Gravestone Typology and Landscape of Sultan Banjar’s Tomb: Islamization in South Kalimantan

Nia Marniati Etie Fajari¹, Sunarningsih Sunarningsih²*

¹,² Balai Arkeologi Kalimantan Selatan
*Corresponding author. Email: asihwasita@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The existence of the Banjar Kingdom has been depicted in the tale of Hikajat Banjar. It was centre in Banjarmasin and Martapura. The Islamic kingdom of Banjar was a continuation of Negara Daha, the previously Hindu monarchy. During its reign, the centre of Banjar Kingdom had moved several times, leaving only the tomb complex (the tomb of the king and his relatives) who ruled at that time, and the mosque, while the other buildings remained only. This study aims to determine the typology of tombstones and the landscape of Sultan Banjar cemeteries in Banjarmasin and Martapura, which will be used as evidence of the Islamic entry process in this region. The method used is descriptive comparative with inductive reasoning. The results showed that the influence of Islam in the southern part of Kalimantan comes from Demak (Java), and Aceh, while the tomb landscape explained that the placement of the king's tomb has similarities with the early Islamic cities in Java (Demak, Kudus, and Kotagede), which was in the centre of the kingdom. It's just that the Banjar Kingdom tomb was close to the palace, while in Java, a royal tomb was placed near a mosque.

Keywords: Gravestone, Landscape, Banjar Kingdom, South Kalimantan.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Sultanate of Banjar that its administrative centre in the southern part of Kalimantan ruled in 16–19 century AD. According to Hikajat Banjar, Prince Samudra succeeded in seizing the throne from his brother, Prince Tumenggung whose led a kingdom with a Hindu background, with the Demak Kingdom supporting (Ras, 1968). Prince Samudra received assistance from the Demak Kingdom for his willingness to embrace Islam, and then he held the title of Sultan Suriansyah (Tim Penulis, 2003a, p. 70).

The archaeological remains of Banjar Sultanate are royal mosques and the sultan's tomb in Kuin Banjarmasin and Martapura. The first city centre of Banjar Sultanate was initially in the Kuin areas, located at the mouth of the Barito River. Furthermore, the centre of power has moved several times, including Martapura. Archaeological research to find the location of the centre of the Banjar Sultanate was conducted by the South Kalimantan Archaeological Center in 2004 and 2006. The results of the 2004 study stated that the palace of Banjarmasin Sultanate was assumed to be in the tomb complex of Sultan Suriansyah, based on the findings of the brick structure as the current tomb foundation building (Gunadi, 2004a, p. 25). A 2006 study conducted in the Martapura area recorded the sultan's tombs in several locations. Meanwhile, the opening of several test pits on the banks of the Kitano River adjacent to the tomb of Mustainbillah and Karangintan has not found any indication of the expected archaeological data (Susanto, 2006, pp. 9–15).

Previous studies did not discuss the Sultan Banjar tomb. Research of ancient gravestones in South Kalimantan has been conducting on the graveyard in Batulicin, Sebamban, and Pagatan areas which were foreign territories of Banjar Sultanate. The king’s tomb in Batulicin is located in two locations. The tomb of kings who once ruled in the southeastern coastal region of Kalimantan has been studied. The gravestones found were generally made of ceramic-coated cement, ironwood, and terrazzo (Atmojo, 2002). Some of those tombstones have Bugis characteristics. Research on ancient tombs in Sigam, the former territory of Pulau Laut Kingdom, found many tombstones of Bugis type and Bugis letters inscription.
The existence of sultan’s tombs in Banjarmasin and Martapura have been designing as cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the archaeological study has not been conducting on typology and tomb landscape.

2. METHOD

This study uses morphological and typological analysis to determine the characteristics of tombstones. The morphological analysis includes observations of dimension and shape, material, and decorative motifs. The determination of typology has been base on the form and decorative motifs. The typological classification of tombstones according to Ambary consists of Aceh, Demak, Bugis-Makassar, and Ternate-Tidore (Ambary, 1998, p. 43). Identification of tombstones typology can explain the spread of Islam in Banjar. Furthermore, tomb landscape data is also needed to strengthen the interpretation of the research results.

Landscape studies in archaeology, among others, aim to find out the concept of supporting communities in manage and changing their environment according to their needs. From the landscape, it can be seen how the place shapes the behaviour and identity of the supporting community (Branton 2009; Gojda, 2004). The location of the tombs, palaces and mosques of the Banjar Kingdom in Kuin and Martapura City will be compared with the laying of the tombs of the early Islamic kingdoms in Java, Demak and Kotagede.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Gravestone Typology

Table 1. Tombstones in Kuin and Dalam Pagar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Gravestone</th>
<th>Form/Measurement/Location</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Image</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Queen Intansari is the mother of Sultan Suriansyah. Her grave is right next to Sultan Suriansyah. The tombstone is still original, although it has been painting and hard to recognize the material type.</td>
<td>It is flat, 11 cm thick and less of carved motifs. Morphologically. It consists of two parts which are leg (rectangular) and body-head (the body has curly edges, meet at the top with a slight protruding curve). The foot is 27 cm long and 11 cm high. The maximal body is 29 cm in length and 36 cm in height. Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
<td>It has characteristics of Demak, with curly curved edges, were adopted from the kalamakara curve found on the doors of Hindu-Buddhist temples.</td>
<td><img src="image1.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sultan Suriansyah has undergone a paint update so that currently it is silver and golden yellow.</td>
<td>The shape is rectangular with a maximum length of 56 cm. It consists of three parts, legs, body, and head. The leg (terraced steps) is 39 cm wide and 39 cm thick, without a decorative motif. The body is 28 cm wide (with geometric line decorations that resemble grass code), and the head has a triangular shape with curly edges and- characteristic of Demak with decorative motifs, and remind us of Majapahit solar symbol, although it is very plain in the form of a regular circle</td>
<td><img src="image2.jpg" alt="Image" /></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are six headstones discussed in the tomb complex of Sultan Suriansyah, in Kuin Banjarmasin, and three others are Sultan Mustainbillah, Sultan Inayatullah, and one tomb of an unknown sultan in Dalam Pagar. The tombstones of the Sultan in Martapura (from a younger period) used a different and simpler form, such as the tomb of Sultan Saidullah in the form of long, plain stones without decorative patterns.

Important aspects that need to be considered in the study of tombs are typology, form, and architecture (Ambary, 1998, p. 237). Hasan Muarif Ambary divides the typology of tombs in the archipelago into three, tombs with jirat, without jirat, and pseudo-jirat. Meanwhile, the typical grouping of tombstones consists of Aceh, Demak, Bugis-Makassar, and Ternate-Tidore (Ambary, 1998, p. 43). The Aceh type compiled by Ambary consists of three groups:

1. The combined shape of bucrane-wing, with characteristics resembling a buffalo horn either in obvious or disguised, and at the top is a wing decoration;
2. Rectangular shape with a buffalo head decoration, which as a whole has a form that resembles a miniature temple, and in the middle is a calligraphy decoration;
3. A round or cylindrical shape of a tombstone, with a round base similar to the root pattern of the phallus and menhirs (Ambary, 1998, pp. 239–240).

The description of the tombstones in Kuin and Dalam Pagar will be described in the following table.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name and Details</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sultan Rahmatullah was the second sultan who ruled in 1545-1570</td>
<td>The flat-shaped headstone consists of two parts, body-head and feet. The foot is currently below ground level. The body has a curly edge and a curved line at the top. The ukel pattern is found at the tip of both the upper and lower vine.</td>
<td>Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Sultan Hidayatullah was the third sultan who ruled in 1570-1595</td>
<td>The headstone is flat with curly edges and a curve at the top. The decorative motif is only curly curls that resemble tendrils on the edges, with the rest are plain. The ukel pattern has been finding at the tip of the upper and lower vine.</td>
<td>Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Khatib Dayyan is the envoy of the Penghulu Demak for converting the sultan and relatives to Islam.</td>
<td>The shape is similar to Queen Intansari, Rahmatullah, and Hidayatullah. The tombstones are not identical because there are still differences in the curl curves and size. They were handmade.</td>
<td>Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sheikh Maulana Abdul Malik died in 1640 AD</td>
<td>The tombstone is flat, consisting of three parts, leg, body, and head. The foot is 35 cm wide and 11 cm high, without a decorative motif. The body measurement is 16 cm high and 18 cm wide. The upper body has been connecting to the wings/shoulders with buffalo horns shape. The lower body has a decorated motif like a stupa engraved with a pattern of pineapple skin, with the middle part has a line and three rectangular panels with Arabic calligraphy. There is a circular motif on the wing. The head has the shape of an onion connected to the crown.</td>
<td>Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Sultan Mustinbillah was the fourth sultan who ruled in 1595 – 1620, and who moved the palace from Kuin to Kayutangi, Martapura in 1612</td>
<td>The measurement is 65 cm high and 11.5 cm thick. The widest part is 28.5 cm, while the base is 7 cm x 8.5 cm. The size of the head and foot is different. It consists of the leg, lower body, upper body, shoulders/wings, head, and crown. The leg is rectangular with triangular decorative motifs at the corners and a rectangular panel in the middle. The body has been dividing into two levels, the lower and upper bodies. The upper is rectangular connected to the wings/shoulders, with a leaf-shaped decorative motif on the edge and middle section. The wings shape are buffalo horns decorated with tendrils and circles on both sides. The tombstone head consists of the lower level is a bulbous onion with a curly line connecting it to the upper level that is triangular. The top part has been equipping.</td>
<td>Located in Kuin, Banjarmasin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.2. Landscape of the Sultan Banjar Tombs

This tomb complex in Kuin is on the banks of the Martapura River. It is on elevated ground built of ancient brick structures. Gunadi argues it as sitilohor, based on a term found in the Hikayat Banjar. Sitilohor is assumed to be part of the palace complex that has been elevating above ground level. The elevation of the brick structure in the tomb complex has been reinforcing with bricks and limestone, with ojief-shaped and bell side profiles, similar to the base part of the temple (Gunadi, 2004b). This tomb complex was restored in 1983 by The Maintenance of Historical and Archaeological Heritage Project in South Kalimantan. Some floor bricks can still be seen under the clear glass display part, while the rest have been replacing with new ceramic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Name of Sultan</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Characteristics of Aceh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Sultan Inayatullah</td>
<td>It consists of the leg, body (shoulders) head (crown). The foot is rectangular with a length of 17 cm, a width of 12.5 cm, and a height of 52 cm. The head length is 16 cm, while the body is 36 cm. The foot has been decorating with triangular (tumpal), while the body is a straight quadrilateral with leaf motifs and curved lines resembling a crown connected to the shoulders. The shoulder part is in the form of a bucrane that resembles a buffalo horn. The head of the tombstone consists of round onions and triangles with curved lines on both sides. Head decoration motifs are tendrils and geometry. Observations also find out that the tombstones are made with printing techniques. It has been indicating by a vertical straight line that protrudes in the middle as the joints. The location of the tomb is in Dalam Pagar Village, East Martapura District.</td>
<td>It consists of the leg, body (shoulders) head (crown). The foot is rectangular with a length of 17 cm, a width of 12.5 cm, and a height of 52 cm. The head length is 16 cm, while the body is 36 cm. The foot has been decorating with triangular (tumpal), while the body is a straight quadrilateral with leaf motifs and curved lines resembling a crown connected to the shoulders. The shoulder part is in the form of a bucrane that resembles a buffalo horn. The head of the tombstone consists of round onions and triangles with curved lines on both sides. Head decoration motifs are tendrils and geometry. Observations also find out that the tombstones are made with printing techniques. It has been indicating by a vertical straight line that protrudes in the middle as the joints. The location of the tomb is in Dalam Pagar Village, East Martapura District.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Allegedly Sultan</td>
<td>It consists of the base, body, and top. The base is rectangular, decorated with triangular (tumpal) connected by geometric lines. The lower body has three levels and carved motifs that resemble glasses with legs. The rectangular upper body is connected by geometrically wings and tendrils decoration. On the shoulders, there is a round motif resembling the sun. The curve top has been decorating with geometric patterns and tendrils. Inscriptions were found, neither on the legs nor the head. The surface has been painting in silver and gold. Its measurement is 47 cm high, 29 cm wide, and 16.15 cm thick. The location of the tomb is in Dalam Pagar Village, East Martapura District.</td>
<td>It consists of the leg, body (shoulders) head (crown). The foot is rectangular with a length of 17 cm, a width of 12.5 cm, and a height of 52 cm. The head length is 16 cm, while the body is 36 cm. The foot has been decorating with triangular (tumpal), while the body is a straight quadrilateral with leaf motifs and curved lines resembling a crown connected to the shoulders. The shoulder part is in the form of a bucrane that resembles a buffalo horn. The head of the tombstone consists of round onions and triangles with curved lines on both sides. Head decoration motifs are tendrils and geometry. Observations also find out that the tombstones are made with printing techniques. It has been indicating by a vertical straight line that protrudes in the middle as the joints. The location of the tomb is in Dalam Pagar Village, East Martapura District.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tombs have been locating in two different building structures, which have been separating by a space between (there is a well¹), the first king tomb (Sultan Suriansyah) is in the west, while on the east are the tombs of Sultan Rahmatullah and Hidayatullah. The brick structure (a square pattern) on the western part has sides parallel to the direction of the tombs (north and south), while the east has not. The structure of the west part consists of red bricks, while the eastern part consists of red bricks and white stones (Muchamad, Aufa, dan Kasnowihardjo 2006). In addition, the structure in the east has two sections of different heights. The back (north, the part of tombs) consists of 7

---

¹This well is still being used for the needs of pilgrims, whether it is used for bathing (usually people who are sick) or put in bottles to take away.
layers of bricks (higher), while the front (south, empty) consists of 5 layers (lower). The study results gave confidence to the team that the brick building has been using lately as a tomb was part of the Banjar palace (Muchamad, Aufa, Kasnowiwardjo, 2006).

The Kuin tomb now is located in a densely populated area (see Figure 1), the location of the palace of the Banjar Kingdom and the mosque is separated by the Jagabaya River. The sultan's tomb in the upper of Martapura River, Dalam Pagar (formerly known as the Kayutangi area) also located on the bank river (see Figure 2). Unfortunately, the rest of the palace buildings no longer can be found in the Dalam Pagar areas. It is in contrast to the location of the centre of the Banjar Kingdom, which has been moving lately to Martapura (see Figure 3). Its toponym was still being used as the place name even though the palace building was gone. It is also in the vicinity of the king's tomb. The mosque is right on the bank river, side by side with the market and the square.

3.3. Tombstone Typology and Tomb Landscape

The analysis of the tombstones in Kuin shows that there are Demak and Aceh types. There are two models of Demak type, a flat headstone with a rectangular shape with a stepped base and a flat with curly edges. Sultan Suriansyah's tomb as the first type has similarities with tombstones found in the tomb complex of Sultan Demak. Sultan Suriansyah came to power during the reign of Sultan Trenggono in Demak during 1521-1546 AD (Suriadi, 2007a, p. 38). History said that it was Sultan Trenggono who sent Khatib Dayyan and Demak troops. They were coming for helping Prince Samudra ascend the throne and become Sultan Banjar, by setting aside Prince Tumenggung that ruled the Daha Kingdom previously.

Meanwhile, flat headstones with curly edges of Ratu Intansari, Sultan Rahmatullah, Sultan Hidayatullah, and Khatib Dayan have the same typology as Demak Troloyo. The pattern of the three tombstones bears a resemblance to the tombstone in the Troloyo complex, although the decoration is much simpler. The Banjarmasin tombstones tend to be plain, with only curly arches on the edges at the top and bottom. Another variation is the curved edge resembling a heart shape, with a rounded head without lines and curls, as can be seen on the headstone of Khatib Dayan. Those data provide artifactual evidence of the Demak influence in the dynamics of Banjar Sultanate and the spread of Islam in Banjarmasin.

The Aceh-type tombstone has been using by Sheikh Maulana Abdul Malik's, Sultan Mustainbillah, Sultan Inayatullah, and allegedly sultan. The three previous headstones have similar characteristics and resemble Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa in Banten. Similar tombstones also were found in the Selaparang complex in West Nusa Tenggara. The distinguished thing is the variety of decorative motifs. Sultan Ageng tombstone has three tumpal on base, geometry panels on the body, and ornaments on top (Inagurasi, 2017, p. 44). The Selorapang tomb has a tumpal decoration on a leg, plain
panels on the body, a pair of wings that resemble horns decorated with round ornaments, and the head of the tomb are peaked (Inagurasi, 2017, p. 44). Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa ruled in the 17th century AD, precisely the same period as Inayatullah's reign.

The tombstone of Sultan Inayatullah has slightly different. It is much similar to the tombstones found in Langkawi, Kedah, Malaysia. Ramli et al classified the tombstone as Aceh type H, characterized by prominent shoulders and curved upwards and a vertical bulge in the middle from foot to top (Ramli et al., 2016, pp. 2–3). This Aceh type H gravestone came from the 14-15 century AD. Chronologically, the classification of Sultan Inayatullah's gravestone for Aceh type H is not suitable because he ruled in 1620-1637 AD.

The discovery of allegedly sultan gave a new assumption regarding its identification, local people argued as the tomb of Sultan Mustainbillah. It means that the old location of Mustainbillah tomb is belong to Inayatullah. This allegation is based on the book of Sejaratul Arsyadiyyah Al-Banjariyah written by Abdurrahman Shodiq bin Muhammad Afif Al-Banjari in 1350 Hijriyah. It mentioned the information about the burial location of the king of Banjar as follows:


Based on the typology, the Inayatullah tombstone has an earlier chronology (14-15 AD). Therefore, it can be assumed that the tomb of Inayatullah is the tomb of Mustainbillah whose ruled in 1595-1620 AD. The year period is suitable. Meanwhile, the two other tombs have similar typologies as Aceh Darussalam types (Aceh Darussalam was at the peak under the leadership of Sultan Iskandar Muda during 1607-1636 AD), can be assumed as the tomb of Sultan Inayatullah. The chronology is appropriate because the period of Sultan Inayatullah's reign was with Sultan Iskandar Muda. The selection of gravestones had followed the style that was currently popular in Aceh.

The selection of Aceh's type as tombstones of Sultan Banjar bestowed a great influence, especially in spreading Islam. This influence intensified due to the collapse of Demak in the 17th century. Aceh became a transit area for pilgrims who would go to Mecca or return to their hometowns. They had participated in many religious activities during the transit (Tim Penulis, 2003b). The influence of Aceh has been seeing in the use of Sirathol Mustaqim by Ar Raniri that stressed the Sunni concept by emphasizing fiqh law development by mazhab Syafei (Tim Penulis, 2003b). The use of the Aceh language was difficult to understand for outsiders did not dampen the enthusiasm of the Banjar people to learn.

The landscape of the king's tomb, both in Kuin and Martapura, has similarities, were placed near the palace (the king's residence). The tombs placement in the royal city also was carried out in the early Islamic empire, such as in Demak and Kotagede. Although the rest of the palace no longer exists, the location of the Demak palace was also in an area known as Sitthinggil (located on the south of the square), and the king's tomb located behind the Great Mosque of Demak (Rokhim, Banowati, dan Setyowati 2017; Saraswati 2015). The tomb placement behind the mosque was still visible in the centre of Islamic power in Kotagede. However, during the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, the royal tomb was placed outside the city. Its location is far from the mosque and palace buildings in the city centre.

3.4. The Spreading of Islam in Banjar

Islam development in southern Kalimantan was initially caused by political factors, where Demak had a role in the Islamic-style of Banjar Sultanate establishment (Suriadi, 2007b). The sultanate influence has been reflecting in its active role in supporting Islamic da'wah by encouraging a cadre of ulama, who at the time were not many in number (Buseri, 2012a, p. 222). The recitation activities were supported and facilitated by the sultan. Therefore, the ulama were more motivated to guide people in writing by compiling books. The Sultanate has a function in encouraging Islamic da'wah, including protectors, dynamists, supporter, catalysts, and facilitators (Buseri, 2012b).

The early spread of Islam itself has been assuming to have occurred long before the Banjar Sultanate was established. The data that supports this assumption is that Prince Samudra's letter to Sultan Demak was written in Arabic. The use of Arabic was proof that an Islamic society already existed because the ability to read and write Arabic letters is certainly obtained in a long process (Suriadi, 2007b). Scott said that the entry of Islam in Kalimantan was caused by economic factors involving traders and trading activities. In addition, Scott also revealed five supporters of the entry of Islam as a new religion in Kalimantan, 1) by the goals of the pre-existing society; 2) does not conflict with the ideals of society; 3) new ideas offer better prospects; 4) belief in change; 5) can be accepted and tolerated by the old tradition because it is in accordance with people's lives (Scott, 1913).

The territory of Banjar Kingdom was quite vast, covering several areas in South Kalimantan, Central
Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, and East Kalimantan. During the reign, 19 sultans ruled since its establishment in 1526 until it disappeared in 1905 because abolished by the Dutch colonial government. Historical data recorded that the Sultanate of Banjar had a major role in the economic, social, and political fields in the Kalimantan region. Pepper trade had been carried out since the establishment in the 16th century AD, supported by noble groups as reliable patrons (Noor, 2012, p. 248). In the early 18th century, Banjarmasin became a bustling trade centre, especially in pepper commodities export (Kusmartono dan Nuralang 2001:40). Through Banjarmasin, the Sultanate of Banjar controlled the trade route from the interior to the mouth of the Barito River, directly connected to the Java Sea.

The Sultanate of Banjar also played the ultimate role in the development of Islam in the Kalimantan region. Islam has been growing since Sultan Suriansyah came to power. Its development was influenced by Demak when the envoy of the head of Demak named Khatib Dayan received a mandate to convert the sultan and all his followers to Islam (Azmi, 2017, p. 44). Along with the waning influence of the Sultanate of Demak's power in the political arena of the archipelago, the development of Islam in Kalimantan then received influence from Aceh. Relations with Aceh were marked by the gift of a Sufism book written by a prominent cleric of Banjar in the 17th century AD to the queen of Aceh (Tim Penulis, 2003b). The development of Islam in Banjar was initially hampered by a government system that made the sultan as the sole ruler with full authority in decision-making, policy, and power sharing. Therefore, Banjar scholars then approached the sultan as a strategic step to launch the spread of religion (Suriadi, 2007b).

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the typology, the tombstones of Sultan Banjar has been dividing into two, Demak and Aceh. The Demak type was used in the early period of the Banjar Sultanate, including Sultan Suriansyah, Queen Intansari, Khatib Dayyan, Sultan Rahmatullah, and Sultan Hidayatullah. There were two types of Demak gravestones, a flat rectangular shape with a stepped base and a flat with curly edges. Meanwhile, Aceh-type tombstones have been using in the next period by Sultan Mustainbillah and Inayatullah. There are two types of Aceh, the H type developed in the 14th –15th AD century, and the Aceh Darussalam type developed in the 16th century AD. As for the landscape, the royal tomb was placed in the city centre, the same as in Demak. Only the royal tomb complex of Banjar was situated with the palace, while in Demak was placed behind the mosque.

The initial entry of Islam was thought to have occurred because of the trade network in the coastal areas of Kalimantan before the Banjar Sultanate was established. The existence of the Sultanate of Banjar with an Islamic pattern gave rise to da’wah institutions that were fully supported by the sultan. It caused the spread of Islam to expand throughout the territory of the Sultanate of Banjar. Its vast territory allowed Kalimantan to get Islamic influence not only from one area. Besides Demak, Islam in Banjarmasin was also influenced by Aceh. The Aceh influence grew even more with the collapse of the Demak Sultanate in the 15th century AD. The existence of Aceh-type tombstones was evidence of Aceh's leverage in Banjar, especially in the development of Islam. This influence has been reflecting in the books written by Banjar scholars, which mostly refer to Aceh understanding.

REFERENCES


