



AN ANALYSIS OF ISLAMIC GRAVESTONES IN INDONESIA: SITES AND ISLAMIC HERITAGE IN BOLAANG MONGONDOW, NORTH SULAWESI

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ABSTRACT

The discourse on local Islamic archaeology offers a compelling field of study, particularly when examined in relation to the spread of Islamic teachings. In the historical narrative of Islamization in Indonesia, Bolaang Mongondow was a region significantly influenced by Islamic preaching during the 17th–19th centuries CE (11th–13th centuries AH). Archaeological heritage in the form of material culture plays an important role in illustrating the adaptation of local communities to Islamic traditions. The notion of Islam as a “religion of the ruling elite” also contributed to the conversion of local populations. This study presents an archaeological discourse grounded in a historical approach, supported by tangible material evidence, including gravestones and burial complexes, in Bolaang Mongondow, North Sulawesi. Through morphological and technological analyses, the research aims to identify, interpret, and understand the contextual dynamics of local Islamic culture, thereby contributing to a deeper understanding of the region’s Islamic civilizational heritage. The findings reveal a process of adaptation and acculturation closely intertwined with Islamic ideals and concepts. The artefacts uncovered, particularly those from the Kapulo and Jere sites, serve as concrete evidence of the early development of Islamic civilization in Bolaang Mongondow.

Keywords:

Islamic-Archaeology; Indonesia; Islam; Bolaang Mongondow; North Sulawesi

1. INTRODUCTION

The process of Islamization in the Malay Archipelago has undergone complex dynamics that have endured to the present day[1]. The Islamization of the Malay Archipelago occurred over several periods, which, according to scholars, led to the widespread acceptance of Islamic teachings[2]. The introduction of Islam began with the presence of Muslim sailors and traders believed to have originated from the Arabian Peninsula from the 7th to the 13th centuries CE[3], [4]. This influence was reinforced by the emergence of local political powers based on Islamic ideology. Early records indicate that Islam developed in the Malay Archipelago from the late 13th century onwards, subsequently influencing the local populace to embrace Islamic teachings. Interestingly, this development was bolstered by the spice trade network and commercial relations that flourished within the community. These developments had implications for perspectives, lifestyles, customs, and daily practices, ultimately shaping the civilization and culture of the Malay Archipelago to the present day[5].

One significant factor in the development of Islamic teachings in the Malay Archipelago is the archaeological evidence found in the form of Islamic-patterned gravestones[6]. These artifacts represent a distinct phase in tracing the footprint and civilization of Islam, known as 'Islamic Archaeology.' Islamic Archaeology is understood as a study that discusses cultural heritage, particularly in the form of material or physical remains, originating from or influenced by Islamic teachings from the time of its introduction to the present day. Specifically, Islamic Archaeology is regarded as a discourse for understanding the spread and influence of Islam within society through material remains or artifacts. Thus, Islamic archaeology represents a phase that influenced the formation of Indonesian Muslim society from the past to the present. Islamic archaeology encompasses the remnants, traces, and physical evidence that manifest Islamic civilization, particularly in the form of buildings, places of worship

(mosques), gravestones, and burial complexes[7]. The spread of Islam left distinctive traces, evident in patterns or typologies. For instance, inscriptions on gravestones serve as primary indicators in the initial identification of these remnants and the influence of Islamic culture. The information contained within these inscriptions can then serve as the basis for estimating the influence and processes involved in the formation of Islamic civilization within society.

Kaidipang is one of the regions that experienced the influence of Islamization, impacting its societal civilization. Kaidipang is known as a local power that embraced Islam from the 18th century onwards through the networks of Nusantara Muslims. Gravestones and tombs serve as evidence of the acculturation and assimilation between Islam and local culture in the Kingdom of Kaidipang[8]. Two such gravestone artifacts are located at the Kapulo and Jere Sites, which illustrate the integration of religious conversion and acceptance. Thus, these artifacts serve as the foundation for determining the presence of external influences in the Bolaang Mongondow region, particularly in Kaidipang.

In summary, the Kapulo site is evidence of the pre-Islamic civilization of Bolaang Mongondow. However, this site also marks the occurrence of religious conversion and political transition, which subsequently influenced the development of the Kaidipang Kingdom. Meanwhile, the Jere site provides evidence of the success of religious influence and conversion, serving as an initial indicator of the date of acceptance of Islamic teachings in the Kaidipang region. Thus, these two gravestone artifacts serve as a common thread for tracing the spread of religious conversion processes and local political conditions from pre-Islamic times to the acceptance of Islamic teachings [9], [10].

Based on the brief data above, this study analyzes the process of religious conversion from pre-Islamic times to the acceptance of Islamic teachings in the Kaidipang region, culminating in Kaidipang's recognition as one of the influential Islamic kingdoms in Bolaang Mongondow. Furthermore, the remnants in the form of gravestone sites and burial complexes, namely the Jere and Kapulo Sites, provide strong evidence of pre-Islamic and post-acceptance of Islamic civilization in Bolaang Mongondow. Therefore, the religious development in the Kaidipang region is intriguing to study, especially through archaeological evidence, such as remnants of the Kaidipang Kingdom[8][11].

The process of religious conversion is complex and requires careful examination in this article. Referring to the contextualization and periodization of history, an interesting issue to strengthen this study is the practice of acculturation of influential cultures in Kaidipang society. On the other hand, religious conversion is understood as individuals or communities changing, accepting, or assimilating influences from external sources that contradict their previous beliefs or convictions. This understanding indirectly indicates an intriguing process for individuals or communities to explore or experience the situation and conditions when they are in such a position. In this regard, the process may be influenced by various factors, including politics, society, economy, and culture, that have evolved.

Thus, the above discussion becomes intriguing when attempting to describe and analyze the remnants of sites as physical evidence in the historical process within the context of their past society. Sites not only serve as tangible physical evidence but also as intangible cultural resources that reveal interesting aspects of historical processes and societal development [12]. This practice then demonstrates that historical evidence also needs to be described, deconstructed, and reanalyzed based on the influencing context[13], thereby becoming integrated parts of societal dynamics in the present day.

2. METHODS

This article constitutes a study in archaeo-history aiming to analyze remnants from the past as part of the processes, patterns, motifs, and symbols inherent in the spread of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, specifically the remnants in the form of sites, namely the Jere and Kapulo Sites. Historical methods, heuristics, criticism/verification, interpretation, and historiography [14], supported by an archaeological conceptual framework, are employed to interpret and explain the findings. Conceptually, the archaeological approach is understood as a series of procedures and techniques in excavation, documentation, analysis, and interpretation of the material remains of the past, artifacts produced by humans as civilizations in their time.

One approach in archaeological studies is materiality, which seeks to highlight the primary urgency of artifacts and material remnants as objects of study and interpretation; this approach views physicality as objects analyzed to demonstrate human life in the past in creating civilizations. Civilizations that emerged in the past represent cultures, politics, and ideologies that evolved within society, with various aspects and dimensions influencing them. In this study, symbols also indicate the tendency of societal thinking and influence the resulting interpretation within the community's cultural context, shaping society's ideas and concepts about space [11], [15]. The Islamic archaeological approach in this study supports the analysis of findings, whether based on literature or artifact evidence. Islamic archaeology is understood as the study of ancient objects containing Islamic

elements, used to reconstruct past societies. These Islamic elements are then reconstructed using Islamic studies as a connector of data and information, resulting in a new study intersecting with Islamic culture and heritage. This study also serves as a tentative discourse to demonstrate that these artifact remnants are part of Islamic archaeology or archaeo-Islamology [16].

This study is qualitative, with inductive reasoning based on observations of objects described in the Jere and Kapulo Sites, particularly the understanding and interpretation of the chronological framework, forms, spatial elements, and relationships among various research variables [17]. The primary sources in the study are the remnants of sites in Bolaang Mongondow, namely the Jere and Kapulo Sites located in the Kaidipang Subdistrict, North Bolaang Mongondow Regency. In addition to using material sources, this study also draws on various literary references, including colonial archives, books, and colonial newspapers, to discuss the conditions of Bolaang Mongodow in pre-Islamic times and after the acceptance of Islamic teachings. These colonial archives were obtained by accessing www.delpher.nl and several archive copies obtained from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, ANRI. Other sources were obtained from various government agencies and institutions, including Sam Ratulangi University, the ex-North Sulawesi Archaeological Library, and the National Library. The data obtained underwent criticism and verification, demonstrating the credibility of the information regarding the study objects. In this process, artifact studies serve as factual data used as a reference throughout the analysis and interpretation, up to the compilation of the findings.

Thus, the interpretation of field data will indicate the historical tendencies and values of past cultures through the construction of narratives, artifact evidence, and the complexity of the social and cultural contexts of archaeological evidence itself. As a result, remnants, including sites, reflect social, political, and economic practices that influence the ideological views of their creators. Consequently, this article serves as a multidisciplinary Islamic study to reconstruct historical processes and religious conversions reflected in Islamic-related remnants in Bolaang Mongondow, particularly in Kaidipang. This study also contributes to efforts to preserve Islamic culture in Indonesia, including the conservation of artifacts and other material objects. To enrich the description of these findings, anthropology plays a crucial role in showing the process of acculturation between Islamic and pre-Islamic cultures in Kaidipang.

Several previous studies of Islamic archaeological remains in Bolaang Mongondow are scarce, making it an interesting area for further research to enrich Indonesia's Islamic cultural heritage. These studies discuss Islamic civilization in socio-factual and manti-factual contexts, using various interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary approaches. Tungkagi's study [8] discusses the process of Islamization in Bolaang Mongondow, focusing on political perspectives. He uses the term "Religion of the King, Religion of the People" to emphasize that the Islamization process occurred in Bolaang Mongondow. On the other hand, conflicts and confrontations between Islam and Christianity within it also provide insights, borrowing the term from Shrieke, that Islamization in Bolaang Mongondow was caused by "race theory". Furthermore, Ariel C. Lopez's [18] describes in detail the process of religious conversion in Bolaang Mongondow. The basic findings of his discussion emphasize the process of religious conversion among the 'elite' with various motivations, including political and economic ones. Interestingly, Lopez provides periodic explanations of religious conversion based on the prevailing situation and reasons at the time.

Kosel's work [23] provides the perspective that religious conversion in Bolaang Mongondow occurred intermittently. However, in the 19th century, this process continued. Interestingly, Kosel presents this perception through the Weberian approach, arguing that conversion occurred through the systematization and codification of religious doctrines, leading to the formation of institutions that legitimize the acceptance of new ideologies. However, Kosel acknowledges that religious conversion can also occur for irrational reasons, even when it manifests in rational forms. This elaboration ultimately fosters communal thought among developing societies, enabling them to accept these new teachings.

Marzuki's study [9], which describes old tombstones in Manado, is an interesting piece of literature to include in this study. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the process of identifying tombstones by dating and morphology, showing that cultural acculturation occurred in the tombstone inscriptions at the Tuminting tombstone complex.

Specific discussion of Bolaang Mongondow archaeological remnants is found in Mawikere & Hura's study [17], which briefly discusses the results of the archaeological survey in Bolaang Mongondow. This discussion is relatively general, discussing archaeological remnants in Bolaang Mongondow in various forms, including sites and artifacts.

Thus, several of the literature above have not yet discussed Archaeology-Islam in Bolaang Mongondow, especially in Kaidipang, making this study considered able to provide academic contributions and enrich the heritage of Islamic civilization. This study serves as a complementary part to several studies discussing Islamization in Bolaang Mongondow, which specifically focus on the discourse of Archaeology-Islam.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

A. BOLAANG-MONGONDOW: DYNAMICS OF ISLAMIZATION AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The history of the Nusantara archipelago has sparked numerous debates and discussions in the academic world. These discourses are not only focused on the establishment of a nation-state but also address more specific issues, such as the process of Islamization and the formation of heterogeneous and complex societies[19]. The complexity of these values can be traced through processes and axes that influence their growth and development, thereby forming various dimensions that constitute the Nusantara civilization heritage [20].

Among the discourses that have recently come into discussion is the presence of Islam across various regions of the Nusantara archipelago. Some regions that have been influenced by Islam are coastal areas that are part of the Islamization route in the Nusantara. Coastal areas are not only interpreted as coastal areas but also as front-line regions in receiving civilization influences from outside through maritime and trading networks. This context reinforces that trading networks can influence the development of ideological communities in coastal areas. This case describes how trading networks formed in the Indian Ocean region and influenced several surrounding areas, including the Nusantara[21]. Furthermore, maritime trade not only implies the emergence of trader groups but also the development of communities bound by ideological networks [10], [22].

In the case of the Bolaang Mongondow region, ideological influences followed the trade network route connecting Malacca and the Maluku Islands as spice producers[23]. This development was utilized by the Bolaang Mongondow community residing in coastal areas such as Kaidipang, on the northern coast of the Bolaang Mongondow mainland, or south of the Sulawesi Sea. The community utilized this area as a trading port or simply a transit port for sailor-traders. In this network [24], [25], the map below provides reinforcing evidence that the Bolaang Mongondow region is a strategic area for encounters between immigrant communities and residents, especially after the 16th century, when commodity exchange activities increased. However, Bolaang Mongondow is not a region that can stand alone but is also supported by several regions that act as links between Malacca and the Maluku Islands[8].

The nobility in Bolaang Mogondow sought to expand their networks and relations, not only focusing on political power but also on marriage relations. The nobility and political elite forged relationships through marriage, as seen in the union of Princess Sarah, the daughter of King Cornelis Manoppo, with an Arab merchant named Syarif Aluwi. This network had implications for trade and politics in Bolaang Mongondow, as it appointed his son-in-law, Syarif Aluwi, as his successor in the government position the following year. On the other hand, this business network also extended to Singapore, attracting rulers from other areas, such as the rulers of Siau and Passi, who were interested in strengthening trade and political relations with Bolaang Mongondow[26][27].

In a broader context, Bolaang Mongondow becomes a region connected to Ternate, where the main currents are maritime and general trading networks that demonstrate the interconnectedness of society, ideology, local power, and the emergence of religious communities in the area. Merchant groups such as Malays, Arabs, Makassars, Bugis, Mandars, and even Ternateans are connected to Bolaang Mongondow through their arrival, presence, development, influence, and the acceptance and institutionalization processes that occurred within the community [28]. This approach reinforces that Bolaang Mongondow not only strengthened its position through political power but also through maritime trade network activities. This context strengthens the notion that Bolaang Mongondow was also involved in maritime trade networks, serving as a catalyst for the spice-producing region in Ternate.

Religious conversion in Bolaang Mongondow was supported through trade networks, as local rulers sought to be open to all segments of society, including trader groups and religious propagators, thereby creating Muslim enclaves in Bolaang Mongondow. When the conversion process occurred, changes in social structure affected the local community, suggesting a religious revolution from above. This means that rulers played a significant role in the acceptance of Islamic teachings within the community, although conflicts, competition, and even hostility occurred on the other side [24]. This condition suggests that religious conversion led to polarization among the local population between adherents of local teachings and those influenced by Islam [29].

The struggle for space in Bolaang Mongondow has implications for the intersection of religious confrontation and political intrigue, which is interestingly studied as part of the Islamization process in Bolaang Mongondow. The rulers, initially Christian adherents from Datoe Binangkal (1630-1677) to Gonggala Korompot (1745-1770), indicated religious conversion to Islam when Wellem David Korompot (1779-1817 M/ 1193-1232 H) ruled with the title *Waladin* Korompot [8], [30]. Due to top-down influence, it is estimated that acceptance of Islam among rulers and the elite occurred around 1831-1844 through Muslim traders, including Arabs who

had settled in Bolaang Mongondow [31]. This political power struggle in Kaidipang coincided with a dynamic religious conversion process, indicating that the rulers were the driving force behind the acceptance of Islamic teachings in the region. The Kaidipang Kingdom, which persisted until the 20th century, made Islam the official religion of the government and was recognized by the people. However, ultimately, this power had to undergo a merger due to the lack of a successor to the last king, who died in 1910. The last ruler of Kaidipang was Manoppo Karompot, who established relations with the Dutch East Indies colonial government. Manoppo Korompot succeeded in strengthening Kaidipang's status, with its boundaries recognized by the Governor-General's government represented by Assistant Resident A. Commans Jr.[32], [33] which ultimately led to Kaidipang being merged with Bolaang Itang, resulting in the area being known as Kaidipang Besar.

The dynamics of Islamization in Bolaang Itang are quite complex to describe, especially the issue of the acceptance of Islamic teachings that have influenced the community. Records indicate that Islam was introduced in Bolaang Itang around 1863-1880 M/1280-1297 H, which coincided with the reign of Israel Pontoh[8]. The Islamicization context in Bolaang Itang is inseparable from the top-down approach of Islamic propagators, in which rulers served as the main actors in accepting Islamic teachings from preachers. The subsequent Islamicization followed patterns similar to those in other regions of the Nusantara, making elites mediators and educators of Islam.

However, the specific figure who spread Islam and influenced the rulers in Bolaang Mongondow has not yet been definitively identified. Various sources only mention that Islamic influence entered the royal court during the time of Wellen Korompot, who was later titled "Waladin." This situation suggests that the spread of Islam occurred through a top-down process within a complex societal dynamic.

From these explanations, it can be concluded that Islamization in Bolaang Mongondow occurred in three stages: introduction, dissemination and teaching, and institutionalization, which took place from the mid-17th to mid-19th centuries. Islam was introduced in Bolaang Mongondow through Muslim sailor-traders seeking to reach the Maluku Islands during the peak of the spice maritime network. The dissemination and teaching process occurred when rulers received Islamic influences from Islamic propagators, who then sought to teach them to the general population. From a socio-political perspective, this view is part of the process of spreading Islam, which can be considered as a top-down or patron-client network. Institutionalization occurred when rulers sought to strengthen their positions by appointing Muslim figures as advisors in the kingdom, leading to the establishment of educational institutions to reinforce Islam in Bolaang Mongondow.

B. ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION HERITAGE IN BOLAANG MONGONDOW

The influence of Islamic teachings has transformed the social, political, and cultural structures of Bolaang Mongondow, resulting in a legacy of 19th-century artifacts. This acculturation indicates that the process of Islamization is a complex and layered part of the description of Islam spread. The influence of Islamic teachings blends with and shapes local traditions, as evidenced by historical artifacts, including sites, buildings, and ideas [31].

The people of Bolaang Mongondow have a close relationship with customary practices and cosmological cultures that reflect their worldview. A document indicates that syncretism has played a role in shaping Bolaang Mongondow society to the present day, so that some customary practices and habits still reflect these ideas. However, with the spread of Islamic teachings, these practices have been integrated into the Bolaang Mongondow community [11], [23]. This process began with acculturation, inculcation, and internalization, indicating the integration of Islamic teachings with local customs and traditions. Religious rituals incorporating local elements influenced by Islamic teachings, such as dance, music, and traditional ceremonies, continue to shape Bolaang Mongondow society to this day. These practices also indicate that the religious process influenced the establishment of Islamic teachings in the 19th century, as evidenced by the appointment of a qadi to assist the ruler in making religious decisions [34].

In local traditions, the adaptation of religion and culture is represented through open arts between the noble class and traditional practices within the community. In ritual music, the adaptation of cultural practices undergoes a process of new meaning. Ritual practices that were initially monolithic then underwent an enculturation process between Islamic teachings and local culture, creating unique Islamic forms in the region [23], [27]. In the development of other cultural aspects, the language and literature of the local community undergo adjustments to some local terms in Islamic teachings. The use of symbols is also an interesting aspect for observing the adaptation of Islam in Bolaang Mongondow. The mosque is an important part of the local community in Bolaang Mongondow, where Islamic teachings are accepted through religious practices and as a center of Muslim civilization.



Figure 1. The Maps of Bolaang Mongondow[23]

In the broader context, Islamic civilization and culture in Bolaang Mongondow, which are intangible, have developed concurrently with tangible culture. Civilization, in the form of tangible culture, then becomes archaeological evidence of the fusion of religious ideologies and local community thought. This mainstreaming can manifest in visual forms, such as objects or even buildings adorned with various religious symbols. In Bolaang Mongondow, besides the mosque as a symbol of Islamic civilization in tangible culture, graves and tombs also become integrated parts of religious thought, especially Islam. Despite the ambiguity of when the first mosque was established in Bolaang Mongondow, historical records indicate that the influence of Islam developed concurrently with the Christianization mission around the 19th to 20th centuries. This influence strengthens the presence of places of worship that serve as markers of Muslim community entities in Bolaang Mongondow and influence kinship relations. According to records, the mosque becomes a central part of the rulers of Bolaang Mongondow, identified as a symbol of political-religious power. A mosque is estimated to have been built in 1876 in Kotabangon and has since become an important part of Islamic development in Bolaang Mongondow. By the third decade, one of the important mosques in Bolaang Mongondow was the Al-Huda Mosque, which, according to reports, was built around 1926. This is reinforced by reports that the influence of the 'followers of Muhammad's teachings' contributed to the development of society in Bolaang Mongondow[23].

In addition to buildings and religious symbols that influence the Muslim community in Bolaang Mongondow, Islamic thought has also developed significantly through educational channels. The making of the strengthens of the development of Islamic education with the emergence of schools intended by the 'Dutch East Indies' community[36]. Furthermore, education became an indispensable part of the government. This is shown because the rulers of Bolaang Mongondow at that time chose Islamic teachings as part of their lives. Therefore, it is not exaggerated to consider education as one of the symbols that strengthen the position of the Muslim community in Bolaang Mongondow[8].

This development is inseparable from the emergence of Jogogu, Kadi, or Imams appointed by rulers from the 'Arab' community. In the political life practices in the Nusantara [4], [37], [38]. In Bolaang Mongondow, this practice strengthens the king's position, enabling him to legitimize rules that balance local law and Islamic teachings, thereby facilitating the acceptance of cultural-Islamic acculturation within the community. The Kadi, Imam, and religious leaders in Bolaang Mongondow are the highest authority for interpreting and applying Islamic teachings to their adherents. This practice can respond to integrating local traditions and Islamic teachings in a contextualized way. In Bolaang Mongondow society, various practices across rituals, cultures, and community views combine Islamic teachings with local culture. Therefore, through this process, the legitimacy of rulers, kings, and religious advisors, imams or qadis, becomes reinforcement in the position of rulers who, in the view of the Muslim community of the Nusantara, are seen as a 'gentle' approach to religious teachings[8]. The development of Islamic civilization and culture in Bolaang Mongondow has progressed well in conjunction with the community's understanding of applying the rules of Islamic teachings. Ancestors' symbols undergo a process of adjustment to Islamic teachings so that the community accepts them peacefully.

Specifically, Islamic civilization, as expressed through symbols and artifacts, can be strengthened through Islamic-identified buildings, especially mosques, prayer rooms, Islamic schools, and graves and tombstones. In Bolaang Mongondow, especially in Kaidipang Besar, evidence of Islamic civilization can be found at the Jere and Kapulo Sites. These sites serve as strong evidence indicating the influence of Islamization that developed in the lives of the people of Bolaang Mongondow.

C. THE HERITAGE OF ISLAM IN BOLAANG MONGONDOW: AN ANALYZE OF THE GRAVESTONE

Uka Tjandrasasmita provides insight into the process of Islamization in the Malay Archipelago, which can be traced not only through patterns and channels but also through the material civilization of the society at that time[16]. This view is further supported by the fact that material cultural outcomes indicate the intersection of Islam and local society, resulting in the inheritance of artifact culture. In the study of material culture, particularly the heritage of Islamic civilization, it is interesting to examine the form of gravestones that mark the occurrence of transitional processes in thought, technology, and culture of the community through changes adapted with Islamic ideas[39].

In Bolaang Mongondow, various artifact sites can serve as evidence of the successful spread of Islamic teachings. Mosques serve as concrete and relevant evidence of Islam's presence and its followers, who adapt local styles while incorporating Islamic ideas, thereby demonstrating the integration of local culture and Islam. On the other hand, Islamic tombs also become an interesting part because the existence of graves and tombstones that have survived to the present day indicates the presence of the actors of Islamization. They are considered important figures who played a role in maintaining Islam in Bolaang Mongondow. Furthermore, documents and works, in the form of manuscripts and gravestone inscriptions, become entities in themselves that not only reflect the influence of Islam but also identify the ideas, thoughts, and perspectives of the actors in spreading Islam in Bolaang Mongondow. Therefore, an important aspect of this discourse is the sites or tombs that serve as archaeological evidence of Islamic civilization, alongside mosques. The material heritage in Bolaang Mongondow reflects a rich cultural acculturation, including the influence of Islam blending with local traditions. Bolaang Mongondow, a region in North Sulawesi, Indonesia, has a long history of interactions among various cultures and religions, including Islam, that have shaped a unique cultural identity.

The Jere and Kapulo Sites are two sites located in the Kaidipang region, strategically located on the North-South Sulawesi Trans Circle route. Based on its topography, this area is in an environment with residents' plantations full of coconut and nipa trees, with flat terrain. However, these conditions make it difficult to see the grave sites, as they are covered by bushes. To strengthen this statement, the following is an image showing the topographic conditions at the Kapulo Site:



Figure 2. Grave in Kapulo Sites, Datu Binangkal, or Maurits Tomb

The above image not only illustrates the topographic condition of gravestones and tombs but also indicates the presence of other graves in the area. According to Figure 2, the gravestone indicated the ancestor of Bolaang Mongondow. Historical documents report that the gravestone is of Maurits or Datu Binangkal, the ruler of Kaidipang.

According to local government records, the graveyard in Kapulo contains 16 tombs that constitute the Kapulo site within the Kaidipang civilization. The local government provides explicit markers regarding the Kapulo Site, which is subsequently recognized as a historical legacy by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Furthermore, the community regards this site as historical heritage that contributes to the formation of the community in Kaidipang. Thus, the Kapulo Site becomes an area with implications for local community culture, which intersects with and adapts to Islam, making it widely accepted by the community.

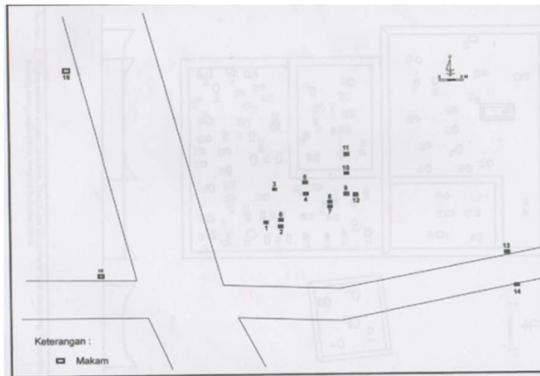


Figure 3. The Landscape of Kapulo Sites

In further exploration, 16 graves have been observed and excavated since 2012, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Description of Graves in Kaidipang

NO	NAME	LENGTH	WIDTH	HEIGHT	DESCRIPTION
1.	Moeritz Datu Binangkal Korompot	235/290	110/170	100	Partially Intact
2.	Boki Tohomiang Olii	190	180	90	Partially Intact
3.	Anonim	200	260	-	Not Intact and damaged
4.	Anonim	200	180	-	Not Intact and damaged
5.	Anonim	200	200	-	Not Intact and damaged
6.	Anonim	260	210	-	Not Intact and damaged
7.	Anonim	269	190	-	Not Intact and damaged
8.	Anonim	260	230	-	Not Intact and damaged
9.	Anonim	350	260	-	Not Intact and damaged
10.	Anonim	340	210	-	Not Intact and damaged
11.	Anonim	320	234	30	Not Intact and damaged
12.	Anonim	230	190	-	Not Intact and damaged
13.	Anonim	290	240	90	Not Intact and damaged
14.	Anonim	-	80 (?)	-	Not Intact and damaged
15.	Jogugu Buhang	400	360	80	Not Intact and damaged
16.	Jogugu Mokodompis	350	470	30-45	Not Intact and damaged

This study notes significant changes in the form of tombstones at the two sites under investigation. At these sites, Jere and Kapulo, differences in religious identities are evident, as evidenced by the tombstones, archaeological relics from the past. On the Kapulo tombstones, as mapped out (see Figure 3), it is shown that these graves have tombstones oriented in an east-west direction. This supports the notion that some of the deceased buried at the Kapulo site had not yet embraced Islam. This view is reinforced by the fact that Muslim communities in Indonesia typically have tombstones oriented north-south with the body of the deceased facing west (towards the *qibla*).

The Jere site is a complex of graves for the Kings of Kaidipang after they embraced Islam, from the 8th king to the 14th. Overall, there are 84 graves divided into several sections separated by surrounding fences. The fence is square, with each corner tapering upward and no entrances, at an average height of 1 meter. The graves in this complex are marked only by headstones, without grave enclosures or tombstones.

The use of coral stones for tombstones dates back to the pre-Islamic era, as they were readily available and durable. These coral stone tombstones are generally simple, lacking intricate decorations or inscriptions, and reflect the local customs and beliefs before the arrival of Islam. Their shape and orientation often differ from those of Islamic tombstones, which typically follow specific guidelines, such as alignment towards the *qibla*. The use of coral stones sheds light on how early communities marked and honored burial sites before the arrival of Islamic influence. The transition from coral to andesite stone tombstones indicates more than just a material change; it signifies a significant shift in religious and cultural practices in Indonesia. Pre-Islamic coral stones represent indigenous customs and beliefs, while andesite stones from the Islamic period show the incorporation of Islamic principles and aesthetics into local traditions. This change highlights the spread of Islam and its impact on social norms, including burial practices and the commemoration of the deceased.

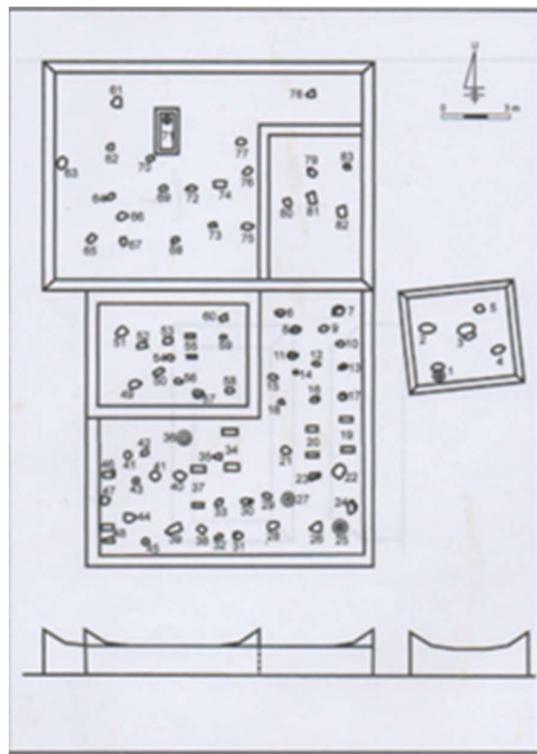


Figure 4. The Landscape of Jere Sites

In the first group of graves, which is the oldest in this complex, there are five headstones enclosed by a separate fence measuring 5m x 4.5m. Headstone (1) marks the grave of the 8th King of Kaidipang, Willem David Waladin Tatumakeasi Korompot. There are two types of headstones in this grave: one shaped like a mace, made of concrete, and the other, the original headstone, made of natural Andesite. The headstones are named Balota and Misa'ala, both of whom were chosen by King Willem David to deepen Islam in Ternate. The identities of the other two headstones are unknown. It appears that the surrounding fence structure is no longer intact, as some parts are damaged. The ground surface is covered with wild grasses.



Figure 5. Graves of "Wellen Korompot" (Muslim) in Bolaang Mogondow



Figure 6. Source from "Pameran Arsitektur Islam, 1991"

The images above provide initial identification that these gravestones are made of Andesite. The shape of the gravestones closely resembles several gravestones widely found across the Nusantara in the early 20th century. From the style of these gravestones, the ones depicted in the images resemble Acehnese gravestones with a cylindrical variant. The cylindrical variant of gravestones, characteristic of Aceh, later spread to Bolaang Mongondow. Although these gravestones are identical to those in Aceh, the influence observed indicates a process of local adaptation and acculturation to the Islamic burial traditions introduced from the Middle East. The use of cylindrical gravestones, which became a representation of Islam in Aceh, demonstrates the significant impact of Islam's spread across various regions of the Nusantara, including Bolaang Mongondow.

They have various series measuring 12.5m x 12m, located on the Jere Sites, separated by fences, and covering 7.5m x 5.5m (see figure 5). The fence surrounding the graves does not appear to have upward-pointing corners, unlike other fences. Figures buried in Group II graves include the 9th King of Kaidipang, Toruru Korompot, who ruled from 1817 to 1835; the 10th King of Kaidipang, Tiaha Korompot II (1835-1863); the 12th King of Kaidipang, Gongala Korompot II (1866-1898); and the President of the Islamic Company, Dodoali Korompot. According to Mr. Syafrudin Korompot (63 years old), the grave of the 11th King of Kaidipang, Vandish Moh. Nurdin Korompot (1863-1866) is located in Ambon. In addition to the graves of these figures, relatives and descendants are also buried, although the identities of each individual are no longer known/anonymized.

Examining the tombstones in Bolaang Mongondow, compared with typical Muslim tombstone designs influenced by Aceh, reveals that Islamic influence had reached the region. The tombstone of Wollen "Waladin" Korompot serves as proof of Islam's presence in Bolaang Mongondow. Despite the tombstone's inscription being limited to a name, its style underscores the impact of Islamization in the area. Notably, the practice of inscribing identities on tombstones began in the mid-20th century, highlighting that Islam had become a significant aspect of the community's socio-religious dynamics.



Figure 7. Graves and Landscape in Jere Sites
(Muslim Gravestones)

To facilitate inventory and description, a numbering system starting with Group I graves is used. Thus, in Group II graves, the numbering continues (see figure 7).

Table 2. Descriptions of other headstones can be

NO.	Name	Material	Height	Width	Shape	Description
1.	Willem David	Cement and Andesite stone	43	15	Mace	Two headstones and intact
2.	Balota	Andesite stone	47	17	Mace	Not Intact (KM I)
3.	Misa'ala	Andesite stone	25	25	?	Not Intact (KM I)
4.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	25	Natural	Intact (KM I)
5.	Anonim	Andesite stone	12	10	Natural	Intact (KM I)
6.	Toruru Korompot	Andesite stone	60	23	Natural	Intact (KM II)
7.	Dadoali korompot	Andesite stone	32	25	Natural	Intact (KM II)
8.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	27	Natural	Intact (KM II)
9.	Anonim	Andesite stone	12	10	Natural	Intact (KM II)
10.	Jamarutu Korompot	Andesite stone	7	5	Natural	Intact (KM II)
11.	Anonim	Andesite stone	30	20	Natural	Intact (KM II)
12.	Anonim	Andesite stone	17	12	Natural	Intact (KM II)
13.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	7	Natural	Intact (KM II)
14.	Anonim	Andesite stone	48	18	Natural	Intact (KM II)
15.	Anonim	Andesite stone	18	8	Natural	Intact (KM II)
16.	Anonim	Andesite stone	20	15	Natural	Intact (KM II)
17.	Anonim	Andesite stone	27	20	Natural	Intact (KM II)
18.	Boki Saharbanun	Cement	62	25	?	Intact (KM II)
19.	Anonim	Andesite stone	15	7	Natural	Intact (KM II)
20.	Maryam Buhang	Cement	70	30	?	Intact (KM II)
21.	Anonim	Andesite stone	14	8	Natural	Intact (KM II)
22.	Gongala Korompot	Andesite stone	70	22	Gada	Intact (KM II)
23.	Anonim	Andesite stone	25	15	natural	Intact (KM II)
24.	Latif Gumohung	Andesite stone	17	10	natural	Intact (KM II)
25.	Ahmad D. Korompot	Cement	38	17	gada	Intact (KM II)
26.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	27	natural	Intact (KM II)
27.	Mobiling Korompot	Andesite stone	38	12/20	gada	Intact (KM II)
28.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	15	natural	Intact (KM II)
29.	Anonim	Andesite stone	12	15	natural	Intact (KM II)
30.	Anonim	Andesite stone	34	22	natural	Intact (KM II)
31.	Anonim	Andesite stone	40	25	natural	Intact (KM II)
32.	Anonim	Andesite stone	37	20	natural	Intact (KM II)
33.	Anonim	Andesite stone	28	11	natural	Intact (KM II)
34.	Boki Sahe Antogia	Andesite stone	50	32	bunga	Intact (KM II)
35.	Anonim	Andesite stone	13	18	natural	Intact (KM II)
36.	H. Willem Antogia	Andesite stone	40	20	gada	Intact (KM II)
37.	Hj. Sarin B. Korompot	Andesite stone	55	25	kalpataru	Intact (KM II)
38.	Anonim	Andesite stone	42	15	natural	Intact (KM II)
39.	Anonim	Andesite stone	25	30	natural	Intact (KM II)
40.	Anonim	Andesite stone	47	15	natural	Intact (KM II)
41.	Tiaha Korompot II	Andesite stone	75	20	gada	Intact (KM II)
42.	Anonim	Andesite stone	15	13	natural	Intact (KM II)
43.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	7	natural	Intact (KM II)
44.	Anonim	Andesite stone	15	13	natural	Intact (KM II)
45.	Anonim	Andesite stone	7	6	natural	Intact (KM II)
46.	Husein M. Antogia	Cement	47	20	?	Intact (KM II)
47.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	20	natural	Intact (KM II)
48.	Anonim	Andesite stone	20	27	natural	Intact (KM II)
49.	Louis Korompot	Andesite stone	70	20	gada	Intact (KM III)
50.	Mahmud Manoppo Antogia	Andesite stone	43	23	natural	Intact (KM III)
51.	Anonim	Andesite stone	24	17	natural	Intact (KM III)
52.	Anonim	Andesite stone	20	15	natural	Intact (KM III)
53.	Anonim	Andesite stone	27	13	natural	Intact (KM III)
54.	Anonim	Andesite stone	17	20	natural	Intact (KM III)
55.	Boki Harunja	Andesite stone	67	17	Kuncup bunga	Intact (KM III)
56.	Anonim	Andesite stone	12	5	natural	Intact (KM III)

57.	Anonim	Andesite stone	22	15	natural	Intact(KM III)
58.	Anonim	Andesite stone	20	14	natural	Intact(KM III)
59.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	8	natural	Intact(KM III)
60.	Anonim	Andesite stone	43	10	natural	Intact(KM III)
61.	Anonim	Andesite stone	55	20	natural	Intact(KM IV)
62.	Anonim	Andesite stone	35	12	natural	Intact(KM IV)
63.	Anonim	Andesite stone	34	23	natural	Intact(KM IV)
64.	Anonim	Andesite stone	22	17	natural	Intact(KM IV)
65.	Anonim	Andesite stone	30	17	natural	Intact(KM IV)
66.	Anonim	Andesite stone	20	17	natural	Intact(KM IV)
67.	Anonim	Andesite stone	42	23	natural	Intact(KM IV)
68.	Anonim	Andesite stone	7	7	natural	Intact(KM IV)
69.	Anonim	Andesite stone	16	15	natural	Intact(KM IV)
70.	Anonim	Andesite stone	33	21	natural	Intact(KM IV)
71.	Gagu Korompot	Andesite stone	50	18	gada	Intact(KM IV)
72.	Anonim	Andesite stone	15	7	natural	Intact(KM IV)
73.	Anonim	?	23	15	?	Intact(KM IV)
74.	Anonim	Andesite stone	25	25	natural	Intact(KM IV)
75.	Anonim	Andesite stone	13	15	natural	Intact(KM IV)
76.	Anonim	Andesite stone	13	15	natural	Intact(KM IV)
77.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	17	natural	Intact(KM IV)
78.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	15	natural	Intact(KM IV)
79.	Anonim	Andesite stone	5	13	natural	Intact(KM IV)
80.	Anonim	Andesite stone	12	10	natural	Intact(KM IV)
81.	Anonim	Andesite stone	10	15	natural	Intact(KM IV)
82.	Anonim	Andesite stone	18	12	natural	Intact(KM IV)
83.	Anonim	Andesite stone	5	13	natural	Intact(KM IV)

We start by dividing the graves into groups. In groups I and II, indicating the gravestones and tombstones of King Toruru Karompot, made of Andesite, 60 cm tall, 23 cm wide, and in a natural shape. Headstone (7) belongs to the President of the Islamic Company, Dodoali Korompot, made of Andesite stone, 32 cm tall, 25 cm wide, and in a natural shape. Meanwhile, headstone (22) is that of King Gongala Korompot, made of Andesite, 70 cm tall, 22 cm wide, and in the shape of a mace. Headstone (41) is known as the headstone of King Tiah Korompot II, made of Andesite stone, 75 cm tall, 20 cm wide, shaped like a mace with a fluted profile at the base and body, tapering at the top. Additionally, several other headstones are made of cement in a mace-like shape with fluted decorations arranged vertically, becoming smaller towards the top. This type of headstone is observed in headstones (25), (27), and (36) (see table 2).

Table 3. Detailing the measurement of Graves in Jere

NO.	Name	Length	Width	Height	Description
1.	Moeritz Datu Binangkal Korompot	235/290	110/170	100	Partially intact
2.	Boki Tohomiang Olii	190	180	90	Partially Intact
3.	Anonim	200	260	-	Not Intact and damaged
4.	Anonim	200	180	-	Not Intact and damaged
5.	Anonim	200	200	-	Not Intact and damaged
6.	Anonim	260	210	-	Not Intact and damaged
7.	Anonim	269	190	-	Not Intact and damaged
8.	Anonim	260	230	-	Not Intact and damaged
9.	Anonim	350	260	-	Not Intact and damaged
10.	Anonim	340	210	-	Not Intact and damaged
11.	Anonim	320	234	30	Not Intact and damaged
12.	Anonim	230	190	-	Not Intact and damaged
13.	Anonim	290	240	90	Not Intact and damaged
14.	Anonim	-	80 (?)	-	Not Intact and damaged
15.	Jogugu Buhang	400	360	80	Not Intact and damaged
16.	Jogugu Mokodompis	350	470	30-45	Not Intact and damaged

In Group III graves, the figures buried here are the 13th King of Kaidipang, Louis Korompot (1898-1908 M/1306-1326), and the 14th King, Mahmud Manoppo Korompot Antogia (1908-1912 M/1326-1330 H). Headstone (49) of King Louis is made of Andesite stone, 70 cm tall, 20 cm wide, mace-shaped but flattened. There are 12 headstones in this group, numbered 49-60. The headstone (50) of King Mahmud is made of Andesite, 43 cm tall, 23 cm wide, and in a natural shape. Headstone (55), known as the grave of Boki Harunja, is made of cement, 67 cm tall, 17 cm wide, and shaped like a flower bud at the top. The identities of other graves are unknown, but most are made of Andesite stone in various sizes and natural shapes.

Group IV graves are located on the northern side, adjacent to Groups II and III graves (see Figure 2). There are a total of 22 headstones in this group, five of which are placed separately. Only one headstone is known by identity, headstone (71) belonging to Gagu Korompot. Headstone (71) is made of cement, 50 cm tall, 18 cm wide, and mace-shaped, with circular fluting that decreases in size towards the top. The other 21 headstones are made of Andesite stone with various sizes and natural shapes, and their identities are unknown. A more detailed description is provided in Table 2.

Table 4. Comparison of Kapulo and Jere Sites, North Bolaang Mongondow.

NO	ATTRIBUTE	SITES	
		KAPULO SITE	JERE SITE
1.	Location	Lowland	Lowland
2.	The Grave Orientation	West-East	North-South
3.	Grave Mound/Structure	Solid Structure	No, and an Incomplete grave
4.	Gravestone	None	Present
5.	Fence	None	Present
6.	Materials	Andesite Stone and Coral Stone	Andesite Stone and Cement
7.	Motif and Ornament	None	Present
8.	Dome	None	None
9.	Religion	Catholic	Moeslem

The architectural structures of the two sites exhibit significant differences. At the Kapulo Site, the graves are characterized by massive structures that are relatively large and covered, as evidenced by the stone structures of several graves that can still be observed despite the upper parts being destroyed. No inscriptions are visible on the graves for identification purposes. The area surrounding the grave complex appears integrated with the surroundings, as there are no visible boundary fences. The graves at the Kapulo Site are oriented east-west.

In contrast, the grave complex at the Jere Site appears simpler because no structures are built above the graves, except for the headstones marking them. Each grave typically has only one headstone, placed at the head, though newer graves may have two. The ground surface is flat, with no mounds typical of burial structures. The grave complex is surrounded by boundary fences, without any entrance gates. The walls of the fences are thick and square-shaped, with upward-pointing arches at each corner. The graves at the Jere Site are oriented north to south.

Based on morphological analysis, the graves at the Kapulo and Jere Sites exhibit significant differences. The attributes of the graves at these sites (see Figures 5 and 6) indicate the significance of the situation, placement, and symbols that are still maintained by the local community. Referring to the comparison of grave attributes and gravestones, it is noteworthy to highlight here a process of religious transition from Christian/Catholic to Islam in the 19th century. Although previous explanations emphasized the role of rulers in Bolaang Mongondow, archaeological evidence indicates a strengthening influence of Islamization in the Region.

In this regard, the materials used in constructing the architectural formations of each grave complex exhibit similarities, namely, river stones and coral stones, although their applications differ. At the Kapulo Site, river stone and Andesite are used to construct the graves of King Maurits Datoe Binangkal Korompot. The Andesite stones are arranged using adhesive and plastered on the outer part. Meanwhile, other graves are constructed using coral stone, with adhesive and plaster applied to the outer part as well.

At the Jere Site, Andesite stone material is used as headstones or grave markers. Most of the Andesite stones are in their natural form without any processing. Still, some have been worked on and shaped like maces, as seen in the headstones of King Tiahia Korompot (headstone no.41), King Gongala Korompot (headstone no.22), and King Louis Korompot (headstone no.49). Other headstones are made of concrete with various shapes, including mace-shaped, flower bud-shaped, and rectangular slabs with curves at the top. Concrete headstones in mace shape can be seen in the headstones of King Willem David (headstone no.1), headstone no.25, headstone no. 27, headstone no.36, and headstone no.71. The use of coral stone at the Jere

Site is evident in the arrangement of boundary fences surrounding the grave complex. The coral stones are arranged with adhesive and plastered on the outer part.

The archaeological analysis then indicates an intersection with Islamic culture in general. Islamic values are evident in the remaining headstones as historical evidence, where the use of headstones is not uniform, and only certain individuals have specific headstones. The images at the Kapulo Site (Figure 6 and Table 2) show differences in the materials of the surviving graves, including headstones made of Andesite and river stones. General trends and archaeological data indicate that environmental factors influence the development and existence of Islamic culture in Bolaang Mongondow. Graves and sites in Bolaang Mongondow demonstrate this uniqueness, as the east-west orientation of graves is taken to indicate that the deceased may not have fully understood or accepted Islamic teachings. According to Muslim understanding, headstones in graves should be oriented north-south, facing towards the *qibla*. Uniqueness in archaeological analysis is the inscriptions on the headstones, which are not clearly depicted but already indicate the influence of Islam.

The issue of gravestones as burial markers indicates that the buried body faces west. The direction mentioned in these findings is the direction of the gravestone from head to feet, while the body is oriented to face west (*Qibla*). This is further reinforced by one of the indicators of the influence of Islamic teachings: the position of the gravestone, with the head at the northern side and the feet at the southern side, and the body facing west (*Qibla*).

Therefore, the archaeological-Islamic study conducted in Bolaang Mongondow indicates the role of Islamic teachings in shaping the local community's perspectives and material culture. Discoveries of stone structures, landscapes, and the use of symbols in graves point to processes of adaptation, transition, and acculturation of Islamic-local culture. The distribution of artifacts supports the notion that Islamization in Bolaang Mongodow was adapted to the local context, resulting in a nuanced Islamic-local civilization.

4. CONCLUSION

The contestation of space in Bolaang Mongondow carries social and political implications within the community, where Dutch colonization also occurred. This condition led to a convergence of religious confrontation and political intrigue in the process of Islamization in Bolaang Mongondow. The process and pivot of religious conversion in Bolaang Mongondow, from elite-class to top-down approaches, eventually led to a religious revolution through the spread of religion, culminating in the creation of the Muslim enclave of Bolaang Mongondow.

The influence of Islam has endured through processes of interaction and adaptation, manifesting in local Islamic traditions and rituals, as well as various artifacts that serve as legacies of Islamic civilization. In addition to mosques symbolizing civilization and the success of Islam's spread through political-religious relations, gravestones also serve as evidence reinforcing the presence of social-religious relations within the community's civilization.

In Bolaang Mongondow, the Kapulo and Jere Sites stand as evidence of the successful dissemination of Islamic teachings. The adoption of local styles infused with Islamic ideas in the construction of graves demonstrates the integration of local culture with Islam. Moreover, the Kapulo and Jere Sites serve as entities that not only demonstrate the influence of Islam but also identify the ideas, concepts, and perspectives of actors involved in spreading Islam in Bolaang Mongondow. Thus, the cultural artifacts in Bolaang Mongondow reflect a rich acculturation, including the blending of Islam with local traditions. Bolaang Mongondow, a region in North Sulawesi, Indonesia, has a long history of interactions among various cultures and religions, including Islam, which has shaped a unique cultural identity in the region.

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