



Identification of the Spread of Islam and Muslim Identity Through the Architectural Pattern of Tombs in Bali in the 17th-19th Centuries AD

Ivan Agusta Farizkha¹, M. Zulfa Alfarabi¹, A. Thoriqul Jinan, Ahmad Mujibun N¹, Dimas Permadi Awwalun. K. R¹, Rehan Ismail Adi Nasahudin¹

¹Kiai Haji Ahmad Siddiq State Islamic University Jember

*Corresponding Author: Ivan Agusta Farizkha

Email: ivanagustafariska@gmail.com

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Abstract

The spread of Islam in Bali was a historical process that developed through trade networks, migration, inter-island mobility, and socio-cultural interaction. Amid the dominance of Balinese Hindu traditions, Muslim communities from diverse ethnic backgrounds left various material remains, particularly tombs and gravestones. This study aims to identify patterns of Islamic dissemination and the formation of Muslim identity in Bali through an examination of the forms, typologies, materials, ornaments, inscriptions, and spatial arrangements of Muslim tombs dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries CE. This research employs a qualitative method using a literature review and historical approach through the stages of heuristic inquiry, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The findings indicate that Muslim tombs in Bali display diverse architectural characteristics corresponding to the ethnic backgrounds of their communities. Tombs associated with Javanese Muslim communities, such as the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat in Cemagi, exhibit features including stone kijing, upright gravestones with Arabic calligraphy, and tomb complexes protected by cungkup, reflecting strong influences of traditional Javanese Islamic funerary architecture. However, the protective structures and decorative elements also incorporate aspects of Balinese architecture. Meanwhile, Bugis-Makassar Muslim tombs in Serangan display stepped tomb structures, pseudo-jirat, gunung-shaped gravestones, the use of coral stone and wood, as well as floral and foliage motifs, demonstrating an interaction between Bugis-Makassar funerary traditions and the Balinese cultural environment. These differences in tomb typology indicate that the spread of Islam in Bali developed through multiple mobility networks, particularly those connecting Java and the maritime networks of the Bugis-Makassar. Therefore, Muslim tombs and gravestones can be understood as material archives that record patterns of mobility, ethnic and religious identity, and the acculturation of Muslim communities with Balinese local culture. The Islamization of Bali did not produce a uniform Islamic cultural form, but rather generated diverse funerary architectural expressions through which Muslim communities maintained their cultural identities while adapting to the socio-cultural environment of Bali.

Introduction

The spread of Islam in the archipelago is a very important historical event in the formation of Indonesian cultural identity. Islam exists not only as a belief system, but as a social and cultural force that is able to transform the social order. The spread of this religion took place peacefully, in contrast to the spread of other religions which were often accompanied by military

expansion. Islam entered Indonesia since the 7th century AD through trade routes by Muslim traders from Arabia, Persia, Gujarat, and China. Port cities such as Aceh, Gresik, and Banten became the initial centers of the spread of Islamic teachings (Indonesia, 2001; Azman & Supriadi, 2025; Andaya, 2022; Gupta, 2022).

In addition to trade, the process of Islamization also took place through the da'wah of scholars, marriage with the local population, and the influence of education and art. In the Java region, the role of Walisongo is very prominent. They use symbolic approaches and art media, such as puppetry and gamelan, to convey Islamic values in a way that is easily accepted by the public. While outside Java, such as in South Sulawesi, Islam developed after being accepted by local kingdoms such as Gowa and Tallo. Three scholars from West Sumatra played an important role in Islamizing the kings of Bugis and Makassar, one of which was Dato' ri Bandang who succeeded in Islamizing the King of Gowa in 1605 (Jannah & Nasir, 2018). This shows that the spread of Islam in the archipelago is not only influenced by religious factors alone, but also by social, political, and cultural interactions. Islam entered new territories by adapting to the local culture, thus creating a distinctive form of Islam in Indonesia. This process is also evident in the way Muslim communities construct their social structures and cultural spaces, including in burial practices and tomb architecture (Awwalun Khoirul Rizky et al., 2024; Gleize, 2022; Manan et al., 2024; Gleize, 2022).

One of the regions that has a unique dynamic of spreading Islam is the Province of Bali. The province is geographically located between the islands of Java and Lombok, with an area of about 5,590 km², including several smaller islands such as Nusa Penida, Nusa Lembongan, and Nusa Ceningan. Bali is known as the only province in Indonesia with a majority Hindu population. The Balinese people have a strong cultural heritage with Hindu traditions, reflected in the subak agricultural system, art, and religious rites such as the Ngaben ceremony the process of cremation of the body as a form of releasing atma from the world to reincarnation. Other traditions such as "Passing" in Trunyan Village shows the diversity of funeral practices based on local values (Zaimatur Rosyida et al., 2025).

However, in the midst of the dominance of Hindu culture and religion, there is a Muslim community that has long lived and settled in Bali. This community comes from various ethnicities such as Javanese, Madura, and Bugis-Makassar. In building their social and religious identity, the Muslim community in Bali has adopted a strategy of cultural adaptation, including in the architectural form of their tombs. The architecture of the tomb not only serves as a final resting place but also reflects the religious values and cultural identity of a community (Azra, 2004; Alnaim, 2024; Mehdilou et al., 2025; Alavi & Tanaka, 2023). Functionally, the tomb has a dual role. On the one hand, the tomb is a symbol of respect for the deceased; On the other hand, it becomes a social space that strengthens community relations through pilgrimages and religious rituals. In Islamic architecture, tombs are designed to present a sense of sacredness and serenity, with symbolic elements that reflect man's relationship with God, as well as reflect the cultural footprints of the communities that built them. In the context of Bali, the existence of Muslim graves is something interesting because it is different from the Balinese Hindu tradition that dominates the burial practices of the local people (Hidayatulloh, 2020).

One example of an interesting Muslim community to research is Bugis-Makassar Village in Serangan Village, South Denpasar District. This community is thought to have existed since the 17th century, founded by Bugis-Makassar sailors and traders who settled in Bali. Until now, they still maintain the Islamic identity and culture of Bugis-Makassar through language, religious traditions, as well as settlement patterns and architectural forms of tombs. The existence of this community is clear evidence of cultural acculturation between Islam and

Hinduism, as well as showing that Islam in Bali does not exist homogeneously, but with various forms and cultural patterns according to their ethnic background.

Based on this, the researcher proposed a hypothesis that the process of spreading Islam in Bali did not originate from one particular path or region. In contrast, Islam came through various migration and trade routes from various regions, such as Java and South Sulawesi. This can be traced through the various forms of tomb architecture scattered throughout Bali. Given that the majority of Balinese people practice cremation in the Hindu tradition, the existence of Islamic tombs with certain characteristics suggests that there is a Muslim community that brings with them the burial culture of their home area (Khafid & Fabiansyah, 2026). Thus, the study of the architecture of Muslim tombs in Bali is not only important to understand the process of the spread of Islam, but also to uncover the social dynamics, cultural identity, and historical traces of Muslim communities living in the midst of the dominance of Hindu culture. This study will highlight several tomb sites as samples, including one of the tombs of Wali Pitu as well as the tomb of the Bugis-Makassar community in Serangan, to identify patterns of spread and adaptation of Islam through an architectural approach.

Previous studies have provided important foundations for understanding the historical presence of Islam and Muslim communities in Bali, but their analytical emphases have generally been directed toward particular communities, religious figures, pilgrimage traditions, or individual historical sites. Studies of Muslim communities in Bali, for example, have examined the historical and social development of groups such as the Bugis community in Serangan, including their efforts to maintain cultural and religious traditions within a predominantly Hindu social environment.¹ Similarly, studies concerning Wali Pitu have focused primarily on the historical narratives, genealogy, sacredness, pilgrimage practices, and contemporary construction of Muslim saintly figures in Bali.² Archaeological and heritage studies have also documented individual Muslim tomb sites, including the Serangan Islamic Tomb Site, identifying features such as stepped tombs, pseudo-jirat, floral and foliage ornaments, and Arabic or Malay inscriptions.³ These studies demonstrate that Muslim tombs constitute important historical and cultural evidence; however, they have not sufficiently explained how variations in tomb architecture between different Muslim communities can be interpreted comparatively as indicators of mobility networks, ethnic identity, and processes of cultural adaptation. Consequently, the relationship between architectural variation and the different historical trajectories through which Muslim communities entered, settled, and maintained their identities in Bali remains insufficiently explored (Nehza et al., 2025; Santosa & Hendryana, 2026).

This study addresses this gap by shifting the focus from the documentation of individual tombs or Muslim communities toward a comparative interpretation of funerary architecture as material evidence of mobility and cultural interaction. The comparison between Javanese-associated tombs, particularly the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat in Cemagi, and Bugis-Makassar tombs in Serangan provides an opportunity to examine how differences in tombstone forms, tomb structures, materials, ornaments, inscriptions, and spatial arrangements correspond to different cultural backgrounds and mobility networks. Rather than assuming that architectural similarities or differences directly prove ethnic origin, this study interprets these material characteristics within their historical and socio-cultural contexts. In this way, the study contributes to the discussion of Islamization in Bali by demonstrating that Muslim tomb architecture can function as a material archive through which the movement of people, the maintenance of ethnic and religious identities, and adaptation to the Balinese cultural environment can be examined simultaneously. The comparative approach therefore enables the study to move beyond identifying the existence of Muslim heritage toward explaining how

different Muslim communities negotiated their identities through funerary architectural practices.

Method

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative method with a literature review approach. The qualitative method was chosen because it focuses on an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon through descriptive data sourced from texts and written documents. Literature studies were carried out by collecting data from various secondary sources such as scientific articles, journals, theses, and relevant books related to the architecture of Muslim tombs in Bali and the process of spreading Islam in the region. This approach allows for a holistic and comprehensive analysis of the academic materials that support the research hypothesis. Thus, descriptive analysis is used to construct historical and cultural narratives based on available data (Hasibuan et al., 2022).

Historical Research Method

In addition, this study applies historical research methods as an approach to study, reconstruct, and understand various events that occurred in the past. The method is carried out through five main stages. The first stage is the determination of the research topic as the basis for determining the focus of the study. Furthermore, a heuristic process is carried out, namely the search and collection of various sources relevant to the object of research. The sources that have been obtained are then criticized or verified to test their authenticity, credibility, and relevance to the research. After the source is declared valid, the next stage is interpretation, which is the process of analyzing, interpreting, and connecting various historical facts so that they can be compiled into a coherent understanding. The last stage is historiography, which is the systematic preparation and writing of research results in the form of historical narratives. Through these stages, this research is expected to be able to produce a comprehensive historical reconstruction and provide a deeper understanding of the dynamics of past events and their relevance to current conditions (Kuntowijoyo, 2013).

Research Variables

The variables used to identify the spread of Islam and the formation of Muslim identity through the pattern of tomb shapes in Bali in the 17th to 19th centuries AD include three main aspects. First, the variety of ornaments or ornaments found in the tomb, which represents a combination of artistic expressions, local culture, and Islamic values as reflected in the form of carvings and decorative patterns used. Second, inscriptions or writings on the tombstone, which can contain various important information, such as the name of the figure, year of death, genealogy, title, and prayer expression. The existence of such inscriptions not only serves as a marker of the identity of the individuals who are buried but can also provide an idea of the cultural influences and religious practices that developed in the period. Third, the shape and typology of the tombstone, which includes the physical characteristics, structure, size, and variations of the shape of the tombstone that develop in various locations. The analysis of these three variables allowed the study to identify the characteristics of Muslim tombs as well as trace the pattern of the spread of Islam in Bali.

Result and Discussion

The Entry of Muslim Groups in Bali: An Introduction

The entry of Islam into Indonesia is a historical process that takes place gradually and involves trade, migration, da'wah, and socio-cultural interactions. In the historiography of Islam of the archipelago, there are several theories about the origin of the arrival of Islam, including the

Arabic or Mecca theory, the Gujarat theory, the Persian theory, and the Chinese theory. The Gujarat theory developed by J. Pijnappel and Snouck Hurgronje, among others, views that Islam came to the archipelago through Muslim traders from Gujarat, India, especially around the 12th to 13th centuries. This view is based, among other things, on the trade relations between India and the archipelago and the similarity of some forms of early Islamic tombstones to the burial traditions in Gujarat. Meanwhile, the theory of Makkah put forward by Hamka places the arrival of Islam earlier, namely since the 7th century AD, through direct contact with Arab Muslim traders and communities. These differences show that the process of Islamization of the archipelago cannot be explained only through one path or one period of arrival (Syafriзал, 2015).

In addition to the Gujarat and Makkah theories, the Persian theory emphasizes the existence of cultural relations between the Muslim people of the archipelago and Persia which can be seen through a number of religious traditions and cultural expressions. The debate over these theories is essentially not only about the question of where Islam came from, but also about how it takes place and develops in local societies. Islamization in the archipelago takes place through various mediums, such as trade, marriage, education, networks of scholars, kingdoms, and cultural acculturation. Thus, the entry of Islam should be understood as a complex process of interaction, not merely a religious transfer from one region to another. The framework is important to read the Islamization of Bali because the existence of Muslim communities in Bali is also related to human mobility and inter-island trade networks (Amir, 2021).

In Bali, the Islamization process has different characteristics compared to the archipelago where the majority of the population later became Muslims. Bali retains the dominance of Hindu traditions, but at the same time develops Muslim communities from various ethnic backgrounds. The entry of Muslim groups into Bali is a historical process that takes place gradually through inter-island mobility networks, trade, migration, and social and political relations. Bali's geographical position between Java and the eastern part of Indonesia makes it one of the regions connected to the archipelago's shipping routes. The presence of Islam in Bali thus cannot be understood as the result of a single event or a single group of spreaders, but rather as a process involving various Muslim communities from different regions. Rizky Annisa's research on Buleleng, for example, shows that the existence of Islam in the region has been traceable since 1587, when three elephant herders who had embraced Islam came to Buleleng. Traces of the development of Islam are then seen through the existence of mosques, handwritten Qur'an, and tombs of figures who spread Islam (Annisa, 2020).

The Muslim groups that later developed in Bali had diverse ethnic backgrounds, including Javanese, Bugis-Makassar, Madura, and the local Balinese Muslim community. These communities form settlements and social spaces that allow Islamic identity to be maintained in the midst of a Hindu-majority community. One important area is Buleleng in northern Bali, which has a number of historic Muslim settlements, including Pegayaman and the Kampung Kajanan area. The existence of the community shows that Islam has been a part of Balinese social history for a long span of time. Indriana Kartini's study even shows that Islamic history can be traced in almost all districts/cities in Bali, including Denpasar, Badung, Buleleng, Jembrana, Gianyar, Tabanan, Bangli, Karangasem, and Klungkung (Kartini, 2011).

In addition to Muslim groups from Java and other regions, the Bugis-Makassar community has an important position in the history of the formation of Muslim communities in Bali. Their presence is very related to the character of the Bugis-Makassar community as a group of sailors and nomads who have a wide mobility network in the archipelago. One of the clearest traces is found in Kampung Bugis Serangan, South Denpasar. The existence of the Bugis Muslim community in Serangan shows the formation of a community that not only maintains religious

identity, but also builds its own social space and settlements. Research on land ownership conflicts in Kampung Bugis Serangan shows that the community has a strong history of existence and continues to interact with social developments and spatial changes on Serangan Island (Hidayati & Noak, 2017).

The historical presence of Muslim communities in Bali is closely related to patterns of inter-island mobility, particularly among communities whose economic and social activities were connected to maritime networks. This relationship is particularly evident in the history of the Bugis-Makassar community in southern Bali. Historical studies indicate that the arrival of Bugis Muslims in Bali was associated with trading activities and the movement of Bugis sailors across the maritime routes of the archipelago. Following political changes in South Sulawesi in the seventeenth century, groups of Bugis-Makassar migrants moved toward several coastal areas of Bali, including Badung, Buleleng, and Jembrana. In southern Bali, Serangan became one of the locations where Bugis sailors established a permanent settlement.¹ The historical importance of Serangan as a maritime environment is also reflected in the community's continued relationship with fishing, boating, and other activities connected to the sea.² These historical circumstances provide an important basis for interpreting the old tombs in Kampung Bugis Serangan: the cemetery should not be viewed merely as a religious space, but also as material evidence produced within a community whose formation was closely associated with maritime mobility (Diana, 2016).

The connection between mobility history and funerary architecture becomes more significant when the material characteristics of the Serangan tomb complex are examined. The historical establishment of a relatively permanent Bugis Muslim settlement created a social environment in which religious practices and cultural traditions brought from the community's place of origin could be maintained while simultaneously adapting to the Balinese environment. Segara identifies the old tomb, mosque, Qur'anic manuscript, and Bugis traditional house as cultural remains through which the historical identity of Kampung Bugis can be traced.³ Therefore, the architectural characteristics of the Serangan tombs such as stepped structures, pseudo-jirat, the use of coral and wood, tendril and foliage ornaments, and mountain-shaped gravestones containing Arabic and Malay inscriptions can be examined in relation to this history of mobility and settlement. The presence of these elements does not by itself prove a direct geographical origin for every architectural feature; rather, their significance emerges when they are read together with historical evidence concerning the movement and settlement of Bugis Muslims in coastal Bali. In this sense, tomb architecture provides a material dimension to the history of maritime mobility, showing how a migrant Muslim community maintained elements of its cultural identity while adapting funerary practices to the material and socio-cultural environment of Bali.

Architectural Remains of the Javanese Tomb in Bali

In several Muslim burial sites in Bali such as in the Loloan (Jembrana), Pegayaman (Buleleng) areas, and several points on the east coast of Bali are found tomb forms that have significant similarities with Javanese tomb architecture, both in physical form and arrangement. These tombs generally have a kijing structure, Arabic calligraphy ornaments, and tomb layouts that show the influence of Javanese Islamic culture. In addition, the shape of the tajug roof, the use of andesite stone or red brick, and the presence of a sacred cemetery complex show that the architectural style does not come from local Balinese traditions, but is a typical Javanese Islamic architectural heritage, especially from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The pattern on this tomb has some similarities with the tombs of the guardians or ulama in the northern and eastern coastal areas of Java Island, such as in Gresik, Demak, or Tuban (Latifundia, 2020).

The existence of tombs with Javanese architecture in a number of areas of Bali can be one of the important indicators in tracing the path of the spread of Islam on the island. The similarity of the typology, shape, and decorative elements of the tomb with the tradition of Islamic burial in Java indicates the existence of a mobility relationship between the Javanese and Balinese Muslim communities, both through trade, migration, and da'wah activities. The move not only had implications for the spread of Islamic teachings, but also brought various cultural elements from the area of origin, including funerary traditions, tomb architectural forms, and socio-religious practices. Thus, Javanese-style tombs in Bali can be understood as material relics that record the process of displacement and formation of the Javanese Muslim community in the Balinese cultural environment. Its existence also shows that the process of Islamization in Bali takes place through interaction between communities that allows the simultaneous transmission of religion and culture, especially in the context of trade relations and population mobility during the development of Islamic networks in the archipelago (Gede Yoga & Utama, 2025).

The spread of Islam in the Bali region is through a guardianship system called Wali Pitu. Wali Pitu is the name of seven figures who spread Islam in Bali who are known for their role in Islamizing the Hindu-majority area through a peaceful and cultural approach. This concept is a local adaptation of Wali Songo in Java, but with typical Balinese characteristics. The guardians are known to have come from various regions in the archipelago, including Java and Lombok, and preached in coastal areas as well as small kingdom centers in Bali. They are respected for successfully spreading the teachings of Islam without conflict, and until now their tombs have become places of pilgrimage for Muslims, such as the tomb of Raden Mas Sepuh (Mangkuningrat) in Cemagi Village, Mengwi, Badung (Diana, 2016).

One of the archaeological remains that is the object of study in this study is the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat, who is also known as Pangeran Mas Sepuh or Sheikh Ahmad Chamdun Choirussholeh and is included in the figure known as Wali Pitu in Bali. Based on a growing historical tradition, the figure is believed to have a noble background with a lineage that connects the Kingdom of Mengwi in Bali and Blambangan in East Java. After experiencing conflicts with the Mengwi Palace environment, Raden Mas Mangkuningrat then settled in the Seeh Beach area, Cemagi Village, Mengwi District, Badung Regency. In the region, he is known as one of the figures who played a role in Islamic da'wah activities and gained respect from the local community. After his death, he was buried in the area, and his tomb is still one of the places visited by the Balinese Muslim community. The existence of this tomb is important in the study of the spread of Islam in Bali because it is not only related to the history of a figure, but also represents the meeting between the cultural background of Java and Bali and the process of forming a Muslim community in the midst of the Balinese community (Mahadi & Fuad Raya, 2022).



Figure 1. Tomb of Sheikh Ahmad Chamdun Choirussaleh from the front

Source: Islami.co

The architecture of the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat shows very strong characteristics with the style of traditional Javanese Islamic tombs, such as the use of stone kijing, upright tombstones with Arabic calligraphy ornaments, and the structure of the tomb in a sacred complex that is guarded. The tomb protection building (cungkup) is in the form of a bale (open pavilion) typical of Bali, with an overlapping roof with a pointed end (similar to a meru roof). The gold carvings on the walls and columns showcase traditional Balinese aesthetics, showing luxury and sacredness. There are Balinese cultural structures and elements. On the front side there are green and white Balinese umbrellas (tedung), as well as mini penjor and janur ornaments as a symbol of purity and respect. The stepped steps and the altar (tomb place) are slightly elevated, following the temple structure. These forms are in harmony with the 17th to 19th century Islamic burial traditions in Java, which indicate the continuity of culture and identity Islam from Java to Bali (Syafrizal, 2015).

Furthermore, religious practices in the Balinese Muslim community also show the presence of Javanese influences, such as the tradition of tahlilan, grave pilgrimage, and the use of religious terms in the Javanese language, which still survive today, especially in Muslim communities such as in Loloan and Pegayaman. This tradition is part of Islamic-Javanese syncretism, which is then passed on in new areas such as Bali as a form of cultural sustainability as well as the spread of religion. Thus, the existence of Muslim tombs in Bali with typical Javanese architecture is not only a historical site, but also an indicator that the Islamization process in Bali was carried out by the Javanese Muslim community. This shows how the Islamization in Bali occurred not because of the indigenous Balinese themselves, but was part of a large flow of migration, da'wah, and cultural transfer from Islamic centers in Java to outside areas, including Bali.



Figure 2. The Shape of the Tombstone of Sheikh Ahmad Chamdun Choirussoleh

Source: Suarabali.id

Architectural Remains of the Bugis-Makassar Tomb in Bali

In addition to the existence of tombs in typical Javanese architectural styles, in Bali there are also tomb architectural forms that reflect other ethnic identities, namely Bugis-Makassar. One example can be clearly seen in the Serangan area, South Denpasar, a coastal area that has long been a place where the Bugis Muslim community lives. In this place, the architectural heritage of the old tomb is a visual marker of the process of migration and spread of Islam through the maritime route carried out by Bugis-Makassar nomads since the 17th century.



Figure 3. Examples of Tombs with Bugis Architecture Makassar

Source: Denpasar tourism.com

As a matter of comparison, the characteristics of the Bugis Muslim tombs in Makassar show the existence of architectural patterns formed through the process of acculturation between Islamic values and local Bugis cultural traditions. In general, tombs have a rectangular shape with the main material in the form of padas or limestone which in some cases are arranged in

steps. The stepped structure not only has a constructive function, but is also related to the representation of the social status of the buried figure. The tombstones on tombs are generally flattened in shape with tapered or curved ends, and are decorated with Arabic calligraphy and simple floral motifs. A number of tombs were also found *Squirt*, which is a tomb protection structure with a roof shape that has similarities to the construction of Bugis stilt houses. Meanwhile, the orientation of the tomb leading to the qibla and the existence of a stone fence around it shows the arrangement of a burial chamber related to the religious practices and pilgrimage traditions of the Bugis Muslim community. These characteristics show that the architecture of the Bugis Muslim tomb was a material form of the encounter between Islamic burial principles and the expression of local Bugis culture (Diana, 2016).



Figure 4. Makassar Bugis Architectural Tomb on Bali Serangan Island

Source: Balebengong.id

The architectural pattern shows how the process of Islamization in South Sulawesi runs culturally, namely by Islamizing local forms without stripping away their original identity. Tomb architecture is an important medium in showing that Islam is accepted as an integral part of Bugis culture. The tomb is not only the final resting place, but also a symbol of the social, religious, and cultural forces that are intertwined in the life of the Bugis-Makassar people. Based on the architectural characteristics of Bugis Muslim tombs in Makassar, the ancient tombs found in Bugis Village, Serangan, South Denpasar District, show a number of strong typological similarities with the burial traditions of the Bugis Muslim community in their home area. From the material aspect, tombs generally use dark-colored padas stones which are local Balinese materials, but are processed with aesthetic characters that reflect Bugis cultural traditions (Pageh, 2018).

The use of local materials shows the adaptability of the Bugis community to the local environment without losing the cultural identity brought from the area of origin. On the tombstone, the use of Arabic calligraphy combined with floral ornaments is found, which represents the combination of Islamic religious expression and the aesthetic character of Bugis culture. Meanwhile, from the typological aspect, the dominant shape of the headstone is in the form of a flat or mace-like tombstone with a horizontal orientation and is not equipped with monumental structures such as domes or cups. This character shows the continuity of the Bugis

burial tradition as well as the process of adaptation to the Balinese cultural and environmental context. Thus, the material elements, the shape of the tombstone, and the variety of ornaments on the Bugis Muslim tomb in Serangan can be seen as archaeological indicators that represent the Islamic identity, ethnicity, mobility, and acculturation process of the Bugis-Muslim community in Bali (Suryawan, 2017).

The tombs of Bugis Muslims in Bali do not solely function as burial grounds, but also represent material traces of the process of cultural interaction, the spread of Islam across ethnicities, and architectural adaptations in the socio-cultural environment of Bali. The existence of Bugis Village in Serangan has an important meaning in this context because this area is one of the historical spaces that records the mobility of the Bugis people through shipping networks and inter-island trade that also brought their Islamic identity to Bali. Despite developing in the midst of a predominantly Hindu cultural environment, the Bugis Muslim community is able to maintain its religious and cultural identity through various forms of social life and material remains, including tombs. The sustainability of the community's life to date shows that the process of acculturation between Bugis-Muslim identity and local Balinese culture does not always take place through the elimination of original identity, but can result in forms of adaptation that allow cultural diversity and religious life to develop side by side.

The Spread of Islam in Bali in a Historical and Archaeological Review

The spread of Islam in Bali can be traced not only through historical sources, but also through archaeological remains in the form of tombs and tombstones. Tombs are an important form of material remains because they have elements that can be observed physically, such as jarat, tombstones, constituent materials, various ornaments, inscriptions, and the layout in the cemetery complex. In the Balinese context, the existence of Islamic tombs is becoming increasingly important because Balinese people in general have different funeral traditions from Muslim communities, especially through the practice of cremation in the Balinese Hindu tradition. Therefore, the appearance of Islamic tombs with certain material characteristics can be seen as an indicator of the existence of the Muslim community as well as evidence of cultural interaction. This study found that the shape of Muslim tombs in Bali shows variations related to the ethnic background of the supporting communities, especially the Javanese and Bugis-Makassar traditions. These variations can be seen in the shape of the tombstone, the structure of the tomb, the use of materials, and the variety of ornaments used in the tomb (Rahmawati Ilahi et al., 2024).

One of the remains that shows this character is the Serangan Islamic Tomb Site in Bugis Village, Serangan Village, South Denpasar. Based on archaeological data, this tomb complex is surrounded by a square wall and consists of several groups of tombs. The tombs in the north are considered older, while the tombs in the south are relatively younger. Most of the tombs do not have a cup, with the exception of one tomb which is in the western part of the complex. One of the most prominent forms is a three-tiered tomb with a pseudo-girat made of coral. The tomb has an ornamental pattern of tendrils and does not have inscriptions. In addition to the coral tomb, there were also wooden tombs that had decorations in the form of tendrils and leaves. Other finds are in the form of a mountain-shaped headstone equipped with year numbers and inscriptions in Arabic letters, using Malay in one part and Arabic in the other. The data shows that the Serangan tomb complex has a diversity of tombstone shapes and tombs that can be used to see the development of the burial tradition of the Bugis Muslim community in Bali (Anom Kumbara & Gde Putra, 2019).

When viewed from its shape, the stepped tomb in Serangan is one of the most important characters in reading the process of cultural acculturation. The terraced or stepped structure of the tomb shows a continuity with older local traditions, while the function of the tomb, the

orientation of the cemetery, and the presence of Arabic inscriptions indicate an Islamic identity. Thus, the stepped form does not have to be understood as a form that is entirely derived from the Islamic tradition, but can indicate the process of receiving and processing local cultural elements into Islamic funeral practices. The same can be seen in the use of ornamental varieties of tendrils, leaves, flowers, and shapes *Squirrelly* which shows the meeting between Bugis-Makassar aesthetics and Balinese decorative arts. Sources from the Bali Cultural Heritage Preservation Center even noted that there is a combination of wavy tendrils, leaves and flowers with motifs known in Balinese decorative arts, such as *Squirrelly*, *Coral Simbar*, *Menjangan*, and padma flowers. Thus, the tomb of Serangan can be understood as an archaeological remains that show the process of cultural adaptation between the Bugis-Muslim community and the socio-cultural environment of Balinese (Fathurrahim Alviansyah et al., 2023).

In addition to the pattern of stepped tombs, the shape of the tombstone also shows characters that can be used to identify the cultural network of the Muslim community in Bali. In the Serangan tomb complex, a mountain-shaped tombstone was found which is one of the important forms in the study of tombstone typology. The presence of Arabic inscriptions and the use of Malay and Arabic shows that the tombstone not only functions as a marker of the tomb, but also as a medium to convey identity and information about the buried figure. The shape of the mountain itself is interesting because it has similarities with the symbolic forms that developed in the art and architectural traditions of the archipelago. In the context of Attack, this form cannot be separated from the Bugis-Makassar cultural background and the process of interaction with the Balinese environment. This shows that the tombstone is a complex artifact: its shape can carry elements of local tradition, while the inscription shows an Islamic identity. Therefore, the analysis of the tombstone needs to be carried out thoroughly by paying attention to the shape, material, ornaments, inscriptions, and context of the tomb, not just based on its physical form (Wayan Sumerata, 2014).

A different pattern can be seen in tombs related to the Javanese Muslim community in Bali, one of which is the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat in Cemagi. Based on the results of the research, this tomb has stone *kijing*, an upright tombstone with Arabic calligraphy ornaments, and a tomb complex protected by a cube building. The character shows a stronger connection with the Javanese Islamic funerary tradition. However, the tomb protection building actually shows elements of Balinese architecture, such as the shape of bale or open pavilions, overlapping roofs, *Stuttgart*, *penjor*, and *janur* ornaments. Thus, the remains of the tomb show two layers of culture at once: the shape of the tombstone and the structure of the tomb carry an Islamic-Javanese identity, while the building and its supporting ornaments have undergone adjustment to the Balinese cultural environment. These findings are important because they show that the spread of Islam did not necessarily result in the disappearance of the original culture. In contrast, Muslim communities can maintain a certain material form as a group identity while adopting local elements in building their sacred spaces (Purnamasari & Suryaningsi, 2024).

Based on the overall pattern, the remains of Muslim tombs in Bali can be read as archaeological evidence of the spread of Islam through migration networks and inter-island relationships. The Serangan Tomb shows the character of steps, pseudo-jirat, mountain tombstones, the use of coral and wood, and a variety of ornamental tendrils that show the strong encounter of Bugis-Makassar culture with Bali. Meanwhile, the tomb of Raden Mas Mangkuningrat shows the character of *kijing*, upright tombstones, Arabic calligraphy, and a cupped tomb complex that shows the influence of the Javanese-Islamic tradition with the adaptation of Balinese architecture. These differences show that the shape of the tomb in Bali is not homogeneous. Instead, each community brings the knowledge and traditions of the cemetery from its home region, then adapts it to the new environment. Thus, tombstones and tombs can be seen as

"material archives" that record the journey of Muslim communities, both in terms of mobility, ethnic identity, and the process of acculturation. This finding also strengthens the conclusion that the Islamization of Bali took place through various networks and did not produce a uniform form of Islamic culture, but rather gave birth to local variations that can be recognized through its archaeological remains (Pitaloka Sari et al., 2026).

Conclusion

The spread of Islam in Bali was a gradual process shaped by inter-island mobility, trade, migration, and cultural interaction, particularly involving Javanese and Bugis-Makassar Muslim communities. The architectural characteristics of Muslim tombs reflect these diverse historical connections through variations in tombstone forms, materials, ornaments, inscriptions, and burial layouts. Javanese tombs demonstrate the continuity of Javanese Islamic funerary traditions combined with Balinese architectural elements, while Bugis-Makassar tombs reflect regional funerary traditions adapted to the local environment. These findings indicate that Muslim tomb architecture serves as material evidence of historical mobility, ethnic identity, and cultural acculturation. Therefore, Muslim tombs in Bali provide valuable insights into the diverse pathways of Islamization and the formation of Muslim identity within the island's distinctive cultural landscape.

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