



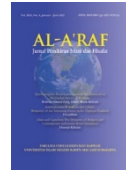
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A SPATIAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE JIRAT AND MUSLIM NOBLES CEMETERY IN LOMBOK

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Abstrak

Kata Kunci:

Arkeologi,
Keruangan,
Jirat,
Kesakralan,
Bangsawan
Muslim,
Pemakaman

Studi ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis konfigurasi penataan ruang pada sembilan makam bangsawan Muslim di Lombok, yang dibagi menjadi wujud dan makam, di mana individu dan komunitas dimakamkan. Pendekatan arkeologi spasial digunakan untuk mengumpulkan, memproses, menganalisis, dan menafsirkan data. Hasil studi menunjukkan bahwa pemakaman di Lombok terdiri dari batu nisan, jirat, balai, pagar, gapura, dan pohon-pohon yang semuanya membentuk satuan ruang budaya yang kohesif dan mengikuti adat Islam. Di Lombok, jirat adalah pembatas yang memisahkan ruang pribadi dan komunal bagi orang yang meninggal. Ruang-ruang tersebut ditentukan berdasarkan keturunan dan strata kebangsawanan. Sebagian besar pemakaman bangsawan Muslim di Lombok menunjukkan adanya pengaruh tradisi pra-Islam dan Hindu. Sisi utara, timur laut, dan timur pemakaman menjadi ruang dengan tingkat paling sakral, untuk individu atau tokoh dengan status tertinggi. Dataran tinggi dipilih sebagai lokasi utama untuk pemakaman bangsawan Muslim di Lombok dengan pertimbangan kesucian dan kemuliaan si jenazah.

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Abstract

Keywords:
Spatial
Archaeology,
Jirat,
Sacredness,
Muslim
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Cemeteries

This study aims to analyze the spatial configuration of nine Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok, which are divided into separate areas called *jirats* and cemeteries, where individuals and communities are buried. Spatial archaeology approaches are employed to collect, process, analyze, and interpret data. The study revealed that the Lombok cemetery consisted of headstones, *jirat*, a pavilion, a fence, a gate, and trees, all of which formed a cohesive cultural area and followed Islamic customs. In Lombok, the *jirat* is a boundary that separates personal and communal areas designated for the deceased. These areas are determined based on lineage and the level of nobility. Most Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok exhibit the influence of pre-Islamic and Hindu customs. The northern, north-eastern, and eastern sections of the cemetery hold the highest level of sanctity, reserved for the interment of the most distinguished individuals. The highlands were selected as the primary site for the burial of Muslim nobles in Lombok due to their association with sanctity and the elevation of the deceased's status.

Introduction

Spatial study is one of the approaches used in archaeological studies. This study focuses on reconstructing human relationships with the surrounding environment, looking at the forms of adaptation made by cultural supporters in the past to meet their needs. From the viewpoint of ecology or settlement archaeology, humans use the environment as a space for activities. Ecological differences greatly affect the pattern of survival and character in a social group in the past.¹

The grave became one of the spaces of human activity. The grave is a place of glorification of a dead human being. This space is very important because it is the last monument built to commemorate the life phase of a figure. The phenomenology of the establishment of graves has occurred since prehistoric times. The Gilimanuk necropolis in western Bali is a monument of death from the Neolithic period, marked by the discovery of sarcophagus, grave stuff,² and human skeletons.³ Hindu-Buddhist

¹ Syahrudin Mansyur, "Studi Keruangan dalam Arkeologi, Prospek Penelitiannya di Maluku dan Maluku Utara," *Kapata Arkeologi*, July 1, 2006, 106–8, <https://doi.org/10.24832/kapata.v2i2.30>.

² Raden Panji Soejono, *Sarkofagus Bali dan Nekropolis Gilimanuk* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1977).

³ Toetik Koesbardiati et al., "Variasi Genetik Loci STR Codis (THO1,TPOX) Manusia
AL-A'RAF– Vol. XXI, No. 1, June 2024

kings, especially from the Singhasari-Majapahit period, did not build graves. However, they built temples to memorialize the deceased who were believed to have returned to the divine heaven (*śuralaya*).⁴ The manuscript: *Kakawin Nagarakertagama* (1365 AD) describes 27 temples of veneration (*sudarmma haji*) in East Java that Majapahit Kingdom officials managed during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk.⁵ Islamic societies establish cemeteries to bury the bodies of the deceased, as well as to commemorate the deceased through pilgrimages and the erection of grave monuments.⁶ The rule is based on the command in Surah ‘Abasa: 19-21 as well as the hadith of HR Abdurrahim bin Mutharrif al-Ruasi Abu Sufyan, HR Ahmad bin Hanbal, and HR ‘Ali bin ‘Abdillah.⁷ One of the phenomena of the establishment of cemeteries during the Islamic period was found on Lombok Island.

The findings of Islamic noble cemeteries on Lombok Island are quite numerous. At least nine cemetery sites are scattered in West, Central, and East Lombok Regencies. These cemeteries include Anggareksa, Bila Tawah, Datu Kuripan, Kenaot, Selaparang I, Selaparang II, Serewa, Tanjung, and Wali Nyatoq. Based on a survey conducted by the author in January 2022, it was found that there were at least 10-60 graves at one site. It indicates that the cemeteries are large complexes representing several noble groups in Lombok.

The manuscripts *Babad Lombok*, *Selaparang*,⁸ *Sakra*, and *Praya* describe several Islamic noble groups in Lombok. These groups included

Gilimanuk (Pulau Bali),” *Berkala Arkeologi* 33, no. 2 (December 1, 2013): 133–50, <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v33i2.11>.

⁴ Raden Soekmono, *Candi, Fungsi dan Pengertiannya* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Ombak, 2017).

⁵ Slamet Muljana, *Tafsir Sejarah Nagara Kretagama* (Bantul: PT. LKiS Printing Cemerlang, 2011), 389–91.

⁶ Baiq Peber Wanti et al., “Tradisi Ziarah Makam Suku Sasak Di Lombok Tengah: Antara Kebiasaan Dan Keyakinan,” *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 7, no. 1 (2023): 2746–51, <https://doi.org/10.31004/jptam.v7i1.5634>.

⁷ Ayi Latifatul Alimah, “Menyegerakan Penguburan Jenazah Perspektif Hadith,” *Jurnal Studi Hadis Nusantara* 1, no. 1 (June, 2019): 2–12, <https://doi.org/10.24235/jshn.v1i1.5738>.

⁸ Sulistiani, *Babad Selaparang* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud, 1993).

Laeq, Pamatan, Bayan, Selaparang, Pejanggik, Kuripan, Pagesangan, Kentawang, Langko, Sokong, Pujut, Parwa, Sarwadadi, Batu Dendeng, Sakra, Pijot, and many others commonly called kedatuan.⁹ There were two main powerful kedatuans in Lombok during the Islamic period, the Selaparang and Pejanggik Kedatuans, which consolidated several surrounding kedatuans.¹⁰ Several cemeteries are associated with the existence of these kingdoms, including the Selaparang I,¹¹ Selaparang II, and Tanjung Cemeteries¹² which are associated to Kedatuan Selaparang; Serewa Cemetery to Kedatuan Pejanggik, Kenaot Cemetery to Pedaleman Sakra,¹³ and Datu Kuripan Cemetery to Kedatuan Kuripan.¹⁴

Phenomenology based on field observations found that most graves have *jirat* composed of piles of round andesite stones, while the minority of the *jirat* use limestone blocks and bricks. The *jirat*, in terms of spatial archaeology, becomes a barrier between individuals and groups within a site. Thus, *jirat* is an important element of spatial archaeological studies on the cemeteries of Muslim noblemen in Lombok. Another phenomenon is the placement of graves that were allegedly privileged by the Sasak community in the past, including the grave of Penghulu Gading in Selaparang I Cemetery, which has epitaphs in Arabic script and Javanese

⁹ Lalu Gde Suparman, *Babad Lombok* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud, 1994), 357; Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Islam Sasak: Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan Di Lombok (Abad XVI-XIX)," *Indo-Islamika* 1, no. 1 (2011): 63–88, <https://doi.org/10.15408/idi.v1i1.1487>.

¹⁰ Suparman, *Babad Lombok*; Sulistiani, *Babad Selaparang*; Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Kerajaan dan Perkembangan Peradaban Islam: Telaah Terhadap Peran Istana dalam Tradisi Pernikahan di Lombok," *Manuskripta* 2, no. 1 (2012): 181–200, <https://doi.org/10.33656/manuskripta.v2i1.33>; Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Kerajaan Selaparang sebagai Pusat Pemerintahan dan Pusat Perdagangan pada Abad XVI Berdasarkan Data-Data Arkeologis dan Manuskrip Sasak," *Manuskripta* 11, no. 2 (December 30, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.33656/manuskripta.v11i2.189>.

¹¹ Tawalinuddin Haris, "Makam Kramat Raja – Selaparang" (Depok, 1996), 1–24; Tawalinuddin Haris, "Saksak, Lombok Mirah Hingga Salamparang" (Depok, 1994).

¹² Haris, "Saksak, Lombok Mirah Hingga Salamparang."

¹³ Lalu Gde Suparman, *Babad Sakra* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud, 1994), 149; 253.

¹⁴ Ahmad Cholid Sodrie, "Laporan Hasil Survei Kepurbakalaan di Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat," in *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi No. 12* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1977), 6–9.

in the northeast corner, as well as the Cemeteries of Anggareksa, Bila Tawah Datu Kuripan, Kenaot, Selaparang II, Serewa, Tanjung, and Wali Nyatoq which are built with the 1-3-level stepped pyramid-shaped jirat or the large jirat in size and layout occupying the north side. It is related to the spatial concept built by the people of Lombok (Sasaknese) in its time and is important to be researched further.

The study of spatial archaeology, especially on Muslim cemeteries in Lombok, has not been carried out comprehensively. Previous scholars' studies of these sites, such as W.F. Stutterheim,¹⁵ Tawalinuddin Haris,¹⁶ Jamaluddin,¹⁷ and Laksmi et al.¹⁸ were limited to identifying the history, figures, and headstone typology of the site. It is important to conduct a spatial archaeological study on these sites, considering that this kind of study can contribute knowledge, either to complement previous studies or enrich the perspective of the study in terms of spatial planning and ideology adopted by Sasaknese during the Old Islamic period.

Method

This research began with data collection in the field. The objects of this research are nine cemeteries spread across Lombok Island, including the Cemeteries of Datu Kuripan in West Lombok Regency; Wali Nyatoq, Serewa, Bila Tawah, and Kenaot in Central Lombok Regency; and Anggareksa, Selaparang I, Selaparang II, and Tanjung in East Lombok

¹⁵ W.F. Stutterheim, "Een Inscriptie van Lombok," *Djawa* 17 (1930): 311–13.

¹⁶ Haris, "Saksak, Lombok Mirah Hingga Salamparang"; Haris, "Makam Kramat Raja – Selaparang"; Tawalinuddin Haris, "Situs dan Peninggalan Arkeologi Gunung Pujut" (Depok, 1995); Tawalinuddin Haris, "Pembawa dan Penyebar Islam di Lombok," *Buletin AL-Turas* 4, no. 1 (1998): 48–61, <https://journal.uinjkt.ac.id/index.php/al-turats/article/download/4359/3111>.

¹⁷ Jamaluddin Jamaluddin, "Islam Sasak: Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan di Lombok (Abad XVI-XIX)," *Jurnal Indo-Islamika* 1, no. 1 (July 20, 2011): 63–88, <https://doi.org/10.15408/idi.v1i1.1487>; Jamaluddin Jamaluddin and Siti Nurul Khaerani, "Islamisasi Masyarakat Sasak dalam Jalur Perdagangan Internasional: Telaah Arkeologis dan Manuskrip," *Jurnal Lektur Keagamaan* 18, no. 1 (June 30, 2020): 135–63, <https://doi.org/10.31291/jlk.v18i1.577>.

¹⁸ Ni Ketut Puji Astiti Laksmi et al., *Jejak-Jejak Awal Pengaruh Islam di Pulau Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat Berdasarkan Tinggalan Arkeologi* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 2019).

Regency – West Nusa Tenggara Province. Data were collected through field observation, textual and pictorial data recording, and literature review. The data was then processed in classification, shape patterns, and organization between the graves at the site.

The analysis in this research uses a spatial archaeology approach. The spatial archaeology approach focuses on efforts to utilize space in the past as a place of human activity. This approach emphasizes the dimensions of the space occupied by archaeological remains, which are the main data of the research, by paying attention to two factors that form spatial patterns. The factors forming the spatial pattern include (1) the environmental factors that emphasize the concept that the environment is the main consideration for spatial formation and (2) social factors that emphasize the concept that social conditions in past societies dominate the influence of spatial formation rather than the environmental factors which are considered as secondary considerations.¹⁹ This study has main elements, including the location of archaeological remains, a space as a place for human activities in the environment, and the relationship between the two elements in units of space at different scales.²⁰

There are three levels of spatial analysis: micro, meso, and macro. The micro-level analysis emphasizes the study of small elements in a spatial unit, such as buildings, graves, and other structures that concern their structure, layout, plan pattern, orientation, forming materials and organization, and uses the conjunctive approach of phenomenology and ethnographic analogy. Meso-level analysis studies the relationship of individual buildings with intangible aspects, such as the relationship, distance, arrangement, and position of a building or monument within site, using conjunctive, ethnographic, and ecological approaches.²¹ Macro-level

¹⁹ Iwan Sumantri, “Pola Pemukiman Gua-Gua Prasejarah di Biraeng, Pangkep, Sulawesi Selatan” (Theses, Universitas Indonesia, 1996), 27–29.

²⁰ Hari Sukendar, *Metode Penelitian Arkeologi* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1999), 183.

²¹ Ph Subroto, “Studi Tentang Pola Pemukiman Arkeologi Kemungkinan-Kemungkinan Penerapannya di Indonesia,” in *PLA III* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1985).

analysis emphasizes the relationship, distribution, and distance between sites, to determine the distribution pattern, symbiotic relationship, and the possibility of pattern changes on the site as well as the factors that influence it and uses conjunctive, ethnographic, and ecological approaches.²²

Another important aspect of spatial archaeological analysis is boundaries. Boundaries in spatial studies include natural boundaries (natural landscapes that are still virgin), cultural (landscapes where human activities have occurred), social (boundaries of social living structures), and archaeological (archaeological findings).²³ The determination of spatial boundaries can be either one or arbitrary.

This study uses a spatial archaeological approach by paying attention to archaeological boundaries (distribution of archaeological findings), which are included in cultural boundaries, characterized by the zone of Muslim noble cemeteries on Lombok Island that occupy certain landscapes. Micro-level spatial analysis is prioritized in this research, in addition to considering meso-level analysis. It is to emphasize this research effort that raises the jirat feature on the gravestone to see its structure, layout, plan pattern, orientation, forming material, organization, and position within the boundary unit designated as the site. Conjunctive approaches through phenomenology, an ethnography that emphasizes community behaviour, local stories as supporters of deceased figures, and ecology are considered in this research. Environmental and social factors are used together because the spatial context of some sites emphasizes one of the two factors.

The Features of Muslim Nobles Cemeteries in Lombok Based on Islamic Perspective

The form of burial in the early Islamic tradition was simply a mound of ground. Pilgrims usually recognize the identity of the buried based on

²² Sukendar, *Metode Penelitian Arkeologi*, 177–78.

²³ H.R. Bintarto, “Keterkaitan Manusia, Ruang dan Kebudayaan,” *Berkala Arkeologi* 15, no. 3 (November, 1995): 2–3, <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v15i3.663>.

the memory of its location. It is based on the Prophet's hadith about the prohibition of building graves. The description is as follows: Yusuf ibn Sa'id reported: Hajjaj reported: Ibn Juraij reported: Abu al-Zubayr reported that he heard Jabir say: "Rasulullah Saw forbade painting graves, building on them, or sitting on them."²⁴

The prohibition was tolerated later on the premise that it made it easier to identify grave spaces from non-grave spaces. A hadith tells of the Prophet Muhammad's grave, which is marked with a headstone and the burial ground is raised an inch from the surrounding ground. Similar phenomena are found in many graves in Mecca and Medina (Saudi Arabia). The hadith is the basis for the establishment of graves by Muslims to this day, including those found in the graves of Muslim nobles in Lombok. The excerpt of the hadith is described as follows: Al-Shaytiyaini reported to us Abu Kamil al-Jahdari reported to us Fudhail ibn Sulaiman reported to us Ja'far ibn Muhammad reported from his father from Jabir Ibn Abdillah: "that the Prophet Saw, had a grave made for him, a headstone placed on it, and his grave raised from the ground by an inch."²⁵

The Muslim noble cemetery in Lombok is a unit that has structural factors. The graves consist of headstones, jirat, fences, gates, pavilion, and trees. The headstone is the main element of a grave, as a grave marker. This element must be present in the grave, at least as a single element or complemented by other elements.

There are three types of headstones in Lombok, namely carved limestone, brick, and natural andesite. Most noble gravestones in Lombok Island use carved limestone except for the findings at the Bayan Beleq site (North Lombok Regency). The typology of headstones in Lombok is generally divided into two parts, namely the column-type for male

²⁴ Bayu Setyanto, "Nilai-Nilai Tradisi Islam dalam Tradisi Ngijing pada Upacara Slametan Nyewu (Studi Kasus di Desa Jatirejo Kecamatan Jumapolo Kabupaten Karanganyar)," *Al Yasini: Jurnal Keislaman, Sosial, Hukum Dan Pendidikan* 5, no. 2 (2020): 466, <https://ejournal.kopertais4.or.id/tapalkuda/index.php/alyasini/article/view/3978>.

²⁵ Wahbah Az-Zuhaili, *Fiqih Islam wa Adillatuhu Jilid 2: Shalat Wajib, Shalat Sunnah, Zikir Setelah Shalat, Qunut Dalam Shalat, Shalat Jama'ah, Shalat Jama' & Qashar* (Jakarta: Gemma Insani, 2010), 587.

headstones and the flat-type headstones for female headstones, which have a height ranging from 40-80 cm.

The *jirat* is a structure that encircles or becomes a sub-basement of Muslim noble graves in Lombok. The *jirat* in Lombok graves, in terms of manufacturing technology and materials, can be divided into three: natural andesite stone, limestone chiselled into stone blocks, and bricks. The arrangement of *jirat* is divided into two, namely arranged low (10-30 cm high) with a rectangular plan surrounding the headstone stuck on the ground and arranged in 1-3 terraces (50-100 cm high) forming a stepped pyramid (see Figure 1). Not all graves have the *jirat*, but most Muslim noble graves in Lombok are equipped with a *jirat* structure.



Figure (1): The 3-level stepped pyramid *jirat* at the Selaparang II Cemetery (left) and an andesite stone-lined *jirat* at the Bila Tawah Cemetery (right)

The fence and gate are interrelated structures. The fence divides the space of a Muslim noble cemetery in Lombok, while the gate is the access in and out of the site. Regarding manufacturing technology and materials, the fence and gate in Lombok can be divided into two: a wooden fence with a wooden gate and palm fibre roof and a fence and gate made of andesite stone with a gate roof made of palm fibre. The gate at the Selaparang I and Wali Nyatoq Cemeteries²⁶ still retains its original form, with a door frame height of only 150 cm.

The pavilion is a structure rarely found in Muslim noble cemeteries

²⁶ Haris, "Pembawa dan Penyebar Islam di Lombok."

in Lombok. The original pavilion structure remains in Selaparang I, Tanjung, and Wali Nyatoq Cemeteries. At the same time, the Serewa cemetery was built as a mausoleum from new materials to protect the grave of what local people believe to be a Pejanggik ruler.

The botanical element of trees is presented in the Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok. Trees that are commonly found in these cemeteries include frangipani (*Plumeria* sp.), banyan (*Ficus benjamina*), and pule (*Alstonia scholaris*). The rule of planting trees at the site seems to be based on the hadith that states the laying of date palm fronds as a symbol for the deceased to get a reduction from the torment of the grave, described as follows: Yahya reported to us, Abu Mu'awiyah reported from Al-A'masy reported from Mujahid reported from Thawus reported from Ibn 'Abbas that the Prophet Saw, passed by two graves whose occupants were being tortured and said: "Both of them are indeed being tortured, and neither of them is being tortured for committing a major sin. One is tormented because he did not purify himself after urinating, and the other because he was always complaining." Then he took a date palm frond that was still wet, split it into two parts, and stuck it on each of the graves. They asked: "Why did you do this?". The Prophet SAW replied: "May both of them get a reduction in torment as long as the stem of this date palm is not dry."²⁷

The Jirat as Micro and Meso Level of Archaeological Spatial Feature

The jirat is technologically made of stone. Most of the jirat in Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok are made of natural andesite stones arranged in a rectangular layout encircling the headstone or into sub-basements with a 1-3 level arrangement like a stepped pyramid. The minority of the jirat in Lombok also uses limestone blocks and bricks arranged around the headstones, as in the Serewa Cemetery or the floor of the main grave in the Bila Tawah Cemetery. The classification of the shape and material of the jirat in the Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok

²⁷ Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari, *Sahih Al-Bukhari Juz I* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1992), 292.

is presented in Table 1.

No	Cemeteries	Materials			Form and Layout of the <i>Jirat</i>		
		Natural andesite stone	Limestone blocks	Bricks	The low arrangement encircles the headstone	Stepped-pyramid arrangement	The arrangement forms the floor space
1	Anggareksa	V			V		
2	Bila Tawah	V	V		V		V
3	Datu Kuriipan	-	-		-	-	-
4	Kenaot	V		V	V		
5	Selaparang I	V			V	V	
6	Selaparang II	V			V	V	
7	Serewa	V	V		V	V	
8	Tanjung	V			V	V	
9	Wali Nyatoq	V	V				V

Table (1): The materials and form and layout of the *jirat* in the Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok

The consideration of using natural andesite, limestone block, and brick is based on economic value, work efficiency, and prestige. Using andesite stone emphasizes cheaper economic value and easier work efficiency than made of limestone blocks or bricks, even though the structure may not keep its original design for as long as it is made of limestone blocks or bricks. It was due to natural disasters (earthquakes, landslides, floods, and fallen trees) or social disasters (wars, vandalism) making the natural andesite unstable. As for the *jirat* in limestone blocks and bricks, it emphasizes prestigious value because it requires a more complicated work process and a longer working time than composing the *jirat* from the andesite stones, but the structure has not changed like the *jirat* in the Serewa, Bila Tawah, and Wali Nyatoq Cemeteries.

The *jirat* structure of Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok, except those made of limestone blocks, is of questionable authenticity. It is based on the fact that the community of Lombok preserves the cemetery, and

the role of the grave preservationist is quite active in repairing the damaged jirat structure. The jirat at Selaparang II Cemetery was found to be anomalous; the three-level stepped pyramid structure became the sub-basement of a pair of natural andesite headstones, while the low rectangular structure of natural andesite headstones instead encircled the patterned headstones. The anomaly was caused by the restoration of the grave preservationist after the rediscovery of the cemetery by the local community without scientific assessment in 2018. The scientific reconstruction of the stepped pyramid-shaped jirat is also difficult to carry out because there are no instructions on the rules of jirat arrangement in the ancient manuscripts in Lombok, as well as the fact that the jirat arrangement of natural andesite stones does not have attachments such as cement or clay.

The jirat functions as the boundary of the grave space at ground level, in addition to its function as the base of the grave unit. This jirat function is based on the phenomenological pattern found in a rectangular jirat arrangement encircling the headstone. An arrangement of the jirat in the phenomenological approach to the cemetery of Muslim nobles in Lombok demarcates individual or communal grave spaces. The jirat that demarcates the communal grave space is based on the arrangement of the natural andesite stones or limestone blocks that form a rectangular plane in a row, composed of 2-10 grave spaces.

The construction of communal space through the jirat is strongly suspected to be based on the association of the deceased based on their genealogy and social status (nobility strata). The jirat, as a communal grave space, represents three different groups of deceased. The first, the jirat of the grave at the northeast corner of the Selaparang I Cemetery, is composed of a natural andesite stone setting in a square base, sub-basement by two graves with column-type headstones on the left side and flat-type headstones on the right side (believed by the local community to

be the graves of Penghulu Gading and his wife).²⁸ This *jirat* divides the communal space of Penghulu Gading and his wife from the other noble groups. It shows that the *jirat* in the Selaparang I Cemetery demarcated the communal space of the nobles by genealogy.

The second, the *jirat* in the northern row, which occupies the highest mound of ground in Serewa Cemetery, is in the form of four rows of rectangular plans made of limestone blocks. The four pairs of gravestones found in this arrangement are column-type headstones full of carved ornamental motifs. This *jirat* signifies the group of Pejanggik rulers' cemeteries. The analysis is based on the context of the finding of the epitaph "punika kuburan phangeran ... 1614" (this is the grave of the prince ... in 1692 AD) on a different *jirat* structure, but occupying the same row. It shows that the *jirat* of the Serewa Cemetery demarcates the communal space of the nobility based on the similarity of their noble strata.



Figure (2): The *jirat* structure of the Kenaot Cemetery

The third, the *jirat* in the northern row on the highest mound of ground in Kenaot Cemetery, consists of a low natural andesite stone

²⁸ Jamaluddin, "Islam Sasak: Sejarah Sosial Keagamaan di Lombok (Abad XVI-XIX)," 2011; Jamaluddin, "Kerajaan Selaparang Sebagai Pusat Pemerintahan dan Pusat Perdagangan Pada Abad XVI Berdasarkan Data-Data Arkeologis dan Manuskrip Sasak"; Haris, "Pembawa dan Penyebar Islam di Lombok."

structure in a rectangular plan that encircles the headstones, forming a row of seven grave spaces. Two pairs of uncarved andesite headstones, three pairs of flat-type headstones, and two pairs of column-type headstones were erected in this row (see Figure 2). The manuscript: Babad Sakra.569-570 and local stories report that it is the grave of Pembani Ringgit and the officers of Pedaleman Sakra.²⁹ This shows that the jirat of the Kenaot Cemetery demarcated the communal space of the nobles by not confining their nobility strata.

The Cemetery Layout

There is a phenomenon in Selaparang I, Selaparang II, Serewa, Bila Tawah, and Kenaot Cemeteries that the northern row of graves are the burials of nobles with the highest strata of the group. More significantly, the graves of the most sacred figures are the northeast spaces of Selaparang I, Selaparang II, and Bila Tawah Cemeteries. It is related to the ideology of the sacredness of space adopted by the Sasaknese in the past.

There is no evidence in the form of written texts reporting on sacred space in the life of the Sasaknese. However, the perspective on sacred space in Lombok can be traced through the history of Hindu civilization, which once lived in Sasak culture. The findings of *lingga-yoni*, ceramics, and bronze bells from the Pendua Site – Kayangan (North Lombok Regency) and Shiva statues from Sapit Site – Suela (East Lombok Regency), which are now stored in the Museum of the West Nusa Tenggara Province are archaeological evidence of Hindu civilization in Lombok.³⁰ The Majapahit and Bali kingdoms once made Lombok their vassal based on the description of inscriptions and ancient manuscripts. The manuscript: *Kakawin Nagarakartagama* (1365) mentions the regions of Gurun, Sukun, Lombok Mirah, and Saksak Adi as vassals of Majapahit

²⁹ Suparman, *Babad Sakra*, 148–49.

³⁰ Sodrie, “Laporan Hasil Survei Kepurbakalaan di Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat,” 6–7; Jannata Jannata et al., “Profil Peninggalan Situs Sejarah Desa Sapit Sebagai Bukti Identitas Peradaban Lombok,” *Fajar Historia: Jurnal Ilmu Sejarah dan Pendidikan* 6, no. 1 (June 25, 2022): 98–110, <https://doi.org/10.29408/fhs.v6i1.5298>.

during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk.³¹ Andries Teeuw identified Gurun as Gerung (West Lombok Regency), Sukun as Sokong Port (now Tanjung - West Lombok Regency), Lombok Mirah as Lombok Port (East Lombok Regency), and Saksak Adi as Mount Sasak (Southwest Lombok).³²

The Majapahit Kingdom Minister Gajah Mada took the Palapa Oath in the manuscript: *Pararaton*, which proclaimed the ideals of unification of the archipelago, also mentioning the Gurun region.³³ The inscription: *Blanjong* (913 AD) reported Sri Kesari Warmmadewa's victory over the invasion of Gurun (now Gerung - West Lombok Regency) and Suwal (now Suela - East Lombok Regency) (- - - *rah di gurun di s(u)val dabumalaban musubdbo* -). The inscription: *Pujungan* from the reign of Haji Anak Wungsu reported a gift of a slit drum from a Sasaknese as a sign of loyalty (*sasak dhana prib han sri jayanira*).³⁴

The longest Balinese invasion of Lombok was by a federation of Karangasem-Sasak nobles led by the Kingdoms of Singasari and Mataram between 1790-1849, recorded in the manuscripts: *Babad Lombok*, *Selaparang*, *Praya*, and *Sakra*.³⁵ The manuscript: *Babad Sakra* describes that Sasak nobles were appointed as servants and pledged allegiance to Mataram after the War of Sakra (*Congah Sakra*). Denek Laki Batu of Kedatuan Kuripan, who was related to Pedaleman Sakra (a continuation of Kedatuan Pejanggik) moved the grave of Denek Bini Ringgit (The Queen Mother of Sakra) from an inappropriate burial in Mataram to the Kenaot hill (Central Lombok Regency).³⁶ This indicates a fairly harmonious relationship

³¹ Muljana, *Tafsir Sejarah Nagara Kretagama*, 389–91.

³² Andries Teeuw, "Lombok, Een Dialect-Geografisch Studie," *VKI* 25 (January 1, 1958): 19, <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004286498>.

³³ Agung Kriswanto, *Pararaton: Alib Aksara dan Terjemahan* (Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra, 2009).

³⁴ Roelof Goris, *Prasasti Bali I* (Bandung: NV. Masa Baru, 1954); Haris, "Saksak, Lombok Mirah Hingga Salamparang," 8.

³⁵ Anak Agung Ktut Agung, *Kupu-Kupu Kuning Yang Terbang di Selat Lombok: Lintasan Sejarah Kerajaan Karangasem, 1661-1950* (Denpasar: Upada Sastra, 1991); Lalu Gde Suparman, *Babad Praya* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Depdikbud, 1994); Suparman, *Babad Sakra*; Suparman, *Babad Lombok*; Sulistiani, *Babad Selaparang*.

³⁶ Suparman, *Babad Sakra*, 137; 148–49.

between the Sasak and Karangasem-Sasak nobles so that the transmission of knowledge of Balinese carving art reached Islamic artists through the role of the nobles.

Ethnoarchaeological studies found the following facts through interviews with the headstone artists in Pujut (Central Lombok Regency) by the author in January 2023. First, the shapes and ornamental motifs on modern Lombok headstones continue the shapes and ornamental motifs of ancient Islamic Lombok headstones. Second, the profession of a headstone artist is passed down from generation to generation. Third, the artists develop the ornamental motifs of headstones based on the knowledge passed down by their ancestors who also worked in the same profession. Fourth, the artists develop new ornamental motifs based on customer requests, such as the example of producing Bima-style gravestones for the burial of the Sultan and Regent of Bima, Ferry Zulkarnain bin Abdul Kahir in 2013. Fifth, creating new headstone designs is only for special requests, and the artists still consider using headstone designs inherited from their ancestors to maintain the stability of market demand in Lombok. This fact shows that artists' development of ornamental motifs on headstones is based on customer requests. Thus, the Sasak nobles who have reconciled with the Karangasem-Sasak nobles have the authority to decide the ornamental motifs on headstones, including adopting Balinese ornamental motifs on their headstones.

The people of the Majapahit Kingdom have a concept of sacred space marked by nine cardinal directions marked by the constellation of Dikpālaka statues and their vehicles at Panataran Temple. These are similar to the concept of the nine guardian deities in Bali, which was later adopted in the Balinese sacred space and house layout known as *asta kosala-kosali* (see figure 3).³⁷ The *asta kosala-kosali* concept divides the house layout into nine parts, marked by the most sacred yard on the

³⁷ I Made Pasek Subawa, "Nilai Teologis Arsitektur Tradisional Masyarakat Hindu di Bali," *Sphatika: Jurnal Teologi* 10, no. 2 (July 4, 2020): 111, <https://doi.org/10.25078/sp.v10i2.1548>.

northeast side, then the north and east sides. The north is the place of God Vishnu in the Majapahit and Balinese traditions as a symbol of wealth and prosperity. The east is the place of God Iswara in Majapahit and Balinese tradition as a symbol of knowledge and leadership. The northeast is the place of God Karttikeya in Majapahit tradition or God Shambu in Balinese tradition, symbolizing the ultimate wealth and knowledge.³⁸ The northeast yard in the manuscript: *Hasta Kosali*, is a space for the worship of gods and ancestral spirits, represented by the *sanggab/merajan* building.³⁹

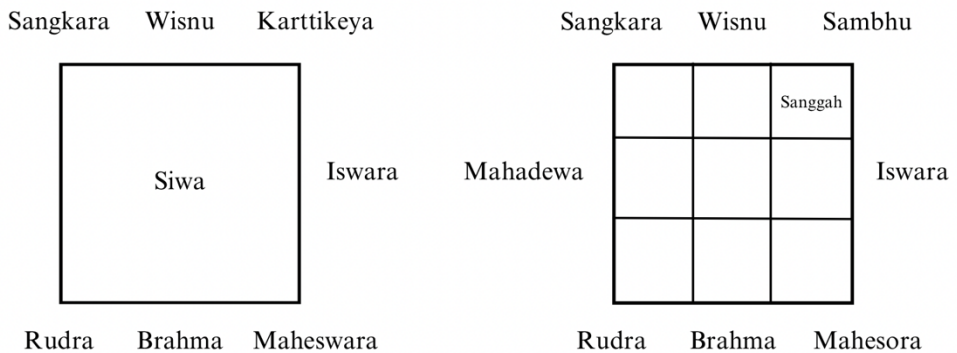


Figure (3): Comparison of the *nawa sanga* constellation at Panataran Main Temple (left) and the *asta kosala-kosali* concept in Bali (right)

The spatial division that emphasizes the northeast, north, and east sides in Bali has similarities with the spatial layout of Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok. The graves of the rulers or higher strata figures in the cemetery occupy the northern row. Furthermore, the local community believes the graves in the northeast corner of Selaparang I,⁴⁰ Selaparang II, and Bila Tawah Cemeteries to be the most sacred. The graves at the three sites archaeologically symbolize the highest social structure, indicated by

³⁸ J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, “The Dikpalakas in Ancient Java. (Met 1 Fig. En 6 Platen),” *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde* 111, no. 4 (1955): 371–76, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002339>.

³⁹ Ida Bagus Oka Windhu et al., *Bangunan Tradisional Bali dan Fungsinya* (Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Kesenian Bali Dirjen Kebudayaan Depdikbud, 1985), 26–28.

⁴⁰ Haris, “Makam Kramat Raja – Selaparang.”

the arrangement of the three-level stepped pyramid-shaped jirat at Selaparang I and II Cemeteries or the largest-sized jirat at Bila Tawah Cemetery.

If the reasons for adopting Balinese and Majapahit sacred spatial ideology in the grave layout of Muslim nobles in Lombok are unacceptable, then there are also social phenomenological arguments. The burial tradition of Muslim nobles in Lombok places the head of the corpse on the north side. It indicates that the north side is more sacred than the south side because the head is the most venerated part of the community. Thus, the northern row of graves in a Muslim noble cemetery in Lombok is the highest social status grave. It is also supported by the phenomenon that the graves of kings are placed on the north side, such as the grave of Datu Kuripan, Wali Nyatoq, Penghulu Gading in Selaparang I Cemetery,⁴¹ Datu's grave in Serewa Cemetery,⁴² and the grave of Pembani Ringgit in Serewa Cemetery.

Another argument is that the northern row of graves in Selaparang II, Serewa, and Kenaot Cemeteries occupies the highest land contour. If the contour of the land is level, then the jirat is made higher or larger than the other graves, such as in Selaparang I, Datu Kuripan, and Bila Tawah Cemeteries. This phenomenon is similar to the Hindu concept, where the construction of the Panataran Main Temple during the Majapahit period occupied the highest land contour, or the construction of the Prambanan and Sewu Main Temples during the Old Mataram period was in the centre with the largest structure size among other temple compounds.⁴³ Another comparison is the prioritizing of the Walisongo cemeteries which built graves in the highest contour grounds, except for the graves of Sunan Gresik, Ampel and Bonang which were in the lowlands.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Haris, "Makam Kramat Raja – Selaparang."

⁴² Sodrie, "Laporan Hasil Survei Kepurbakalaan di Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat."

⁴³ Edi Sedyawati et al., *Candi Indonesia Seri Jawa*, ed. Wiwin Djuwita S Ramelan (Jakarta: Direktorat Perlindungan Cagar Budaya dan Permuseuman Dirjen Kebudayaan Kemendikbud RI, 2013), 135–43; 148–55; 228–39.

⁴⁴ Machi Suhadi and Halima Hambali, *Makam-Makam Wali Sanga di Jawa* (Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Media Kebudayaan Dirjen Kebudayaan Depdikbud, 1995).

Selection of Burial Ground

The land selected for the burial of Muslim nobles in Lombok is mostly higher ground or hilltops. This phenomenon is found in the Anggareksa, Selaparang II, Serewa, Kenaot, and Wali Nyatoq Cemeteries, which are located on hilltops, or the Datu Kuripan and Bila Tawah Cemeteries, which occupy mounds of land higher than the ground (see Figure 4). Selaparang I Cemetery is an exception, occupying a plateau in the middle of the Kedatuan Selaparang settlement. The choice of hilltop land is also found in ancient mosques in Lombok, including the Pujut Ancient Mosque on Mount Pujut,⁴⁵ the Rembitan Ancient Mosque on Mount Rembitan,⁴⁶ and the Bayan Beleq Old Mosque.⁴⁷ It is description of an ancient Lombok manuscript: *Babad Sakra* 569-570 that tells the location of Kenaot's grave on Kenaot hill, as follows: “569. *Ia angunan mesigit Sakra, semenda' banjur jari, buat si'na lue' kaula, sesuahna jari mesigit, tangkat layon Datu Ringgit, si'uah tesda' sejulu, ia tejav' tipa' Sakra, saking berkat Dene' Laki, bilang desa selapu'na pada ngatiran. 570. Gunung Kenaot pekuburan, poh tepetek Dene' Bini, gati getek bekaria,..*” (569. He built the Sakra mosque, and in a short time, it was finished because many people helped; after the mosque was built perfectly, the body of Bini Ringgit was raised, and she was persecuted; she was brought to Sakra, by Dene Laki's instruction, every village took turns to carry her. 570. Buried at Kenaot Hill, the grave of Bini Ringgit, a ceremony was also performed,..)⁴⁸

Highlands or hills have been special places for glorification rites or religious activities from the Prehistoric period until the Islamic period. The Gunung Piring site in Pujut (Central Lombok Regency) became a place for Neolithic rituals.⁴⁹ The Dieng Temples were built on the Dieng Plateau

⁴⁵ Haris, “Situs dan Peninggalan Arkeologi Gunung Pujut,” 11–22.

⁴⁶ Haris, “Pembawa dan Penyebar Islam di Lombok.”

⁴⁷ Usri Indah Handayani and Suhadi H.P., *Peninggalan Sejarah dan Kepurbakalaan Nusa Tenggara Barat* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 2001), 5–11; 21–22.

⁴⁸ Suparman, *Babad Sakra*, 148–49.

⁴⁹ Goenadi Nitihaminoto et al., “Laporan Ekskavasi Gunung Piring (Lombok Selatan),” in *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi No. 17* (Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional, 1978), 1–55.

(Central Java) in the 9th century, as well as the late Majapahit period temples found on the slopes of Mount Lawu,⁵⁰ Kelud,⁵¹ and Penanggungan (East Java) in the 15th century.⁵² The Walisongo cemeteries in Java, except for Sunan Gresik, Ampel, and Bonang, were built on hilltops.⁵³ The Imogiri Cemetery, which is the cemetery of Surakarta and Yogyakarta Kings, was built on Merak Hill (Bantul - Yogyakarta).⁵⁴



Figure (4): The Serewa Cemetery at the top of Serewa Hill

Highland sacredness is widely recognized in various countries, including Indonesia. This concept is supported by Hindu-Buddhist cosmological images that place mountains as *śuralaya* (divine realms). Mount Mahameru is one of the *śuralaya* in India. Mount Lawu, Wilis, Kelud, Kawi, Arjuno, Welirang, Semeru, Bromo, and Penanggungan were nine sacred mountains during the Majapahit period recorded in the manuscript: *Tantu Panggelaran*.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Heri Purwanto and Coleta Palupi Titasari, “Mandala Kadewaguruan: The Place for Religious Education in the West Slope of Mount Lawu in 14th – 15th Century,” *Jurnal Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* 5, no. 1 (June 12, 2020): 13–42, <https://doi.org/10.24832/jpnk.v5i1.1505>.

⁵¹ M. Dwi Cahyono, “Vulkano-Historis Kelud: Dinamika Hubungan Manusia – Gunung Api,” *KALPATARU* 21, no. 2 (2012): 85–102.

⁵² Agus Aris Munandar, *Arkeologi Pawitra* (Jakarta: Wedatama Widya Sastra, 2016), 18; Sedyawati et al., *Candi Indonesia Seri Jawa*, 67–65; 344–51.

⁵³ Suhadi and Hambali, *Makam-Makam Wali Sanga di Jawa*.

⁵⁴ Mimi Savitri, “The Role of Local Wisdom on The Preservation of the Imogiri Royal Cemetery Site,” *Berkala Arkeologi* 41, no. 1 (May 30, 2021): 69–88, <https://doi.org/10.30883/jba.v41i1.567>.

⁵⁵ Theodor Gautier Th Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggelaran: Een Oud-Javaansch Prozageschrijf*
AL-A'RAF– Vol. XXI, No. 1, June 2024

The people of Lombok have a belief in sacred mountains. Mount Rinjani is believed to be the place of Goddess Anjani.⁵⁶ The kings of the four federated Karangasem-Sasak kingdoms worshipped at Mount Rinjani. Anak Agung Nyoman Karang of Pagesangan built the Suranadi Temple for the worship of the God of Mount Rinjani, preceded by a Panca Yadnya ritual by Pedanda Sakti Abah in 1642 Saka (1720 AD). Anak Agung Gde Ngurah Karangasem of Mataram built the Narmada Garden as a representation of Segara Anakan Lake and Mount Rinjani, used for Pakelem and Meras Danu ceremonies every year, which is more ergonomic than having to climb the highest mountain on Lombok Island.⁵⁷

There is another argument for placing the majority of Muslim nobles' cemeteries in the highlands. It refers to the concept of boundedness, the construction of boundaries between places or between dualities, such as sacred and profane boundaries.⁵⁸ This concept is adopted from the Ancient Greek and Roman tradition that burial rituals should be performed away from residential and religious spaces because they are considered polluted rituals.⁵⁹ This concept is also found in the grave of Sunan Gunung Jati, which is a space for death rituals and keeps burial rituals that are considered pollution away from residential spaces, through a fence boundary as a distinction between sacred and profane spaces. The Sembung Hill is the natural boundary between the sacred space of the grave and the lowland settlements that represent profane space.⁶⁰

(Nederland: Boek- en Steendrukkerij, 1924).

⁵⁶ Siti Raudloh, *Legenda Dewi Anjani Penguasa Gunung Rinjani* (Mataram: Kantor Bahasa NTB, 2017), 1–44.

⁵⁷ Handayani and H.P., *Peninggalan Sejarah dan Kepurbakalaan Nusa Tenggara Barat*, 36–37; 66.

⁵⁸ Margaret W Conkey, “Boundedness in Art and Society,” in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Cambridge University Press, 1928); Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley, “Ideology, Symbolic Power and Ritual Communication: A Reinterpretation of Neolithic Mortuary Practices,” in *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982); K.R. Dark, *Theoretical Archaeology* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 149.

⁵⁹ Dark, *Theoretical Archaeology*, 151.

⁶⁰ Irmawati M. Johan, “Boundedness dan Polusi Pada Situs Islam Cirebon Abad XVI—

The boundedness concept also seems to be impregnated by the Lombok Muslim community in placing grave spaces in the highlands and away from settlements. Natural boundaries are characterized by the location of the highlands, which are not used as settlements, are away from the crowds, and are considered sacred spaces to glorify the late Muslim nobles of Lombok. The space also divides the affairs of the dead from the living, who still carry out various activities. The separation of the death ritual space from the sacred religious space of the mosque is seen in the Bila Tawah, Kenaot, Serewa, Selaparang II, and Wali Nyatoq cemeteries, which are deliberately kept away from the mosque.

Conclusion

The Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok consist of headstones, jirat, fences, gates, pavilions, and trees. Most of the jirat in Lombok are composed of natural andesite stone, with a minority of limestone blocks and bricks. The form of the jirat can be divided into two parts: a low order in a rectangular plane encircling the headstone and a 1-3 stepped pyramid structure. The jirat is a common factor in these cemeteries and an individual and communal space for the deceased. Applying the jirat as communal space can be divided into three: communal space based on genealogy, similarity of nobility strata, and inequality of nobility strata.

The layout of Muslim noble cemeteries in Lombok adopts the concept of sacred space in Bali and Majapahit called *asta kosala-kosali* or *nawa sanga*. The east, northeast, and north sides of the Lombok Muslim noble cemetery are where the highest strata or most sacred figures graves are erected. The choice of land to establish graves, such as hills or the highest ground in an area, considers the concept of the sacredness of high places that has developed from the Neolithic to the Islamic period. The Muslim nobles of Sasak also consider the concept of boundedness that emphasizes the boundaries of the sacred space of the cemetery from

profane space (places of human activity) or religious sacred space.

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