

# Acculturation of Mosques and Churches in Indonesia: A Case Study From Toraja

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## **ABSTRACT**

The interaction between culture and religion in Toraja brings social changes in various aspects of life. The cultured Toraja society acquires new spiritual content, while religion obtains new means to introduce the richness of its faith. This study examined the forms of religious and cultural interactions expressed in Toraja's houses of worship: the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao, as the research object. This study focused on the acculturation of Islam and Catholicism in Toraja, particularly at the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao and the difference between Islamic and Catholic acculturation in these two worship houses. The interaction between religion and Toraja culture succeeded in forming a distinctive religious Toraja society, adequately performing spiritual teachings and upholding the cultural values in society. The Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao exhibited the acculturation of religious teachings about houses of worship and architecture of Toraja society.

Keywords: Acculturation, Rantepao Great Mosque, St. Church Theresia Rantepao

## **INTRODUCTION**

This study focuses on the Toraja region, covering Tana Toraja and North Toraja Regencies. The choice of location was based on several considerations. To begin with, the Toraja society highly upholds its cultural values, making the influence of outside culture easily seen. In addition, many houses of worship in Toraja's construction are extremely close to Toraja architecture.

The study of the interaction of religion and culture in Toraja still needs to be much sought after by Toraja scholars. This study is susceptible because religious leaders possess many differences of opinion in interpreting spiritual teachings about culture. Some religions accept that cultural elements are

included in expressing faith; others clearly and unequivocally reject it. Therefore, this study can lead to rejection from various groups, both Christian denominations and several sects within Islam. It is not because of its scientific methodology but because it is more due to the guarded doctrines. Moreover, this study will not apply in general because of the differences in the principles of each religion in understanding the interaction of religion and culture. However, this study is expected to incentivize other scholars to examine this topic in more depth or become a research impetus to support this study.

As part of Indonesian society, Toraja society has a distinctive architectural style different from other regions. The uniqueness of the Toraja architectural style is apparent in the construction of residences, granaries, and cemeteries. Toraja architecture is rich with symbols containing various philosophical meanings. Architecture is highly close to multiple aspects of human life as it involves physical and spiritual activities, as researched by Nurjaman et al. 2021; Molbang & Nurcahyo, 2016; Rosimin & Wijayaputri, 2020; Alfaruq & AS, 2020, 220; and Yuliani et al., 2020.<sup>1</sup> Architectural forms in physical buildings always contain philosophical significance about the meaning of life, the background of life, sacredness, and others.<sup>2</sup>

One form of architecture in Toraja is a domestic house called *tongkonan*. Nooy-Palm (1979) wrote that *tongkonan* for Toraja society is not only a place to live but also a philosophical meaning as a clan house to bind one family.<sup>3</sup> This architectural form also needs to be separated from other works of art, carving. Various forms of carvings adorn the walls of *tongkonan*. Terance W. Bigalke (2005) added that each carving contains a deep meaning so that in addition to functioning as decoration, carvings also deliver messages or discourses on values and virtues of life inherited from generation to generation (local wisdom).<sup>4</sup> Therefore, carvings are sometimes called "holy books," displayed in pictures instead of written scripts. Physical buildings, such as *patane* (cemetery) and *alang* (rice barn), are also decorated with various carved symbols.

Toraja architecture is inseparable from spirituality, influenced by the belief system in the region governing the relationship between human beings and God (Hadikusuma, 1993), called *Ad'* and *Aluk Toraya*.<sup>5</sup> *Ad'* is a term employed to describe customs, ceremonial procedures, laws, culture, and traditions that regulate relations between societies, communities, and the government. Meanwhile, *Aluk* is utilized to exhibit spiritual attitudes, worship, sacrifice, and religiosity to establish a relationship with God. The original religion of Toraja society is *Aluk Todolo* (*aluk* means religion or rules; *todolo* means ancestors). Tangdilintin (1981) asserted that *Aluk Todolo* utilizes *tongkonan* and *alang* as a place of worship.<sup>6</sup> Before the Abrahamic religions came to Toraja, society had possessed a complex and well-established value system.

The appearance and acceptance of the Abrahamic religions<sup>7</sup> considerably impacted the culture of Toraja society. The religious life of Toraja society underwent numerous changes. *Aluk Todolo* could not survive the existence of the Abrahamic religions. However, the symbols of faith and the architectural style of faith remain alive and affect the lives of Toraja society who do not believe in *Aluk Todolo*. An encounter between Toraja culture and the Abrahamic religions occurs in the architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Catholic Church of St. Theresa Rantepao.

The acculturation in worship houses: the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao in Toraja was studied to understand the interaction between religion and culture. The Great Mosque of Rantepao, located on Konstan Street, Rantepao, was built in the 1950s. Its architecture is highly typical of Toraja. Under the mosque's dome, a pair of *tongkonans* welcomes everyone entering the mosque. Words read Allah and Muhammad are displayed on the *tongkonan*

screen. The mosque doors are also carved typically of Toraja and calligraphy writings. There are aesthetic Toraja cultural values in the mosque. *Tongkonan* architectural forms and calligraphy in typical Toraja carvings depict cultural acculturation in architecture between Islam and Toraja culture.

Furthermore, the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao, built in 1998, features a blend of architecture between the teachings of the Catholic church's faith and Toraja culture. In passing, the Church of St. Theresia displays modern architecture. However, its uniqueness lies in its interior. Toraja carvings with various symbols adorn the walls of the church. The most distinctive part is the tabernacle, made to resemble a *tongkonan*. This architectural style proves the acculturation between Catholicism and Toraja culture.

The main questions to understand the subject of this discussion are (1) how Islam and Catholicism accept Toraja architecture at the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresa Rantepao? and (2) what is the difference between the acculturation of Islam and Catholicism at these two worship houses? Hopefully, it provides a clear picture of the interaction between religion and culture.

The researchers felt the need to examine questions becoming polemics in society. For example, how religious understanding accepts local Toraja elements? The traditional death ritual of *Rambu Solo'* was first held by Muslim residents in Tarongko Village, Makale District, Tana Toraja Regency, South Sulawesi. The family owning this ritual mentioned that the *Rambu Solo'* for Muslims had received approval from traditional figures in Toraja. Its implementation follows Islamic rules and is a form of appreciation for the deceased family. However, its implementation has reaped many contraversions from many parties as it contradicts local wisdom and Islamic sharia.<sup>8</sup> According to the researchers' initial hypothesis, religious adherents often see culture as an object that ultimately leads society to utilize cultural aspects to express their faith. Religious adherents rarely understand the content of spirituality in cultural elements that can be used to clarify the teachings of their faith. In addition, this research can also be a reference for various interested parties, especially local governments and religious leaders, to understand how religion and local culture can influence each other without violating the creed or eliminating essential elements of local culture.

## RESEARCH METHOD

This research utilized a descriptive qualitative method because the problem needs to be clarified, holistic, complex, dynamic, and full of meaning. Hence, data on social situations in Toraja could not be captured by instruments such as texts or questionnaires. On the other hand, qualitative research emphasizes in-depth, holistic, and interpretative analysis. This study emphasized understanding the phenomenon under study by relying on direct observation. As Alsa asserted, the researcher is the main instrument in qualitative research.<sup>9</sup> Direct observation allows researchers to capture various social dimensions that live in society. Society's lives and dynamics are texts that require precision and intelligence to read. As Sairin wrote, a text reflects the results of the struggle between the value system, the environment, and the results of decisions the human mind processes. The results are then expressed in various human behaviors full of meanings and symbols.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, Sugiyono proposed three methods to collect data: participatory observation, interviews, and documentation.<sup>11</sup> This study employed the three data collection techniques to complement each other to acquire more holistic data.

To begin with, the researchers went directly to the research location. In this case, Toraja was the locus of analysis. Researchers further utilized participatory observation by participating and being actively involved in the dynamics of community life in Toraja. The researchers studied how regional ornaments

were deployed in the architecture of houses of worship. This study was conducted from April to June 2019.

Subsequently, the researchers selected competent interview informants with exceptional attention to the study's analysis. Some informants came from Islamic religious leaders, Catholic religious leaders, government figures, community leaders, and traditional leaders. In this case, the Islamic religious leaders included ulema, *Ustaz*, *Kiai*, mosque administrators, heads of Islamic mass organizations, and Muslim youth leaders. The catholic religious leaders comprised the vicar, pastor, brothers, sisters, parish council, director of the Catholic organizations, and Catholic youth leaders. Meanwhile, the government figures consisted of the sub-district, the village head, the head of a religious office in Toraja, Islamic religious leaders, and Catholic religious leaders. Furthermore, the community leaders encompassed humanists, academics, and traditional leaders called to *parengnge*. As Moleong (1989) asserted, an interview aims to uncover problems more openly. Therefore, the parties invited to the discussion were asked for their opinions and ideas to respond to the studied issues.<sup>12</sup>

Following Moleong, documentation in this study was performed by looking for reference books.<sup>13</sup> Library research focused on the history of the development of world religions up to Toraja, Toraja culture, and other supporting documents, especially books on the interaction of religion and culture and the architecture of houses of worship. This method was adopted to obtain a theoretical basis and to complement the data obtained from observations and interviews.

## DISCUSSION

### Acculturation Concept: Encounter of Two cultures

Citing other anthropologists such as Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, R.H. Lauer (1989) stated that acculturation is when two groups of different cultures begin to make direct contact, followed by a change in the original cultural pattern of one of the groups. The unification of these two cultures results from continuous contact. Such contact can occur through various ways, including colonization, war, military infiltration, migration, missions to broadcast religion or da'wah, trade, tourism, and mass media, especially printed and electronic media such as radio, television, and others. Acculturation also takes place due to the influence of a solid and prestigious culture on weak and underdeveloped cultures and between relatively equal cultures.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, Ralph Linton claimed, "The comparatively rapid growth of human culture as a whole has been due to the ability of all society to borrow elements from other cultures and incorporate them into their own. This transfer of cultural elements from one society to another is known as diffusion".<sup>15</sup> Some elements of culture are extremely easy to change in meeting two cultures influencing each other. In contrast, some other elements of culture are highly difficult to change when dealing with foreign cultural influences. Linton has pointed out two crucial cultural elements: covert and overt. The covert culture can involve (1) the system of cultural values, (2) religious beliefs considered sacred, and (3) customs that the general public has lived. On the other hand, Koentjaraningrat asserted that the overt culture is commonly reflected in the physical form of useful tools or objects, knowledge, procedures, lifestyle, and recreation that provide comfort. The slow-changing elements of interaction are hallmarks of covert culture.<sup>16</sup>

Moreover, Shaifuddin asserted that the interaction pattern between two cultures would naturally result in a mutually influencing relationship because it is between two extreme points: conflict and integration.<sup>17</sup> Conflict and integration presuppose a compromise—a middle way to avoid cultural

clashes. This compromise takes the form of accommodation and adaptation. According to Linton, integration can be seen in the progressive development to realize a perfect adjustment between the various elements creating a total culture together.<sup>18</sup>

The interaction between religion and culture essentially involves a “battle” or “tension” between absolute religious doctrines because they are believed to originate from the divine and the values lived by specific communities that have become a product of culture, tradition, and habit. In addition, religion as a “way of life” offers several conceptions of the construction of reality, not based on human empirical experience but on authoritative revelation from God. Only the notion provided by religion cannot be fully grasped by humans with a culture and life context different from that conception. As social beings, humans live with their own rules of life and habits. These customs and traditions result from man’s ability to develop reasoning through practical experience that differs from religion. In Azra’s perspective, tension will arise if these two conceptions meet and each wants to maintain its existence.<sup>19</sup>

Conflict enforces and maintains the identity and boundaries of social groups and communities. The conflict between one group and another allows the establishment of group identity with each other keeping its boundaries against the social environment outside. Patterned and reciprocal antagonisms perpetuate social division and systems of stratification. Saifuddin (1986) wrote that social conflict is always related to social integration.<sup>20</sup> The process of such conflict is accommodation. The culture accepts some elements of religion, and some aspects of culture are applied by religion to clarify its teachings. Religion gives color and spirit to culture, while culture enriches religion.<sup>21</sup>

According to Roucek and Ronald (1957), cultural adaptation occurs when two cultures that meet each other adjust to each other, producing a new culture.<sup>22</sup> Adaptation talks about the adjustment relationship between organisms and the environment as a whole, of which the organism is a part. The real significance of culture is its addictive nature. The spread of religion in various cultures requires adaptation. The differences between tradition and religion, as well as expressions of symbols and cultural works that differ from religion, require mutual influence and adjustment to one another. Therefore, the adaptation between religion and culture is difficult to avoid. If religion only survives with its strict scripturalism, it will face strong resistance from established belief systems, culture, and local traditions. The theory of change, including the transformation of religion, states that the stronger the difference or conflict between the new and the old values and the consequences, the more current matters will be challenging to accept.

Integration is an internalization between units in the environment, a social system. Integration requires solidarity among the individuals involved in a social system. A strong emotional need generates solidarity and a willingness to work together and avoid conflict. In this case, Daeng (1993) asserted that integration is not primarily understood to prevent conflict but to resolve all disputes.<sup>23</sup>

### **The Encounter of Faith and Culture in the Architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao**

Geographically, Toraja is located in a mountainous area in the northern part of the South Sulawesi Province. Compared to the other regions of South Sulawesi, this geographical situation is one of the causes of the delay in Islam coming to Toraja. Baturante wrote that the arrival of Islam to Toraja was long after it was accepted as a way of life in the coastal areas of South Sulawesi.<sup>24</sup> After Alauddin, the King of Gowa, became a Muslim, almost the entire population of Makassar became Muslims. According to Pelras’ report, in 1611, the Kingdom of Gowa succeeded in conquering the Kingdom of Bone. Since

then, the King of Bone, La Tenripale Tuakkepeang, along with all his society in the territory of the Kingdom of Bone, became Muslims.<sup>25</sup>

According to Noorduyn, the acceptance of Islam in the Kingdom of Bone made the entire South Sulawesi come into Islam, except for Tana Toraja.<sup>26</sup> The Catholic church began directly touching Toraja society in 1903, particularly on 23 September, with a Catholic missionary from Makassar, Pastor H. Leemker SJ, offering mass in Rantepao. However, the first attendance did not leave any record; the number of people baptized or who became participants of the Catholic faith was not written in historical records.<sup>27</sup> The development of the church in Toraja began to get a bright spot in 1925 after Pastor H. Kapell baptized a woman born in Toraja in 1900 to Sesa and Randana in Makassar. Her name was Anna Lai Kawoli. Once again, the notes must explain how essential Anna Lai Kawoli was in spreading the faith. Noorduyn mentioned that the first baptism for the Torajans only apparently wanted to display that the Catholic faith had begun to gain a place in the hearts of the Torajans.

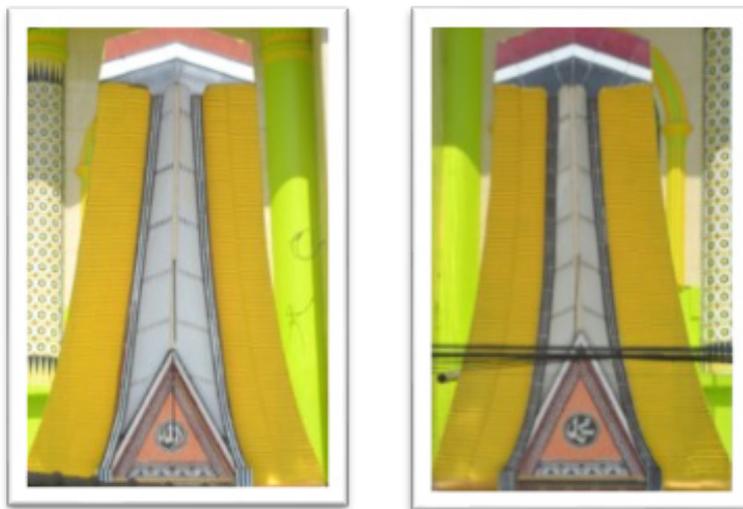
Furthermore, the presence of Islam and Catholicism in Toraja society has influenced social change. Toraja society has become an inseparable part of the development of the world's religions. The interaction between culture and religion in Toraja society has affected various aspects of life. The cultured Toraja society obtained a new spirituality, while religion acquired a new means to introduce the richness of its faith, as demonstrated by the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao.

Long before the arrival of world religions, Toraja society had a distinctive building architecture called *tongkonan*. It is symbolic, not solely a house describing a balanced life in one fellowship. This balanced life includes earthly and divine dimensions, revealing the various meanings of life and death. Multiple ornaments were utilized to decorate the *tongkonan* walls. This ornamental variety contained essence to deliver messages or discourses on the values and virtues of life inherited from generation to generation (local wisdom). Islam and Catholics employed this wealth of symbols in mosques and churches. Symbols with essential values in Toraja society aimed to present the existence of Islam and Catholicism within it. Therefore, these symbols served as a form of acceptance of Islam and Catholicism in Toraja culture. This study unveiled that the interaction between religion and Toraja culture succeeded in forming a religion typical of Toraja society, embracing religion and upholding cultural values.

Since its establishment in 1946-1950, the Great Mosque of Rantepao has undergone two renovations to its current architectural form. The mosque was built with a typical Toraja nuance, symbolizing Islam's presence in Toraja. The uniqueness of this mosque lay in the architecture of the building, with a pair of *longa tongkonan* under the dome and decorative motifs of the typical carvings of Toraja culture adorning the walls. A pair of *longa tongkonan* with the words Allah and Muhammad greeted every visitor of the two-story mosque. Calligraphy containing the holy verses of the Quran on the doors and outer walls was framed with a typical decorative carving of Toraja. The aesthetics of Toraja's cultural values was depicted at the Great Mosque of Rantepao. This architecture was recognized as an accumulation of Islamic values lived by the Toraja Muslim community.

The architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao not only displayed and considered the solemnity of the congregation when performing worship but also exhibited the friendliness of the mosque environment upholding Toraja culture. Therefore, this mosque's building accommodated various symbols of Toraja society. In addition, acculturation efforts were reflected in the use of primary colors, housing colors with philosophical meaning to the life of Toraja society. The acculturation form of the mosque took the form of ornaments of carvings on the *longa tongkonan*.

In Toraja culture, four carving motifs must be considered in making *tongkonan* and their decorations: *pa' tedong*, *pa' Barre allo*, *pa' manuk londong*, and *pa' sussuk*. These four carving motifs are the requirement for establishing a *tongkonan*. The four carving motifs demonstrated the acculturation and appropriation of Islam through the use of *longa tongkonan* in the architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao. To begin with, as *Paganna'* mentioned, the basic architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao employed the *pa' tedong* (*tedong* means buffalo) motif on the *tongkonan* in the *longa* carving. The acculturation built through the *pa' tedong* symbol directly states that the mosque is a place to ask for blessings from Allah.<sup>28</sup>



Figures 1 and 2: A pair of *longa* with the inscription of Allah and Muhammad

Moreover, the *pa' bare' allo* (*pa'* means type, *barre'* is scratch or circle, and *allo* refers to the sun) motif symbolizes the unity and integrity of the Toraja tribe. *Pa' barre allo* is also a symbol of obedience to the rules and regulations of customs and beliefs. Additionally, the *pa' manuk londong* (*manuk* means chicken, and *londong* refers to male) carving motif signifies the implementation of customary rules that must be lived and obeyed by society in life in this world (*lino*). Acculturation in the Great Mosque of Rantepao's architecture using *pa' barre allo* and *pa' manuk londong* motifs was unique. This decorative variety received an Islamic touch. The *pa' manuk londong* motif, symbolizing a chicken, was replaced with the pronunciation of Allah and Muhammad.

The pronunciation of Allah and Muhammad depicted the acculturation of the Great Mosque of Rantepao. The white accent of Allah and Muhammad framed in a circle of light like *pa' barre allo* also demonstrated the essence of Islamic teachings. *La Ilaha Illallah Muhammad da Rasulullah* has become clear in the decoration of this motif. If *pa' manuk londong* is understood as a symbol of the rules that Toraja society must follow to have a better life, so does the pronunciation of Allah and Muhammad. Allah, worshiped by humans and created everything, provided the revelations to Muhammad, His Messenger for human life.

Furthermore, the decorative *pa' sussuk* at the Great Mosque of Rantepao served as a symbolic language. This building is vital in regulating the basic policies of society's lives, especially in the Muslim community. Mosques are taught the ways of goodness, leading Muslims to excellence and encouraging them to help and create peace and prosperity with others. Mosques provide change and regulate the basic policies of Muslims.

Muslims in Rantepao were highly proud of this mosque, with the uniqueness of Toraja society in its architecture. They believed that the presence of the Great Mosque of Rantepao, with its various decorations, did not eliminate the meaning of the mosque as a house of worship. The pronunciation of Allah and Muhammad, engraved on the two pieces of *longa*, welcomed every congregation, adding to the feeling that they were at the mosque. Under the mosque's dome was a pair of *tongkonan* welcoming everyone coming to the mosque. Other societies could easily catch that although it was built in the acculturation of Toraja society, this building was a mosque.

### **Acculturation in the Architecture of the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao**

When the architecture of the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao was viewed briefly from the outside, it did not provide a unique symbol. The building was made of concrete and rectangular, with a tower showing a cross at the top as a communicative symbol, indicating a church building. There was no prominent regional symbol at this church. The characteristics of the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao lay in its interior. The priest's house, especially the tabernacle, was shaped like an "*alang*" with various carvings typical of Toraja. The altar was also decorated with Toraja carvings. Other parts, such as the statue of St. Mary and the holy family of Nazareth, were framed in a Toraja carving motif. The inner walls were decorated with symbols of Toraja motifs. The regional nuance became evident inside the St. Theresa Rantepao Church's building.



Figure 3: An alang at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao

Using alang at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao embedded several symbolic meanings. First, *alang* is a symbolic representation of rice, Toraja society's leading food. Catholicism analogizes the presence of Jesus in this world with the company of rice in the mythology of Toraja society. Second, using *alang* as tabernacles at the church directly connected the meaning of the church's faith to understanding Toraja society. Just as rice stored in the *alang* gives humans life, Jesus also presents in the Eucharistic host reserved in the tabernacle.

Third, the alang has become a symbol of leadership. The two pillars were Pandito's place and the prominent leader's seat. This symbolic concept was implemented by the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao to communicate the teachings about the leader or priest presiding over the ceremony of faith. The priest (*Pandito*) led the celebration in front of the altar, right on the pillars of the *alang*.

Fourth, the use of *alang* at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao symbolized the continuity of the faith maintained from generation to generation. The acculturation of this church deployed *alang*, signifying a *tongkonan*. The church utilized these two symbols to describe the transmission of faith that must be preserved and maintained from generation to generation (apostolic succession).

Fifth, the *alang* served as a unifying symbol of society. Sixth, the social system of the Toraja community employed *alang* as a gathering place to talk about genuinely noble things and bring good. On top of the *alang*, *untanned kada* (words string) was placed to weave words bringing goodness. From the *alang* at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao, the society echoed wisdom, praise, glory, and holiness.

### **Acculturation Differences at the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao**

The existence of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao evidenced the interaction between Islam and Catholicism, utilizing elements of local culture to communicate their faith in Toraja society. The success of accepting Islam and Catholicism in society was inseparable from the acceptance of religion in the elements of local culture that the local community has lived for generations.

The case study of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao revealed the different acculturation levels of Islam and Catholicism. Islam acculturation at the Great Mosque of Rantepao reached the stages of accommodation and adaptation. The overt culture of Toraja culture was applied in the architecture of this mosque, but the use of regional symbols had not fully touched the covert culture. Meanwhile, the acculturation at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao achieved the integration process. The overt culture was maintained in the church's architecture, but its covert culture was changed in the light of the church's faith.

The acculturation of the Great Mosque of Rantepao at the stages of accommodation and adaptation was based on several reasons. First, Islam accommodated the use of *longa* and decorations of Toraja society in the mosque's architecture. The use of *longa* and Toraja decorations did not change the meaning of the mosque at all. The symbols in the mosque's building did not eliminate the mosque's importance.

Suppose one sees the building of the Great Mosque of Rantepao as a reference (object). In that case, that experience could be readily accepted by the mind (connection) and understood as a mosque or house of worship. Over culture, *longa* was applied in the mosque's architecture without having to understand the cover culture contained in it. Second, accommodation in the mosque's architecture was evident in the selective attitude of using regional symbols on *longa* and decorations. However, some essential decorations in Toraja architecture were not employed. The particular process presupposed an accommodative and adaptive process toward symbols that could be used and those that could not because they were not aligned with the Islamic faith and teachings. The mosque's construction did not entirely employ the over culture in various *tongkonan* symbols. Third, most Muslims in Toraja were not from Toraja ethnic but from Bugis, Makassar, and Javanese. Hence, they did not understand the cover culture of every symbol at the mosque. The Toraja decoration at the mosque depicted Islamic accommodation in the Toraja community, rich in customs and culture. Fourth, the acculturation efforts in Toraja only reached the accommodating process and were limited to the Great Mosque of Rantepao. The acculturation of this mosque using *longa* and ornamental varieties of Toraja was not a measure in constructing other mosques in Toraja. Two mosques located close to the Great Mosque of Rantepao,

the Nurul Taqwa Bolu Mosque and the Taqwa Karassik Mosque, did not use the Great Mosque of Rantepao as a benchmark in their construction. Mosques built in Bolu and Karassik were more modern in tone than most others, illustrating that the acculturation efforts in Toraja only arrived at the accommodating process and were limited to the Great Mosque of Rantepao. There has yet to be any effort, such as a joint movement in implementing the acculturation already underway in Rantepao.

The acculturation at the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao reached the integration stage. Several reasons could be put forward. To begin with, using *alang* as a tabernacle was understood as an accessory and became a symbolic language as a tabernacle. In other words, there was compatibility and similarity in function between the *alang* in Toraja culture and the tabernacle in this Catholic church. The use of *alang* in no way changed the meaning of the tabernacle as a core part of the church's architecture. The tabernacle, understood in the European mindset and greatly influenced the understanding of the church, was captured in the Toraja mind. The integration occurred in this section. The covert culture section gained new knowledge while the overt culture was maintained.

Additionally, the use of *alang* in the architecture of the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao had the same function as the sanctuary in Catholicism. Toraja society utilized *alang* as a place to lead. From the *alang*, there was a word of life, a place to rule. This meaning was then integrated into the liturgical celebration of the church that it was from above the sanctuary that the word of life was read or preached. Moreover, integration in the acculturation at the Catholic Church of St. Theresia Rantepao could be seen in verbal and nonverbal symbols. Regional symbols owned by Toraja society were utilized to provide new meanings.

Furthermore, accepting Toraja society to the Catholic church depicted the well-going integration. The covert culture obtained new light in the church's faith, but the church still preserved and maintained the overt culture. Catholics could easily capture and understand expressions of faith using Toraja symbols. Toraja society felt welcomed through regional decorations at the church. Hence, the differences in cultural appropriation between the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresa Rantepao were apparent. The appropriation of the Great Mosque of Rantepao lay in using *longa* and *tongkonan* ornaments. In contrast, the appropriation of the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao was reflected in the use of *alang* as a tabernacle decorated with its decorations.

As Nurdin mentioned, the *tongkonan* symbol at the Great Mosque of Rantepao indicated "the identity of Torajans being Islamic, not Toraja Muslims." By referring to themselves as Toraja Muslims, they were Torajans, with a characteristic of Toraja society but were Muslims. As lived by the Toraja community, cultural values were also lived and internalized by Muslims in Toraja.<sup>29</sup> Hajj Taruna also reinforced that Islam accommodated the use of *tongkonan* because the values had similarities with Islamic teachings. However, it was also accompanied by a selective attitude. Nurdin Batu Rante also asserted that Torajans had the same right to culture. No one could claim that the symbols in the Toraja culture belonged only to a particular group. Therefore, the Toraja Islamic community could employ *longa* to express their faith within the context of the Toraja community. The Toraja cultural symbols used at mosques were not solely symbols. Nurdin stated that the symbols at the Great Mosque of Rantepao aligned with Islamic values through Islamic *tawhid's* teachings. Islam also believes that God creates differences between tribes and nations. This teaching implies that Islam believes and teaches that Muslims everywhere can live in harmony and are willing to appreciate societal differences. Therefore, those who deny differences in society also deny the existence of God.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, S. L. Tonapa asserted, "The mission of spreading the Catholic faith is also supported by creative efforts to use Toraja symbols to explain the faith of the church".<sup>31</sup> In the future, the Catholic church's acculturation efforts could develop because they are supported by various opportunities that

could encourage the development of acculturation efforts. The Catholic church has spread the teachings of its faith through the Toraja cultural approach. *P. Bine Saramae* mentioned that various acculturation efforts were intensified to root faith in the culture of Torajans. The presence of the church provided a new color to the various ceremonial rites in Toraja society. The church's faith was celebrated and explained in the culture of Torajans. Using reeds at the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao has been a fairly obvious attempt.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, Father Natan Runtung, the current Parish Priest of St. Theresia, stated that the initial idea of using various varieties of Toraja ornaments in church buildings was a form of acculturation of the faith of the Catholic church with local wisdom in Toraja. For example, using *longa* on the tabernacle symbolized a house, a place to store valuables.<sup>33</sup> This meaning aligns with the belief of the Catholic faith, teaching that the church is the house of God.

Acculturation efforts in Toraja received support from Catholics. This enthusiasm was displayed in the full involvement of the people when participating in the various acculturation ceremonies. This effort also gained support from the local government in Toraja. Local governments with tourism programs and efforts to preserve traditional culture and values also encouraged various communities, including the church, to be involved in efforts to protect community customs and traditions. Therefore, the local government always supported facilities and granted permits for various religious ceremonies raising Toraja cultural values.

### **The Acculturation Effects of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao**

The acculturation of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao proved the success of Islam and Catholicism in friendship and respect for Toraja culture. However, efforts to root faith in Toraja's treasures were not without challenges. Islam and Catholicism encountered formidable challenges requiring attention to be accepted in Toraja. The architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Catholic Church of Rantepao was only one aspect Islam and Catholicism had carried out to communicate their teachings to Toraja society. The acculturation of Islam and Catholicism would continue to grow.

Some prior research supports this study, such as those conducted by Bachtiar Fauzy, Amira Arraya, and Diah Ayuningrum. Research discussing intercultural encounters, especially in local religions and cultural benefits, has been conducted extensively. There has been much research specifically discussing cultural acculturation in Toraja. Finding a reference book supporting this study was one of the difficulties. Therefore, this study was divided into two: (1) the study of patterns of religious and cultural interaction and (2) the study of the architecture of houses of worship. This research was motivated by the phenomenon that many heritage buildings influenced by migrant culture were demolished without regard to their cultural values.<sup>34</sup> This research was conducted through descriptive, analytical, and interpretative methods using the theory of *archetypes and ordering principles*. Cultural views—traditional Javanese and Hindu architecture, theory, and methodology employed revealed architectural phenomena by seeing the acculturation from the aspects of function, structure, and meaning through the philosophy of spatial planning, sacredness, and influence on the culture in the building of mosques. The results unveiled that the Sulthoni Plosokuning Mosque in Sleman Yogyakarta expressed acculturation between Javanese and Hindu cultures through its concepts.

The acculturation of architectural styles at the Sulthoni Mosque took the form of openness to culture and architecture in accepting influences from other cultures without eliminating the characteristics of each culture. The cultures in question were Hindu and Javanese. The ordering principle theory describes

the composition of a very well-laid-out building, starting from the axis as the mosque's primary means in the arrangement of architectural forms and spaces. The structure of this mosque, through the site of orientation, mass order, the figure of the building, building elements, materials, and other elements, reflected the Hindu architectural style. For example, the principle of *Tirta* took the form of a pond around the mosque building, a tomb complex with tombstones with a Hindu architectural style, and a *padaruksa* gate—a gate in the building. Meanwhile, the Javanese architectural style was reflected in the elements of the porch roof, with the shape of a *joglo* roof, the structure of the building, with *soko guru*, completed with the foundation of the *umpak*, as well as the spatial layout pattern identical to the spatial design in traditional Javanese house architecture.<sup>35</sup>

A study was conducted by Diah Ayuningrum (2017) entitled "*Akulturası Budaya Cina dan Islam dalam Arsitektur Tempat Ibadah di Kota Lasem, Jawa Tengah*".<sup>36</sup> Lasem was a kingdom that the Majapahit Kingdom once conquered because of its strategic location on the north coast of Java. As a coastal kingdom, Lasem became a place to interact with traders outside the island to conduct business with domains on Java. Therefore, it was not surprising that the typical Chinese architecture and cultural activities of the Chinese people were everywhere in Lasem.

Furthermore, Lasem City resulted from the harmonious acculturation of indigenous Javanese, Chinese, and Islamic Javanese cultures. The pesantren area alongside Chinatown was proof of creating a cultural acculturation rooted in tolerance. The data were collected through literature studies, direct observations, and documentation. The literature study was conducted by finding and reading relevant sources from journals, online media, historian articles, and Islamic culture. The observation directly matched the architectural forms of places of worship in Lasem. Subsequently, data analysis was carried out through descriptive qualitative methods.

The results revealed that Chinese ethnicity in Lasem since more than 400 years ago caused many changes. The Chinese culture had long been mingled with the culture of indigenous peoples. The marriage of ethnic Chinese and indigenous people triggered the emergence of two major ethnic Chinese groups: pure and "mixed". Proof of the renewal of famous Chinese and indigenous cultures was Batik Tulis Lasem. In addition to batik, evidence of cultural acculturation was the architecture. The abundance of stylish houses typical of Chinese architecture characterized it. There were also many old buildings with Chinese architecture, although most were empty and fragile with age. One form of acculturation in architecture was the Jami' Lasem Mosque, built in 1588. On the roof, the end of the top, carvings near the pulpit, the dome of the mosque, and the minaret were Chinese cultural architecture following the shape of typical buildings in Lasem. Coastal architecture depicted an architectural concept in the relationship between the function, form, and meaning of coastal residential architecture as a unity with inherent characteristics as a form of cultural acculturation. In addition, the influence of Chinese culture on Javanese houses in Lasem Chinatown was in the type of barrier to the land plots of the house as well as the use of ornamentation on its buildings as a surface structure.<sup>37</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The use of the Toraja regional symbols in the architecture of the Great Mosque of Rantepao directly depicted an identity of Muslims deeply rooted in Toraja culture. However, the presence of Muslims in their inculturation efforts also experienced various challenges. *First*, most Toraja Muslims were not indigenous Torajans, causing them to not fully understand the variety of decorations of the Great Mosque of Rantepao. *Second*, the younger generation's interest in cultural studies was low. *Third*, deep research and a selective attitude toward the symbols employed were highly required to avoid falling into syncretism.

Toraja regional symbols at the Great Mosque of Rantepao were more than merely decorative. Acculturation and appropriation efforts could be the best opportunity to introduce Islamic teachings to the broader community. There has been hope that Torajans would increasingly understand the teachings of Islam through acculturation efforts. It was also supported by various factors discovered. *First*, the Toraja community upheld togetherness and brotherhood among fellow human beings. *Second*, the development of Muslims in Toraja has become an excellent opportunity to learn about Toraja culture. *Third*, it was accommodating to local culture. *Fourth*, the social relations between communities in Toraja society were excellent. All of these have become excellent opportunities for the development of Islam in Toraja, especially when dealing with existing local elements.

The acculturation of the Great Mosque of Rantepao and the Church of St. Theresia Rantepao proved the success of Islam and Catholicism in friendship and respect for Toraja culture. However, efforts to root faith in Toraja's treasures were not without challenges. Islam and Catholicism had formidable challenges requiring attention to be accepted in Toraja. Therefore, the acculturation of Islam and Catholicism would continue to expand.

The encounter of faith in culture should be monitored and studied continuously to avoid causing problems obscuring the values of faith and culture. It must be remembered that Toraja society often faced clashes between tradition and religious teachings. Cultural issues and religious beliefs became social problems in Toraja society. Traditional activities were often problematic because they must align with religious teachings. The lack of understanding of the boundaries between traditional and religious activities often led to syncretism. Therefore, this study is relevant because it answers social problems. One of the steps that could be taken is to provide a complete understanding of faith and culture to Muslims and Catholics in Toraja through education. Therefore, the cooperation of traditional stakeholders, religious leaders, and the government is highly required.

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