Meanings of Spatial Order in the Customary House of Sapo Battoa Kaluppini in the Enrekang Regency, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

The treasures of the traditional houses in the Nusantara archipelago, including those in the Kaluppini community, are rich in meanings. This study aims to examine the meanings of the vertical and horizontal spatial orders of the Sapo Battoa customary house in the Kaluppini Village, the Enrekang Regency, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia.

The research adopts a qualitative method. The approach in this research is ethnographic model. The results reveal that the spatial order of Sapo Battoa vertically consists of three parts, (1) sullu' bola (the legs) which horizontally consists of batu mapaccing; kale bola (the body) which consists of kandawari, syara', ada', To Manurung, kamara, tambing, dapo; and baroko' bola (the head) which consists of tapattagoa, busaran, Sullu' bola has a meaning associated with the human birth process originating from the ground. (2) kale bola has a meaning associated with the human life process that is laden with a moral message of mutual respect for fellow beings to expect the Creator's blessings so as to achieve harmony in social life. (3) baroko' bola has a meaning associated with the dedicating and serving process of human being until the eventual returning back to God: the Creator. This study concludes that the spatial divisions in both vertical and horizontal orders contain sacred meanings.

Keywords: Spatial Division, Traditional House, *To Manurung*, Sacred Meaning, Archipelago Architecture

Introduction

The variety of traditional architecture in the archipelago (Nusantara) has its own uniqueness and characteristics, both in terms of function and meaning. According to Tarigan (2019), the meaning of "traditional house" develops into meaning that has high complexity depending on the people, place, and time aspects that affect the development of global culture and environmental changes. In line with this view, Rapoport (1969) argues that architectural formations, especially housing, are not determined by one aspect only, but both the physical aspects of the environment and the socio-cultural aspects as the main factors in the development of architectural forms. All cultural, social and psychological entities will have an impact on the house and its functions, which contain highly symbolic and emotional meanings (Bozdayi, 2002). Local architectural values are also depicted in architectural studies in the Kupang Town-

Hall through certain symbols (Purbadi, 2020). Expression of local architecture also elevates Islamic values that can be observed with certain symbols (Hasan, 2021).

Space is an important aspect of architecture and that is true also of a traditional house. The pattern of space in a traditional house will reflect various symbolic and cultural meanings within the framework of the cultural setting. Visually (Ching, 1996), space starts from a point, then from that point forms a line, and from a line forms a plane. From this field, it then develops into a form of space. This means that space contains a dimension, namely length, width and height. All dimensions have deep symbolic meanings. In essence, to explore the meanings of space in a traditional house, two theories must be linked, namely the physical theory of space (form) itself and the non-physical theory of space. According to Panudji (1985), in general, space in architecture can be divided into two types, namely: real space, which is a space that can be measured in real terms and whose existence can be felt (perceived by the five human senses), and abstract (virtual) space, which is a space that has no limit and no real facts.

The Enrekang Regency, or commonly called the Massenrempulu Tribe, consists of three sub-tribes, namely the Duri, Enrekang, and Maiwa. Each of these sub-tribes has different characteristics of traditional houses. One of them is the traditional house of Sapo Battoa (big house) in Kaluppini, which is a sub-ethnic group of Enrekang which has a spatial pattern that is rich in real and abstract meanings. Kaluppini is one of the indigenous communities that still maintains various traditions related to *To Manurung*, and is recognized by the government. It is a member of the Alliance of Indigenous People of the Archipelago (AMAN) in South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

Kaluppini people believe that *To Manurung* is the first person to inhabit the area and become the leader. They believe that *To Manurung* is present through the message of the *Dewata* (God) as a holy human and teaches the rules of holiness (Raja, 2011). In mythology, the people of Enrekang believe that *To Manurung* came from Mount Bambapuang. This statement is corroborated by stories passed down from generation to generation. The Toraja people always refer to the Mount Bambapuang area in *Enrekang* as the place of arrival of their ancestors (Tangdilintin, 1980). This is in line with the archaeological evidence that the area around the foot of the Mount Bampuang does have a strong indication of being the initial residence of the *Enrekang* community (Wardaninggar, 2016).

According to Palisuri (1997), *To Manurung Puang* Palipada and his wife Embong Bulan came to Bukit Palli Kaluppini in the 12th century. His arrival surprised the people of Kaluppini because in terms of body shape and temperament, they were very different from the local people. *Puang* Palipada is considered to be the ruler of the descendants of gods or demigods who descended from heaven, so the people of Kaluppini and its surroundings asked him to stay as their leader. *Puang* Palipada taught how to plant rice, build better-looking houses, and make community regulations, as well as unite villages that were previously unrelated to one another. In addition, the local community believes that *To Manurung* is a role model from various aspects of people's lives to become the initial basis for the development of their civilization (Sahajuddin, 2018).

Sapo Battoa is one of the traditional houses in Kaluppini which is the embodiment of the pappasang (messages) of To Manurung Puang Palipada which still survive to this day. This research related to the Sapo Battoa traditional house is a follow-up study to previous research which explains the locality of the structure and construction materials in the Sapo Battoa traditional house. This traditional house is unique in every element of vertical and horizontal space, where each element has a hierarchy and sacredness. The aim of this research is to reveal and explain the meaning of space both vertically and horizontally in the Sapo Battoa traditional house.

Theoretical Background

Space is a very important element in architecture. Literally, the word space comes from Latin, namely *spatium* which means room or area (*extent*). When viewed in Greek, it can be interpreted as a place (*topos*) or location (*choros*), which is a space that has an expression of three-dimensional quality. The definition of space is something that is measurable and visible,

limited by physical clarity, and visible enclosure so that its existence can be understood clearly and easily (Ven, 1995).

Ronald (2005) says that space is something related to the environment. It is limited by the earth surface as the base and air as the cavity. This opinion is reinforced by Ching (2008), that space is a part in a building that is separated or limited by walls or partitions from similar spaces. According to Yosita (2005), a space specifically has certain characters, both physical and psychological characters. The physical character of space is determined by the elements of the physical boundaries of a space itself such as walls, ceilings, floors, surfaces and textures, while non-physical elements can be seen in the colour, depth, darkness light and shadow in a unified form. The psychical character of space is determined by the intensity of the non-physical elements of space in the unified form of space that provides emotional stimulation to space and people who experience the space itself. Furthermore, Rapport (1969) states that a strong characteristic of vernacular architecture is the existence of cosmology in the arrangement of the residential environment. This cosmological orientation can be characterized by the presence of sacred and profane spaces.

In the book, *La Galigo* which is one of the references to understand the concept of spiritualism and culture of the people of South Sulawesi, Nature consists of the underworld, the middle world and the upper world. It is associated with the human body, which consists of *awa bola* (the legs), *ale kawa* (the body) and *botting langi* (the head) (Rambe, 2018). In line with this, Wilson (1971) says that the spatial elements are formed by three elements, namely: the base plane, the vertical space divider and the overhead plane.

AS (2018) examining the *Matakali* traditional house of the Enrekang Regency, has unraveled that the vertical spatial pattern consists of the awa bola (the legs) as the community's workspace in preparing traditional events. Ale bola (the body) is a gathering place for traditional stakeholders, village priests and the community in traditional events. Para (the head) is a place to store heirlooms. AS (2019) studying the traditional house of *Duri* in the Enrekang Regency, divides the vertical spatial pattern into 3, namely the bala bola (the leg), which is a manifestation of the relationship between human beings and Nature, which functions as a place to store agricultural tools and as a place to raise livestock such as buffalo and chicken. Another function of it is as a space for social interaction. Kale bola (the body) is a manifestation of the relationships between one human being and another, which function as a main living place of life, such as, deliberation, receiving guests, sleeping, cooking and eating. Dea bola (the head) is a manifestation of the human relationship with the Creator of the universe, which functions as a place to store heirlooms. From these two examples of traditional houses, the vertical space pattern shows that the higher the room, the more sacred and majestic it is. This is reinforced by the view of Pangarsa (2006) which says that vertical systems are often associated with divine values on the vertical axis, and horizontal systems contain more human values that lead to social relations between people.

From that point of view, it can be seen that every spatial pattern, especially in a vernacular house, has a characteristic and philosophical meaning both physically and non-physically. It is influenced by the local environment and culture. This condition also applies to the traditional house of *Sapo Battoa* (Outer House) Kaluppini.

Research method

This study adopted a qualitative method. The approach is ethnographical. Ethnography is a research approach to study how social behaviour can be described as it is. Ethnographic cultural studies are concerned with qualitative study of values and meanings in the context of a person's entire way of life, questions of culture, life, and identity. Ethnography is a term used in cultural studies to describe a variety of qualitative methodologies such as engagement observation, in-depth interviews, and group discussions. Ethnographic researchers reconstruct the concepts based on an inductive process of empiricism; constructed according to the way of looking at or patterns of behaviour of the people who are the object of their research (Muhadjir,1990). The methodological conceptualization of the ethnographic research model tends to be inductive, generative, constructive, and subjective. Inductive makes the

theory/background knowledge in research necessary to explain the data findings in the field. Generative makes findings and data unique that cannot be used in other locations. Constructive makes units of findings analysed, then become new local knowledge. Subjective, means that the researchers being part of the research object, use their point of view to translate data findings.

The research location is in the Kaluppini Village, Enrekang District, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The primary data came from the surveys, observations and interviews with key informants using the criterion and purposive sampling.

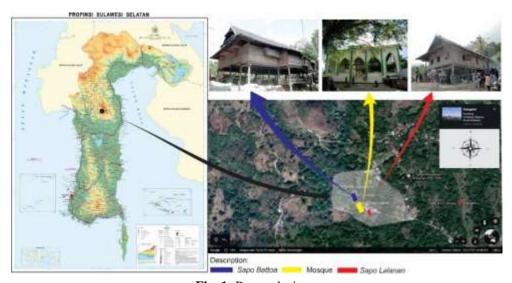


Fig. 1: Research site map Source: modification of google maps 2021

Findings and the discussion

Kaluppini has two traditional houses, namely *Sapo Battoa*, or what local people usually call *Sapo Salianan* (outer house) and *Sapo Lalanan* (inner house). Both of these traditional houses are the same as places to carry out traditional activities and discuss traditional councils consisting of 13 people (*parallu sa'pulo tallu*).

According to Abdul Halim as the *imam* (religious leader), the structure of the adat council is divided into two parts, namely: first, *parewa ada'* (traditional leaders) consists of *tomakaka* (the highest policymakers and policymakers of the adat section who decide disputes or disputes within the adat community) and *ada'* (the highest regulator and policymaker of the adat section who creates a democratic and harmonious and objective relationship with the *Puang* Endekan and other adat communities); Second, *parewa syara'* (religious leaders) consists of the *khali'* (the highest regulator and policy maker in religious affairs, controlling the affairs of the religious rituals of *tahlele* and leading the Eid prayer) and the *imam* (regulators and determinants in the policy of religious affairs, in charge of religious affairs *ma'damulu* religious rituals and leading the Eid prayers).

These four traditional stakeholders have the position of being the highest leaders of the customary council called *tau appa'* (four highest stakeholders) and each is a pair. *Tomakaka* is paired with the *khali'*, and ada' is paired with the *imam*, and to support the duties of each of these traditional leaders, they are assisted by the *karua to massi turu'* institution (eight followers) consisting of four assistants from the adat section and four people who are religious assistants. The 13th customary leader, called *tappuare*, who lives outside the Kaluppini customary area, acts like intelligence to ensure the security of the village.

The Sapo Battoa traditional house is the responsibility of the tomakaka and khali' assisted by four people from karua to massi turu' namely tomatua pabicara pondi (Tomakaka's helper in customary affairs and resolving disputes), paso bo'bo (executor of nine traditional rituals of taun bo'bo and delivering advice after the Eid al-Adha prayer in the literary language of Kaluppini), pande tanda (astrologer) represents the traditional holders and khatib khali'

representing religious stakeholders, as well as *tappuare*. Thus when there is a traditional event to be held in a traditional house, the *tomaka* and *khali* are invited or hosted, although on a daily basis, the traditional house is guarded by a woman appointed by the customary council.

The requirement to be a traditional housekeeper is that a woman should be not married: an old virgin. This is to maintain the sanctity or sacredness of the traditional house. In addition, female figures are seen as custodians so that they can ensure the cleanliness of the traditional house as well as provide serving dishes if there are guests or traditional activities. The same condition is also found in traditional Sumba houses, which place women as the main actors in maintaining the sacredness of traditional houses (Here, 2017).

Sapo Battoa is associated with the house of the king of the descendants of To Manurung, which is larger than Sapo Lalanan. Consisting of 5 lontang (plots) with 33 packs of pakkedekan (poles), 3 non-continuous pakkedekan, 2 of which flanking the poles that function to support the posi bola (main pole) only up to the kale bola (house body) supporting the garatan (cross beam). This traditional house is located in the North of the traditional area or behind the mosque, with an orientation facing North-South.

The activities carried out at the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house during the period of a year are: *pasare maharran* (1 night of muharram), *damulu Sapo Battoa*, *tudang sipulung massima tanah*, *tudang sipulung maparatu taka*, *tudang sipulung damulu banua*, and community celebrations.

Traditional houses in South Sulawesi are generally associated with the shape of the human body (Jumran, 2010; Rambe, 2018), which consists of *awa bola* (the legs), *ale kawa* (the body) and *botting langi* (the head). Specifically, the traditional house of *Sapo Battoa* has a different name. The form of interpretation of the vertical spatial pattern is divided into three parts, namely: *baroko' bola* (the head), *kale bola* (the body), and *sullu' bola* (the leg) (see Fig. 3). Specifically, the division of these three spaces as follows:





Fig. 2: Outer house of Kaluppini Source: Authors

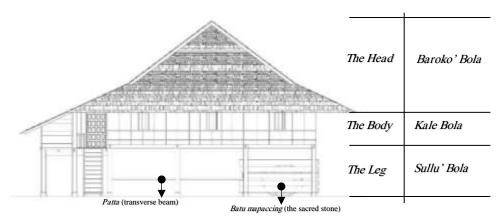


Fig.3: Division of outer house vertical space pattern Source: Authors

1. Sullu' Bola (The Leg)

Sullu 'bola is the bottom or underside of the traditional house of Sapo Battoa, which in terms of use is different from the traditional houses in general. At the bottom of this house, there is an area that is sacred and has pemali (customary taboos), namely (1) the sacred stone (batu mapaccing) surrounded by an arrangement of wooden boards as a barrier. This area is vertically aligned with the To Manurung space on the kale bola, and horizontally at a right angle to the house. Traditional holders can only access this area. (2) The transverse beam (patta) is three spans or approximately 60 cm above the traditional foundation (pela 'pi), and it not only serves as reinforcement for the lower structure of the beam-column, but it also serves as a marker for the boundaries of sacred and profane areas at the bottom of the house.





Fig. 4: Area of the sacred stone and transverse beam Source: Authors

Sullu' bola is equipped with access to the top of the house in the form of one enda (stairs) parallel to the direction of the body to the left of the house to the North, consisting of 11 steps and has corcoran (railings) on the left and right sides. The number of steps must be odd, signifying the life or blessing of the Creator. Enda is a public access so that the placement area is directly connected to the saladang (terrace). This area is a profane area that can be accessed by all people.



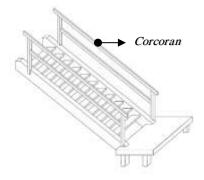


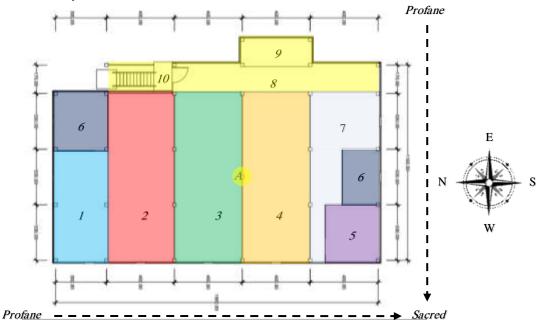
Fig. 5: Stairs Source: Authors

For the indigenous people of Kaluppini, there are several taboos to go up to the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house, namely: (1) it is not allowed for those who have consumed peanuts and sweet potatoes, because they can trigger gas disorders in digestion which have implications for disrupting ongoing traditional activities (2) for women who are menstruating. This is to ensure the sanctity or sacredness of this traditional house.

Sullu' bola (the leg) has a sacred meaning which is an association with the human birth process that comes from the ground. This is manifested by the fact that the tread area under the house cannot be paved or finished with hard material such as concrete rebates or paving blocks. It functions as a water catchment area.

2. Kale Bola (The Body)

Kale bola (the body) is rectangular in shape from North to South. The closer you get to the South, the more sacred the space of this Sapo Batto traditional house becomes. Horizontally, the kale bola is divided into five lontang (plots) which have their respective functions, namely:



Information: 1. King and his descendants room, 2. Special room for community leaders, 3. Special room of religious leaders, 4. Special room of customary holders, 5. Customary leader of Kaluppini, 6. Room, 7. Preparation room, 8. Hallway, 9. Kitchen, 10. Terrace. A. Main pole

Fig. 6: Floor plan of outer house Source: Authors

a. Lontang (plot) 1

This first *lontang*, commonly called *kandawari* (king and his descendants room), is on the front side of the north *kale bola*. This room is used as a place to entertain the *puang* (king) or regional leaders when attending traditional events at the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house.

This *kandawari* area is 1 inch higher than the lontang 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, and is intended as a form of appreciation to guests. Apart from being a place to receive great guests in this room, there is also 1 *kamara* (room) which is used as a place to store traditional ceremonial equipment or as a *puang* resting place.



Fig. 7: King and his descendants room Source: Authors

b. Lontang (plot) 2

The second *lontang* is used as a seating area for the village head. It is also used for village heads when holding meetings or traditional events.

c. Lontang (plot) 3

The third *lontang* is used as a seating area for the traditional *syara's* (religious leaders) councils, including the *imam, khati, bilal, khali*, and four people of *massituru* in the field of religion.

d. Lontang (plot) 4

The fourth *lontang* is used as a seating area for the adat councils of *ada'* (customary holders) including *tomakaka*, *ada'*, *tappuare*, *pande Tanda*, *paso' tomatua*, four people of *to massituru* in the field of *adat*, *ambe' kampong* and *indo kampong*.

e. Lontang (plot) 5

The fifth *lontang* is used as a special sacred area for *To Manurung* and the *kamara'* (room) where the custodian of the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house sleeps. *To Manurung's* special room is used as a place to store *To Manurung's* relics and several other heirlooms. This room has an elevation of 2 spans from *lontang* 2, 3 and 4 and 1 span from *lontang* 1. The highest room in this *kale bola* is the most sacred space and glorifies *To Manurung Puang Palipada*.

Each *lontang* is limited by a beam that is higher than the floor called a *patta*, which is *pemali* (forbidden) to step on or sit on. In the middle of the house, the boundary between *lontang* 3 and *lontang* 4, there is one pole that is different from the other poles, which is called *posi bola* (main pole). This *posi bola* wood material is different from the other poles, using jackfruit wood, and has a distinctive carving. At the top, there are two pegs as a place to hang people's offerings when traditional events take place.

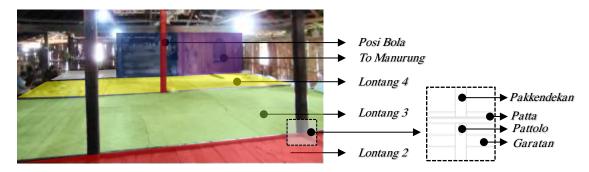


Fig. 8: Plot Source: Authors

If *posi bola* (main pole) is used as the center of the cardinal directions, it will indicate that the closer to the South and West, the more sacred the room is.

There is also a *tambing* (hallway), which is a space that is one span lower than the *lontang*. Its position is parallel to the *babangan* (door), *saladan* (terrace), and *enda* (stairs). This *tambing* is intended as a seat for ordinary people when following a series of traditional events at the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house. In line with this *tambing* from the West, there is also a *dapoh* (kitchen) space. On this *kale bola* there are 11 *pettiwan* (windows), which mean the blessing of the Creator. The interesting thing about this *pettiwan* is that the material is the same as the *rinding* material (wall) that is made using *banga* wood (*pigafetta elata*).

Kale bola (the body) has a sacred meaning, which is an association of the process of human life that gives a moral message of mutual respect for fellow human beings to expect the blessings of the Creator, so as to create harmony in social life. The division of spatial planning is adjusted to the tasks; functions and strata of the people who will sit in the room realize this.

3. Baroko' Bola (The Head)

Baroko' bola is the roof of the *Sapo Battoa* traditional house. This roof model is a combination of a saddle and shield model that has a triangular or gevel (gable) area called *timbo* and palm fiber as the roof covering material. The meaning of the triangular shape is the association of the form of human life that will return to the Creator.

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Timbo on the roof consists of 3 stacks and 2 ventilation pieces. The number of this *timbo* arrangement has a meaning as a glorified house. The houses of traditional stakeholders and communities only have one level of *timbo*. The roof of this traditional house is different from most *Kaluppini* houses. There are 2 stacked beams that are sacred in the middle of the house, parallel to the *posi' bola* (main pole), which has 9 different carvings commonly called *busaran*.

The shape and character of this busaran carving is very unique and associates the 9 children of the To Manurung Puang Palipada and Embong Bulan couple. They are namely: (1) Torro ri Palli is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in Palli, Kaluppini Village, Enrekang. (2) Torro ri Timojong is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in Latimojong Village, Enrekang. (3) Torro ri Lalikang Matakali is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in Matakali Village, Enrekang. (4) Maredia is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in the Mandar area. (5) Mangkau is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in the Bone area. (6) Billa is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in the Uuwu area. (8) Malempong Bulan is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in the Toraja is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in the Toraja is a descendant of To Manurung who lives in Pinrang area.

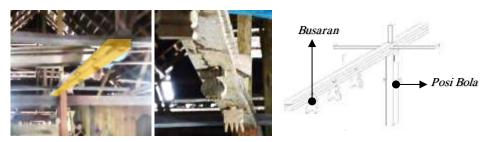


Fig. 9: Carving Source: Authors

The house of the *Kaluppini* people has a space on the roof, which is usually called *tapan*, while the *Bugis* house usually calls it *rakkeang*. This *tapan* serves as a place to store ancestral heirlooms and also serves as a place to store agricultural crops such as rice and corn. This is different from the traditional house of *Sapo Battoa*, which does not have a *tapan* but has a special room placed on the East, West, and South sides of the house right above the *pettiwan* (window), which is commonly called a *tapattagoa*. Its function is as a place to store complementary tools when there are *adat* activities.



Fig. 10: Store room Source: Authors

Baroko' bola (the head) has a sacred meaning, which is an association with the process of self-slavery of a human being to the Creator, who will return to the Creator. This is realized by the shape of a triangular roof and placing the *busaran* on the middle side of the roof, parallel to the position of the *posi bola*.

According to Pangarsa (2006), the concept of traditional architectural hierarchy is generally divided into vertical spatial and horizontal spatial images. The vertical spatial image is associated with divine values on the vertical axis, and the horizontal spatial image contains human values that direct social relations between people. In line with this view, Akbar (2017)

says that the microcosm of a traditional Bugis house is analogously divided into three vertical arrangements, namely: (1) the upper room (*rakkeang*): this space is seen as a sacred space, with functions implying things that are sacred. (2) the living room (*ale bola*): a space for residents' daily activities, commonly referred to as the "body" of the house; and (3) the basement (*awa bola*): a place for livestock, daily work tools, and relaxation.

This statement is different from the findings of this study that every division of space in the house of *Sapo Battoa* has a sacred meaning (divinity) both vertically and horizontally.

Conclusion

Based on the findings of the discussion, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- 1. This traditional house consists of three parts, namely *sullu' bola* (the legs), *kale bola* (the body) and *baroko' bola* (the head). Every division of space, both vertically and horizontally, has a sacred value.
- 2. Sullu' bola has a sacred meaning which is an association with the human birth process originating from the ground. This is manifested by the fact that the tread area under the house cannot be paved or finished with hard material such as concrete rebates or paving blocks, in addition to functioning as a water catchment area. Kale bola has a sacred meaning, which is an association of the process of human life that gives a moral message of mutual respect for fellow human beings to expect the blessings of the Creator, so as to create harmony in social life. This is realized by the division of spatial planning that is adjusted to the tasks, functions and strata of the people who will sit in the room. Baroko' bola has a sacred meaning which is an association of the self-serving process of a human being to the Creator who will return to the Creator. This is manifested by a triangular roof shape and placing the busaran in the center of the roof parallel to the posi bola.
- 3. If the *posi bola* of the Sapo Battoa traditional house is used as the center of the cardinal directions, it will indicate that the closer you are to the South and West, the more sacred the room is.
- 4. The *Sapo Battoa* traditional house is one of the traditional houses in the *Kaluppini* traditional area, which is associated as the house of the king of the descendants of *To Manurung*, consisting of 5 *lontang* (plots) with 33 *pakkedekan* (poles) and the orientation facing North-South.

The most important finding in this study shows that there is no vertical hierarchy of sacred values, because sacred values are not only on the roof but also on the body and legs of the house. This develops the previous findings from Pangarsa and Akbar which stated that vertical spatial planning shows a hierarchy of sacred values which is getting higher up and more sacred.

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