

## The Influence of Religious Beliefs and Social Stratification Upon Bangka-Bangka Burial Sites in Mamasa Districk

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### ABSTRACT

*Bangka-Bangka burial sites were commonly practiced in Mamasa in the past, but now, this cultural tradition is in danger of extinction. The Bangka-Bangka grave remains are also almost going extinct. Despite this, it is important to investigate to which extent religious beliefs and social stratification exert influence upon the Bangka-Bangka Burial Sites seen from grave styles of Bangka Bangka in Mamasa, Eastern Indonesia. This study aims to investigate factors which influences Bangka-Bangka Burial Sites in Mamasa. An archaeological survey (field survey) along with an interview with local community members was used to collect data. As the result, Bangka-Bangka Burial Sites in Mamasa were much influenced by cosmological beliefs shaped by rules of Aluk To Dolo and royal family stratification.*

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### KEYWORDS

Bangka-Bangka, Toraja Mamasa, Aluk to Dolo, Social Stratification, Burial

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## 1. Introduction

A burial ceremony using wooden coffins is commonly practiced by all tribes in Europe (Jones, 2017), America (Bell, 1990), and Africa (Badr et al, 2018). Form and location arrangement is influenced by belief and social stratification. People in South China and some tribes in southeast Asia conduct a burial by using wooden coffins located in a cave or rock cliff (a hanging coffin) to honour ancestors' spirits (Author, 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015). In South China, wooden coffin sites were also found in Yangtze River, Yunan, Sichuan, Chongqing, Hubei, Fujian, dan Guizhou (Hunt, 2017). They were in a cave or on a 3000-4000- year-old rock cliff. These sites are a manifest of beliefs and social stratification.

Furthermore, as reported in Thailand and Vietnam, shapes and styles of log coffins aged between 2100 - 1200 were very much influenced by beliefs and social stratification (Treerayapiwat, 2005; Coates, 2009:49; Grave et al 1994; Wannasri et al 2007:48; Schooongdej, 2001; Bellwood et al 2007:2-20; Saminpanya, 2016). In addition, Nancy Beavan et al (2012; 2015) who conducted a research in Cambodia suggested that a log coffin in such a culture was closely related to belief and social stratification. This also concurs with a study conducted in the Philippines that such a culture is due to belief and social stratification aged between 2000-500 (Tenazas, 1973; Wannasri, 2007:49). Some log coffins reached the age of first millennium AD and closely related to superstition/belief especially implemented by royal families. This study was conducted in some sites, such as Sarawak and Sabah aged between 1170 - 840 (Hassan, 1991; Basa, 1992; Ramli dan Hassan, 2009; Chia & Molijol, 2010:54-69; Chia & Koon, 2003:35-43; Chia, 2012: 7-8).

Moreover, some research in Indonesia found that burial sites within log coffins took place in some sites in Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia. Some empirical evidence shows that in South Sulawesi, burial cultures in terms of forms and grave settings were very much influenced by animistic beliefs and the social status of the buried body. In addition, as some researchers conducted in sites of Bajoa Takalar, Tallo, and Mandalle Pangkep found, this particular culture was found around 14th century AD (Bulbeck, 1992; 1996-7; Bougas, 2007). Research in Enrekang found that wooden coffins in the shape of a boat or a *mandu* located in cliffs (Makkulasse, 1986; Mahmud, 2008; Somba, 2010, Author, 2013) found in 13th century AD. In Tana Toraja, a wooden coffin is in caves and niche, and its shape and location arrangement were very influenced by belief, social stratification and adaptation for environment aged between 800 or even 1960 years.

So far, archaeologists have not conducted archaeological research or a field survey in Mamasa in which little knowledge of cultural heritage is still explored. A preliminary archaeological research study shows that Mamasa is a potential area for archaeological research especially in relation to burial cultures and megalithic heritage sites. This finding is based on some forms of wooden coffins in some archaeological sites in the region. Moreover, local people still maintain some megalithic traditions, such as the use of menhir (*simbuang*), grave shapes, wooden coffins (*Bangka-Bangka*) and belief systems of worshipping their ancestors' spirits (Author, 2012; 2014). In-depth research on this culture will uncover form, meaning and origin and will likely make substantial contribution to civilization in Southeast Asia.

One of the Mamasa's oldest cultural heritage sites is the use of wooden coffins called *Bangka-Bangka* in which this heritage remains under-explored. This burial culture has various names throughout Indonesia such as *Bangka-Bangkain* Mamasa, *Erong* in Toraja, *Duni* in Bugis, and *Allung* in Makassar—resembling a wooden coffin in South China, Thailand, Vietnam, Filipina, and Borneo (Sabah)—mostly located in caves and rock cliff (hanging coffins), located in relatively similar geographical places (in remote mountains and hills). These coffins have a similar symbolic meaning about beliefs in ancestors' spirits and serve as a symbol of social status. Thus, it is worth investigating to which extent those burial sites have some similarities in from South China to Southeast Asia, including Mamasa

Ethnographical studies on the culture of Mamasa have been documented and published in book and journal publications by evangelists (Zending) and culturists, such as A. C. Kruyt (1920), N. Adriani, and A. C. Kruyt (1912-14), P. T. Kate (1913), Wolter Kaudern (1938), W. Keers (1930), and J. Frijling (1920). As reported by Author (2012; 2014), categorized different forms/shapes of *Bangka-Bangka* burial with wooden coffins in Mamasa, such as buffalo-shaped, horse-shaped, boat-shaped, circular shape, and the burial of *batutu* developed since 13th century up to late of 1970s.

Kees Buijs (2009) elaborated ritual ceremonies of Mamasa especially those dealing with life and death stuff with comprehensive analysis. Some ritual ceremonies were always based on *Aluk To dolo* and their cosmological view. Cosmological concept was elaborated as religious ideas implemented in cultural system in the form of some ritual ceremonies. This article reports on a field study on factors which influence styles of *Bangka-Bangka* burials from local people perspectives. It used archaeological method such as survey, inventarization, measurement, drawings, mapping, description, interview, and interpretation.

## 2. Methodology

This field study investigated *Tedong-Tedong* sites located in Buntu Balla village (Balla sub-district), Orobua sites in Orobua village, and Paladan sites in Paladan village (sub-district of Sesena Padang, the district of Mamasa). Mamasa is in West Sulawesi Province on the borders of the district of Tana Toraja in the North and East, the district of Enrekang in the East, the district of Polewali in the South, and the district of Mamuju in the West.

Mamasa people use the Toraja language as a medium of routine social interaction. They live on mountainous areas (600 - 2100 meters above the sea level). They go gardening and farming for living. As local people reported, the ancestors of Mamasa originated from the story of a man named '*To Buttu di Langi*' who came from the sky in *Sa'dan* (Tana Toraja). The man then married a woman who emerged from a lake whirlpool called *To Kombong Ri Bura*. They met for the second time (*To manurung*) in Limbo Berak Ladi, a lake with very much betelnut-mixed saliva close to Tabang, Buntu Karuwa. Thirty-six generations afterwards, two brothers were then born named *Paddoran* and *Sulo Allo*. *Paddoran* then gave birth to nine children namely *Puangkapadang* who then became the ancestor of people in *Pitu Ulunna Salu*, *Lombeng Susu* became the ancestor of people of Kalumpang, *Batara Gowa* became the ancestor of people of Makasar, *Tasungdidi* became the ancestor of people of Toraja, *Matti* became the ancestor of people of Mamasa, *Pakiwa Topato'tong* became the ancestor of people of Tabang, *To Songka* became the ancestor of people of Tabang close to Buntu Karua, *Lando Guntu* became the ancestor of people of *Rura* (Enrekang), *Usu Sabambang* also became the ancestor of people of Toraja, and *Bobonglangi* became the ancestor of people of Masanda, Kumila and Kadundung (Luwu').

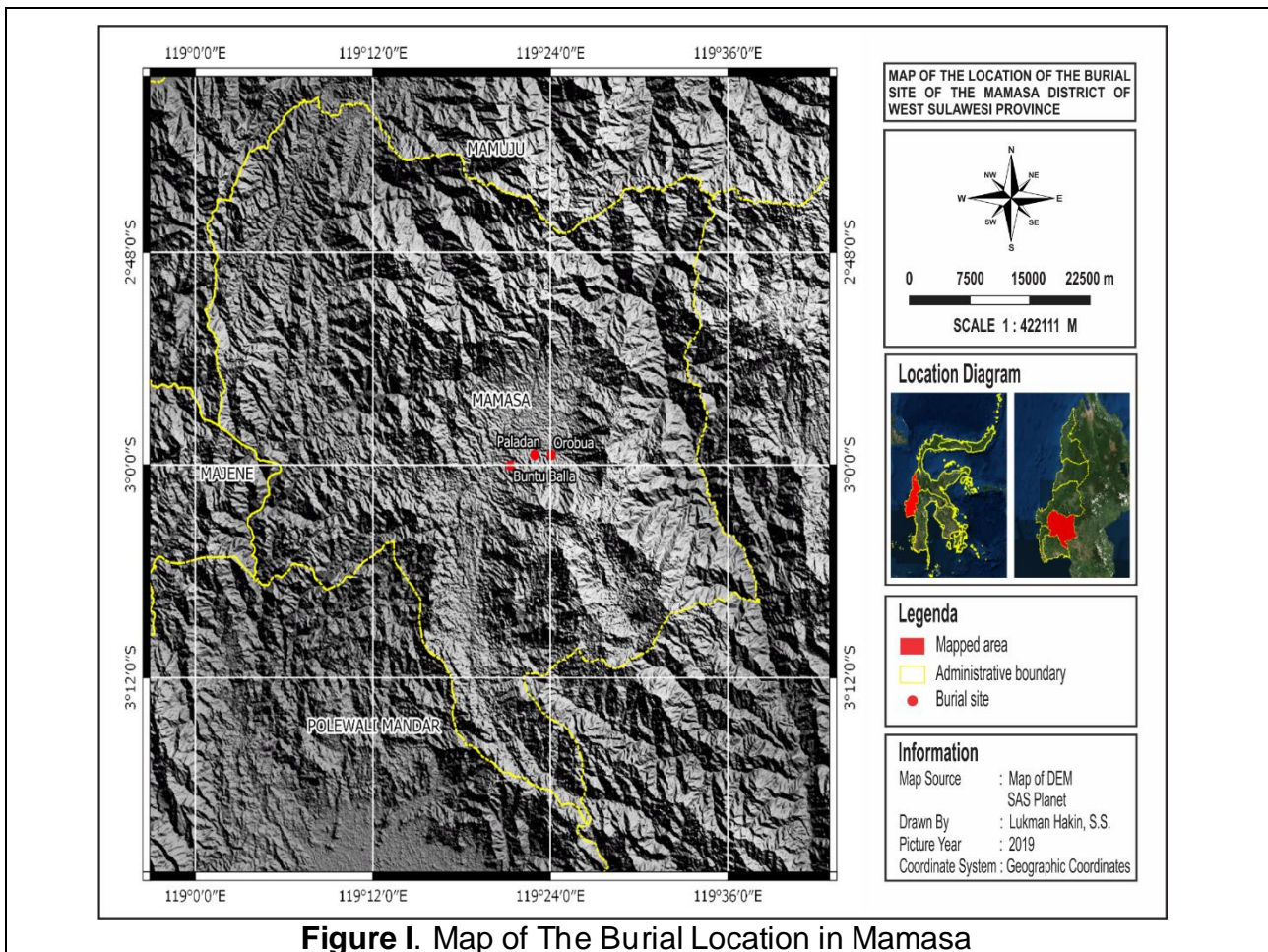


Figure I. Map of The Burial Location in Mamasa

In the myth of Mamasa community, Pongkapadang was their most popular ancestor and even became the legend in the region. It was told that *Pongkapadang* (To manurun from the mountains around Sa'dan-Tana Toraja) had a wife named *Turije'ne* (coming from water) and resided in Kalumpang. His wife gave birth to some children spreading to seven directions and became local leaders in their respective area such as *Tabulahan, Mambi, Aralle, Rante Bulawan, Matangnga, Tabang* and *Bambang*. Whereas, the ancestors of Mamasa community was told to come from an area around Bonehau-Kalumpang, Mamuju, which became one of children of *Puangkapadang* which was called Pakiringan, the one was fond of hunting. *Puangkapadang* reached an area of Mamasa, stayed one night in Osango when hunting (Arruan Tasik, personal communication, 13 Juli 2018).

### 3. Result and Discussion

#### 3.1 Belief and Social Stratification of the People of Mamasa in Brief

Before Christian and Islam, people of Mamasa had believed in Animism based on the teaching of *Aluk To dolo* inherited from generation to generation to date. The people of Mamasa believe that everything in the world has souls as that of human being. Though having passed away, the dead body is assumed to be alive just like the living ones (Tangdilintin, 1980:72-155). They believe that the dead bodies are still alive. Therefore, they are provided with food and drinks. It is popularly known as *ma'pakande tomate*. The dead bodies located in the rooftop will be provided with food and drink at mealtimes. On certain occasions, people will visit the graves (Liang) bring some food for the spirits of their ancestors. (Sandarupa, 2007).

The belief of *Aluk To dolo* suggested that human beings should worship three factors of power such as: (a) *Puang Matua* known as the highest power as the creator of the world and what is in it, (b) *Deata-Deata* or gods responsible for duty given by *Puang Matua* to protect the world and what is in it. *Deata* comprises three subjects such as *Deata* the owner of sky, *Deata* the owner of the earth, and *Deata* the owner the world underneath such as, soil, water, and sea. (c) *Tomembali Puang* is the spirits of ancestors responsible for supervising human beings and support them with safety and prosperity and children. Ceremonial system in *Aluk To dolo* consists of two groups such as group of ceremony *Rambu*

*Tuka'* (ceremony dealing with human's safety and prosperity (birth ceremony), ceremony of farm operation, ceremony of harvest, and wedding ceremony, while Rambu Solo' ceremony dealing with grief and death such as *rapasan* and *ma'nene'*.

The concept of life and death according to *Aluk To dolo* is the process of continuation so that clear limits do not show up. People who have passed away is considered to experience shape alteration and movement from mortal nature to *Puya* nature (spirit), basically the life in mortal nature is the same as that of nature. To reach *Puya* and become *Tomembali Puang* or *Deata*, one should meet some requirements such as things dealing with ceremony, coffin and stuff, animal for sacrifice which was conducted by the bereaved.

Traditionally, the people of Mamasa know the level of community based on the teaching of *Aluk To dolo* aiming to control some aspects of life, especially in relation to social interaction. One's position was determined based on their statuses which will eventually influence relationships. There are four social levels known in Mamasa: (a) *tana' bulaan*, that is the level of noble family as the heir of setting life rules and become religious leaders, (b) *tana' Bassi*, the level of middle noble family as the heir of receiving belief to set up leaders, (c) *tana' karurung*, is the level of people in general who never obtain responsibility and can receive belief as skilful people, (d) *tana' kua-kua*, is the level of slaves to obey the noble family (Tangdilintin, 1980:207).

The role of *tana'* in Mamasa community has changed a little bit especially when compared to the implementation in the past. Social level deals with the use of one's name taken from paternal or maternal names. *Tana'* plays a pivotal role in conducting some ritual ceremonies. Social groups which normally become leaders of each ceremony according to *Aluk To dolo* teaching refers to *tana' bulaan*. Groups of *tana' bulaan* is considered to be from wealthy family with power. This groups normally provide many animals for cultural sacrifice and meat are distributed to society.

### 3.2 The Culture behind the Burial of Bangka-bangka in Mamasa

Many sites of *bangka-bangka* burials could easily be found in Mamasa district. However, this research only focuses on three sites considered to be the representatives of the culture of *bangka-bangka* in Mamasa. The three sites are Buntu Balla, Orobua, dan Paladan site. The three sites were selected due to their completeness and representativeness for three biggest community in Mamasa with qualitative as well as quantitative measurement, and culturally has similarity with some ethnics in South China and Southeast.

#### a. The Sites of Buntu Balla

Sites of Buntu Balla is in the village of Desa Balla, Balla sub-district, Mamasa district, on top of a hill with the coordinate of S 03° 00'01.7", E 119° 19'137", and 1097 m above sea level. However, it was told that the site of Buntu Balla burial is not original site. Previously located on cliffs at the bank of Sariayo river, around 100 m to the north of the site of Buntu Balla. The burial relocation was due to devastating flood around 60 years ago which struck parts of the wooden coffin in the site. Only two names buried in the site of Buntu Balla, they are *Nenek Patompo'* and *Nenek Ami* (both are old ladies). They both were popular as a traditional figure, and *Nenek Ami* was buried in the wooden coffin with the shape of buffalo. All the shapes of wooden coffins located in the site of Buntu Balla are for customary leader or noble family of *Parengnge' Balla* (Demmatayan, personal communication, on July 14th 2018).

There are 18 wooden coffins in this site with 11 coffins in the shape of buffalo, 7 coffins in the shape of boat, ordered from north to south facing west. Inside the coffin, many messy piles of bones and skeletons, also found fragment of pottery, silver coral embraces. Wooden coffin in boat shape of boat in the site of Buntu Balla:



Figure II and III. Wooden coffin of buffalo shape at Buntu Balla site

**Table 1.** Shape and Size of wooden coffin in Buntu Balla site

No.	Shape of Coffin	Length (cm)	Height (cm)	Width (cm)	Remarks
1	Buffalo	282	112	88	Broken, with broken legs
2	Boat	280	98	75	Broken, with accessories on body and cover
3	Boat	283	94	74	Broken on the cover
4	Buffalo	310	110	92	Legs and Horns no more exist
5	Boat	273	36	34	Broken, with accessories on body and cover
6	Boat	342	75	62	Broken on parts of body and cover due to weatheredness, sample was taken for radiocarbon date
7	Boat	279	78	65	Complete
8	Buffalo	288	112	89	Complete
9	Buffalo	297	124	108	Complete with accessories
10	Buffalo	305	146	116	Complete
11	Buffalo	336	168	116	Complete
12	Buffalo	305	146	113	Complete
13	Buffalo	304	160	112	Complete
14	Buffalo	278	104	81	Complete
15	Buffalo	279	69	74	Broken due to weatheredness, legs and horns not exist anymore, sample was taken for radiocarbon date
16	Buffalo	285	98	102	Broken, legs and horns no more exist
17	Perahu	273	83	70	Complete
18	Perahu	253	78	65	Complete

**b. Sites of Orobua Burial**

Orobua site is in the village of Orobua, in Sesena Padang sub-district, Mamasa district. The site is located in S 02° 59'25.5", E119°24'03,9" coordinate with 1.223 m above sea level, and located on cliff surrounded by new burials. There are three coffins one of each is in the shape of boat, buffalo, circle, and one in the shape of *batutu* (house). Many bones and skeleton were found inside the wooden coffin. The coffin was located with east and west orientation. One of coffins in the shape of buffalo with complete length around 340 cm, height 145 cm, diameter of hole 84 cm, body circle 378 cm and wall thickness between 6 – 20 cm. the coffin has been weathered in some parts such as legs, head, but with complete horns. It was told that the first person put into in the coffin of buffalo shape was *Parengnge'* (leader) the founder of Kampung Orobua, Nenek Puang Bongga aound 600 years ago (Bongga Tiboyong, personal communication, on July 15<sup>th</sup> 2018).



**Figure IV.** Bangka-bangka coffin of buffalo shape in Orobua site

### c. Sites of Paladan Burial

Site of Baladan coffin is in the village of Baladan, Sesena Padang sub-district, Mamasa district, with coordinate of S 02°59'53.0", E119°22'56.2", and located in 1.324 m above sea level. The site is located on sandstone hill, by neighbourhood. Whereas, the finding of wooden coffin on Paladan was the one in the shape of boat, buffalo and horse, and batutu. Wooden coffin of boat shape was in the south of Batutu with east-west orientation and 228 cm length, width 104 cm and height 130 cm.

Wooden coffin of buffalo and horse shape put in a traditional building of Mamasa (*Tadang*) with north-south orientation. The end was shaped like the head of buffalo facing to the south while the horse-like end faces to the north. The size of wooden coffin of buffalo shape and horse were 340 cm long, width 102 cm and height 120 cm. Covers were put on top, and some traditional motives of accessories carve (*pa'sura'*) of Mamasa al ver the body of the coffin. Inside of it, some skeletons scattered all over, and fragment of pottery, bones, jaw of pig and tau-tau (wooden statue of ancestors' spirits) also found around the site. It was told that the first person put into the site was the first customary leader named Nek Lento and his wife named Nek Tasi' Langi'. Both were buried in the coffin of boat in 1450A.D. around 1640 M, noble families and were buried in batutu. Someone called Paladan hero in battle with dutch was called *Demmatande* buried in the coffin of boat and horse shape around 1800's (Fransiskus, personal communication on July 16th 2018).



Figure V. Wooden Coffin of horse-buffalo shape in Paladan site

### 3.3 The Influence of Belief and Social System Upon Bangka-Bangka Coffin

From pre-historic, proto-historic to ethnographic age in Southeast Asia many data showed that local people used jars or pottery as coffin, both as primary and secondary coffin like those located in some remote areas in north Borneo, the Philippines, Sumba, and Kei. At the end of pre-historic and ethnographic age, some people change to use wooden coffin (*bangka-bangka*) like the ones in east Sabah, north Philippines and central Sulawesi (Bellwood, 2000: 425-7).

In the area of Toraja culture (especially Toraja Mamasa), since the beginning of human residence, people used *bangka-bangka* as coffins put in caves, niche, or tops of hills. The mastery of technology such as wood cultivation and previous use steel since their first migration to the area becomes the basic knowledge to develop technology to make *bangka-bangka* and house on stilts (Tongkonan). In addition, they also made big stones like menhir (*simbuang*) as the symbol of belief and social status. In Sulawesi island especially central Sulawesi around Toraja ethnic culture, some steel such as iron, copper and gold have been long popular since the beginning of Anno Domini (Bulbeck, 1993:10-18; 1996:1007-75). Those particular steels become major export commodity of Luwu' kingdom in 13th to 16th A.D. beside natural resources such as resin and gaharu wood (Author, 2018; Pelras, 2006: 45-48). The kingdom of Majapahit in the script of Nagarakartagama mentioned that Luwu' as the kingdom as the most successful producer of highly qualified iron in the archipelago (Mattulada, 1998).

Based on their technological skills, they can make the most use of the environment. Agricultural technology, especially for garden and farm, was developed that they eventually managed to produce abundant harvest. Farm cultivation in the form of plots of paddy field in the flat land and farm plots on the low land of hills and mountains with the use of proper technic of irrigation so that good paddy can be produced. This enables complex community, the development of social system and complex belief to form such as the system of social levels power and belief towards

the spirits of ancestors and gods especially belief in relation to harvest.

In a complex community, the symbol of social classes seems to be important which are implemented in culture, the making of *bangka-bangka* and *Tongkonan* is one of the examples. *Bangka-bangka* is the culture referring to belief, social system and adaptation towards nature. This can be seen from the ability to adapt with environment, the use of natural resources and the mastery of technology. The adaptation towards natural resources enables them to become agricultural community relying their lives on the system of farming and forming social system and agricultural belief. It is obviously a beneficial condition that they can make the most use of having wood of uru (*Elmerillia celebica dandy*) for making coffins.

The natural resources such as a various wood uru used in most everyday needs such as building houses and making *bangka-bangka*. Materials to make *bangka-bangka* obtained from a high qualified wood such as wood of Uru with diameter of 200 – 250 cm, so one set of *bangka-bangka* can be produced from one big wood of Uru. Furthermore, a big house can also be built from one or two of Uru wood. All parts of the house such as pillars, floor, wall, and roof are made of wood of Uru. The difference in types, size, shape of cover, accessories, location arrangement and orientation of *bangka-bangka* are very influenced by belief and social stratification. Belief based on honour for ancestors' spirits and cosmological should be implemented by noble families symbolising through the use of various types of *bangka-bangka*. Belief and social system are based on the teaching of *Aluk To dolo* which set up all aspects of life of Mamasa community in the past. *Bangka-bangka* is believed to be taken by the spirits to sail along from an island to Mamasa, also as the spirits' vehicle to reach the hereafter (*puya*). *Bangka-bangka* consisting of various types of boats is believed to be the symbol of boat of the spirits. The symbol of boat (*lembang*) for the people of Mamasa, symbolising harmonious life in one family or in one group of customs. Buffalo and horse shape is believed to be belongings and means of transport for spirit and to move to the hereafter (*puya*) and buffalo was considered to be the incarnation of gods. It is the symbol for noble families, as families of this level were buried in that coffins. (See the site's description).

*Bangka-bangka* typically in the shape boat was the first shape which developed in Mamasa, and has been popular since 730±50BP to 280±40BP or 1220 A.D to 1670 A.D, even continued to 1970's (Author 2012; 2014). Boat is the ideal shape by the belief as the symbol of vehicle (The vehicle of ancestor's spirits), social meanings and cosmology which contains philosophical meanings of harmony and balance. The location arrangement of *Bangka-bangka* is always oriented to the South and West closely related to belief and social status. Both directions were the spirit's direction. Regular noble family was believed to reside in the South, while noble families originated from *Tomanurun* will eventually come back to the sky through the west as it is believed the right path to the sky. The burial culture with the use of *Bangka-bangka* in Mamasa is still implemented by the people of Mamasa to date, with different shape though. The ritual for death and burial are also still implemented by the local people.

The cosmological concept of Mamasa community believe that alignment or harmony macro and micro cosmos will eventually produce safety, happiness, and plant fertility (Buijs, 2009:63-66). The people of ethnic Toraja Mamasa always attempt to create harmony with nature, community and family based on the teaching of *Aluk To dolo*. The life in one country, the custom unity, *Tongkonan*, the community, family and individuals are considered as the implementation of nature (microcosmos) to be in line with the universe (macrocosmos) (Sandarupa, 2007:14). Harmony and balance can be implemented in all aspects of life based on natural horizontal as well as vertical classification. Horizontal and vertical classification are based on east-west and north and south, while vertical classification is divided into upper, middle, and below nature East-West, North-South, Upper-Below macrocosmos classification of Toraja Mamasa people is implemented in life (microcosmos) with *Tongkonan* as the centre.

A family is symbolised by *Tongkonan*, it is physically symbolised by main pillars (*possi ariri'*) of *Tongkonan*, and each individual will be based on woman's belly button (*possi'*). From the symbol of central cosmos, part of cosmos division such as East-West, North-South, Upper- Below. Central point symbolize harmony indicated human's life, expected idealism in human's life, to reach it they should get through custom's rules determined in the teaching of *Aluk To dolo* (Sandarupa, 2012). Cosmological view classifying cosmos (universe) into East-West, North-South, Middle, and Upper-Below is considered to be human's guidance in their life to be in line with various aspects of life such as the location of neighbourhood, *Tongkonan*, *bangka-bangka*. Moreover, individuals are considered to be the manifestation of cosmos (microcosmos). Neighbourhood as microcosmos, located in *Tongkonan Layuk* as the centre of the universe (*possi' banua*) and all rules of human's life in the neighbourhood located in *Tongkonan Layuk*.

The site of *bangka-bangka* burial is the neighbourhood of ancestor's spirits that the location, size, orientation, and other physical performances, all related to the symbol of cosmologicalism. In general, the location of the site of *bangka-*

bangka burial always located on top of the hills symbolizing microcosmos centre and rendezvous between upper and below nature. bangka-bangka orientation of East-West and North-South, also symbolizes cosmos, and the shape of bangka-bangka and its ornaments, all related to symbols of cosmos with full of symbolic and philosophical meanings.

In Mamasa, the function of social cultural symbols of bangka-bangka is determined by shape, size, accessories, and location. From the interview with public leaders in Mamasa (*Demmatayan and Bongga Tiboyong*), this fact was uncovered that the social status of the dead body buried in bangka-bangka is determined by shape, size, accessories, and location. Middle class of noble families (*tana' bassi*), economically welfare, are buried inside bangka-bangka of boat shape, which is relatively smaller and uncarved, and bangka-bangka is circular. Low social class is buried in the ground (*liang lo'ko*).

Bangka-bangka is specifically used by high social class like noble families. Yet, as a matter of fact, each noble family has different status in accordance with their respective social roles such as being the leader of custom, assistants of government of custom, or even merely becomes family members. All statuses are symbolised with the use of different bangka-bangka in which each difference deals with the size of Bangka-bangka. High class noble families are symbolised with big Bangka-bangka normally with the shape of boat and buffalo. Throughout the body of Bangka-bangka, there are some motifs of carving. Furthermore, bangka-bangka is always located on higher place like being hung on the hill or on top of hills.

#### 4. Conclusion

The difference in type, size, cover of shape, accessories, location arrangement and the orientation of *bangka-bangka* burial are very much influenced by belief and social stratification. The belief was based on honour towards the ancestors' spirits and cosmological understandings. This should be implemented by the social class of noble family symbolised using various *bangka-bangka* burials. The system of belief and social is based on the teaching of *Aluk To dolo* which setup various aspects of life of ancient people in Toraja Mamasa. *Bangka-bangka* burial is considered to be vehicle taken by ancestors from another island to Mamasa eventually to thereafter (*puya*). Bangka-bangka coffin in the shape of boat was the boat of spirits. The symbol of boat (*lembang*) represents harmonious life of Toraja Mamasa community specifically family and group of adat. In the shape of buffalo and horse was considered to be the vehicle for the spirits of ancestors also believed as the incarnation of god from the sky.

Archaeological study of bangka-bangka in Mamasa has invaluable contribution to science, especially how to comprehend belief and social system of Mamasa people reflected in various culture as symbolization of meaning. The study showed that the culture of bangka-bangka in Mamasa has been popular since 800 years ago, which some similarities with culture of burial in some ethnics of South China and Southeast Asia especially in terms of symbols and philosophy.

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