



Original Research

Aluk Todolo: The Journey of Puang Matua's Wisdom from Dormancy to Revival

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Abstract: This article traces the journey of *Puang Matua's* wisdom as a local religion from dormancy to revival in the digital era, thus becoming a universal guideline for the Toraja people in maintaining harmony, balance, conformity, and peace between the cosmos and society. *Aluk Todolo* is the ancestral religion of the Toraja ethnic group, which developed from a belief that the Toraja people came from heaven. Its concepts and teachings are not just in the understanding of epistemology but have become a mindset, behavior, and relationship with others, nature, and the Creator affecting society today. Those concepts are the life patterns that allow the Toraja people to worship the ancestral spirits, which *Puang Matua* (God the Highest) instructed. This understanding inherits knowledge and instructions for the Toraja people to carry out ceremonies in worshipping *Puang Matua* and ancestral spirits as the contents of dogma in the rites and rituals of *Aluk Todolo*. This study has been carried out using the sociology of religion approach by accessing primary sources: books, journal articles, academic writings, and old manuscripts. The study shows that digitalized people return to traditional religious values as their foothold to compromise their lives. This article concludes that indigenous religion, culture, and digital ethics reinforce each other.

Keywords: *Aluk Todolo, Puang Matua, Puang Matua's Wisdom, Indigenous Religion*

Introduction

Aluk Todolo is the local religion of the Toraja people in the Southern part of Sulawesi in Indonesia. This religion forms the teachings and belief that the Toraja people come from the sky. According to Kobong (2008), *Aluk* is a religion or custom, while *Todolo* is the first. Therefore, *Aluk Todolo* means ancestral rules. This belief places *Puang Matua* as the name of the Creator who revealed *Pong Bura Langi* as the name of the first human to descend from heaven to earth among Toraja (Tumanan and Timu 2023). *Puang Matua's* role in shaping the behavior of the Toraja people creates an epistemological framework for guidance, teachings, and dogma and building relationships between humans, nature, and the Creator in the era of digital society (Rumbi et al. 2022). This understanding is triggered by two important societal points: religion and digitalization. The presence of Christianity created competition with *Aluk Todolo* to control human behavior in society, both in rituals and rites (Sumarto and Anggu 2010). Moreover, digital growth in society liberalizes human behavior in social life (Suryamodjo et al. 2022). Therefore, these two triggers provide an understanding of *Aluk*

Todolo's journey from dormancy to revival as a local religion to become a symbol of society in the digital era.

Christianity in Toraja influenced Aluk Todolo's beliefs to mutate through the teachings and way of life of the Toraja people in society. The development of theological foundations from Christianity provided space for Aluk Todolo to respond to social construction through rites and rituals (Sumarto and Anggu 2010). The existence of Christianity forms a work ethic and spirituality in building teachings and dogmas for human salvation based on faith. Christianity teaches humility and the personal calling as the key to the mysticism and asceticism concept of salvation through Jesus Christ (Zabaev and Prutskova 2019). The influence of understanding the ethos, dogma, and way of life of Christians provides space for Aluk Todolo's religious practices, which rub against institutions, social structures, ideologies, classes, and society that are formed to evolve. Therefore, Aluk Todolo, through the role of Puang Matua, influences thought patterns, attitudes, behavior, and life order through rituals that were developed in the face of the influence of the presence of Christianity (Pabebang et al. 2022). Furthermore, the influence of Puang Matua in instructing the *Rambu Solo* rite (meaning ceremonial worship of ancestral spirits), as a guarantee of balance between the cosmos and society, is to build harmony, balance, harmony, and peace, which is the order of teaching dogma for Toraja society. As a result, Puang Matua builds communication of trust with the Toraja people as an order, instruction, and teaching as well as a way of life for the Toraja people in the era of digitalization.

Digitalization development has allowed Puang Matua to place his teachings as guidance, instruction, and social behavior rules for Aluk Todolo followers. The growth of the Internet of Things gives people the freedom to access all information via the devices they own without limits (Tzafestas 2018). This concept of freedom eliminates ethical principles not taught by digitalization as guidelines and rules for ethical behavior in society (Djari and Heriyawan 2022). As a further, the impact of globalization, which is the growing of information technology, influences the way of thinking on religion. In this way, Onuoha and Odeke (Onuoha and Odeke 2020) argue that globalization—a forming one world—deteriorates the value of religious ethical conduct to the world of secularism. Therefore, the growth of digitalization needs to teach the application of ethics in human thought patterns, attitudes, and behavior in society. Moreover, this void in the realm of behavioral ethics provides space for Puang Matua to build direction in rituals and rites to educate people in behaving in society in Aluk Todolo (Stefanus Sapri 2022). The example of offering buffalo as a sacrifice is a teaching of Puang Matua to cleanse oneself from sins for the Toraja people (Handayani et al. 2020). As a result, Puang Matua's wisdom has become a universal guideline for the Toraja people, and it is followed to this day. Aluk Todolo's journey experiences a metamorphosis process from a local religion to a universal religion in Toraja.

The two triggers place Aluk Todolo's shift from dormancy to revival in the digital era by emphasizing Puang Matua's wisdom. Aluk Todolo's shift in the ceremony of invoking land

fertility by sacrificing buffalo has been researched by Putra et al. (2023). Sumarto and Anggu (2010) explained that contextualizing Christian theological beliefs with Aluk Todolo opens the dialogue for synergy in building an understanding of teaching. Furthermore, research has shown that the collective shame of the Toraja people is equivalent to the spiritual shame in the biblical theology of sin (Rumbi et al. 2022), as well as the Toraja people's philosophy of life grounded in the union of theology and culture (Stefanus Sapri 2022). In addition, the union between theology and *Solo* (meaning "ceremony") signs has resulted in syncretism and considers the role of Christian theology in culture (Pabebang et al. 2022). Darius and Zaluchu's research (2023) emphasizes that Puang Matua, through contextualization, has experienced a shift as a concept of God Almighty (YHWH). Other international local religions, such as Shinto in Japan (Ugoretz 2022), *Bangwa* in Cameroon (Ndemanu 2018), and *Akan* in Ghana (Cha 2024), have their own local wisdom to guide the community to be religious in their behaviors. However, the abovementioned research is yet to uncover Aluk Todolo's shift from dormancy to revival in the perspective of Puang Matua's wisdom as a local religion to guide the behavior and attitudes of the Toraja people in the era of digitalization. The international local religions differ from the Aluk Todolo in that they seek God as the guide for societal attitudes and behaviors. Therefore, the current study aims to contribute that *Puang Matua's* wisdom for the Toraja people is guidance, teaching, dogma, and epistemology of life to maintain a balanced pattern between the micro and macro cosmos to shape societal attitudes and behaviors. Wiryadinata (2024) states that the digital society looks for local values and endeavors for an epistemological return to the local religious wisdom as a guiding light that helps navigate life because digitalization does not teach these values. Furthermore, the argument put forth in the present article is that indigenous values as local wisdom have shifted from static to dynamic teaching through indigenous beliefs and practices in Torajan society in the digital age.

Method

Three sections have been devoted to support and answer the preceding argument. First, this article explains the construction of Puang Matua in the Aluk Todolo religion. This construction builds Puang Matua's teachings in the life of the Toraja people, such as behaving and acting by nature and ancestral teachings as a dogma of life. Second, the article deals with how Puang Matua's wisdom has been implemented in the life of Toraja society. This implementation has become a strong guide for Toraja people everywhere, and they must return to Toraja land when humans die. This teaching determines the social stratification with regard to the number of buffalo offered as sacrifices. Third, the article draws on how the journey of Puang Matua's wisdom from dormancy to revival has impacted Toraja society in the digital era. The absence of teaching religious values in the digital era provides a large space for society to return to indigenous beliefs and practices through rituals and rites. Therefore,

this study uses a sociology of religion approach with critical thinking, seeking an emic perspective (Thomson 2020). This study does not rely on empirical data but on data from literature such as books, journal articles, academic writing, and old manuscripts. As a result, this approach traces the journey of construction of Puang Matua's wisdom from dormancy to revival in logical and critical thinking.

Discussion

A Construction of Puang Matua's Wisdom in Aluk Todolo

The central figure of Puang Matua in Aluk Todolo provides space for people to reflect on their love for the Creator. The self-existence of Puang Matua is an understanding of the belief and existence of Puang Matua as the Creator, Sustainer, and Entertainer of the universe and its contents (Tangdilitin 1991). This understanding puts Puang Matua down on Pong Bura Langi as the first human to come down to earth, so the Toraja people's mythology is that their ancestors came from the sky. In addition, the descent of the first people brought *aluk sola pemali* (meaning "rules of life and its sanctions"), providing space for people to behave toward each other and God (Bustan et al. 2023). Supported by research, Sandarupa (2015) explains that Puang Matua gave two main teachings, namely, *aluk sanda pitunna* (meaning "rule of all sevens") and *aluk sanda parabus* (meaning "rule of all one hundred"). These two teachings regulate the relationship between social and religious life, becoming teachings and a space for reflection for Toraja society. Therefore, the central figure of Puang Matua provides the space of epistemology of interpretation that is a form of awareness and obedience to comply with the laws and rules of *Puang Matua* as stated in the *aluk sola pemali* (Tumanan and Timu 2023). Furthermore, the concept of Puang Matua in Torajan culture builds a belief system through elements of religion, law, and custom as a reflection of love for *Puang Matua*.

The decline of rules for Toraja society through Puang Matua formed social stratification and wisdom. Puang Matua's role in social life influences the formation of four social stratifications for the Toraja people. Tangdilitin (1991) describes the four social classes as *Tana' Bulaan* (meaning "high nobility society"), *Tana' Bassi* (meaning "middle nobility society"), *Tana' Karurung* (meaning "common people"), and *Tana' Kua-Kua* (meaning "servant"). The stratification of class division depends on the family's title, so *Tana' Kua-Kua*, as the lowest class, serves the high and middle nobility (Rapa 2021). This concept has implications for behavior in rituals and religious rites in offering buffalo as a form of balance between the macro and micro cosmos in life (Kobong 2008). Furthermore, the social layers influence the lives of the Toraja people in terms of relationships, marriage, death ceremonies, and traditional government in Aluk Todolo. Therefore, Puang Matua, through Aluk Todolo as Wisdom, applies religious and social rules to shape the sustainability of the cosmos and society in the life of the Toraja people.

The way of life of the Toraja people places *Puang Matua's* wisdom in the form of culture in Aluk Todolo. Toraja people have a high sense of shame regarding violations that occur in society because they believe such violations result in an imbalance in the cosmos (Rumbi et al. 2022). Moreover, the role of Puang Matua through *aluk sola pemali* (meaning “rules of life and its sanctions”) makes Toraja people maintain their thoughts, feelings, and practices in society and makes *aluk sola pemali* a reference for all actions and behavior. The wisdom of Puang Matua in Aluk Todolo is a cornerstone in the epistemology of religious reflection in all actions to maintain the balance of the cosmos (Suryamodjo et al. 2022). Therefore, the violation of Aluk Todolo is damaging relationships with Puang Matua and others. This point of view creates forgiveness ceremonies in the cultural rites of Aluk Todolo, determined by Puang Matua (Handoyo 2022). This understanding provides space for every violation to emphasize religious violations against the Toraja cultural point of view. In addition, sanctions against violations are not punishment but restoring wrongdoing in Torajan culture through Puang Matua's wisdom (Suryamodjo et al. 2022).

The transcendence of Puang Matua's wisdom has become an immanent cultural custom in Aluk Todolo. Puang Matua's wisdom is based on mythology circulating in society as a guide to the Torajan way of life and the formation of society within it. Torajan beliefs form the concept that the spirits of the dead still live in the mortal world and can communicate with the living (Nur et al. 2021). Furthermore, the shift in the transcendence of Puang Matua's wisdom to immanent cultural custom in the Aluk Todolo is reflected in the concept of *tongkonan* (meaning “a traditional house of Toraja people”) as a shared house between the living and the dead (Wong et al. 2022). This *tongkonan* places the meeting and conversation room as a social and worship space between the deceased spirit and the living. According to Shelley (2020), the meeting between the sacred and the profane creates the function of interworldly exchange through the divine power. This analysis demonstrates the sacramentality of belief, which combines religious rites and rituals. The cultural form in Aluk Todolo provides space for a shift from transcendence to immanence. Therefore, the philosophy that forms this shift in Puang Matua's wisdom occurs socially and religiously in life in Aluk Todolo. Therefore, these two things cannot be separated and mutually reinforce each other as a unified concept, both natural and supernatural. In this concept, the unity of belief in rituals and rites forms a paradigm shift from transcendence to the immanence of Puang Matua's wisdom in the culture of the Toraja people in Aluk Todolo.

An Implementation of *Puang Matua's* Wisdom in Society

The shift from transcendence to immanence creates space for *Puang Matua's* wisdom in the Rambu Solo (meaning “ceremonial worship of ancestral spirits”) ceremony. The religious ritual of Rambu Solo is an important ceremony for Aluk Todolo followers to send the spirits to eternity to live with their ancestors in *Puya* or Heaven (Adams 1984). Puang Matua's

instructions for the concept of this ceremony are to offer a specified number of buffalo to make it easier for the spirits to go to heaven. According to Handayani et al. (2020), the level of luxury and the number of types of buffalo offered are symbols of social status and wealth. They are metaphors for the vehicle to heaven by the deceased spirits. Furthermore, presenting a buffalo with luxury guarantees trust for the deceased spirit to enter the puya (meaning “heaven”) and transform into a *puang* (god) in the afterlife and bless the family and the Toraja people (Buijs 2006). Therefore, the role of Puang Matua in his wisdom in a sociohistorical context becomes the common sense of ideological death for Toraja society through the understanding of heaven, hell, and animal sacrifices. This understanding places Puang Matua’s wisdom from a symbolic marker of the status of nobility to a shared ethnic identity in Toraja society (Adams 1993). In addition, Puang Matua developed symbols, religious ideas, and cosmological concepts in Aluk Todolo that interact with culture. This understanding aligns with Anggraeni and Putri’s research (2021), explaining that Rambu Solo symbolically conveys prayers for protection, glorifying ancestors, and the dead’s souls are accepted in heaven (Wikandatu et al. 2022). The Rambu Solo symbol shifts the meaning of transcendence to the space of immanence in the behavioral patterns of the Toraja people in respecting the dead.

Puang Matua’s role in shaping the behavior of the Toraja people created the *Tallu Lolona* (meaning three friends: God, humans, and animals) concept in social interaction in Aluk Todolo. Tallu Lolona is a character for the Toraja people in building social interactions with God, humans, and animals (Stefanus Sapri 2022). The values built by Tallu Lolona became the life values of the Toraja people, which served as a basis for unity, ethics, and respect for social interaction. This life pattern creates the Toraja people’s character in raising livestock and plants, which are brought into rituals for Puang Matua (Palebangan 2007). In addition, Tallu Lolona in Aluk Todolo places the value of respecting Puang Matua as respect in protecting and preserving nature. This value of respect means that the Toraja people’s relationship with the cosmos must be well maintained so that the peace and balance of the cosmos provide blessings to the Toraja people (Sandarupa et al. 2016). Therefore, the Tallu Lolona concept has three life values, namely, Lola Tau (meaning shoot of human life), Lolo Patuan (meaning “shoot of life of domestic animals”), and Lolo Tanaman (meaning “shoot of plant life”), which lives in Toraja society (Sandarupa 2015). These three understandings shape the character of the Toraja people in their management utilization and synergy in Aluk Todolo’s religious values.

The Aluk Todolo belief also places offerings to Puang Matua as thanksgiving in the *Rambu Tuka* (meaning “a ceremony for thanksgiving”) ceremony. The ceremony aims to express gratitude for Puang Matua’s kindness in harvesting and inauguration traditional houses and weddings (Novita et al. 2022). Furthermore, Rambu Tuka is understood as a request for blessing and salvation to Puang Matua according to the teachings of Aluk Todolo. This belief is based on the belief that the worshipped Puang Matua can save Toraja people in the afterlife (Sudarsi et al. 2019). This understanding can be seen in the Rambu Tuka

ceremony as an expression of behavioral patterns in the Amarak concept, namely, the worship of Puang Matua for death feasts, thanksgiving for wealth, the inauguration of ancestral spirits who become *Tomembali Puang* (gods), and completion of the construction of traditional houses (Surur 2018). Moreover, the Rambu Tuka ceremony is accompanied by the *Manimbong* dance, in which men with rhythmic musical instruments convey communication and expressions of gratitude to Puang Matua (Kobong 2008). These two elements (Rambu Tuka and Manimbong dance) reinforce each other in forming the Toraja people's mindset as respect for the harmony of community norms to form a symbolic offering to Allah Most High. Therefore, Puang Matua's role in the Rambu Tuka ceremony is to build people based on reason and taste who produce dynamic material and spiritual moves through the times as an expression of gratitude.

Appreciation and respect for the family who died in the *Ma'Nene* (meaning "respecting the death") ceremony implement *Puang Matua's* wisdom in society. The Ma'Nene tradition forms a pattern of praxis as respect and love for family members who have died by replacing and cleaning the bodies of people who have died (Haryeni Tamin et al. 2021). This tradition is mandatory for the Toraja people to remember their ancestors or family and introduce young members to their ancestors. The concept of connecting with fellow family members places Aluk Todolo's teachings at the heart of social roles in society. The Ma'Nene ceremony, carried out between August and early September, involves changing the corpse's old clothes with new ones, cleaning the *paten* (where the body is stored), and replacing the grave door (Sandarupa 2014). This ritual spans for a period of five days, during which dressing the corpse in new clothes falls on the fourth day. Besides the purpose of introducing the ancestors to young members, this ceremony signifies asking the ancestors to keep the plantation in good condition during August (the summer season) (Surur 2018). In line with Aluk Todolo's understanding, Puang Matua, as the Creator of humans, the universe, and everything in it, is an actor who maintains balance and order within a set of norms in Toraja society (Novita et al. 2022). Therefore, the Ma'Nene tradition not only signifies a form of love for the dead but helps maintain brotherly relationships as a pattern of praxis in implementing the wisdom of *Puang Matua* for the Toraja people.

The Movement of Puang Matua's Wisdom as an Impact on Digital Society

The existence of Puang Matua's wisdom and its regulations become the guidelines for actions that are manifested in community activities. Aufa (2017) explains that the teachings and instructions of life are the result of society's collective thinking. In addition, this concept and principle place the value and role of Puang Matua's wisdom as an application of life guidance for today's Toraja people. The form of value and role of Puang Matua's wisdom becomes a cultural ritual and community activity in social institutions in providing a person's identity and social position in Toraja society (Abialtar et al. 2023). Therefore, a person's position in

the community becomes influential in the collective rituals of Rambu Solo and Rambu Tuka. Wikandatu et al. (2022) emphasizes that habits that are rooted and continue to grow as a collective memory make a culture a form of respect for ancestors. This understanding provides space in the culture of the Toraja people for Rambu Solo and Rambu Tuka as the most crucial beliefs in Torajan human life. It places them in an important social community to this day (Putra et al. 2023). This situation makes the Toraja people's understanding of respecting culture a blessing in the next generation's success. Hence, carrying out customs is the fruit of Aluk Todolo's belief in building the lifestyle of the Toraja people.

Cultures such as Rambu Solo and Rambu Tuka have been transformed from the concept of cultural practices into a religious structure in the community of Toraja. The culture that prioritizes the concept of symbols as traditions, customs, and ritual practices has developed an identity that interacts with cosmological and religious concepts so that culture becomes the ideology of life in Toraja society (Sandarupa 2015). In addition, the Aluk Todolo religion has a big role in shaping ritual practice as a habitus internalized in a structured manner in actions for the Toraja people. Moreover, *Puang Matua*, in regulating Torajan human life, lowered the legal requirements to be obeyed in social life. Tumanan and Timu (2023) explain that *aluk sanda pitunna* (meaning "seven points of law") provides guidance and direction for Toraja society with dimensions of divinity, humanity, animals, plants, and nature. The seven laws are *Pangke'i tu totumampamu* (meaning "respect your Creator"), *Da'ammu sapakki deata* (meaning "do not blaspheme the gods"), *Kamasei tu padammu ma'rupa tau* (meaning "have mercy on your fellow human beings"), *Da'ammu maili* (meaning "do not be jealous"), *Da'ammu bala'-bala' patuoan* (meaning "do not torture animals"), *Dan'ammu bala'-bala' tanaman* (meaning "do not damage plants"), and *Pekalangkai'i tu tonduk muni tuo balo'* (meaning "uphold the area where you live") as teachings for Toraja society with the consequences of punishment if it violates (Panggara 2015). Therefore, Bakker (1984) states that religion, culture, and law are social engineering that create a way of life and design for living through thought patterns and behavior to form a certain society. Furthermore, *Puang Matua* in *Aluk Todolo* creates a religious community structure through direction, guidance, and teaching for the Toraja people from dormancy to revival.

Puang Matua's role in Aluk Todolo inspired the concept of the ideology of death amid digital Toraja society. Subagya (2005) and Silverman et al. (2021), in anthropological studies, stated that the concept of death is the beginning of what they believe and negates that death is the final destination of a person's extinction and the destruction of their body. *Puang Matua* supports this concept in Aluk Todolo that social healing in death rituals symbolizes behavior toward death through understanding societal beliefs (Wikandatu et al. 2022). This understanding of belief is a collective individual event that has a social impact on the culture of Toraja society, which is influenced by the presence of religious teachings (Subagya 2005). Furthermore, this social impact creates a specific ideology toward death in the dogma and teachings of Aluk Todolo toward people who die. Therefore, social interactions between

individuals and their communities in daily life place the ideology of death as a person's identity and status in society. Borrowing Durkheim's functional theory (1995), death rituals play a role as a means for social groups to renew social values and build solidarity in the ideology of death as a collective representation. This collective representation builds a sense of loss and eternity as a symbol for self-expression, communication, and reflection on life (Silverman et al. 2021). This understanding places the Toraja people's confidence in having a goal and living against death as the ideology of death among Toraja people.

The influence of Puang Matua's wisdom transforms Toraja Christians into dialogue with the culture that has taken root throughout their lives. The transformation of Aluk Todolo in Puang Matua's wisdom places the cultural values among the Toraja people as integrated values of life (Ustorf 2008). Darius and Zaluchu (2023) show that the integration between culture and religion should not deteriorate the customs but serve as an understanding of cross-cultural communication. In this way, the values of Puang Matua's wisdom in the lives of Toraja people provide a way for discourse dialogue between culture and religion to place religious teachings and texts into the existing culture as intercultural dialogue (Plaiser 2016). Therefore, Toraja Christians place Aluk Todolo culture as communication to maintain Toraja cultural values in Christian values. Rapa' (2021) emphasizes that the discourse dialogue between Toraja culture and Christian teachings is the hybridity that maintains Aluk Todolo cultural values as the identity of the Toraja people and Christian values as the identity of the Christian community. For Bhaba (1994), this meeting space is a third space for the same values between culture and religion to be translated back into the elementary form. In this way, local religious values can explain Christian values as long as they have similar theological values. In the case of Puang Matua in Aluk Todolo, the culture of the Toraja people was adopted by the Christian community to uphold Rambu Solo and Rambu Tuka as an expression of gratitude to Allah the Almighty.

According to Durkheim (1995), the function of religion in society is based on beliefs and rites to integrate society into a moral order through sacred rituals. The Aluk Todolo tradition handed down by Puang Matua has become a daily routine, ceremony, and ritual as the center of Torajan culture regardless of their background. The Aluk Todolo tradition places family and social ties as a way of life to appreciate Puang Matua's goodness (Bigalke 2005). In this way, the Rambu Solo and Rambu Tuka ceremonies have become sacred rituals for the Toraja people, symbolizing integration between culture and religion through beliefs and rites. Therefore, the journey of Puang Matua's wisdom from dormancy to revival as the local religion of the Toraja people has become a universal value in everyday life in maintaining a cosmic balance, harmony, and peace in Toraja society.

Conclusion

This article concludes that indigenous religious beliefs and practices are not obsolete but still relevant and compatible in shaping human thought patterns, attitudes, and behaviors in the current digital era. Changes in other forms still make people adhere to their beliefs without changing their cultural and religious values. This shows that traditional religious beliefs and practices are always relevant for the philosophical values of society in modern times. Therefore, traditional philosophies have never been abandoned by modern humans but have become a way of life. This study's implication is the awareness of religious integration in the heart of culture to shape societal behaviors and attitudes in the era of digitalization. This awareness is part of the journey of indigenous religious practice, which integrates into the cultural elements of society today. This research would aid in building an ethical framework that could serve as a guide in promoting the values of responsibility and respect in the digital space. Thus, Puang Matua's wisdom in Aluk Todolo's religion is exemplary of how the intersection between religion, culture, and digital ethics is essential in the digital era and how they strengthen each other.

Limitation and Further Research

This article's limitation lies with the literature research, which relied on assessing the contents of books, journal articles, academic writings, and old manuscripts on Aluk Todolo through critical thinking. This limitation affects the natural picture of Aluk Todolo as the indigenous religion and the actual value of some rituals and rites in Aluk Todolo. In this way, the literature research also affects the natural manifestation of Aluk Todolo, which may not be the same if a different methodology were used. Apart from that, the theoretical framework the author used for this research also imposes limitations. One of them is that the use of literature restricts the development of a theoretical framework from the natural manifestation of Aluk Todolo to expand the existing theory. Thus, further research using empirical data through an ethnographic approach to picture Aluk Todolo as naturally as possible is warranted, thereby situating the same study in a new context, which would generate results different from those obtained in the current study.

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Conflict of Interest

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

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