

SACRED SPACES: AN ETHNOSEMIOTICS STUDY ON THE ANCIENT CENTER OF PALOPO CITY

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Abstract

The marketplace, *alun-alun*, the mosque and the palace are a forerunner sequence of an ancient city. Palopo is a city that has a worth historical heritage. As a host of festival archipelago in 2019, local government and *Kedatuan* Luwu did local culture preservation. This study aimed at exploring the relation meaning of the heritage building market for indigenous leaders, cultural, social actors and Palopo city government. Semiotics as the paradigm and ethnosemiotics as the method, this research could reveal the relation meaning of the heritage building and market from time to time. The results showed that the market since pre-Islamic era to Islamic era was far from the sacred city center. Besides, it has functional meaning as a place of economic exchange but the market also has a negative meaning because of trade activity. In the Islamic era, markets were also close with palaces and markets and became the important element of ancient city formation. Since the Dutch colonial era, the location of the market adjacent to the central government to simplify control function. The implications of this study can be a consideration of the arrangement of new buildings within the historical urban landscape area.

Keywords: heritage architecture, marketplace, spatial meaning, sacred spaces, historical urban landscape

Abstrak

Judul: Ruang suci: studi etno-semiotik di pusat kota kuno palopo

Pasar, alun-alun, masjid dan istana merupakan rangkaian cikal bakal kota kuno. Palopo termasuk kota di Indonesia yang mempertahankan warisan sejarah bernilai tinggi. Sebagai tuan rumah festival keraton nusantara tahun 2019, Pemerintah daerah dan kedatuan Luwu melakukan preservasi kebudayaan lokal. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali makna relasi bangunan heritage dan pasar dari budayawan, aktor sosial, tokoh masyarakat maupun pemerintah kota Palopo. Semiotika sebagai paradigma dan etnosemiotik sebagai metode, penelitian ini dapat mengungkap makna relasi antara bangunan heritage dan pasar dari masa ke masa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pasar sejak masa pra islam hingga masa islam tidak berada dekat dengan pusat kota yang suci secara simbolik. Selain bermakna fungsional sebagai tempat pertukaran perekonomian, pasar juga cenderung bermakna negatif akibat dari aktivitas perdagangan. Pasar dekat dengan istana dan masjid serta menjadi elemen penting pembentukan kota tua. Sejak era kolonial Belanda, letak pasar berdekatan dengan pusat pemerintahan untuk memudahkan fungsi pengontrolan. Implikasi kajian ini dapat menjadi pertimbangan penataan bangunan baru dalam area lansekap kota bersejarah.

Kata kunci: arsitektur heritage ,pasar, makna ruang, ruang suci, lansekap kota bersejarah

Introduction

Traditional markets not only function as a place of trade but also as a place of conception of life and sociocultural interactions (Aliyah, Setioko, & Pradoto, 2017). Space conception that occurs presents the meaning of metaphor (including the sacred space) related to the relationship between the market and the surrounding environment especially if the environment is included as a historical city landscape. Market changes as a sociocultural interaction function also tend to be followed by changes in market place from one place to another.

In the period before money became a legitimate means of exchange, people carried out economic transactions with the barter system. As a maritime country with an archipelago, the exchange of goods activities tends to be carried out on the riverbank and on the foreshore. The exchange system has been described by Karl Marx in the concept of simple commodity circulation in three types, one of them is the K-K type (Damsar & Indrayani, 2018). It is a type of commodity exchanged for commodities. In Luwu, the Nuha area allows for other barter or exchange systems.

The tribes in Luwu, South Sulawesi have had external relations in maritime trade relations. Along the shores of Lake Matano there are local people who have expertise in metal technology that ever became the economic mainstay of Luwu (Fadillah, 2000). Even this place is based on archaeological conclusions as an area of pre-Indonesian communities even older than *I La Galigo*.

History and archeology research make literary *I La Galigo* as a guide in examining the existence of 'something' in the past. Sawerigading's figure in the *sureq I La Galigo* was famous as for a reliable and accomplished sailor. In the Latin text mentions "*le nasuro i amauremu muloq jonconngen, paonang mpakkaq, anri, tosompeq mallipu-lipu*" (Colliq & Rahman, 2017), which means "then they tell your uncle to lower the boat, float the wangkang, Oh my sister, then we sail around the country.

Pier or harbor as a vital transport for economic activities. The region of *kedatuan* Luwu geographically located along the coast which is divided into three regions, namely *Madika Bua*, *Madika Ponrang* and *Makole Baebunta*. The southern part is Ponrang border with Wajo, while the northern part is *Baebunta*, which reaches the border of Southeast Sulawesi. Luwu in the Dutch colonial era was divided into six *onder-afdeeling* namely *afdeeling Palopo*, *afdeeling Masamba*, *afdeeling Makale*, *afdeeling Malili*, and *afdeeling Kolaka*.

In fourteenth-century, *kedatuan* Luwu reached politics and economic power (Sumantri, 2006). It was the era of pre-Islamic glory which had chronological parallel with Majapahit. In that era, in the economic dimension, Luwu was able to enter regional and international networks. Even it was difficult to understand the more remote geographical location in a bay when we compared to Bantaeng and Gowa which are more strategically located on the southern coast. Luwu's predecessor community activities as a sailor made it possible for the economic power to be on the foreshore.

Other water areas became an important factor in facilitating interaction activities are rivers. Reminding that the oldest city in the world originated in the Nile

valley, Tigris river and Euphrates river (Basundoro, 2012). A well-planned traditional city is equipped with defensive castle, monuments of pride such as the *ziggurat* that had pyramid shape and the trade center. Pyramid formation that functioned as a temple and meant for the graves of the pharaoh kings. This was not separated because of the early development of the city as the religious center. Manifestations of centralized sacred space in the middle of the road show the power of sacred sites (Nelson, 2006). In the pre-observations of the study, Palopo city center is 'a sanctified space' which marked by the 'road axis' among *Kedatuan* Palace, Jami Mosque, the market and the post office.

The theme of the 'sacred spaces' in the title of this article is the finding of the meaning of the space in city center of Palopo. Basically, sacred places such as: trees, water and views of rocks in a microcosm holy places had primitive meaning. The sanctuaries in the environment function as center which subsequently served as orientation object, human identification and social structure (Norberg-schultz, 1991)

Based on historical facts that the place of trading activity requires a multi-dimensional approach on reading and studying changes in function and space. The Luwu Center which is now in Palopo City has economic patterns on the foreshore until ex-old market in the city center.

Existing indications that the old market was part of the history of Palopo city development, but the existing site has been replaced with buildings that tend to be abandoned. How is the pattern of the old Palopo market layout? This study aims to explore the meaning of the old market existence in the historical urban landscape.

Literature Review

Historical Urban Landscape

Cultural heritage landscape, historical landscape and tourism landscape are special categories of cultural landscapes (Amin, Rifai, Purnomohadi, & Faisal, 2016). The term landscape in Indonesia is translated as *saujana*. The uniqueness of natural wealth can be something intangible and tangible. Composition of nature and human form can be created a unique area so UNESCO has the right to give appreciation and record it as a preserved property.

A heritage conservation effort is needed to preserve cultural heritage. The importance of maintaining identity for the continuity of local wisdom. Identity is a product of accumulation and continuity that has uniqueness and originality among other objects (Atalan, 2016). The relation between one object and other objects is intertwined in a place since the era of traditional cities and modern cities depending on their context.

According to Max Weber, the city is a market place or market settlement (Weber, 1966). Suburban citizen that prioritize commercial life rather than agriculture. On the other hand, agriculture requires a large land. Land becomes the most stable element as a starting point for life. Landscaping is a more stable property that

serves as a comprehensive stage for 'everyday life' (Norberg-schultz, 1991).

Market as a place

The market comes from several senses according to the original source. The market comes from the root word '*Mercatus*' from other languages- which means a place to trade. (Damsar & Indrayani, 2018). In addition, it was mentioned by Clifford Geertz in Damsar that the market comes from the word '*bazaar*' which in Arabic means an economic institution, a way of life, a complete social and cultural world by itself. In English is called 'marketplace' means the place in which commercial dealings are conducted. There are some meaning related to the context of this study to examine the market as a place in space and time.

In the history of architecture, the existence of the market at the time of the kingdom was always associated with the presence of palaces, *alun-alun* and mosques. Old Jami Mosque as a symbol of the beginning of the Islamic era. But Islam in urban spaces is not only expressed by buildings or spaces but also expressed by public behavior that is influenced by religion (Chiodeli, 2015). In the Luwu kingdom, there are patterns connected with imaginary lines between palaces, markets, mosques and *alun-alun* (Pawiloy, 2002). Likewise, the Solo kingdom there is Lor *alun-alun* as the yard of sacred palace. In Yogyakarta, the palace and the city were connected by *alun-alun* Lor (Santoso, 2008). Yogyakarta in 1756 the market not only as a place of trading activity but also a row of shops of Chinese people and other traders.

As part of the dissertation research, this research is inseparable from the paradigm clusters used in the doctoral thesis. This study used the ethnosemiotics method. Denzin & Lincoln (1994) provide a rationale thought for revealing the meaning of an object through the semiotics paradigm. Criticism toward the meaning that used the semiotics method that goes too far from social structure is one of the factors for the emergence of ethnosemiotics (Piliang, 2012).

Methodology

Fiske calls ethnosemiotics as the reading of texts every life at the micro level (Fiske, 1990). Ethnosemiotics is a semiotics science in interpreting the meaning of text interpretively. 'Text' according to Piliang is not used narrowly only in writing but can be in the form of objects, dances, paintings, other art works and even architectural works. The meaning is obtained through humanist, social actors, community leaders and the government of Palopo city who know and understand about Palopo city.

The data were collected qualitatively. The qualitative research is based on assumptions and views on the world and starts from the context of the problems of society (Creswell, 2013).

The procedure of collecting data were divided into three major stages, namely the pre-stages, the field and post-field stages. In pre-stage, the writer conducted grandtour to get an initial description of the context of the research locus. Digitalization was done to get physical description of the elements of the city

which would be the unit of analysis. And it was also. The second stage was a field stage by conducting in-depth interview with informants. To get the informants who really understood the social situation and the culture of the research locus, snow bolling technique was carried out.

Data from this study were obtained from public figures, humanist, customary figures in *kedatuan* Luwu environment, religious leaders and government officials. To maintain the identity and privacy of informants, the informants data were written with the name abbreviation for each analysis and discussion in this article.

At post-field, the writer did categorization, conceptualization and theorization. In the last stage, the findings of the local theory were carried out through theoretical dialogue and transferability toward previous research.

Results and Discussion

Conception of cosmography and cosmology

As the center of the Islamic kingdom in Sulawesi since the seventeenth century, Palopo city was built close to the river and coast. The ancient layout had similarities with other kingdoms in Indonesia such as Majapahit Kingdom, Kediri Kingdom was located in the valley of Brantas River, Musi River for the Sriwijaya kingdom in Palembang city. The development of cities on the riverbank was caused by the fertile land conditions and the ease of water transportation facilities. Likewise with *kedatuan* Luwu which was built between the *Amassangeng* River (Latuppa River) and *Botting* River.

Palopo is a city located on the coast. The city characteristics were similar to cities located on the north coast of Java, namely Semarang and Surabaya. Suburban coastal settlements are territorial units that initially ethnic-religious factors had an important role. But then the suburban coastal developing based on employment relationships.

In line with the narration of several informants that in Palopo there were relationships between mosques and markets was complemented each other. Complementing the aspects of the buildings characteristics as religious and economic symbols. The two locations of the symbol cannot be separated from the position of *kedatuan* Luwu palace as the center of customary leaders. 'The market as a symbol of trading activity was considered very vulnerable to negative actions by the community' (ST, Personal Communication, November 15, 2017). But the position of mosque and *alun-alun* that mediate market and palace so that the negative characteristics of market space can be neutralized. Three building objects and one site form a concept called *marowa*. The concept of *marowa* in historical references was called *watampare*.

The spatial philosophy that forms the center of Palopo is *ware*, *watampare* and *saliwengpare*. *Ware* is the core of the city. *Ware* is also the core of the origin of the city. Before the center of *kedatuan* Luwu was moved to Palopo, it was named *ware* located in *Ussu* which is now located in the geographical area of East Luwu.

Symbolizing the central space of citizens activities in ware was represented by the *alun-alun* space. When the center of *kedatuan* was moved to Palopo, the name of the center of government was still referred to *ware*. The building that fills *ware* formed a complementary relationship between one another called *watampare*. Besides it functioned as a social space, three solid elements and one void element filled the *watampare* relation. *Alun-alun* (void element) serves as a space between the nature of market and the palace space as a symbol of power. The landscape filled with the *watampare* object showed the character of the sanctified space.

Sanctified space

‘The sanctified space’ in the concept of meso space consisted of two landscape spaces, namely the *Lalebata* landscape and the *Tana Bangkala* landscape. Both landscapes had entities to show the function of indigenous spaces. While the relational relationship between the two landscapes lies in the functional sequence in the ceremonial custom of Luwu and the meaning of space in the space structure of Palopo city. If *Tana Bangkala* consists of a marker of two monuments and a site in the form of elevated land, while *Lalebata* is marked by *kedatuan* Luwu palace, the old Jami Mosque and the market site and the site occupied by post office building and former BNI Bank offices. Regarding the existence of ancient artifacts, according to Wescoat & Ousterhout (2012), ancient and medieval buildings physically constructed by builders and architects with sacred purposes. The ideas formulated to contribute in building the environment to produce a sacred culture. The transition period when local cultures come into contact with culture afterwards, it tends to form new manifestation. The spiritual concept merged into religious teachings becoming one of the implications that the spread of a belief is not always done by violence. Spiritual reality still presented and felt until the phenomenological era of consciousness in revealing the reflexivity of urban space.

The indication of physical problem of urban space arises when the market facade is very bad. Follow-up field observations indicated that there is no normal activity like the general market. Market building in the form of two shophouse. The shophouse unit consists of more than two units. There are only a few building units function as a place for business of goods and services.

The market in the syntactic relation of the historical urban landscape means economic symbols. Functionally, the market functions as a container of interaction between seller and buyer, while semantically, the market means the symbol of the economy. The existing market is inseparable from the genealogy of *kedatuan* Luwu since occupying the space of Palopo city.

In that site (figure 1.1) there should be demand and supply activities carried out by all levels of society. The site is mentioned by several informants, including public figures, they said that Luwu Plaza site occupies the former old market site (AL, personal communication, August 10, 2017).

The empirical observations of the morphology of the city center indicate that the market layout and important elements of the city form certain patterns. Traditional city symbols in urban design theory are often used to communicate the meaning

of certain structures (Zahnd, 1999). The markers who communicated the symbols of Luwu culture were the building of *Langkanae* while Luwu Plaza as a modern building applied the principles and eclecticism paradigm.

Langkanae and *Salassae* palaces are a symbol of the legitimacy of Datu Luwu's power which has maintained its existence. At the palace site was symbolized as the independence of indigenous leaders in the midst of democratic political currents and administrative city leadership. The reality and legitimacy is imprinted by holding the 2019 festival archipelago in Palopo city. The activity made the district in the context kedatuan site very vital for the image of a city with heirloom city status and cultural heritage building legality.

As an embryo area of Palopo city, *Watampare* landscape cannot be denied as a wealth of spiritual nuances and religious. In *Watampare* area, there are sacred sites in the form of tombs with large stone tombs which indicated as menhirs and sacred buildings (Islamic mosque buildings and PNIEL churches). The 'elusive quality of sacral' theme that emerged in the mid-19th century is difficult to capture in space (Stegers & Baumann, 2010), but community conventions can provide a signal of the sanctity of space that starts from an arbitrary process. Churches and mosques become sacred objects in sacred buildings.

The Grid Pattern of City Center Space

The pattern of Palopo city space has been formed since the Dutch colonial era. A conception in regulating the city space allows the condition of supervision of the power to be the cause of the formation of grid space pattern. The pattern was formed by using the path as a space-forming element. The city center as a former of traditional city has a conception of cosmology as a form of spatial arrangement to unite the symbols of government and symbols of the people. But cosmological conceptions can be weakened by the existence of grid patterns. On the other hand, the sites that are occupied by important buildings including the market increasingly show clarity of territory.

The market becomes an important element in the center of Palopo which is inseparable part of government and religious functions. The series of architectural elements between markets, mosques, palaces and fields (indications of *alun-alun* functions) still leaves the landscape morphology at the city center space.

Landscape reconstruction by researcher referred to indications and signals about the location of the market in traditional urban spaces. Indications of content analysis correspond to the tangible side of a site with syntactic balance geometry. By using *depa* size, pre-modern society can determine 'logos' in a measurable and mathematical dimension.

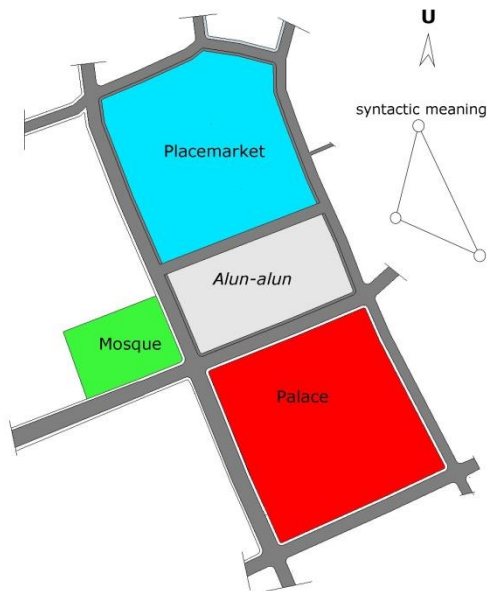


Figure 1.1 Reconstruction of the *watampare* space distribution pattern.
Source: Author, 2018

Logocentrism will present the metaphysical consciousness behind the tangible side so that it can reveal the intangible side that appears on the surface. At this stage, a phenomenon can be found and referred to as 'internal contradiction'.

The relation between one text with other texts (building was read as text) from Deconstruction of Derrida which became the umbrella of ethnomethodology brought the construction of findings about city center space. The ethnomethodology strategy by using the semiotics paradigm is a manifestation of Derrida's deconstruction in sociology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). The strategy coincides with the ethnosemiotic strategy developed by the researcher in this study. Between ethnomethodology and ethnosemiotics have a different terminology but basically they have the same concepts and paradigms. The comparison between them are to find the internal contradictions behind logic is Derrida's deconstructive reading in almost all of his works (Al-Fayyad, 2005).

The contradiction of the meso space that becomes a market place can be understood as universal truth and cannot be separated from time (*zeit*). So that the historical dimension provides a framework that allows physical aspects to be reconstructed in several civilizations. In *Watampare* space, there are three cultural heritage buildings.

Three buildings represent four civilizations namely pre-Islamic era, Islamic era, colonial era and post-contemporary era. *I La Galigo* culture was a legacy that highly upheld by customary council. *I La Galigo* only told pre-Islamic times (ST, personal communication, November 15, 2017). In the palace, there is a sacred regiment of *kedatuan* Luwu which is a sign of existentialism of ancient civilization. It appears that old values and old thinking have such close ties.

In different eras, there were shifting values towards integration. *Watampare* as the city's core space system can be realized that it will be tied to a larger system, namely Luwu system and cosmology system.

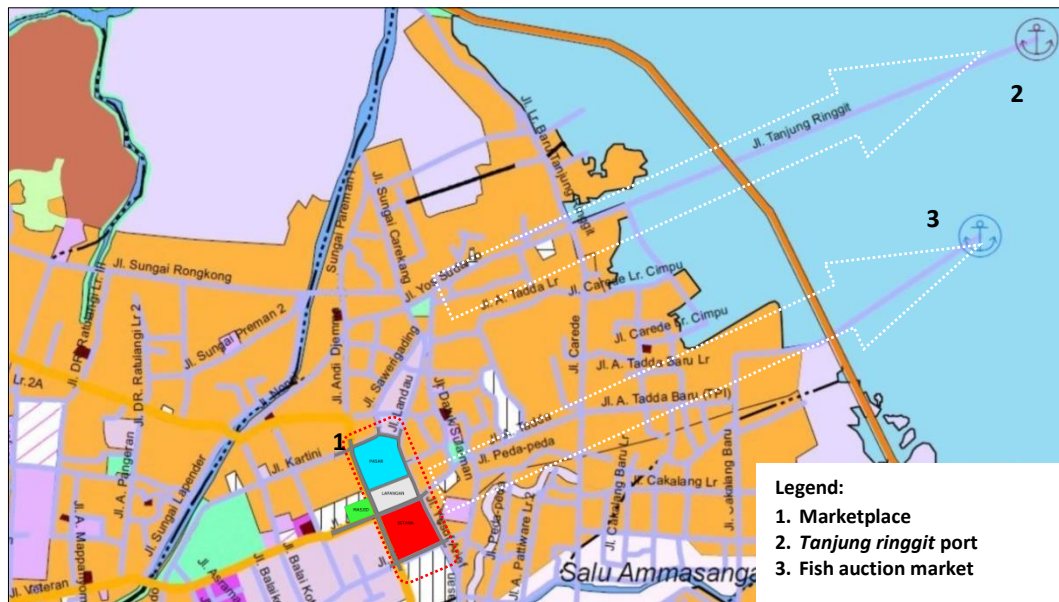


Figure 1.2 Market location to the port

Source: Modified from Official Website of Palopo City Government, nd., 2017

The dichotomy of the market location on the foreshore and the city center

Dewata Seuwwae that was in the pre-Islamic era, the existence of the market in the city center was impossible. Due to understanding of the central space as a sanctified space that should not be messed by sellers and buyers activities in the market. So that the location of the market was far from the center of kedatuan as a symbol of government and the axis of space.

The concept of sacred space in Eliade's miracle became something important in the old city. The ancient city knew the cosmic axis or Eliade's theory called it *axis mundi* (Nelson, 2006). But in the colonial era, market presence was possible in the city center space area. (IM, personal communication, July 14, 2018).

Nas (1986) in Wijono (2011) sees that the coastal city functions as a market that accommodates ethnic communities in groups as a result of concentrating traders in the city. The concept of *nggunung* and *ngare* in Wijono's dissertation means that the city functions as a connecting city for product exchange among regions. *Ngare* represented a beach while *nggunung* represented an inland. In line with the cosmographical city of Palopo which has city territory between the mountain and the coast.

Table 1.1 Table of findings on ethnosemiotic meanings in the downtown area

Objects	Meaning of ethnosemiotics	Semiotics
		Meanings
Placemarket	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trade Symbol • Prone to lies • Natural wealth Symbol 	Economics Space
Palace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government Symbol • Sacred Symbol 	Authority Space
mosque	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Holy Symbol 	Religious space
Alun-alun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Community Symbol 	Social space

Source: The result of the analysis, 2018

Toriaja means that the people who live in the mountains are sub entis Luwu which later becomes the word Toraja. Toraja geographical location is on the mountain and plateau while Palopo is on the lowland and coastal areas. This location indicating that the evolution of exchange activity place in Palopo started from the coast. Two important ports become socio-spatial signals, namely Tanjung Ringgit port and the fish auction market (figure 1.2).

The community activities on the waterfront reflected the market as fish auction market which locates on the edge of the platform and boat dock - fishing boats lean. The beach as an economic function is near from the *gadding* old village. The sea or ocean is a representation of *toddang toja* as the lower layer of Luwu cosmology.

The meaning of the ethnosemiotics method can identify Luwu cosmology that can be understood from the nature of its parts. The old market as a symbol of the economy is an inseparable part of the palace as a symbol of the government that organize it. However, the religius aspect as a balance power and a certain regular time dimension as a reminder of every interaction of the economy and government. Likewise the landscape of *watampare* can be understood from the overall dynamics (the complete dynamic of Luwu). The effort of market sites conservation as part of the historical urban landscape by related institutions was the dynamics that arise. In harmony with the process of transferability of research to findings. Political identification in producing sacred space has been carried out by Van Der Leeuw in four categories. One of them is maintaining the boundaries of protected sanctuaries (Shmueli, Collins-Kreiner, & Gal, 2014). *Watampare* landscape as a purified space that is worth conserving.

Conclusion

The market site is related to cultural heritage buildings that are centralized in the core of the city. Palopo as a traditional spatial concept that is more environmentally friendly and cultural heritage. This is in accordance with the 'spirit of place' (*genius loci*) in the city center space of Palopo.

The location of the old market had changed in every period of civilization. Pre-Islamic era, the location of the market was on the seashore of Ringgit Headland area until fish auction market area. The indicators that signal the existence of the

market namely an old village (*gaddong*), the comparison of coastal cities in the archipelago, and the absence of a market as a potential place for negative symbols to be existed in a sanctified space. In the era of Islamic market, it was physically possible at the traditional city core space because of the presence of an intermediate space (namely *alun-alun*) and religious symbols (Jami Mosque). The intermediate space as a territorial boundary to distinguish the nature of space while Jami mosque as a counterweight due to the deviation of behavior in the sale and purchase transaction. In the next period there was a harmonization of the site from *alun-alun* became a garden city as one of the forms of colonial existence in arranging the city center space (*Watampare*). In the Dutch era, the market was in the center of the city to ease the supervision function of the colonial government towards community activities.

Triggering to review the cultural heritage of historical urban landscape that became the old market site. That was to avoid the homogenization of the face of the city space so that it can create the identity and identity of the city.

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