

The Future of Hindu Alukta in Tana Toraja Post-Integration with the Hindu Religion

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Received: 07-07-2023; Revised: 11-10-2023; Accepted: 05-12-2023

DOI: 10.31291/hn.v12i2.710

Abstract

This research is based on the current situation after many Aluk Todolo believers were integrated with Hinduism. Over time, this integration experienced many obstacles and challenges. The new name resulting from integration, namely Hindu Alukta, does not eliminate the stigma and stereotypes associated with local religion and adherents of animism. To examine the future challenges that they face after integrating with Hinduism, this research uses qualitative methods with an in-depth interview technique with key informants, direct observation at the location, and the study of documents from various existing sources. Employing the Practice Theory framework from Bourdieu, this study found that the challenge that Hindu Alukta adherents faced is largely capital (which sourced from structural supports). This is because structurally, the government, in this case the Ministry of Religious Affairs, especially the Directorate General of Hindu Community Guidance, has not been able to serve and guide them optimally. The Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Province of South Sulawesi, especially the Hindu Community Advisors are not capable enough to provide post-integration services and guidance. Culturally, those are rooted from the local belief of Aluk Todolo, experienced struggles as adherents of the official religion (Hinduism).

Keywords: Post-Integration, Hindu Alukta, Aluk Todolo, Tana Toraja

Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji situasi terkini dimana penganut Aluk Todolo digabungkan ke dalam agama Hindu. Seiring waktu, penggabungan ini mengalami banyak tantangan dan kendala. Nama baru dari ajaran ini (paska penggabungan) adalah Hindu Alukta masih mengundang stigma dan stereotip yang lekat dengan kepercayaan animism. Untuk membahas tantangan-tantangan yang dialami oleh pemeluk Hindu Alukta setelah bergabung dengan Hindu, penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan teknik wawancara mendalam dengan informan kunci, observasi langsung di lokasi dan studi dokumen dari berbagai sumber. Dengan menggunakan Practice Theory dari Bourdieu, penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa tantangan terbesar bagi penganut Hindu Alukta adalah permasalahan kapital (berupa dukungan struktural). Hal ini dikarenakan secara struktural, pemerintah melalui Kementerian Agama khususnya Direktorat Jenderal Bimbingan Masyarakat Hindu belum mampu melayani dan membina penganut Hindu Alukta ini secara maksimal. Kementerian Agama Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, khususnya Pembimbing Umat Hindu belum mampu memberikan layanan dan pembinaan paska integrasi. Secara budaya, penganut Hindu Alukta yang berakar dari kepercayaan lokal Aluk Todolo, mengalami perjuangan keras sebagai penganut agama resmi (Hindu).

Kata kunci: Paska Integrasi, Hindu Alukta, Aluk Todolo, Tana Toraja

Introduction

Hinduism has entered and influenced many parts of Indonesia since the early century AD, Hindu influence existed, especially when Hinduism first spread from East Kalimantan, West Java, and at its culmination in Java when Hindu kingdoms were in power (Soekmono, 1973), including Tana Toraja. In Tana Toraja, Hindu Alukta was found, and it was a kind of local from Aluk Todolo believers.

Hindu Alukta which is dominant in Tana Toraja Regency and North Tana Toraja Regency is often stigmatized as animism, even called infidels. Since 1969 they transformed into Hinduism. Similar to Hindu Alukta, almost all local religions generally begin

with a life of worshipping mystical objects. This is also in line with the assumption of anthropologists who state that the development of religion began from animism and then developed towards dynamism, and then experienced development by the divinity of major religions in the world. What was interesting then was first, how the Aluk Todolo people in 1969, through indigenous figures and institutions, consciously and without pressure joined the Hindu religion, and second, how they were able to transform that Hindu influence into an officially recognized religion.

Although there were many references to Tana Toraja, there were mainly written by non-Hindu authors, especially from Christian circles (Sarira, 1996; Lebang, 2011; Tulak, 2009; Pelebangan, 2007; Sitonda, 2007; Liku-Ada', 2014), so these books need to be studied in depth, for example, to determine the validity of the data, the information bias, and the ideological mission contained therein. Or indeed, there is no Hindu influence at all in Tana Toraja.

Regarding some notes above, this research was also informed by research findings conducted by the Center for Religious Life, the Ministry of Religious Affairs Research and Development and Training Agency, which were recorded in 2014 on *Dinamika Agama Lokal di Indonesia*. This book explains that there are still many local religions that are adhered to by most Indonesians. These local religions are still alive, and based on Constitutional Court Decision Number 97/PUU-XIV/2016 (MK Decision 97/2016), they are included as "beliefs" (Ind: Penghayat Kepercayaan). Although the terms "official religion" and "belief adherents" are still a tough discussion, what is more important is how they have survived to this day and how their existence can still

be legally recognized by the state through a column in personal identity. This acknowledgment is very important because, as Nowak (2005: 414) says, these groups are converts, and discriminated..

In this research, the term Hindu Alukta will be consistently used because this name has received agreement from several parties, namely the government, traditional institutions, and Aluk Todolo leaders, although the term Hindu Alukta has also become vulnerable to criticism, even making fun of the Aluk Todolo people. Given its long history, the term Hindu Alukta still be used, unless the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Directorate General of Hindu Guidance representing the State has another policy as to whether to maintain or change the term Hindu Alukta. This name selection is an identity which is a product of both historical and cultural influences, reflecting a society where traditions and shared history play a significant role in shaping contemporary relationships and perceptions (Arsanti & Böhme, 2018).

Another reason why the term Hindu Alukta is used by the author is that the mentions of Hindu Aluk Todolo will get resistance because the Aluk Todolo people have become many adherents of Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam, and they consider it has no connection with Hinduism. The term Alukta Hinduism is considered biased because it states Hinduism is the ancestral religion of the Aluk Todolo people. This research also did not use the name the Hindu Tana Toraja because not all Tana Toraja people embraced Hinduism.

Therefore, this study will focus on describing how, after adhering to Hindu Alukta for a long time and experiencing various dynamics, they still survive in the midst of the existence of other people, especially Christians, Catholics, and Muslims who dominate Tana Toraja. The presence of Dutch missionaries in the past, especially during colonization, has made the map of the people change quite significantly.

Literatur Review

The future of Hindu Alukta after integration with Hinduism is very important to explore for some reasons. Several studies with local religious databases have been carried out, especially with the Research and Development Center for Religious Affairs, the Research and Development Agency, and Learning Department of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, but have not discussed Aluk Todolo thoroughly because the research conducted by Hakim (2007) only reached the outermost layer. Baturante's (2019) research is considered qualified because apart from being detailed, it is also rich in data, but from the beginning, he did not specialize in discussing Hindu Alukta. Strengthening Baturante, this study also used some literature in the form of manuscripts, literature, and folklore that are still in Tana Toraja language (Sande, 1989; Palimbong, tt; Mangolo, 2016; Sarira, 2000; Manta', 2011; Balalembang, 2007). Here are some studies that still have proximity to this study.

Suhanah ([ed] 2014), through the monograph "Dinamika Agama Lokal di Indonesia," presented a collection of research results on local religions existing in Indonesia conducted by researchers at Puslitbang Religious Life. At least seven local religions were

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researched, among them the Merapu religion or belief in Sumba, Nusa Tenggara East; Mount Halimun in Sukabumi, western Java; Sunda Wiwitan Baduy tribe in Kenekes Village, Lebak, Banten; Islam Wetu Telu in Bayan, Northern Lombok, Western Nusa Tenggara; Circuit Road Trip Stream in Ciparay District, Bandung District, West Java; Buhun Orang Kranggan, Jati Sampurna, Bekasi City, West Jawa; and Society of Dukuh Inner Village in Ciroyom Village, Cikelet District, Garut District. Unfortunately, this book has limitations so that not all local beliefs in Indonesia can be told, including Aluk Todolo.

The results of the study are methodologically similar to what the researcher do when describing detailed field data because they were originally meant as qualitative descriptive research. But what distinguishes it is that, if in the monograph the field data is still raw, in this study a construction of the meaning of what is happening in the field will be made. That is, fixed field data will be interpreted by existing theories; even in some sub-chapters, critical theories will be associated with research to determine the position of research. In addition to different presentations and discussions, this research will complement the lack of monograph books, as further research is still needed to study the local religions that are still alive and scattered in Indonesia.

Rosidi's research, covered in "Sadhar Mapan di Kota Surakarta: Merawat Harmoni Kehidupan dengan Pelayanan dan Spiritualitas" in Segara ([ed], 2017), tells of the researchers' efforts to search for traditional aspects of the Hindu religion that they saw in a community called Sadhar Mapan in Surakarta. This community in the administration calls itself Hindu, but in practice, it still pursues

the tradition of Kejawen. At the same time, they do not want to be regarded as supporters of local beliefs and religions. Rosidi's research is still unable to discuss the internal dynamics experienced by Sadhar Mapan belief in depth. This article seems to only explain Sadhar Mapan belief only on the surface.

Once again, Rosidi, who, because of the initial purpose of his research, only revealed the traditional dimensions of Hinduism, has not been able to explore how this Mapan Sadhar transformed, whether to become Hindu as Hindu in Indonesia in general or to allow the community to only be Hindu administratively. However, this research is very important to serve as an inspiration because there are still many local religions that have not been revealed through research. Research on Hindu Alukta by concept has a commonality and even a quite significant contribution from this research, especially methodology, to go deeper into the activities carried out by the Sadhar Mapan community that can only be entered by a certain number of people.

Darmapoetra (2013) wrote, "Tolotang. Keteguhan Memegang Tradisi". His research was interesting because he inserted the spirituality of the Bugis, whom he believed were largely influenced in the past by Hindus. Darmapoetra gives many idioms and terms that reflect Hinduism. The Tolotang tribe until now has been divided into two, namely, the Hindu Tolotang tribe and the Islamic Tolotang tribe, but in carrying out the tradition that has already descended from the Middle Ages, the two peoples are united as a large family. The author also describes the beginning of the separation of the two religious followers in this one tribe, which was more influenced by the political conditions at the time.

The author is grateful for Darmapoetra's research because some of the themes in his book have inspired him, mostly how he revealed Hindu history and development in the Bugis tribe and the political influence that was the reason the Tolotang tribe was forced to choose between Hinduism and Islam. Almost the same as Rosidi's research, Darmapoetra's article also does not specifically discuss Tolotang Hinduism in depth. However, with one chapter about the story of the Tolotang people embracing Hinduism, and being the only writing that discusses Tolotang Hinduism, this work can still be used to read the history of the Aluk Todolo people choosing Hinduism as their official religion.

Mahin (2009), in his dissertation entitled "Kaharingan: Dinamika Agama Dayak di Kalimantan Tengah", well describes how Kaharingan, as the native religion of the Central Kalimantan, has experienced so many dynamics. In his book, he questioned the view of Westerners who said that the Dayak religion would be extinct, even though it was considered old and fragile. As a local, Mahin tried to reject and defend his opinion that the Dayak religion is an adaptive, responsive, and long-lasting religion. Even so, he also said that the religious integration of Dayak Kaharingan within the Hindu community is considered incomplete, even though it is formally already integrated as a Hindu. Mahin also described several strategies that the Dayak Kaharingan people used to recognize Buddhism as an official religion and then integrate it with Hinduism. This Mahin's work, especially the Dayak people's strategy to be Kaharingan Hindus, is a strong inspiration to see the Aluk Todolo people doing the same thing to become Alukta Hindus.

Mahin's research inspires how local religion processes a long history full of dynamics. The same thing can be seen in the Aluk Todolo, which was processed for a long time until it eventually became Hindu. Like Mahin, this research will expose the history, existence, and religious activity of the Hindu Alukta. Mahin and this research have in common that transformation, relating to religion, will be filled with dynamics and conflict. As the transformation of local religion into a dynamic mainstream religion, Hindu Alukta is like a land that is not always flat.

The relationship and dynamics of Hindu Alukta with other religions and their views on life are part of the various capitals they own. The modality will be a projection to look at how the future of Hindu Alukta in Tana Toraja. The Practice Theory developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1979) became a critical perspective to uncover the habitus, arenas, and capital that they would use. The distortion of attitudes, actions, and perceptions of people in the real world and the social world, with which the conceptually ideal of the past, will continue to occur and continue to affect the consciousness of people today. Unavoidably, the Hindu Alukta people, through their periphery in choosing a religion, have formed two poles of thought that could seem to contradict each other between subjectivism and objectivism in dualism.

Habitus in relation to the integration of Aluk Todolo into Hindu Alukta is a socialization process that is conducted continuously over a very long time. That socialization was conducted both by traditional leaders and the government through the Ministry of Religion. The habituation process conducted formally and informally has convinced them to choose Hinduism. It does not

stop here, habituation to immerse in the success of integration is even conducted by delivering students to study Hinduism to Bali. They make the process and various dynamics of integration as an invisible battle arena, while the real arena takes place in the lives of the Aluk Todolo people in Tana Toraja.

Contestation in those arenas above often results in conflict, especially when they perceive new religions after Hinduism as threats and fear conversion. With the number of decreasing adherents, they also consider that they have failed to pass on the success of integration to the young generation. However, the arena is not always used as a field for contestation but also for negotiation. For example, Alukta Hindus will treat their relatives who follow other religion in order to be comfortable for celebrating a ritual together by not using pork and alcohol.

They could negotiate with adherents of other religions because they feel they have the same cultural capital as adherents of the Aluk Todolo belief. This cultural capital becomes a bond of fraternity among them. Even several cultural events held by the regional government, such as the Tana Toraja cultural parade, all Aluk Todolo people from any religions will be actively involved in them. The same thing was also found when the Ministry of Religion held forums for religious harmony.

Results and Discussion

The Weak Position of Hindu Alukta among Other Religions

Tana Toraja is hilly, but in some other areas, the lowlands become a unique scenery. There is even an area where the road is uphill and winding like climbing a mountain, but it is sloping at the top.

People call it "the land above the clouds". This area has become an amazing tourist attraction. In Tana Toraja, there are many winding roads with shady trees, giving a different feel when in the middle of them, although the aura of an old land with some local cultural accents feels thick. The left and right sides of the road are decorated with views of Tongkonan traditional houses, combined with rice fields that were verdant at that time. Uniquely, in each plot of rice fields, there are puddles the size of buffaloes or adult *tedong* to play in and bathe in. Makale City is also quite busy, especially because it is the center of city life in Tana Toraja Regency. The center of government as well as the center of business. No doubt, many shops, stalls, and people's houses are lined up tightly. That's a brief overview of Tana Toraja.

The scene also reached the people who inhabit Tana Toraja. They make Tana Toraja a big house together because of the traditions and customs they believe come from the same source. Culturally, they are bound together as Aluk Todolo, who believe in Puang Matua, Deata, and their ancestors. This similarity in customs, traditions, and culture has made them as united as the Tana Toraja people. Baturante (2019) writes long and thick about the harmonious and peaceful lives of the Tana Toraja people, one of which is through Tongkonan. Studies of indigenous communities in various parts of the world reveal that using natural materials in construction is a common theme (Nurjani & Dwijendra, 2020).

Inside this traditional house, life begins, and equality is laid out. Not surprisingly, the Aluk Todolo people who now adhere to any religion can be united in the Tana Toraja culture, although the presence Christian, Catholic, and Islam religions have unique and

different patterns from each other but remain connected to each other. This situation is also recognized by a lead figure of Aluk Todolo, who adheres to the religion of Islam, H. Thamrin Lodo.

Lodo currently works in the Bimas Islam Kankemenag district of Tana Toraja. He was a native of Aluk Todolo, and his family adhered to Islam. However, he still has other large families of Christian, Catholic, and Hindu Alukta. "Until now, we have never had problems with all family members, despite different beliefs," Lodo said, stating that the indigenous ceremonies and Aluk Todolo traditions have united them. According to him, most Muslims are still conducting the Aluk Todolo tradition, however not all of their traditions do, this is because there are some things that should not be done because they do not conform to Islamic teachings, such as believing that ancestors continue to exist in human life, the use of pork in ceremonies, or the consumption of alcohol.

"If we have to donate pork meat, we can replace it with money or other materials, or if we eat together, now we can eat according to halal dishes. In this way, we just get along," said Lodo, he also said that "the historical roots and guidelines of living together that have long been held firm are a factor that makes all Tana Toraja people can be united".

Lodo also said that sensitive issues such as beliefs have decreased, unlike in the 1970s and 1990s when the Aluk Todolo people called animism or unbelief. "In the past, the Alukta Hindu people were most often referred to as ridiculing brothers, but now they are no longer doing this because besides joining the Hindu, they are also our brothers," Lodo said. However, a custom has not changed among the Aluk Todolo people or from any other religion, such as

the habit of heavy drinking and gambling. Those that Thamrin Lodo said were also told by Baturante (2019: 253-268) that the influence of Islam came later in the day in Tana Toraja, but they still respected the existing custom, and besides, most of them also came from Aluk Todolo.

The presence of Islam in Tana Toraja is closely related to the Islamic influence that originated from Luwu Palopo in Madandan around 1876 and Teteaji Sidrap in Kampung Baru-Makale around 1897. These two directions of the Islamic journey affect Islam as a whole in Tana Toraja. Although the influence of Islam between Madandan and Makale is different, the incisions are felt the same. For example, in Madandan, harmony is formed through the Siduppa-Rangga expression through a message in the form of a will that was continued by Laso' Sombolinggi, which triggered the expression of Madandan Ditulak Tallu, which approximately means that who built Madandan was Aluk Todolo, Islam, and Christians. There are also various meaningful expressions derived from the norms and functions of Tongkonan, such as Sikamali' (missing, loving, and loving one another), Siangga' (respecting each other), and Singkaran (helping each other). These expressions appear to be real in the practice of the Rambu Tuka ceremony, or Rambu Solo.

A little different from the influence of Islam, the Christian journey in Tana Toraja even began when the Zending spread Christianity. It is not surprising that today's Christians are the majority. Many churches were built among the Tongkonan houses. Even to accommodate education, in Tana Toraja there is already a State Christian Religion High School (now the State Christian Religion

Institute), and the number of teachers and secondary schools is also large. The spread of Christian religion was acknowledged very quickly by Johanes, a preacher who has served for 17 years in Tana Toraja and is currently also the Head of FKUB of Tana Toraja district. Here is the statement:

“Like other missionary religions, Christians also open themselves to Aluk Todolo followers, and after that, of course, they cannot perform rituals that do not conform to Christianity, such as worship of ancestors. But we, in this case, the church, still give them the freedom to practice the customs and traditions of Aluk Todolo because whatever their roots in life are, they come from that tradition. For example, conducting a practitioner is, therefore, a good norm and a guideline for life; therefore, our duty towards the Aluk Todolo who entered the Christian community is to do re-education, re-interpretation, and re-actualization.”

Preacher Johanes also said that the Aluk Todolo, who embraced the Hindu Alukta, received little attention; even the Pandita could rarely attend major meetings and was often only represented by the head of the PHDI district, Tana Toraja. Muhammad, the head of the Kankemenag district of Tana Toraja, who was found in his office, also stated that Christianity was very rapidly growing. He highlighted the position of the Hindu Alukta, who did not get much attention from the central government, especially the lead figures that did not give much support. Unlike in Islam, where the ustadz and Christians did through the Preacher or Romo and Pastor in the Catholic. From the perspective of transformation and efforts to create a peaceful life, Christians give the Aluk Todolo people the opportunity to carry out their tradition but also to make a transformation. Baturante (2019: 269–282) tells us the entry of

Christians in Tana Toraja has begun since the beginning of the 1900s, in addition to the Zending also from Ambon, Manado, and Flores, who “resulted” in bringing the lead figures of Tórajá such as Puang Tempang and Puang Sakkung into Christianity.

In addition, the region of Rantepao became strategic for the entry and development of Christians, so it is considered the entrance to the gospel in Tana Toraja. In addition to actively performing the construction of the community, as said by the informant of Preacher Johanes, Christians also enter the customary events, but if the event is liturgical Aluk Todolo, they are not involved, and instead act as spectator and and dine together. In order to meet the custom of Aluk Todolo with Christians, an effort was made to reach an agreement in the form of syncretization so that both sides can perform equally. One form of syncretism is, for example, in the Rambu Solo ceremony. Although Christians perform the ritual, Christian elements are performed in stages: (1) the opening ceremony, (2) the form and duration of the ceremony are adjusted to the Christian version according to the agreement of the mourning family, (3) regarding tunuan (sacrifice) animal such as buffalo and pigs is also in accordance with the agreement, and (4) the burial begins with the afternoon ceremony.

The fact that the Catholic entry can actually be considered the same as the Christian entry. Baturante (2019: 282-285) stated that the entrance of Catholics can be said to be similar to the way Christians entered Tana Toraja. Aluk Todolo’s customs remained, which they could maintain even though they performed Catholic rituals as well. For example, when an Aluk Todolo (Parengnge’) follower enters as a Catholic but does not have to be released from

the position of the Parengnges which he holds, it is only carried out in accordance with the Catholic faith and doctrine. As he led the meetings in his village, he led in a Catholic manner and prayed according to the Catholic order. However, which slightly distinguishes it from Islam and Christianity, Catholicism conducted its inculturation through, among others, (1) the presence of a very clear structure of service and formation of the community among Catholics for the Toraja Vikepan, for example, consisting of 12 Parishes serving as many as 242 stasi, under the leadership of the service of the Parish Pastor, respectively, and so on, and (2) Parish Pastor as the Vikep serving, forming the vessel of communion of Catholic people within certain geographical boundaries carried out by the young generation of Tóraja.

Existences of Hindu Alukta Adherence

The number of adherents is increasingly being eroded.

Hindu Aluktas are an integral part of the Aluk Todolo adherents who are spread throughout the Tana Toraja region, as well as other areas inhabited by the largest ethnic group in South Sulawesi. Specific official data for the number of Hindu Alukta is still insufficient. Even the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Tana Toraja Regency does not have it validly, including the BPS which was traced through its official website. However, some books can still be used as an illustration to know Hindu Alukta adherents.

Baturante (2019: 108-109) specifically notes the number of Hindu Aluktas based on statistical data from 1970-2013 which according to him is decreasing every year. Even in just five years, there are

significant differences, as the data illustrates below. There are many factors that cause this to happen, including the entry of major religions, guidance, strengthening faith and services from the government which are still not optimal, the level of education is still low and changes and challenges, especially in the field of religious life, which they have not been able to follow.

Table 1.1: Data of Hindu Alukta in 1970–1975 in Tana Toraja Regency

No	1970	Total
1	Hindu Alukta	117.790
2	Christian	95.026
3	Catholic	32.438
4	Islam	28.182
	Total Population	304.762

No	1975	Total
1	Christian	152.626
2	Hindu Alukta	97.333
3	Catholic	38.918
4	Islam	32.760
	Total Population	321.637

Source: adapted from Baturante (2019)

The number of Hindu Alukta in Tana Toraja has dwindled considerably in the 38 years from 1975 to 2013. One reason is the division of Tana Toraja into two districts, namely Tana Toraja Regency and North Toraja Regency.

Tabel 1.2: Comparison of Data on Hindu Alukta After 2013 Development

No	Religion	Amount of adherents in Tana Toraja	Amount of adherents in North Tana Toraja	Total
1	Buddha	19	0	19
2	Hindu Alukta	10.214	3.213	13.427
3	Islam	34.025	18.833	52.808
4	Catholic	50.158	49.649	99.807
5	Christian	171.688	179.585	350.184
	Total	266.104	251.280	517.384

Source: adapted from Baturante (2019: 1080)

The spread of Hindu Alukta is also sporadic, not concentrated in one area or sub-district, even in five sub-districts where Hindu Alukta are not recorded, namely in Bonggakaradeng, Malimbong Balepe', Rano, Rembon, and Saluputti. Only in Mappak and Simbuang Subdistricts are there relatively many of them; the rest of them live with other people (Christians, Catholics, and Muslims), who are the majority in each sub-district. Even in the district capital, Makale, the number of Hindu Alukta is not too large when compared to other adherents.

The existence of Hindu Alukta, who are spread unequally in number and cover a very large area, is a separate obstacle to carrying out coaching. The situation is not improving because there are no Hindu Religious Instructors who are state employees in Tana Toraja Regency. Based on the data from the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Tana Toraja Regency (2015: 39), there are only 30 casual instructors in this area. Likewise, the number of Hindu religious teacher educators only reaches six people. Based on this data, the Alukta Hindu community really needs adequate instructors and teachers so that guidance and services will be optimal in the future.

Unrecorded clergy

The informant, Nenek Sando (interview on 19 September 2019) stated that Hindu Alukta consider holy people to be the ushers in major ceremonies, especially during ceremonies to worship Puang Matua and their ancestors. Saints must also be those who have extensive knowledge, strong character, and discipline. In presiding over religious ceremonies, these holy people will recite mantras (kada), accompanied by gelong or song lyrics, such as the gelong

bate and gelong tabang, as well as the ma'bugi, namely the song lyrics being danced. Some of these saints are as follows:

- a. Toburakee and Tominan. Toburakee is not allowed to marry for the rest of his life and is only the leader of the Rambu Tuka' ceremony, namely the worship of God. Toburakee is not allowed to go to the house for the funeral ceremony. If he dies, the Aluk Toburakee ceremony is made, in which the series of funeral ceremonies cannot use corn; the clothes must be white; black clothes are not allowed. When carrying out the Aluk Toburakee ceremony, dress in white or yellow. Unlike the Toburakee, a Tominani may marry and may mourn the dead. If a person dies, the Aluk Tominani ceremony is performed, in which the series of funeral ceremonies may not use corn; the clothes must be yellow, as well as the person carrying out the Aluk Tominani ceremony. If Tominani dies, those who can replace him are his descendants, who have the qualifications. Ditakko is a special ceremony to become a Tominani.
- b. Tominaa. This holy man only leads the Rambu Tuka ceremony in his area because other Tominaa already exist in other areas.
- c. Tumba' (Balobo Padang), whose territory is free, only presides over the Rambu Sollo ceremony, which serves as a boundary marker with holy water.
- d. Tomak Kayo (Tomebalun), as the leader of the Rambu Solo ceremony who takes care of the body up to the burial stage

Actually, to name a saint, someone also has to name a respected figure or person, even though you are not included as a saint or clergyman. According to Grandma Sando, everything related to

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this character also refers to the cosmology of Aluk Todolo, the last creation of Puang Matua, namely the human who later gave birth to Datu Laukku, who married Simbolong Manik as the first human ancestor of the Toraja people. From the marriage of Datu Laukku' with Simbolong Manik, ten children were born who had different skills, namely:

- a. Datu Mengkamma', knows various Toraja literature and is said to be "untandai aluk and pemali sanda sarutu' passalanan dua riu".
- b. Datu Rangka serve as Toburakee, namely the composer of gelong or holy song
- c. Batara Lolo serve as Tomina who knows the level and composition all aluk.
- d. Kambuno Langi' served as Tobarra, an expert in the field of culture and customs.
- e. Pande Paulok has duties as a clergyman, expert in the field Aluk, Pemali, Sangka' and Salunna.
- f. Pande Paita, an all-knowing person before what his brothers will do but Pande Paita does not know a secret of every being.
- g. Pande Manarang served as the designer of building
- h. Pande Saratu' served as a goldsmith
- i. Pande Paliuk has almost the duties as Pande Palta, except that Pande Paita does not master the spiritual field
- j. Pande Patangnga' served as a blacksmith



Picture 1.1: A Tominaa, Kambe Palinoan (right) who is considered a holy man for Alukta Hindus (Source: Researcher, 2019)

Although Hindu Aluktas acknowledge saints or clergy, the Religious Data Book issued by the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in March 2015, on page 37 of the table, does not include the names of any of these clergy. In fact, according to an informant who is also the Chairperson of the Tana Toraja Regency PHDI, Allo Padang, the number of Hindu Alukta clergy is estimated to be around 50 people. Padang dared to say this because every time he was invited to traditional activities, he and the clergy representing Hindu Alukta were always present. The Head of the Tana Toraja Regency Culture Office, Bonifacius Pandanan, who was met at his office, said that the recently held festival also brought together clergy from all existing religions, including many Hindu clergy.

Reduced Data on Holy Places

The holy place of the Hindus Alukta in Tana Toraja, is different in form and concept from the holy places of Hindus in general. In the yard of the house, a holy place will be built in the corner of the

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house following the position from the highest to the lowest, with the composition of Pak Buaran (a kind of kahyangan tiga in traditional villages in Bali), Penammuan (a quarter of Pak Buaran's territory), Pedatuan (the lowest ceremony only with chicken), and Pak Pesungan/Inan Pemalaran (a holy place in the area of one Tongkonan). The location of the holy place is usually in the northeast. To distinguish them from ordinary places, holy places usually have sandalwood trees, standing stones (Pak Pesungan, a kind of phallus yoni), andong trees, banyan trees, and lambak trees, as well as ceremonial facilities using strong bamboo and palm leaves, and so on.



Picture 1.2: The holy place in the house of a Hindu Alukta is located in the northeast corner. This holy place is fenced and planted with sandalwood and carriage trees. (Source: Researcher, 2019)



Picture 1.3: The Tambunan Litak Temple (Tongkonan Topada Tindo) is currently the only public temple owned by Alukta Hindus, apart from two recorded family temples. Apart from being a place of worship, this temple is a joint secretariat of PHDI, WHDI, LPDG, and Peradah (Source: Researcher, 2019).

Based on religious data from the Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs of Tana Toraja Regency (2015), holy places for Hindu Alukta are also not completely registered. The Hindu Community Guidance for South Sulawesi Province, strengthened by the Head of PHDI for Tana Toraja Regency, stated that it is very difficult to list holy places, even though the number is relatively large, because every Hindu Alukta community owns a family temple (*sangah*). However, in the data, there are only three of them, namely one temple in North Makale and two family's temples in Rembon and Simbuang.

Three Latent Problems

Despite being officially integrated with Hinduism for a long time, Alukta Hindus still have a number of latent problems. Some problems are not easily eliminated, for example the word Hindu

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Alukta is still considered biased. Likewise, they still receive the stigma of being followers of animism. The role of the state, especially the Ministry of Religion, is still not optimal. This is characterized by a lack of guidance and services as well as a shortage of human resources, especially Hindu instructors and teachers.

Bias Name of Hindu Alukta

“We must have the courage to say that Hinduism is our ancestral religion,” said the informant Hendra. He is an employee at the Office of the Ministry of Religion of Tana Toraja Regency, and is an intellectual who was educated in Bali, and is one of the sons of Nenek Sando, the person who is currently the oldest person in Tana Toraja. This statement is, of course, very strong, but Hendra admits that he is tired of the doubts shown not only by other people but also by Hindus themselves. Hendra's doubts may have some truth because not a few Hindu Alukta have begun to waver with the seduction of some people who want them to embrace adherents of their faith, according to the Constitutional Court's decision. As is known, the decision contains a number of things that can make adherents of the faith relieved.

There are at least three pillars that underlie the decision. First, the Constitutional Court's decision states that the word “religion” in Article 61 paragraphs (1) and (2) and Article 64 paragraphs (1) and (5) of Law Number 23 of 2006 concerning Administration The residence status before being changed to Law Number 24 of 2013 was contrary to the constitution and declared to have no binding legal force, as long as it did not include “belief.” The Constitutional Court confirmed the initial notion of the term

“belief” as an integral part of the term “religion” in our Constitution.

Second, the Constitutional Court’s decision emphasized that the right to religion, including belief, is a citizen’s constitutional right and is part of human rights. These rights are “natural rights,” namely natural rights in every human being that cannot be reduced under any circumstances. The Constitutional Court emphasized the state’s position as duty bearers to fulfill, protect, and respect each individual believer as a rights holder.

Third, the Constitutional Court’s decision placed the principle of legal certainty and equality before the law as a basis for examining the constitutionality of the law. Adminduk. The Constitutional Court examined the implementation of these principles substantively, namely that the emptying of the religion column for adherents of belief in KK and electronic KTP resulted in unclear legal status in population administration. This arrangement creates legal uncertainty, violates the principle of equality before the law, and is discriminatory in nature.

However, according to Hendra, the Aluk Todolo belief in the Hindu Alukta is also final. There is no doubt that the state, through the Directorate General of Hindu Community Guidance, has acknowledged it through a decree. “But if they want to change religions or become adherents of a belief, go ahead; each one of us shouldn’t be asked to follow the seduction,” Hendra emphasized.

Hendra’s concern is understandable because, after the Constitutional Court’s decision, there was a kind of euphoria that adherents of religions based on belief would return to their original beliefs. It turns out that the phenomenon called Hendra, is hitting Christians, Catholics, and Muslims who come from Aluk Todolo.

This also makes the Aluk Todolo people start to worry because, on the one hand, they have adopted an official religion, but they still carry out the customs of Aluk Todolo. Some of the customs that they reduced because of the religion they adhered to are now starting to feel inappropriate. Hendra suspects that their body is of an official religion, but their conscience is that of Aluk Todolo. Another uncertainty is that if they return to the Aluk Todolo religion, it is not certain that they will receive the same service and recognition again. But again, Hendra's informants did not care about this condition. For him, how can Hindu Alukta survive as part of Hinduism in Indonesia.

Although Hendra and his friends remained enthusiastic, he also realized that the Hindu name Alukta contained a number of problems, one of which was considered a generalization for all Tana Toraja people. That is also why the Tana Toraja people are reluctant to recognize Hindu alukta. So not all Aluk Todolo or Tana Toraja people consider Hinduism their ancestral religion. In addition, the Aluk Todolo have spread to all official religions. Finally, even though they have adopted an official religion, they can still carry out the customs of Aluk Todolo. One of the reasons for this problem is the reduction in the number of Hindu Alukta.

Responding to these problems, Hendra said that the government's decision was binding. If you have to change the name or term, according to him, it will definitely take a very long time, and it's not necessarily right either. Answering this problem, Hendra said it with full confidence.

"So, let's just let this problem run naturally to distinguish that there are several entities that live in Tana Toraja, namely Aluk Todolo himself, Hindus Alukta, Christians,

Catholics, and Muslims. We are also not comfortable being called Tana Toraja Hindus because not all Tana Toraja people are Hindus. This term even brings primordial issues to the fore because later there will be Batak Hindus, Javanese Hindus, Moluccan Hindus, etc. But we also don't want to just be called Hindus because our wealth is precisely the tradition of Aluk Todolo. The term Hindu Alukta will distinguish us from the Christian and Catholic Aluk Todolo, who do not recognize ancestor worship and the use of ceremonial means, and from Islam, which does not recognize ancestor worship and various offerings as well as the use of pigs.”

Hendra's opinion was confirmed in the Decree of the Director General of Hindu and Buddhist Community Guidance Number: Dd/M/200-VII/1969, which in the preamble reads at point (b): Statement Letter from the Parandangan Ada' Central Leadership Council of Tana Toraja Regency Number: 17 TATOR/1969, dated July 1, 1969, regarding the entry of the Aluk Todolo Belief, abbreviated as ALUKTA, into Hinduism. This firm statement is continued in consideration of points (a) due to the belief that Aluk Todolo, abbreviated as ALUKTA, has many similarities with Hinduism and (b) that adherents of Aluk Todolo, abbreviated as ALUKTA, voluntarily choose to enter Hinduism.

Fighting with Stigma

“Just let people say whatever they want about us; we don't want to talk about other religions either. I'm always tough in forums not to badmouth each other, because we can do the same thing by badmouthing them, but for what?”, explained Hendra, who is now also an administrator of the Tana Toraja FKUB.

However, Hendra also shared that in several activities he sometimes experienced unpleasant treatment. It seems that the stigma against Hindu Alukta is still felt even though it sounds faint; for example, they—including the Aluk Todolo belief—are still considered godless animists. Hendra and other informants naturally rejected this stigma. Paranta (2009: 18) convinces by saying that the understanding and meaning of aluk can actually provide understanding, encouragement, and motivation for the people of Tana Toraja, especially Hindu Alukta, in their lives. Hindu Alukta teachings in relation to Kapatongan (belief), consist of three parts, namely believing in Puang Matua as the source of all that exists, believing in the Gods as manifestations of Puang Matua, and believing in To Pembali Puang, namely the spirit that has been reunited with Puang Matua. Puang Matua is the creator of Deata or the highest Deata (highest consciousness) called Puang Matua. In the title it is called “Puang Matua Dao Tangnganna Langi’, Tokaubanan Dao Masuanggana Topalullungan, Iamo Deata Sumpu Mamase, Iamo Puang Sa’pa Labuda, Iamo Untampa Sang Deatanna (manifestation), Iamo Tumampa Tau, Rumende Tolino, Untampa Mintu’ Sakke Sayuanna.

According to Paranta, these three beliefs can be used as the basis for all activities and the life order of Alukta Hindus, including the order of life. Belief in Puang Matua, the gods, and Pemali Puang is an inseparable unit. Deata or Dewata are manifestations of Puang Matua who have certain powers to protect and preserve Puang Matua’s creations to sustain human life, for example, Patala Lamma as the God of Water, Makke Buku as the God of Rice, Patala Kila’ as the God of Fire, etc., a spirit that is already holy and reunited with its origin, namely Puang Matua. As stated in

Tomina's literature, "Sang Tondokmo Nene' marked tikunna, sang tarampakmo' to manggaranganna", which means "already together with his ancestors, united with his creator (Puang Matua)."

In accordance with Hindu Alukta teachings, Penaa, or spirits, come from Puang Matua and will return to Puang Matua. The return of the spirit to unite with Puang Matua when there is a separation of soul and body, which is called death, is not like what is often said by people who claim that only their religion is accepted, which is good and right before Puang Matua. According to Paranta, Hindu Alukta often become victims of harassment and are said to be To Kalillinan or worship Deata Bulettuk. Kalillinan (dark people) means people who don't worship Puang Matua and do not know the values of truth, and when they die, their spirits don't go to heaven.

Paranta (2009: 19) states that the Aluk known and obeyed by the ancestors of Tana Toraja from the past until now is Aluk Mellao Langi'. Panggaranganna Puang Matua (aluk in the lodge to the Tangngana sky). It is very wrong and unethical that certain people or groups say that Aluk Todolo or Hindu Alukta are infidels who do not worship God or Kalillinan, namely people who are lost and have no religion. This is very unfortunate because certain groups claim that the truth is only within their own group.

Apart from that, still according to Paranta (2009: 18), one of the most important rituals in the Aluk Todolo tradition is Aluk Rampanan Kapa, which is interpreted very broadly, namely first as a religion, which in this case aluk means the same as the religion that regulates things relating to human worship of Puang Matua and its various manifestations called Deata. Second, as a ceremony, namely rules related to religious ceremonies addressed to Puang

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Matua and His various manifestations (Deata), and third, as behavior, namely things that are pessimistic in nature, such as manners and courtesy originating from Pemali, Sangka', and Salunna.

Based on this opinion, Hendra's informant strengthened his belief that Hinduism was the religion of his ancestors. According to him, there may be limitations for Hindu figures to fully decipher the long history of Hinduism in Indonesia, including in Tana Toraja. The second possibility is that Aluk Todolo is a local religion that gets a touch glorified by Hinduism. Therefore, according to Hendra, Aluk Todolo's closeness to Hinduism cannot be denied. The Three Basic Frameworks of Hinduism, which consist of tattwa (philosophy), events (rituals), and morals (ethics), which form the basis of Hinduism, although with different terms, are essentially the same.

Hendra, accompanied by Nenek Sando, stated that Panca Sraddha, namely the five basic beliefs in Hinduism, is carried out through belief in Puang Matua, gods, and ancestors. The Aluk Todolo people who die will unite with their ancestors. Panca Yadnya, namely five types of ceremonies carried out through the ceremonies Alukna Rampana Kapa', Aluk Kalambunan Allo, Aluk Sipiak Tallang', and Tomanurun Dilangi'. Lastly, ethics and norms are carried out through various provisions that govern the lives of the Aluk Todolo people. The practice of the Three Basic Frameworks is localized through the customs and traditions of Aluk Todolo, something that the Aluk Todolo people who have a religion other than Hindu Alukta can no longer do.

The Minor Role of State

That afternoon, the temple in the Makale area was unusually quiet. It is right on the edge of the road, with a gray penyengker (wall) that appears to be surrounded by residents' housing, while in the backyard there is land owned by residents. At first glance, the building does not appear to be a temple, as people know it when they call it a holy place for Hindus. The temple wall, accented by Balinese carvings, may be the only indication that the building is a temple. To show that the temple belongs to Hindu Alukta, a tongkonan is placed above the front door. It also appears that the temple is a joint secretariat of several Hindu religious organizations and institutions. There are also not many buildings inside the temple, especially those that can accommodate large crowds of people for their activities. According to Hendra, the temple was also always quiet, but for him, it was enough to show that Hindus in Tana Toraja still exist with the symbol of a temple.

The existence of this temple is just one example of how Hindu Alukta religious activity is not throbbing fast. In contrast to Hindus in Makassar or areas where Hindus transmigrated from Bali, such as Luwu, Palopo, etc. Guidance for Alukta Hindus is not as intensive as for the Hindus mentioned above, apart from the fact that Hindus from Bali have the ability to carry out religious activities independently. Even in Tana Toraja, there was no place where they could study together with appropriate religious books, either in the temple or the schools.

The existence of Hindu Community Guidance, which is structurally an embodiment of the center, cannot do much more because the budget for fostering Hindus in South Sulawesi Province cannot be made up partially. For example, coaching for

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Hindu religious teachers cannot be carried out only for Alukta Hindu religious teachers, who currently number only 7 people. They must follow the activity to the nearest area to be gathered with other Hindu religion teachers. If they have to, they and other Hindu religion teachers have to travel overland for about 8–10 hours to Makassar. In addition to their weak competence, the number of teachers is still small, so many Hindu students in one school are often taught in one class.

In addition, coaching by instructor is also very limited; moreover, there is not even a single civil nation instructor employee status (PNS). With a very large target area, it is difficult for those who are honorary to reach Hindu Alukta, whose distribution is also sporadic. There is even one district where there are no Hindus. Alukta Hindus are currently also experiencing a decline in quantity from year to year, but also in their understanding of Hinduism. This is a separate problem because Alukta Hindus do not have a complete understanding based only on the Aluk Todolo tradition. Moreover, Hindu Alukta who take Hindu religious education are also very limited. That is, coaching must be carried out by providing a complete understanding of Hinduism in general so that how they carry out it according to the customs and traditions of Alukta Todolo will not be a big problem because precisely by implementing it according to local customs, Alukta Hindus find comfort. It is different if they embrace other religions, which generally demand uniformity. Through Hinduism, they are not under pressure to carry out religious teachings uniformly according to Hindu rules in general.

In addition to quantity, in terms of quality, the understanding and practice of religion by Alukta Hindus are still insufficient. Besides

not having precise similarities with Hinduism in general, especially Hinduism in Bali, they carry out more local traditions and customs. This condition has never been a serious problem among Hindus because in the Vedic scriptures, religious practices are carried out through the villages of Mawacara, Loka Dresta, and Desa Kala Patra. Through events as a source of Hindu law, the words uniformity and uniformity are not known. Not surprisingly, Hindus throughout Indonesia can carry out their religious activities flexibly, following local traditions.

The minor role of the state seems to ignore the long struggle of traditional leaders like Aluk Todolo. Hendra and Hindu Alukta certainly hope that the state, especially the Ministry of Religious Affairs, will pay more attention to communities like them. Especially for Hindu Alukta, they want to get civil servant appointments, especially teachers and extension workers. In addition, their saints are appointed on a par with pedandas in Bali so that they can help the people and foster trust and pride as Hindu Alukta. Hendra's hope can be understood because the Director General's Decree explicitly states that when the Aluk Todolo join Hinduism, they receive guidance. This can be read in the consideration of point (c) to provide guidance to the Hindu Community from Aluk Todolo, abbreviated as Alukta, it is necessary to appoint officers who can assist the community, and point (d) that until now, for the Tana Toraja area, there has been no special government official who has helped guide the Hindu community in the area.

Apart from marriage, especially for women, at this time they are also faced with a religious dilemma, especially the younger generation. The adherents of Hindu Alukta are still strong only

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because of the figures and elders, as well as the generation who have received education in Bali, even though as time goes by they are getting older and their numbers will also continue to decrease. Another concern is religious conversions that could cause customs and traditions to be abandoned. In addition to not having a transformation of the meaning of each ceremony performed, especially for young people, it is also expensive. As stated by Durkheim (1972 [1879]), the existence of ceremonies that should be a tool to unite and maintain religion and culture may experience a setback.

The Future of Alukta Hindu Integration in Various Choices

According to the data and description above, it seems that religious life in Tana Toraja in one period seems safe and stable, but over a long period of time it can also experience dynamics. Aluk Todolo's religion continues to experience a process so that it can change, just as the identity stated by experts can change (Barth, 1993; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Dashefsky & Shapiro, 1975; Glazer & Moynihan [eds], 1975). Religion, as the core of culture, will also face such problems (see also Ilyas and Al-Rasyid, 2018).

Aluk Todolo, like local archipelago religions that existed before the arrival of the major religions, cannot be classified using formalistic rules. The opinions of experts who have studied Dayak, for example, firmly say that this religion does not meet the requirements to be called a religion according to religious rules. In fact, Dayak is considered a fragile religion and will be abandoned one day (see Mahin, 2009, for more details). Referring to the opinion of western experts on Dayak religion, there might be some truth if an entity like Aluk Todolo is neglected structurally and

culturally. The emergence of Hindu Alukta also experienced such problems.

Structurally, Hindu Alukta has not received sufficient attention from the state, especially from the Directorate General of Hindu Community Guidance, the Ministry of Religious Affairs. If you look at history, apart from the presence of Hindu community advisors, Hindu Alukta want there to be Hindu organizers in Tana Toraja Regency so that all aspects of Hindu religious life can be served optimally. The state owed a large debt to Aluk Todolo when it decided to join Hinduism in Indonesia. They have the right to receive special guidance and service, like other Hindus who are based on local beliefs, such as Kaharingan, Merapu, Kejawen, etc. The same obligation is also asked of the local regional government to guide Alukta Hindus as an integral part of Hinduism in Indonesia. This is important because, based on field data, Hindu Alukta is still under the impression of being animist, infidel, likes to get drunk, and eats haram food, including the name Hindu Alukta, which is still considered biased. The local government has an obligation to clean up this stigma.

Culturally, Hindu Alukta is still seen as a religion that only "sticks" so closely to Hinduism that it seems different from other Hindus. This notion affects not only Hindus outside Tana Toraja but also Hindu Alukta themselves. Therefore, comprehensive guidance is given to them while at the same time giving them the freedom to carry out the Aluk Todolo customs and traditions.

Based on field data, their conversion to Hinduism cannot be separated from several factors. First, there are indeed similarities in almost all dimensions of their beliefs with Hinduism, but the state "forces" them to choose one of the existing official religions, even

though the entry process takes place peacefully, both through traditional institutions and its leaders. Second, choosing Hinduism does not carry a big risk because, with the principle of *desa-kala-patra* (place-time-circumstances), they can still carry out all the customs and traditions that have been passed down from generation to generation by Aluk Todolo, a comfort that they may not get in other religions. Third, with this kind of freedom, they are not under pressure from the Hindu majority as adherents who are different, deviate, or even go astray from Hinduism in general.

In the current era of freedom, including matters of religion, the need to receive guidance and services structurally and culturally becomes very important. This is a consequence of the treatment of religion, which is formal and institutionalized, not merely ideological. In this perspective, Hindu Alukta, together with Hindu Kaharingan, Hindu Nuaulu (see Segara and Budiasa, 2022), etc., need guarantees and recognitions from the state. Then, as an entity that moves actively and can then change, rational choices that can meet the needs of their lives in the present and the future can only be taken to determine a position, once again, in the context of a state. Although entities may change, people are not passive even in a hegemony (see Gramsci, 1977). However, the clearest projection of the various doubts and stigma surrounding Hindu Alukta is the construction of a religion that they say is "insider".

First, they will persist as Hindu Alukta for several very rational reasons, namely (a) the historical factor between the leaders of traditional institutions and highly respected figures and the government in deciding to join the Aluk Todolo people as Hindus is a long history, full of deep reflection and common awareness. In contrast to several cases of joining a belief group due to coercion

or violence. This historical factor is important for them to continue to be cared for because they do not want to betray what their ancestors decided, (b) by choosing Hinduism, they are still free to carry out all the customs and traditions of Aluk Todolo because in Hinduism there is no absolute uniformity, and (c) with that freedom, they will not be subject to pressure from mainstream Hinduism, which, apart from providing freedom, is also not a majority. However, this choice also carries a lot of risks if (a) guidance and services are still minimal and access to being actively involved in development is not wide open, (b) followers of Alukta Hinduism are decreasing in quantity, followed by several components that are not as stable as in the past when declaring themselves to be Alukta Hindus, and (c) traditional elders and those who have received Hindu religious education outside Tana Toraja, especially Bali, are still firmly adherents of Hinduism. This fact occurs because the impact on point (a) is still very weak.

Second, they could have chosen to become the majority religions such as Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam, but (a) they could not carry out the customs and traditions of Aluk Todolo because, according to them, they tended to be the same and dogmatic. For example, worshiping ancestors, which in Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam does not get a special place considering that after death there is no more life, let alone still interfering with the generations left behind in the world, They also cannot freely use pork (specifically in Islam) when carrying out the aluk ceremony, and (b) according to them, these various differences will be pressured by the majority religions, for example by being stigmatized as an additional religion or a deviant sect.

Third, the choice to become adherents of the faith as legally recognized in Indonesia but for them, this choice is not immediately acceptable because (a) the term adherents of the faith who believe in God Almighty is too generic, even though they very explicitly refer to it as Aluk Todolo, who worships Puang Matua and ancestors. According to them, this term is also too elitist because it is only known among religious leaders and not all local beliefs are accommodated; (b) it is not certain that they will get the service as expected besides that there is no structure that protects their existence, not in the Ministry of Religion, which is generally considered an institution that guides and serves religion; and (c) it is difficult for them to break away from the stigma of being animists and even being considered infidels.

These options are projections that experience weak tension depending on momentum. As a formal religion, Alukta Hinduism is final and legally recognized by the state, but as a cultural core, this religion will continue to experience a "process of becoming". They will survive firmly, either as a formal religion or as an Aluk Todolo entity, or they will be perceived by Western orientalis, one of whom sees the Dayak Kaharingan religion as an example, as weathered and old wood that one day will die and be abandoned, or maybe they will be destroyed (see also Tanggok and Hawari, 2021). Only time will test the existence of Hindu Alukta in the future.

Conclusion

Hindu Alukta, like a "new religion" resulting from integration, will always experience dynamics. However, it is somewhat different; for example, with Hindu Kaharingan, which currently has a very

strong position, Hindu Alukta is still experiencing ups and downs. Their initial integration went well; the central government even welcomed it, as evidenced by the issuance of a decree legally recognizing it as a Hindu religion, and for the choice of integration, it is entitled to receive services and guidance. But in the course of time, the big hope was still not felt to be sufficient.

Since integrating 54 years ago, they have faced many changes both influenced by internal and external factors, structurally and culturally. The most dramatic change concerns the reduced number of Hindus and the lack of adequate data on clergy and holy places. Even though clergy and holy places can grant privileges in the social world, In addition, the government's role, in this case, the Ministry of Religion, is still felt to be less than optimal. The foundation of Alukta Hindu integration still needs to be strengthened by a pro-government policy, not merely to pay great respect to the services of their ancestors but more as a fulfillment of the rights of citizens who, with full awareness, embrace the official religion by departing from local beliefs. Although there is no requirement in the regulation that stipulates that they may or may not adhere to an official religion.

The novelty of this research is that it provides a new analytical lense in viewing the phenomenon of Hindu Alukta in Tana Toraja, from which it can be understood how this religious groups faced challenges and survived from it. By understanding these factors, local and central government could be informed on aspects that they could strengthen together with other major religions in the area.

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