

The influence of Religion and Kinship on the Dwellings of the *Towani-Tolotang* Community in South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

Today, the shifting of culture and the advances of information technology have a tendency to marginalize local wisdom and affect the settlements and dwelling designs. This implies that the transformation of traditional cultures to modern ones may change the traditional settlement spaces in Indonesia.

This research investigates the community of *Towani-Tolotang*, who lives in the Amparita, Sidenreng Rappang Regency (SIDRAP), South Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is one of the communities which still maintains the belief of Pra-Islam in Indonesia. The research used observations and in-depth interviews with *Uwa* (religious and customary leaders). An in-depth interview provided information relating to factors influencing their residential settings. It finds that the kinship system and belief system are the deciding factors in setting community-dwelling of *Towani-Tolotang*, situated in Amparita.

Keywords: dwelling, local wisdom, kinship, religion, system setting, *Towani-Tolotang*

Introduction

The phenomenon of the increasingly marginalized local wisdom of the archipelago in the field of architecture encourages us to save them through anyway one can. This means that the documentation and in depth-research on local wisdoms, especially in the area of settlements is essential and urgent. The character of the traditional local spaces should become mainstream in the creation of new local spaces (Lake, 2015). Based on this understanding of vernacular architecture, local wisdom in dwelling architecture could become the inspiration for the development of contemporary architecture in Indonesia. Thus, the inheritance of knowledge scattered throughout the archipelago in dwelling architecture is valuable to be preserved and utilized. The settlement of the community of *Towani-Tolotang*, which retains ancient Bugis customs is indeed one that retains such local wisdoms.

Towani-Tolotang is one of the communities situated in Sidenreng Rappang, South Sulawesi, which is still practicing local religions: pre-Islamic beliefs. The population of this community is 26,699, spread over eleven sub-districts. Most live in the Tellu Limpoe sub-district of 6,025 people (Sidrap Central Bureau Statistics, 2016).

This shows the existence of the *Towani-Tolotang* settlement and with the local wisdom in tact in forming and organising its territory. Understanding the form of traditional settlement arrangements require serious examinations because the settlement arrangements depend on human life with various issues related to their existence. Since the ancestors of *Towani-Tolotang* are initially from Wajo, it is natural that there are similarities in non-physical (social culture) and physical (architecture) aspects between them (Sidendreng Rappang and Wajo, 1600's). However, despite their similarities, their settlements have distinctly different characteristics.

Several studies have focused on the traditional settlements based on local wisdoms. Runa (2004) has researched the spatial layout of a traditional village in the wet climate through the case of Tenganan village in Bali in the context of the socio-cultural life of the community. In addition, Purbadi (2010) has researched the spatial pattern and spatial configuration of the Kaenbaun village on the island of Timor. The main theme in this research has been the village spatial pattern.

Furthermore, Rejeki (2012) has conducted research about the *punden*-based settlement in the Kapencar village, situated on the slope of the Sindoro mountain, Wonosobo district. This research examined in-depth, the settlement arrangements, including the meaning of *punden* on spatial arrangements in the Kapencar village. The finding was that the philosophy of "*pengayoman*" is the life spirit of the community in the Kapencar village, while *punden* means a symbol of the philosophy of *pengayoman*. Moreover, Nuraini (2015) has conducted research on the spatial layout of rural mountainous settlements in Singengu, Mandailing Natal, North Sumatra. The finding indicates that *binca-bonom* (sunrise and sunset) is the basis of spatial settlement in Singengu, which refers to the form of obedience to *Datu* (the creator)

The community of *Tolotang-Towani* in Amparita today is the eighth generation since they were driven from their homes in the Wani village, Wajo, in 1666 for not accepting Islam as their official religion. Rusli (2012) states that although they are administratively recognized as being Hindu as the official religion, in their daily life, the community implements religious practices following their local religious beliefs, which have been written in *Lontara Appogenna Tolotang*. According to Rapport (1969), religion and beliefs are among the most essential factors in realizing the forms and patterns of the houses and settlements. It tends to be the dominant factor in traditional societies compared to other factors (cultural and behavioral factors). The existence of *Towani-Tolotang* in the community of Amparita where the majority of the population is Moslem, is interesting to investigate further in terms of their settlement architecture, particularly regarding the system of dwelling settlement.

To address the issue regarding preserving local wisdom as a reference in architecture, this research aims firstly, to find out the dwelling setting system in the *Towani-Tolotang* community through exploration and in-depth interviews with some traditional and religious leaders (*Uwa*). Secondly, it intends to determine the factors that affect the system settings. Several theories are utilized to clarify the *Towani-Tolotang* dwelling community setting system in Amparita, which aims to look at the factors that affect the dwelling setting system in the *Towani-Tolotang* community settlement.

The Theoretical Basis

The Settlement as a Form and Culture

The establishment of settlement patterns is influenced by the cultural system of a society prevailing in that place. In some cases of traditional settlements, the form of the settlements is also strongly influenced by the familial system, such as in the Tengger settlement of the village of Wonokitri Pasuruan (Ayuninggar, Antariksa & Wardhani, 2013)

Traditional settlement arrangements consider areas sacred as the center of the cosmos, so the pattern of settlements is always found in three classifications of space: East-West, top-down, and male-female. These three classifications give a certain meaning to that society. In addition to classifying the three spaces, the orientation of the community-dwelling

house also has meanings and is very influential on the setting of his life and will be understood as the local community's lifestyle (Harahap, 1999).

The migrant population arranges the new settlement environment differently from its original place and often incorporates cultural elements from its original location to the new location. It aims to modify the new settlement environment. They continue to integrate deep-rooted customs and beliefs into new settlement environments (Sumintardja, 1999).

System Setting

The term setting emphasizes the element of human activity not apparent in terms of space. Furthermore, in the study of environment and behavior relationships, the term system is used because it emphasizes the attachment of each set to each other having its interrelated function (Haryadi and Setiawan, 2010). In fact, Haryadi and Setiawan (2010) define the setting system as an organization of the settings into a system related to the human activity system. The main idea underlying this system's concept is that one cannot possibly understand what is happening in a setting without knowing what is happening in other settings. In other words, what happens in a particular setting is strongly influenced by the use of different settings.

Belief System

Religious and other belief are also seen as very important factors in the formation of dwelling settings. Even in traditional societies, they tend to be the dominant factors compared to other factors. In traditional communities, houses or settlements, it is a form of micro-cosmos of the entire universe. Every element that forms a dwelling or a settlement symbolizes certain elements of the entire universe. In this concept, house or settlement patterns sometimes are categorized into sacred, semi-sacred and profane groups (Haryadi and Setiawan, 2010).

The Bugis has a belief in a universe consisting of three levels, namely: the upper world (the upper world / *boting langi* '), the middle world (the middle world/*ale kawa*), and the underworld (the underworld / *buri liung*). This belief is described in the physical form of their homes. The top of the house called *rakkeang* represents the upper world, the central part of the house represents the middle world called *ale bola*, and the bottom represents the underworld called *awa bola* (Shima, 2006).

In Bugis mythology, the middle world is a meeting place of the upper world and the underworld, which is considered to represent harmony, mutuality, and more importantly, harmonization. Harmonization is the balance of the natural order, the balance of command and the prohibition (*pemmali*), the balance of social relations, the balance between East and West, and the North and South (Yunus, 2013).

The mountain across the West of South Sulawesi reflects the symbol of *boting-lagi* (the upper world). This is in line with the view of A. C. Kruyt, who found a view in the society of the Indonesian archipelago (South-West Sulawesi), that an invisible being (gods) occupies the highest peak of the mountain. The lontara texts affirm the mountain as *Dewata Langi* as a symbol of *boting langi*' (Mahmud, 2003).

According to the Bugis society, *Buri liung* (the underworld) inhabited by the *Dewata Uwae* is a God who lives in the water. The text of Lagaligo depicts the appearance of *Dewi We Nyili'timo* from the seafloor: "...*tampaklah di sebelah timur di atas lautan puteri We Nyili'timo, bersemayam di atas puncak persada di tengah-tengah gelombang yang membuih....Sang puteri berbusana adat dunia bawah....di depan Batara Guru ...*" (... it appears to the east of the sea of Princess We Nyili'timo, residing on the summit of throne in the midst of the foaming waves ... The princess dressed in custom the under-world ... in front of Batara Guru ...) (Kern, 1989).

The text above shows the East as a symbol of the location and gate of the presence of *Dewi Buri Liung*, We Nyili'timo. This myth shows the geographical Gulf of Bone as *buri*

liung (the underworld). As Mattulada affirmed in Yunus (2013), the underworld is the same as the water world. This view is reinforced by Abidin in Yunus (2013), who calls the underworld (*to'dang toja*) in the same terms as under-sea or sea. In the context of the macro-cosmos, it reinforces Bone's geographical position as a *buri liung*, Bone's bay as a *buri liung* serves to sustain the life of the *ale kawa* (middle world / homebody)

Baduy Community Settlement in Kanekes Village

The influence of religion and kinship is also found in the Baduy community. The Baduy people believe that the Baduy area is the *pancer bumi* (the core of the universe / the center of the world / the earth's core). There, the creation of the universe began, and the place where humans were first revealed later became the ancestors of the Baduy people and other inhabitants of the earth. The holy and sacred site of the incident by the Baduy is called *Sasaka Domas*, which is also well-known as *Sasaka Pusaka Buana*. This place is then considered holy and sacred; not everyone (including the Baduy themselves) can go inside. They then recognize it as the *taneuh larangan* (forbidden zone). Based on the cardinal directions, *Sasaka Domas* is located in the Southern area of the Baduy region, precisely on the Mount Pamutusan, Kendeng Mountains (Permana, 2006).

Furthermore, Permana (2006) explains that *Sasaka Domas* become a reference for determining the orientation with magical elements. It is considered the best direction as a holy and sacred place. All spatial arrangements, both physical and non-physical, refer to the South. Permana (2006) also explains that the Baduy area is generally arranged so that the settlements located further to the South are increasingly sacred. Tangtu Baduy settlements (inner Baduy) as the core of the Baduy community are located in the South, while Panamping Baduy settlements (outer Baduy) are in the north.

The spatial arrangement of the Baduy settlement is similar to the regional arrangement. The South direction is an important reference. All houses are oriented South-North, except for the bale and saung lisung, which are oriented East-West (Permana, 2006). The Baduy house vertically is a mirror of the division of the universe. The legs or pillars symbolize the 'dunia bawah' (the world of darkness, hell), the body or walls and the space in it represent the 'dunia tengah' (the universe of life), and the roof represents the 'dunia atas' (the eternal world, heaven). Horizontally the most essential part of the house is the *imah*, then the *tepas*, *sosoro*, and finally *golodog* (Permana, 2006).

Kajang Community Settlement in the Tanatoa Customary Area

The settlement of the *Kajang* community is also influenced by religion and kinship. The residential area of the *Kajang* community is generally divided into two areas; *ilalang embaya* and *ipantarang embaya*. *Ilalang embaya* is *kamasemasea* land, which is an area considered sacred. Areas included in the *ilalang embaya* are required to apply the *pasang ri kajang* law. However, currently, the law of *pasang ri kajang* is only implemented in the customary area of *Tanatoa*, especially in the *Benteng*, *Tanatoa* village. Meanwhile, the area of *ipantarang embaya* and is outside the area of *ilalang embaya*, which is profane (Somba, 2008).

Somba (2008) further describes, that in the *Kamasemasea* land area, several places considered sacred by the *Kajang* people were found, namely the tomb complex and the *ku'buru Tunggalaka* (single tomb). It functions as a worship medium to *Tau Rie A'ra'na* (God Almighty). This tomb is located in the South of the settlement, separated by a village pathway. Besides, the customary forest situated in the western part of the settlement is also sacred for the *Kajang* people because it is believed that the forest is inhabited by spirits (*jinn*).

The settlement pattern in *Kajang* is a clustered settlement pattern based on practical reasons in terms of security and social interaction. This shows a very strong sense of togetherness and unity in the life of the *Kajang* community (Somba, 2008). All houses in the village of *Benteng* are orientated to the West. The West direction is symbolized as the direction that is considered the setting of the sunset. It has philosophical meanings as the

emergence of darkness. As a result, the community recognizes that "black" is symbolized as darkness (Somba, 2008).

Somba (2008) emphasizes that, based on the overall physical form, the house in the *Kajang* community philosophically symbolizes the world of the microcosmos. This is divided into three levels; the upper part (roof of the house) is called *para*, representing the world above, the middle part (house body) is called *kale bola* symbolizing the middle world where humans live, and the bottom (under the house) is called *siring* representing the underworld.

Research Methodology

The research used a descriptive explorative method, which employs observation and interviews within a case study. In selecting the samples, it applied purposive sampling techniques. The sample consists of 7 (seven) units of houses occupied by the *Uwa* (traditional leaders) and their families. The primary consideration is that *Uwa* is regarded as the successor of the *Tolotang* teachings and serves as an example and role model for all his followers.

The Case Study

This research was conducted at *Amparita Lama*, located 8 km South of *Pangkajene* (the capital of *Sidenreng Rappang* Regency). Before being expanded to the *Amparita* village, *Amparita Lama* included *Amparata*, *Toddang Pulu*, *Baula*, and *Arateng* (currently *Todang Pulu* and *Baula* has been expanded into a Sub-District). As a large community, *Towani-Tolotang* is spread in five villages in the District of *Tellu LimpoE*, *Amparita* (2335 people), *Toddang Pulu* (1.906 people), *Baula* (1,024 people), *Arateng* Village (757 people), and *Pajalele* Village (3 people) (*Sidrap* Central Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Most of these communities include farmers, teachers, police officers, soldiers, fishermen, and traders.

Currently, the *Towani-Tolotang* community lives across several areas in South Sulawesi, such as *Pinrang*, *Wajo*, and *Pare-Pare*. However, this community spread has no known justifications. *Amparita* was chosen as the research location because it was the first place where the *Towani-Tolotang* community has settled after migrating from *Wajo*. After all, they rejected Islam as the official religion of the *Wajo* kingdom at that time. *Towani-Tolotang* community is the only community that still maintains ancient *Bugis* beliefs. Apart from that, *Amparita* is also a place of residence for other faith communities, namely Muslims and *Tolotang-Benteng*. Even though the place where they previously lived had the same culture as where they live now, the different religious backgrounds affect the culture of living.

Findings and the Discussion

The existence of the *Towani-Tolotang* community at *Amparita* is inseparable from the role of *La Patiroi* (*Addituang* *Sidenreng* VI) 1582-1612. Before living in *Amparita*, the *Towani-Tolotang* community settled in *Wani Kabutaen Wajo* Village. As stated in *Lontaraq Addituang* *Sidenreng*, during the reign of *La Patiroi*, *Matowa Wajo* had come to ask for protection from *Sidenreng*. This *Matowa Wajo* has been *ripalumpangi tana* (a customary punishment that obliges this punished person to leave his country) in *Wajo*, because he did not make Islam a new religion. *Addituang* *Sidenreng* put *Matowa Wajo* and his bodyguard in the South of the fort (*Amparita*, precisely in *Perrinyameng*) as their residence as mentioned in *Lontaraq Addituang* *Sidenreng* in *Latif* (2014:131): "*aga najellokanni onrowang ri lautanna bentengnge/ sarekkuummangngi napada monro siperri sipakkatuwo/ tennariu matai bicaranna ri Sidenreng/ riperri riyameng*"¹. The place to the South of the fort means that they live in a difficult situation. They were given autonomy in organizing their community in *Sidenreng*. After a long stay in *Perrinyameng*, the *Towani-Tolotang* community's supervision was finally handed over to *Arung* *Amparita* as the local authority. To facilitate the monitoring of *Arung* *Amparita*, the settlement of this community was then moved to *Amparita*. Until now, the *Towani-Tolotang* community settlements have spread to several places in *Sidenreng*

Rappang Regency such as *Otting*, *Watangpulu* and *Massepe*. Based on observations in the field, most *Uwa* and his relatives live in *Amparita Lama* (**Fig.1**)

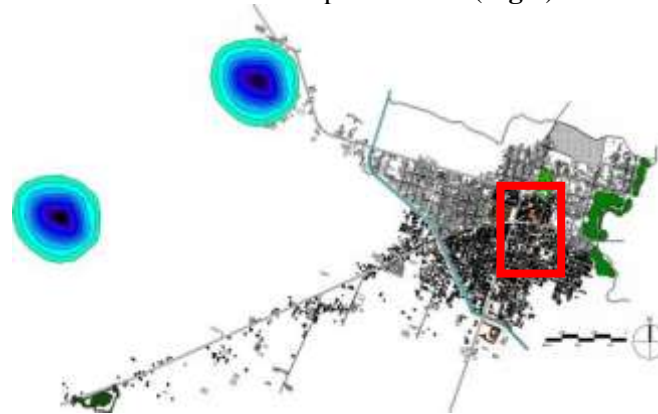


Fig.1: Location of Amparita Lama
Source: Author (2018)

Four aspects influence the *Towani-Tolotang* community-dwelling settlement system in Amparita. They are the kinship system, orientation and direction of occupancy, hierarchy in the settlement, and belief system. The kinship system in the *Towani-Tolotang* community is divided into two: (1) *sianang* or *maranaq* (the nuclear family), consisting of the father, mother and children and (2) *sumpung lolo* (the big family) is all the people who have a blood relationship.

Based on the genealogy pattern analysis results of 7 (seven) samples selected (**Fig.2**), there is a strong relationship between the kinship system and the layout of the building. From 7 (seven) samples, there were 5 (five) samples where the child's house position is parallel to the parent's house (samples 2,3,5,6, and 7).



Fig.2: Seven samples selected
Source: Author,2018

In one household in the *Towani-Tolotang* community, the mothers and their children and the brothers and the grandparents who live together become their dependents. In other words,

in the dwelling *meso* scale, the nuclear family gets together and forms a separate pattern and is generally surrounded by dwellings from distant relatives (**Fig.3**)

In general, the orientation of Bugis house location is divided into two kinds, namely the *bola-mabbuju* (*mabbuju* = longitudinal), that is the house body that extends in the direction of East-West and the *bolal-mpareq* (*mpareq* = transverse) is the house body that extends in the direction of North-South.

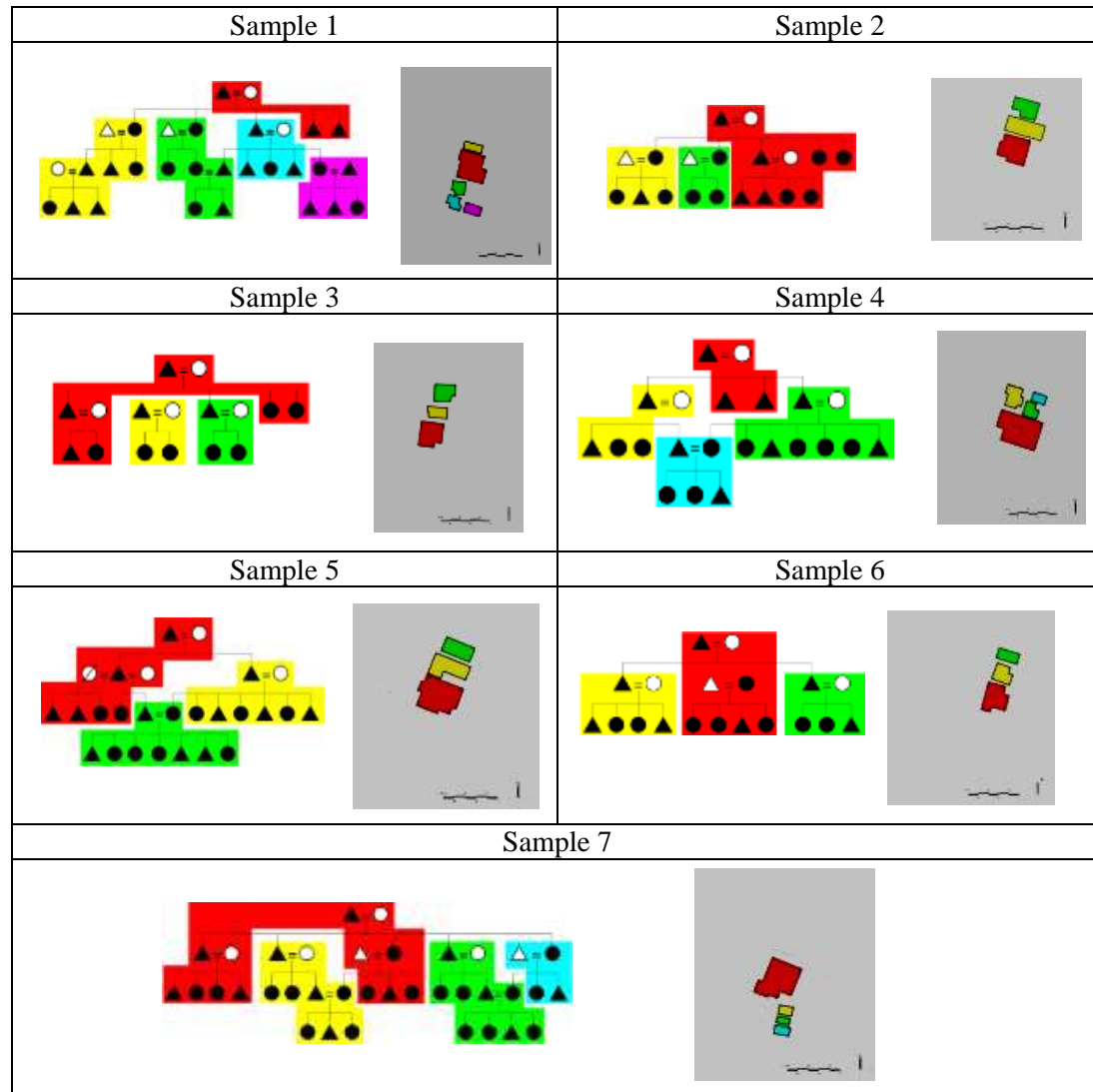


Fig.3: Dwelling setting base on genealogy pattern

Source: Author, 2018

Based on the results of the analysis on the 7 (seven) samples (Fig. 4), it was found that the orientation and direction of the house faces *tompo-labu* (East-West), with details of 4 (four) samples (3,5,6 , and 7), which face East to the place where the *tompo* (sun rises), and 3 (three) samples (1,2, and 4) facing West to the place where the *labu* (sun sets) happens. According to *Panrita Bola* (shaman of the house; someone who can determine the orientation and direction of a good home is a *bola-mabbuju*; means longitudinal), the orientation and direction of the house is considered in accordance with the nature of human life and Nature. Human nature is like a journey of the sun rising in the East and then climb to the peak of midday and then gradually descended and set in the West. Man born and grown into an adult then gradually grows old and eventually dies. Soil contour factors are also a consideration in

choosing orientation and the direction of facing the house in this community. If the contour of the land is tilted (downhill) to the North, it is recommended that the orientation and direction of the house faces *tompo* (The East).

Conversely, if the contours of the soil face the South, then the orientation and direction towards the house is recommended to be the *labu* (The West). This relates to the *Towani-Tolotang* custom of sleeping with the head situated to the South of the house. They believe that water should not flow toward the head because it will cause various diseases and misfortune. Based on the above description, the orientation and direction of the main occupancy for the *Towani-Tolotang* community is *tompo-labu* (East-West).

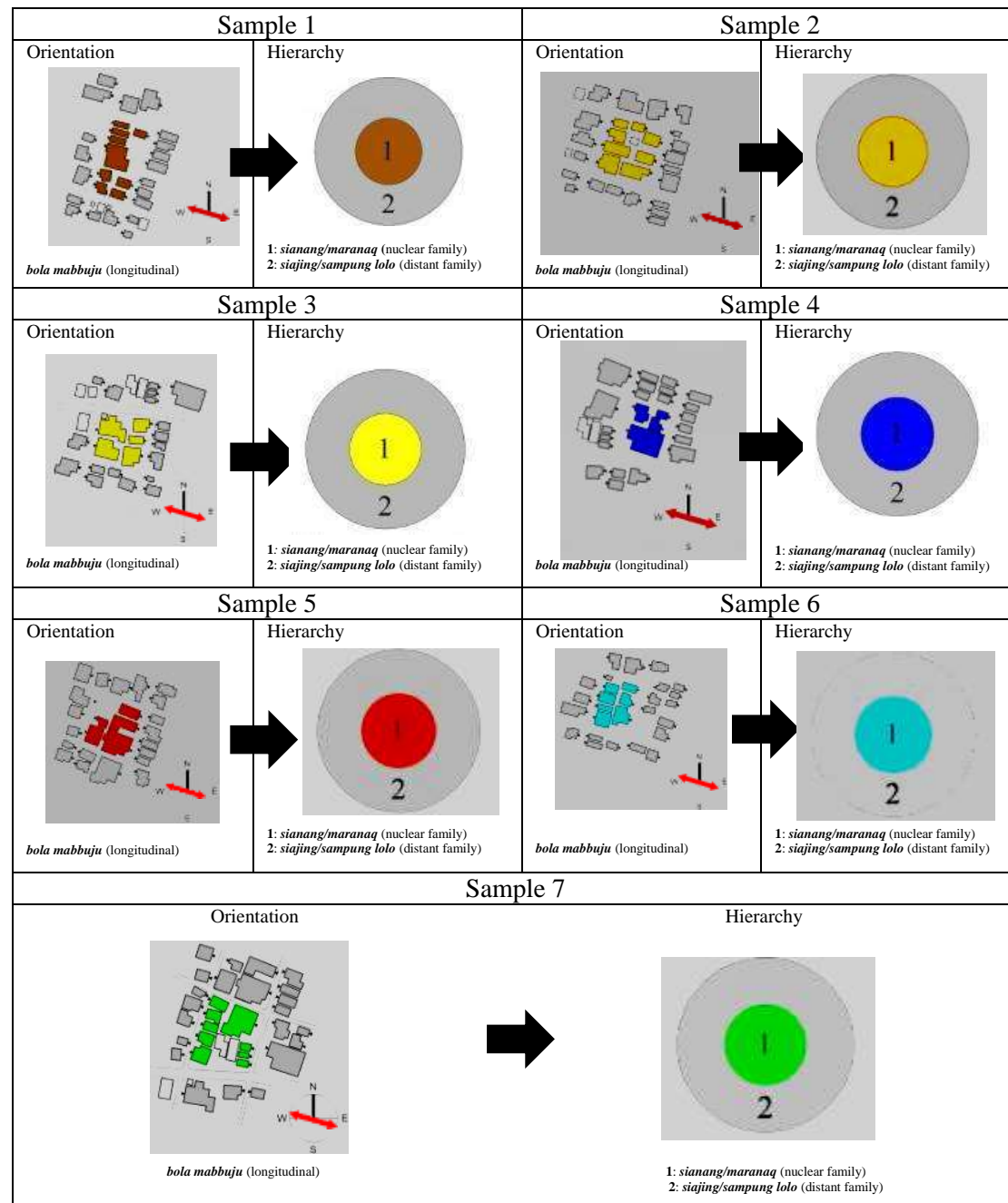


Fig.4: Dwelling orientation and hierarchy

Source: Author, 2018

The hierarchy within the *Towani-Tolotang* community is divided into two different scales: meso scale (environmental) and macro scale (region). On an environmental scale, there is the hierarchy of a centered pattern consisting of two layers of hierarchy. The first layer that forms the core of this hierarchy is occupied by *sianang / maranaq* (the nuclear family) of the *Uwa* and *Uwatta*. The second layer of this hierarchy is occupied by *siajing / sampung lolo* (a distant family) of the *Uwa* and *Uwatta* (Fig. 4). On a regional scale, the hierarchy formed has the same pattern found in the hierarchy on a confusing scale. *Uwa* and *Uwatta* occupy the first layer in the area-scale hierarchy, along with the nuclear family and distant relatives. The second layer is occupied by the followers of 7 (seven) *Uwa* in the *Towani-Tolotang* community (Fig. 5). The shelter sets formed from the *Towani-Tolotang* community-based behavior show its own spatial pattern (Fig.5). Based on the spatial pattern formed, the spatial distribution of settlements is found in new or old settlements. The old settlement is indicated as the starting location, where the community first settled in *Amparita* after being moved from *Perriyameng*. This indication is reinforced by the houses of the *Uwa* and their families that can only be found in this location. In the new settlement, the house of *Uwa* is not found.

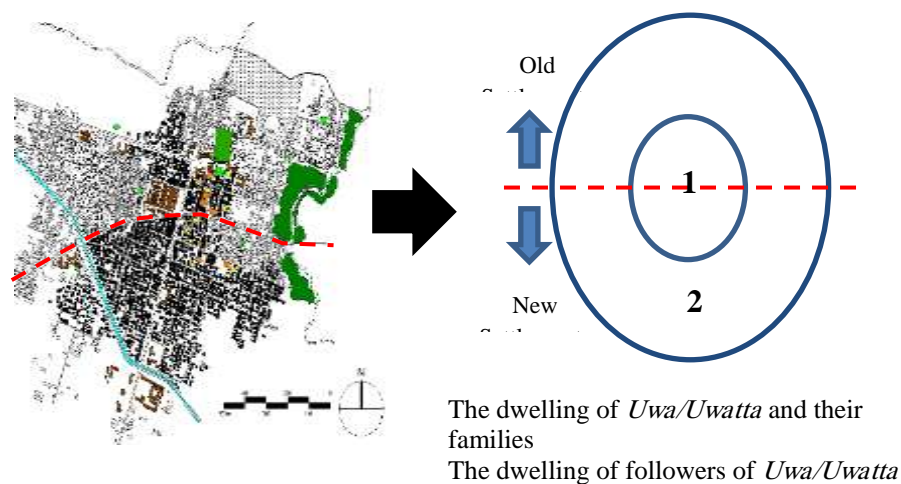


Fig. 5: Spatial pattern of *Towani-Tolotang* settlements

Source: Author,2018

Attau riolong (the ancestral belief system) adopted by the *Towani-Tolotang* community can be found in the form of ritual ceremonies as a tribute to Nature (mountains, lakes, and trees), ancestors (graves), and to *Dewata SeuwaE* in *boting langi* ', *PatotoqE* with the Gods of his helpers. Those rituals are *sipulung* (pilgrimage to ancestral graves), *mappenre inanre* (offering dish to *Dewata SeuwaE*).

The belief of the *Towani-Tolotang* community to the cosmos is manifested by dividing the universe into two parts. First, there is a division of the East and the West. East (*tompo*) is a place of sunrise that represents the quality of happiness, light, goodness, and the source of life. The western part (*labu*) is the setting of the sun. In the West, quality represents dark matter, grief, all that bring trouble, and the back. In addition to the eastern and western universe classification, it is also known as the North South classification. North (*iyase*) means air and represents the yellow color, while the South (*iyawa*) means the soil and represents the black color. South means underworld, feet, and the North means the upper world, and the head (Fig.6). Secondly, there are also known components of the earth consisting of soil, water, wind, and fire. This belief is commonly referred to as the *Tolotang* mythological view, which views the universe as *Sulappa Eppa* ' (rectangular). Based on the concept of *Sulappa Eppa* ' that becomes the philosophy of life of this community, it is also known as the classification of East and West, and the North and South. Eastern and western classification

(Shima, 2006; Artiningrum, et al., 2019) brings the consequences in life concerning the implementation of the ceremony as a manifestation of the belief system of the *Towani-Tolotang* community.

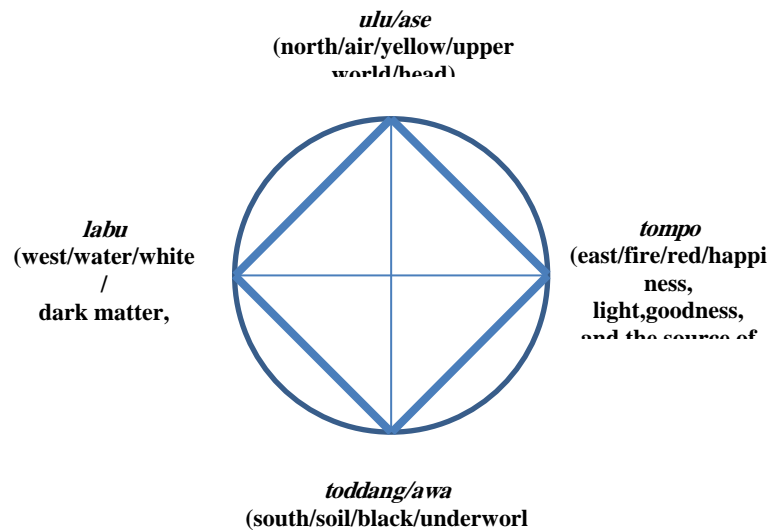


Fig. 6: Dwelling orientation concept based on ancestral religion
Source: Author, 2018

Conclusions

Based on the analysis and discussion of the *Towani-Tolotang* community-dwelling settlement system in Amparita, South Sulawesi, there are four influential factors in the dwelling setting of this community. The four factors are (1) kinship system, (2) orientation and direction, (3) hierarchy, and (4) belief system. The kinship and belief systems are the most influential factors in this community-dwelling setting of four factors. The kinship system consists of the nuclear family (*sianang*) and the distant relatives (*siajing*) that influence the hierarchical pattern not only in the environmental scale (meso) but also in the regional scale (macro). The ancestral belief system (*attau riolong*) affects the orientation and the direction of the house. The orientation and the direction of the *bola mabbuju* (*tampo-labu*) or longitudinal becomes the main orientation of the *Towani-Tolotang* community house.

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