in tombs can be discovered in *watukila*, *Lakarama*. The stone fence is called *koburu watu*. In *Konawe* and in *Mekongga*, many graves use stone to arrange the edges of the tomb functioned as grave curb.

In general, ancient tombs can be found in the remains of ancient settlements before the arrival of the Dutch East Indies government. One of the impacts was that residents were advised to make

their settlements facing the road, resulting in the abandonment of previous settlements. Usually, the Tolaki people rest their deceased of their relatives near to their settlements, but now Tolaki people is realized that they need to bury their relatives in public cemeteries. However, in general, villages in the Tolaki community still prefer to have their relatives buried behind their houses or family burial plot. This shows how close and high the sense of family or kinship of the Tolaki people is and the affection for their relatives.

In the past, before there was digging equipment technology, such as a shovel, gravediggers (*to'ono monggalihhi koburu*) used a digging tool made of hard wood called *osua*. Tolaki people have an expression for couples entering a marriage, which is "*osua mosinggalakomiu*" meaning that only death can separate the couple. *Osua* as a tool for digging graves cannot reach maximal depth, so to make a grave, the gravedigger digs the ground around the area and then the soil is accommodated piled up at the grave points so that it becomes mountainous. Several survey teams found mountainous tombs, where excavated soil can be found around the area. This *osua* is made of hard wood, usually iron wood (*bayam*) resembling a pointed tool for digging the ground

Conclusions

At first, Tolaki people adopted a secondary burial pattern by using *soronga* or *oduni* in the form of a boat-shaped coffin grave, the corpse is put in a coffin and then tightly closed. *Soronga* has a *tirika woa* in the form of an urn or porcelain that serves as a place to collect pus. There are two types of *soronga*, the large *soronga* is for adults and the small is for children. *Soronga* are generally kept in caves or *kumapo*.

In the Tolaki people, there is a term or concept called *Koburu Bangga*, which means a boat-shaped tomb. This contains cultural element, first, as a *soronga*, namely a boat-shaped grave coffin. Second, it is also intended to shape tomb to resemble a boat, both the structure and the girder of the tomb. The shape of the tomb is similar to a boat or *obangga* in the form of an arrangement of stones or wood. This concept illustrates that the tradition of using a boat pattern has continued

since ancient prehistoric times. This continues after Islam came, the boat-shaped tombs (*koburu proud*) as the land of a tomb associated with the pattern of boat-shaped grave coffin, still can be found.

The tradition of the boat-shaped burial pattern continued after the entry of Islam, in which the corpse was put in a hole made in the ground whether by adopting *ninggeo-nggeo* model, which is the grave following the Islamic tradition or adopting *tinandapa*, where the hole is made in the middle of the excavation and then above the grave, *koburu bangga* tomb was built to resemble a boat. The *koburu bangga* model was only intended for the upper class or traditional elite such as *anakia* or nobles, royal officials or people who have influence, officials or rulers. If from prehistoric times to ancient times the shape of a boat was made, then during the Islamic period, the tomb resembling a boat was built above the grave. There several types of distribution pattern of the Tolaki people's graves, the first *Kombula*, where the location of the tombs is concentrated in one location. Second, the pattern of spreading or called as *metobu-tobu* where within the burial plot, there are parts of tomb that are separated from each other. Third, the circular pattern called as *buboto*. The fourth pattern is elongated. The fifth pattern illustrates the shape of the Tolaki people's graves, namely a circular pattern (*buboto*), a rectangular pattern (*koburu konahuu*), and a rectangular pattern (*koburu mendaa*). On the rim of the tomb there are 2, 3, 4 to 5 terrace steps. The tombs are arranged with andesite stones resembling a boat, there is also an arrangement of rectangular and elongated stones. In addition, there are mound-shaped tombs in the form of circles, rectangles and elongated.

The special feature of Tolaki burials is that at the top of the tomb there are first, *tambokuku* in the form of pillars of stone (*owatu*) or wood (*okasu*) which are placed in each corner of the tomb, totaling four *patonggopa*. Second, *pehu nggoburu* is a wide stone placed as the top of a tomb plot. *Pehu nggoburu* is placed in the east or *ilosoano oleo*. *Pehu nggoburu* is served as a mark of their family or clan burial plot boundaries. Tombstones as an Islamic tradition function as markers or *tandai* of tombs made of stone, both andesite and black mountain stones resembling

human genital (*ambemali* and *lamangi* tombs), carved iron wood or *kasu lawu*, there is also a tombstone in the form of a small rectangular *oliro whetstone* (*tamalaki* stone).

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