

Interpreting Religion Through Attitude and Religious Orientation in Javanese Society

Wiwik Setiyani Khasbullah

Universitas Islam Negeri (UIN) Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Indonesia

Email: wiwiksetiyani@uinsby.ac.id

Abstract: *Religiosity or religious adherence is a form of the peculiarities of each religion in implementing its teachings. Religious adherence has various complexions in expressing its religion. True religious adherence will generate an identity that is rich with discretion. To achieve it, a religious attitude and orientation are needed. Being religious means how to behave toward himself and others. The attitude of religion has a variety of typologies, namely inclusivism, exclusivism, pluralism, eclecticism, and universalism. Various typology reflects the tendency of one in practicing religion. The choice of the typology can be influenced by motivation whether intrinsic or extrinsic, which is the orientation of the religious person. To interpret one's religiosity, then need to understand how his religious attitude and orientation. The religiosity of Indonesian society, particularly Javanese, is strongly influenced by its local culture. Syncretism has been justified by Geertz that religious adherence to Javanese society can not be separated from its local cultural influence. This study used in-depth critical analysis methods to show the link and continuity between Javanese religion, culture, and society To interpret the religiosity of Javanese society, one must refer to the religious attitude and orientation which refer to the five typologies. Therefore, this research will identify the interpretation of the society's religiosity to find the dynamic and potential concepts of religious adherence coloring the development of the religiosity world.*

Keywords: *religious adherence, religious attitude, and orientation, Javanese society*

Abstrak: *Keberagamaan merupakan bentuk kekhasan masing-masing agama dalam mengimplementasikan ajaran agamanya. Kepenganutan agama memiliki corak beragam dalam mengekspresikan agamanya. Kepenganutan agama yang benar akan melahirkan identitas yang kaya dengan kebijaksanaanya. Sikap beragama memiliki ragam tipologi yakni, inklusivisme, eksklusivisme, pluralisme, eklektisivisme dan universalisme. Pilihan terhadap tipologi beragama dapat dipengaruhi oleh motivasi baik, instrinsik maupun ekstrinsik yakni, orientasi keagamaan seseorang. Untuk memaknai keberagamaan seseorang maka, perlu memahami sikap dan orientasi keagamaannya. Keberagamaan masyarakat Indonesia khususnya Jawa sangat dipengaruhi dengan budaya lokalitasnya. Sinkretis telah dijustifikasi oleh Geertz bahwa, kepegangan agama pada masyarakat Jawa tidak dapat dilepaskan dari pengaruh budaya lokal. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode analisis kritis yang mendalam untuk menunjukkan*

keterkaitan dan kesinambungan antara agama, budaya, dan masyarakat Jawa Artikel ini mengidentifikasi makna keberagaman masyarakat Jawa sebagai kerangka berfikir untuk menemukan konsep-konsep kepeganutan agama. Temuan penelitian bahwa, harmonisasi dan keseimbangan menjadi falsafah hidup masyarakat Jawa dan kepeganutan agama sejalan dengan konsep agama world religion maupun indigenous religion. Orientasi keagamaan difokuskan pada konsep humanis dan membuka pandangan baru tentang keberagaman masyarakat Jawa.

Kata Kunci: *kepeganutan agama, sikap dan orientasi keagamaan, masyarakat Jawa*

INTRODUCTION

Javanese people have unique characteristics and stand out in their religious culture. The Javanese view of the meaning of religion not only directs the process of each individual but, is able to answer the dilemma of the existence of every religious believer.¹ Departing from Javanese culture as a philosophical-symbolic form coloring the pattern of attitudes and religious orientations of its diverse and unique people. The religious attitude of Javanese people is determined by many things as stated in Javanese cosmology which is used as the philosophy of life for the people. Meanwhile, the issue of syncretism cannot be separated in Javanese culture and religion. The attitude and religious orientation of the Javanese is perfectly illustrated in the combination of acculturation between the core culture and the "*religious art style*" of the Javanese.²

One of the characteristics of Javanese religious cultures is enlivened on the issue of motherhood, Hinduism-Buddhism, Christianity and Islam as a reflection of the attitude and religious orientation of the Javanese. Normative Islam and Javanese Islam is one form of the diverse religious expression of javanese people that was successfully photographed by Mark Woodward through his classic study of the religious orientation of Javanese people. The religious orientation of javanese people is one form of their understanding of *javanese cosmo-ecology* which includes the universe, javanese land, and all the creatures that occupy it and

¹ Jurgen Habermas, *Between Naturalism And Religion: Philosophical Essays*, (Translated by Ciaran Cronin), (UK and USA: Polity Press, 2008), 9.

² Suyono, P. R. Capt, *Ajaran Rahasia Orang Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008), viii.

includes social activities, culture, and symbolization awareness as a reflection of Javanese consciousness. The trust of the *kejawen* is like the implementation of *slametan*³ as an independent entity, however, it has a relationship with the spiritual and metaphysical worlds. Connectivity in it involving Javanese religion or local beliefs with Islam however, is thick with the pattern of its piety.⁴ This article describes three important studies; *First*, how the Javanese people interpret their religion. *Second*, how the attitude and religious orientation of Javanese people are based on typology. *Third*, how the syncretism of Clifford Geertz identifies and sees the *konsep kepenganutan agama* of people of Java.

The mystical and unique Javanese religion is a wealth of history that must be maintained, studied, and raised to the surface to be the center of attention of researchers, culturalists, communities, countries, and the world. Clifford Geertz (1960) and Mark Woodward (1999) examined Javanese society with theory and relevant approaches about what, who, where, and why Javanese / Javanese. The relationship between Religion, Javanese culture, and society is colored by rites, symbols, and physical spaces created over thousands of years but, later adapted to fit, by changes in social norms and ways of life in certain eras.⁵

Religiousness; Religious attitudes and orientations in Javanese society are believed to have deep-rooted traditions and beliefs.⁶ Niels Mulder (2005)⁷ Judging

³ Sukmawan Sony, *Kosmo-Ekologi Jawa Dalam Sastra Lisan*, <http://fib.ub.ac.id/wrp-con/uploads/2-KosmoEkologi-Jawa-dalam-Sastra-Lisan.pdf> Diakses pada 7 September 2020.

⁴ Muhd. Abdullah Darraz, "Islamic Eco-Cosmology in Ikhwan Al-Safa's View," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Society* 2, no 1 (June 2012): 133-161. <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v2i1.133-161>

⁵ Stringer, M., & Cairns, E., "Catholic and Protestant young people's ratings of stereotyped Protestant and Catholic faces," *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22 (1983): 241-246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1983.tb00588.x>

⁶ Graham ST. John, *Rave culture and religion*, edited by Graham St. John, (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 5-7.

⁷ Niels Mulder, *Mysticism in Java; Ideology in Indonesia*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 15.

that, the attitudes and religious orientation of some Javanese practice local beliefs or their responsibilities in religious practices or syncretic processes. M.C. Rifcklefs (2012)⁸ Explained in javanese culture, performing rituals and religious ceremonies at one time. The orientation and religious attitude of the Javanese became one of the complex and complicated and mystical religious systems.. Zinnbauer (1997)⁹ demonstrate two approaches in answering the fundamental question of what exactly makes the religious (attitude and religious orientation) of Javanese people different. Among them is the idea of substance Everything is "sacred and mystical" because religion serves as *a problem-solving* in various aspects of the lives of its adherents.

METHOD

This study used in-depth *critical analysis methods* to show the link and continuity between Javanese religion, culture, and society. This research emphasizes syncretism on the three major themes above through its concepts and approaches, offered by *scholars* as a matrix of analysis to arrive at the results to be achieved. Functionally, to interpret religion through the attitude and religious orientation of the Javanese people needed the right concept as a knife of analysis. Jam Geertz, M.C Ricklefs will help take a deeper look at this phenomenon. It is important to understand the complex phenomena of Javanese religious attitudes and orientations theoretically, conceptually, and empirically in order to find balance as a new color to offer in the religious world.

This article found three important aspects, namely; First, the attitude and religious orientation of Javanese people has a dynamic concept of influence because, prioritizing the attitude of pluralism, universalism and eclecticism. The concept aims to build a balance of life or harmonization, embracing all religious beliefs that make it a philosophy of life. *Second*, the attitude and religious

⁸ M.C. Rifcklefs, *Islamization and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Sosial, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present*. (Singapore: NUS, 2012), 183.

⁹ Brian J. Zinnbauer, Kenneth I. Pargament, Brenda Cole, Mark S. Rye, Eric M. Butter, Timothy G. Belavich, Kathleen M. Hipp, Allie B. Scott, and Jill L. Kadar, "Religion and Spirituality: Unfuzzifying the Fuzzy," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36, No. 4 (Dec 1997): 549-564. DOI: 10.2307/1387689

orientation of Javanese people theoretically becomes a criticism for adherents of religion (*world religion* and *indigenous religion*) about modern human culture. *Third*, it is time for religious orientation to be focused on the concept of the original and natural religion of humanity, opening up new concepts and fantasies (renewals) of various forms of religion; without conspiracy, without coachman debate, without politicization, without the shadow of justification and proclamation. This article provides alternative views or concepts in looking at and studying *global issues* that include religion, culture, and "what and who is" Java / Javanese people.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Brief Overview: Morality, Ethics and Religious Culture

One of the highest goals and achievements of religion, culture/tradition is the fulfillment of desires or the existence of forms of satisfaction, happiness and spiritual well-being (both physical and spiritual).¹⁰ Each tribe and community group in a particular region or has a prominent orientation and belief in religious culture.¹¹ Indonesia has long been known as a multicultural and homogeneous nation in various aspects, especially in the aspect of cultural assimilation and actualizing its religion.¹² On the other hand, each religion or belief contains morality and ethics that teach various things about living life. Such values

¹⁰ Chambert-Loir Henry Dan Reid Anthony, *Kuasa Leluhur: Nenek Moyang, Orang Suci, dan Pahlawan di Indonesia Kontemporer*, (Medan: Bina Media Perintis, 2006), XVI.

¹¹ David Swartz, "Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power," *Sociology of Religion* 57, no. 1 (01 march 1996): 71-85.

¹² Hari Poerwanto, "The Problem of Chinese Assimilation and Integration in Indonesia," *Philippine sociological society* 24, no.1/4 (1976): 51-55. DOI: 10.2307/41853596 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41853596>

(morality and ethics) are embedded in every religion and culture that is the religious ethos of each society and individual.¹³

Religion has a direct relationship with religiosity which is treated as something dimensional, metaphorical and has characteristics.¹⁴ The status of a religion is considered a majority or minority religion however, this does not diminish or disprove the values of the teachings and all the dogmas contained by each religion. This phenomenon is not only found in world religions but also local *religions (indigenous religions)*.¹⁵ Partially, in interpreting his religiousness, man is always emphasized on the highest essence of religion, namely God, as one entity.¹⁶ Speaking of religiousness or religious beliefs, the context and goals achieved are no longer limited by space and time but, are indicated by the religious attitudes and orientations of religious people through a series of religious practices and activities.

In the conception of philosophy, the instigation of religion is to talk about everything that involves the material and non-material worlds. The discussion of all things "as is" is based on the believed teachings (based on scripture) and the laws that are adhered to together. This concept is closely related to the idea of ethics and morality in religion.¹⁷ Franz Magnis Suseno,¹⁸ Defining ethics is not just a supporting player in moral teachings but, on the contrary, critical thinking about the teachings of morality. As the personality and behavioral characteristics

¹³ Saprin, "Tasawuf Sebagai Etika Pembebasan; Memosisikan Islam Sebagai Agama Moralitas," *Kuriositas* 11, No. 1 (Juni 2017): 83-89. Doi: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229031144.pdf>

¹⁴ Johnny R.J. Fontaine, Patrick Luyten, and Jozef Corveleyn, "Tell Me What You Believe and I'll Tell You What You Want: Empirical Evidence For Discrimination Values Patterns of Five Types of Religiosity," *The International Journal For the Psychology of Religion* 10, No.2 (2000): 65-84. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327582IJPR1002_01

¹⁵ Bjern Ola TaQord, "Indigenous Religion(s) as an Analytical Category," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 25, no.3 (Jan 2013): 221-243. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1163/15700682-12341258>

¹⁶ Richard M Eckersley, "Culture, spirituality, religion and health: looking at the big picture," *MJA The Medical Journal of Australia* 186, no. S10 (May 2007): 54-57. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.5694/j.1326-5377.2007.tb01042.x>

¹⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *Between Naturalism And Religion: Philosophical Essays*, (Translated by Ciaran Cronin), (UK and USA: Polity Press, 2008), 1-2.

¹⁸ Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijakan Hidup Jawa*. (Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1987), 14-16.

of Javanese have a pattern of behavior that strongly prioritizes ethical values and makes morality a prerequisite in social relations. Suseno emphasized that, Javanese people instilled their beliefs containing moral philosophy as philosophical reasoning of good and bad behavior ('ilm al-akhlaq) and moral (akhlaq) as the practice.¹⁹ Ethics is the whole norm and assessment believed by a society that is implemented in life with all its complexity and responsibilities.²⁰ Principles of ethical values in ibn Hazm's religion, including: morals, virtue, being fair and upholding religious teachings to be absorbed and applied in everyday life.²¹

Religious diversity functionally produces clear concepts and views in identifying the attitudes and religious orientations of Javanese people. The existence of religion in the order of life of the Javanese gave birth to a solid belief,²² firmness and tranquility as the philosophy of life; copyright, taste and karsa.²³ The firmness of religious people is supported by science, culture and locality beliefs as ancestral heritage. The essence of religion is to dive into the history of past life, make religion as spirituality and find peace of mind towards the Khalik.²⁴ Javanese philosophy as a normative frame of mind that instills the function of conscience and the nature of the heart, determines the orientation of

¹⁹ Ahmad Tajuddin Arafa, "Filsafat Moral Ibn Hazm Dalam Kitab Al Akhlaq Was-Siyar Fi Mudawati-N-Nu," *Jurnal "Analisa"* 20, No. 01 (Juni 2013): 51-64.

²⁰ Christina Siwi Handayani Gadis Arivia Haryatmoko Robertus Robet, Subyek yang Dikekang Pengantar ke Pemikiran Julia Kristeva, Simone de Beauvoir Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan. *Komunitas salihara*, (Jakarta: 2013), 69.

²¹ Ahmad Tajuddin Arafa, "Filsafat Moral Ibn Hazm Dalam Kitab Al Akhlaq Was-Siyar Fi Mudawati-N-Nu," *Jurnal "Analisa"* 20, No. 01 (Juni 2013): 51-64.

²² Andrew beatty, *Varities of Javanese Religion an Antropological Account*, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 3-4.

²³ Clifford geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Chicago and London: the University of Chicago Pess, 1960), 28. Lihat juga, Ayu Sutarto, "Becoming a true Javanese: A Javanese view of attempts at Javanisation," *Journal Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (Jan 2007): 39-53.

²⁴ *Shidqi Ahyani*, "Islam Jawa: Varian Keagamaan Masyarakat Muslim dalam Tinjauan Antropologi," *Jurnal Salam* 15, no.1 (2012).

life. The forms of life orientation are in line with religious orientation, social orientation and others that become *worldview* for its adherents.

Religious culture for religious people is an ancestral heritage that must be supported by the religious attitude of its adherents. Referring to the criticism of Max Muller (1873), it is time for man to abandon the debate about religion which only creates endless paths of conflict and continues to occur for a long time. The attitude of maintaining differences and blaming other beliefs, is not a goal but, makes maturity in religion as, statement Daniel L. Pals (2011):

“the deepest desire of humanity today... is to revitalize the true faith to be revived in order, man to live by faith in peace and tranquility with the universal brotherhood of all human beings (religious people)- whether Christian, Jewish, Chinese, Islamic and others, under the rule of the creator...”²⁵

Important criticisms for adherents of *religion* (*world religion* and *indigenous religion*) about the religious culture of modern humans must be oriented towards the concept of the original and natural religion of humanity. Religion and all the elements contained in it are *Cammon Material*²⁶ it is embraced individually as well as communally. Partially religion is formed by various customs, natural states of taste, psychic games and something born of a single human mind and consciousness. Cultural influences, customs, old ancestral traditions and religious theology are revelations, teachings, laws and commandments of God. At some point religion is the same level as cultured. Its function is interpreted as a set of symbols representing three aspects; material *culture* (*material culture*), behavioral *culture* (*behavioral culture*) and culture of ideas (*identional culture*).²⁷ Explicitly cultural symbols are fused and harmoniously entwined with religion which is reflected in a person's religious attitudes and influential in determining the religious orientation of individuals. In

²⁵ Pals, L. Daniel, *Seven Theories of Religion; Tujuh Teori Agama Paling Komprehensif*, Edisi Baru, (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2012), 12-16.

²⁶ H.S. Nasr, *The Spiritual Significance of Nature in the Need For a Sacred Science*, (NY: State University of New York Press, 1993), 119-125.

²⁷ Thomas Reuter, *Adversting a Global Environmental Collapse the Role of Anthropology and Local Knowledge*, (UK: Lady Sthepenson Lybrary Newcastlec upon Tyne NE6 2PA, 2015), 1-19.

religious culture and art 'ala' Javanese it is very easy to identify the relationship between material culture, behavior and ideas.²⁸

Religious Attitudes and Orientations: "Javanese Religious Art"

Javanese society has the dynamics of religious life, Frans Magnis-Suseno (1984) Java; explains about the system of life, humans, all the regularity and irregularities that exist in it. Java is not just an island inhabited by a group of people who have a culture of life but, in the socio-cultural aspects of javanese people speak in 4 languages. Suseno confirmed “—Javanese in the true sense is found in Central and East Java. The so-called "Javanese" is a person whose mother tongue is the actual language of it. So the Javanese are the indigenous people of the Central and Eastern parts of Java Island who speak Java”.²⁹ “Orang Jawa atau Jawa yang sebenarnya” only covers the central Java region³⁰ and East java island, while the area included in the territory of West Java has a different culture and language.

Javanese people are still distinguished again by the residents of the North coast who have a strong trading system. The influence of Islam is also considered stronger in shaping the attitudes and religious orientations and culture of javanese people who are typical, the characteristics of religious and cultured coastal residents or inland Java areas are called "*kejawen*".³¹ Javanese people have cultural centers (Javanese cultural icons) such as the cities of Surakarta,

²⁸ Yazzie K. Melanie & Baldy R.C., Introduction: Indigenous People and the Politics of Water, *Jurnal Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 7, No. 1 (2018): 1-18.

²⁹ Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1984), 11.

³⁰ Departemen pendidikan dan kebudayaan direktorat pendidikan dan Jenderal direktorat sejarah dan nilai tradisional proyek inventarisasi dan dokumentasi sejarah nasional, *Sejarah Daerah Jawa tengah*, (Jakarta, 1994), 8-16.

³¹ Suyono, P. R. Capt, *Ajaran Rahasia Orang Jawa*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008), vii.

Yogyakarta, Banyumas, Kediri, Malang and Madiun. Based on its statistics, 96% of java's population adheres to Islam, 2.5% adheres to Christianity, and 1.5% others (Hinduism, Buddhism, and local religions that still stand firm today).³² Clifford Geertz examined the diversity of javanese culture and religious arts by classifying them into 3 groups, namely; *Santri*, *Abangan* and *Priyayi*.³³

Java is part of *diversity*, part of *Bhineka Tunggal Ika*, part of Pancasila (nationalism) and part of Indonesian human culture.³⁴ Javanese people have a material culture, behavioral culture and culture of ideas that are able to encourage attitudes and religious orientations of the community to strengthen and differ both, conceptually and in practice.³⁵ Javanese people have a deep-rooted religious beliefs and practices such as; Godly consciousness (monotheistic). Implications of Islamic teachings on surrender or surrender³⁶ in accordance with the culture of behavior (religion and social relations) of Javanese people who prioritize flexibility and calm attitude (avoiding conflict or attitude of direct confrontation). The concept of Javanese thinking that, the core of Javanese culture that is, culture forms identity, as part of manners. Material culture, behavior and ideas of society have closeness to Islamic culture, especially the culture of the Sufis (Sufistic Islam).³⁷

The attitude of pluralism, eclecticism and universalism is considered to also reflect the religious culture of the Javanese. The attitude of pluralism is shown by javanese people through the attitude of accepting the existence of others.

³² Frans Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijakan Hidup Jawa*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1984), 12-13. Bandingkan Juga dengan, Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 25-27.

³³ Gunawan Laksono Aji, "Clifford Geertz dan Penelitiannya Tentang Agama di Indonesia (Jawa)," *Citra Ilmu* 24, no. Xii (Okt, 2016): 115-123.

³⁴ Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese Culture: Issued Under the Auspices of the Southeast Asian Studies Program, Institutet of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 63-64.

³⁵ Zaenal Abidin Eko Putro, "Ketahanan Toleransi Orang Jawa: Studi tentang Yogyakarta Kontemporer," *Jurnal Sosiologi* 15, No. 2, (Juli 2010): 15-36.

³⁶ Zainal Abidin, Teologi Inklusif Nurcholish Madjid: Harmonisasi Antara Keislaman, Keindonesiaan, dan Kemoderenan, *Journal humaniora Binus University* 5, no. 2 (2014): 670.

³⁷ Suyono, P. R. Capt, *Dunia Mistik Orang Jawa: Roh, Ritual, Benda Magis*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2007), vi.

However, eclecticism is also an important part by taking all forms of kindness in every particular religious teaching (assimilation). This attitude is depicted in the process of syncretism between Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic and Christian with the core culture of Javanese society implied in the philosophy of puppetry; a form of syncerism that became part of the core culture of the Javanese who breathed Hindu-Buddhists.³⁸

Javanese religious attitudes and orientations offer something not found in cultured and religious living systems in other societies. However, criticism is often conveyed that, the beliefs of the Javanese people are considered to be unable to provide differentiation of Islamic culture and traditions.³⁹ This issue is a concern that must be straightened out both conceptually, by definition, meaning and purpose so that, not as a form of justification but, to show that differences are part of God's diversity, grace and grace. Differences are the art of life, attitudes and religious orientation of Javanese people are part of the art of religion.⁴⁰ Syncretism has colored the religiousness of Javanese society is the implication of pluralism and universalism.

The tendency of Javanese society that Islam as a religious identity is good, institutionally and non-institutionally. Javanese people believe in and practice "others" outside islam, Christianity, Hinduism-Buddhism or other religions with a

³⁸ Ibid, 82.

³⁹ M.C. Ricklefs, *Islamization and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Sosial, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present*. Maps, Bibliography, Index. Book Review, Indonesia, (Singapore: NUS, 2012), 288.

⁴⁰ Ahmad syafi'i Mufid, *Taklukkan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa; Pengantar Muslim Abdurrahman*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor indonesia, 2006), 2-5. Bandingkan juga dengan, Gunawan Laksono Aji, "Clifford Geertz dan Penelitiannya Tentang Agama di Indonesia (Jawa)," *Citra Ilmu* 24, no. Xii (Okt, 2016): 115-123.

tendency such as: Sapta Darma, kebatinan or other beliefs.⁴¹ Ancestral religions remained a part of the religiousness of Javanese society and made the principles, paths and philosophies of life⁴² as scholars do such as; Geertz, M.C. Rifcklefs, and Woodward.

Woodward explained that two groups of people who partly adhere to Javanese Islam and some who practice normative Islam are considered pure Islam without the element of authority. Javanese Islam and normative Islam have breathed "Java" so, there is no room to separate the two. Unless, theoretically or conceptually have a comparative hypothesis, scholars such as Geertz, characterize the religious orientation of Javanese people into three large groups.⁴³ Geertz grouping is not able to separate Islam and Java because found Javanese elements in Islamic traditions and vice versa, Islam has its natural nature through various rituals, Islamic and Javanese traditions are attached to each other and complement each other.

Clifford Geertz Syncretism and the Concept of Javanese Religious Sediton

Religiousness or religious beliefs of javanese people have strong roots in terms of traditions and customs.⁴⁴ The attitude and religious orientation of the Javanese people also strongly prioritize religiosity driven by the need for values, goals and meaning of life.⁴⁵ Religion means learning and understanding the whole

⁴¹ Emmelia Tricia Herliana, "Preserving Javanese Culture through Retail Activities in Pasar Beringharjo, Yogyakarta," *5th Arte Polis International Conference and Workshop – "Reflections on Creativity: Public Engagement and the Making of Place," Arte-Polis 5, 8-9 August 2014, Bandung, Indonesia. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 184, (2015): 206 – 213.

⁴² Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese Culture: Issued Under the Auspices of the Southeast Asian Studies Program, Institutet of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 58.

⁴³ Mark Woodward, *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatnan*, (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1999), 11.

⁴⁴ Purwadi & Dwiyanto Djoko, *Fillsafat Jawa; Ajaran Hidup Yang Berdasarkan Nilai Kebijakan Tradisional*, (Bantul: Panji pustaka, 2006), 16-19.

⁴⁵ Ni Wayan Sartini, "Menggali Nilai Kearifan Lokal Budaya Jawa Lewat Ungkapan (Bebasan, Saloka, dan Paribasa)," *Jurnal Ilmiah Bahasa dan Sastra* V, no.1 (April, 2009): 28-37.

of life itself. Because religion is about faith, godliness, melting and the divine way to harmonize life⁴⁶ in devotion to be immortalized for life.

Javanese society has a distinctive concept that has been maintained for hundreds of years, fundamentally the attitude and religious orientation of Javanese people can not be separated from the culture of ideas (*wiwarah-wiwarah*).⁴⁷ The idea of the concept of life was born and grew from the habits and behavior of its people in social relations and interactions and became the core of Javanese culture. Attitudes/behaviors and religious attitudes by javanese people is something that developed through a long process, then became the cause of the birth of javanese religious traditions and practices.⁴⁸ The process increases the attitude of tolerance that is unknowingly practiced either, directly or indirectly and continues to develop. However, in various cases and situations the issue of tolerance then becomes an arena of identity conflict.⁴⁹

Clifford Geertz with the concept of syncretism sees the religiousness / religious influence of javanese people making Islam a religion of diverse identity; Pluralism, universalism and electives. The attitude of pluralism found in javanese religiousness is a different idea that is, a concept derived from javanese thought that is explicitly at the core of Javanese culture.⁵⁰ Referring to Javanese culture,

⁴⁶ Frans Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijakanaksanaan Hidup Jawa*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1984), 45.

⁴⁷ Zaenal Abidin Eko Putro, "Ketahanan Toleransi Orang Jawa: Studi tentang Yogyakarta Kontemporer," *Jurnal Sosiologi* 15, No. 2 (Juli 2010): 26.

⁴⁸ Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 29.

⁴⁹ Darori Amin, *Islam & Kebudayaan Jawa*. Editor Amin Darori, Penulis Jamil Abdul, Abdurahman, Amin Syukur, Anasom, Asmoro, Dkk. (Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2000), v.

⁵⁰ Ahmad syafi'i Mufid, *Taklukkan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa; Pengantar Muslim Abdurrahman*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor indonesia, 2006), 10.

some values and norms become philosophy and ethics of life that are considered important in influencing human behavior (*Javanese ethics*).⁵¹

Religious figures such as; The guardians or kiai try to adapt javanese elements (puppet philosophy) so as not to see Islam as something foreign. Javanese religious attitudes are inseparable from norms, ethics, and manners to respect and respect others. Differences of views become inevitability but, but remain united to continue to equate the mission with the beliefs of its ancestors.⁵² The religious orientation of Javanese people in this context can be interpreted to adhere to exclusive, eclectic, pluralist and universal attitudes at the same time.

Referring to socio-historical, according to Ricklefs around 1368 AD it was found that the Javanese (East) had been interested in Islam. The role of elites has an important contribution in the process of indoctrination and conversion of trust. The freedom that elites give to Javanese people to choose between Muslims or *Kejawen* (pure Javanese beliefs) is quite democratic.⁵³ Geertz and Ricklefs in seeing the syncretization between Islam and Javanese culture (Islamization in Java) is relatively easy to accept because, his teachings that smell mystical are in harmony with the teachings of Sufism and Sufism.⁵⁴

Javanese religious practices, teachings and javanese values continue to go hand in hand with Javanese Christianity (Jawi wetan Christianity) or with puritan Islam. Javanese people who are majority Muslim are people who still cannot abandon the traditions and culture of their ancestors even though, for some others are contrary to Islam (Quran and Hadith). Religious practice is still attached to the

⁵¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago, 1976), 4-6.

⁵² Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijakan Hidup Jawa*, (Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1987), 26-29.

⁵³ Ayu Sutarto, "Becoming a true Javanese: A Javanese view of attempts at Javanisation," *Journal Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (Jan 2007): 39-53. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810600650893>

⁵⁴ Priyo Dhanu Prabowo, *Pengaruh Islam Dalam Karya-Karya R. NG. Ranggawarsita*, (Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2003), 19.

teachings of the ancestors, Geertz called it by the term *abangan*, while those who have practiced Islam purely are the *santri*.⁵⁵

In *the animistic* concept,⁵⁶ Beliefs and traditions are a form of respect and recognition of relationships with other forms. Frazer and Tylor mention that the beliefs of primitive societies are essentially patterns of natural work that are universal, fixed and cannot be violated.⁵⁷ Ritual practices are found in Javanese society, a form of respect for *spirits* that are outside of themselves and believed to occupy certain objects or places and are recognized for their existence. For example, offerings on a series of *nyadran rituals*, *sea worship*, *ruwat rawat* or *slametan* and others. These forms of rituals are related to the Javanese life view of the power outside of him.⁵⁸

Geertz in identifying Javanese society raises the difference between Javanese religion and culture or between Abangan Islam, Priayi Islam and Santri Islam. At the syncretism stage leaving a less positive impression, the religious tendencies of Javanese people are considered far from the teachings of puritan religion and tend to be animistic. For this reason, the concept of syncretism must be understood on all sides, as a process, of the journey that penetrates the boundaries of time and space. In the end, syncretism put the Javanese in a process of seeking and increasing spirituality and as a journey to find themselves, reaching the highest consciousness that is, merging with the Khalik.

⁵⁵ *Shidqi Ahyani*, "Islam Jawa: Varian Keagamaan Masyarakat Muslim dalam Tinjauan Antropologi," *Jurnal Salam* 15, no.1 (2012).

⁵⁶ Mark Woodward. *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*. (Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1999): 10.

⁵⁷ lihat Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion; Tujuh Teori Agama Paling Komprehensif*, Edisi Baru, (Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2012), 57.

⁵⁸ Suwardi, Endraswara. *Dunia Hantu Orang Jawa: Alam Misteri, Magis dan Fantasi Kejawan*: (Yogyakarta, 2004): 52-55. Amir Dastmalchian, "The Epistemology of Religious Diversity in Contemporary Philosophy of Religion," *Philosophy Compass* 8, no. 3, (2013): 298-308.

Explanations about Javanese people have at least given an overview of various forms including; Language, religion, and culture play an important role in the living system of Javanese people. However, not all cultures have a strong interaction with religion and are the core representations of culture.⁵⁹ Geertz stated that, in Javanese culture, the function of culture is to be able to influence social, political, religious structures, family relations, and social interactions as well as government systems and village structures. In addition, it is able to shape the religious behavior of its adherents. The religious pattern of Javanese society is when, any religious belief that is embraced always goes hand in hand with anything good, mystical and supernatural (*interpersonal relationship*). The object in question is generally transcendent such as; God, the spirits of the ancestors as well as religious figures or certain people.⁶⁰

The attitude and orientation of the Javanese religion is a dynamic concept of religious leadership because, prioritizes pluralism, universalism, and harmonization and balance. Javanese philosophy of life (eclecticism) becomes a reference to equating vision with different beliefs.⁶¹ So, it is not surprising that the world religions embraced by the Javanese people breathe the core of Javanese culture and cosmology. Javanese 'style' religious cultures carry out *the four principles of the charter* that should be obeyed by humans as a form of moral responsibility to the culture, ecosystem and the surrounding environment. The principle of how to respect life and all that is attached to it, caring for a community or community group through knowledge and respect for diversity. The goal is to form a society that has characteristics, democratic, fair, participatory, pluralist and peaceful.⁶²

⁵⁹Thomas Hylland Eriksen, Between Universalism and Relativism: a Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture in *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives* Edited by Jane K. Cowan, Marie Benedicte Dembour, and Richard A. Wilson, (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 127.

⁶⁰ Alisjahbana, S. Takdir, *Antropologi Baru*, (Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1986), 102.

⁶¹ Harold Netland, *Encountering Religious Pluralism; The Challenge to Christian Faith and Mission*, Intervarsity press USA. (Illinois and Leicester, England, 2001), 10.

⁶² William, S. Lyn and Friends, *Worldviews: Environment, Culture, Religion on Earth Charter 8*; no. 1 (Leiden; Koninklijke Brill NV: 2004), 3-4.

Pluralist attitude means getting used to, accepting intolerance, scathing criticism and accepting "the other" or being different from himself, and accepting diversity as part of nationalism and god's grace.⁶³ One of the pluralist attitudes was carried out by the Tlasih 87 school group (a Muslim community with diverse religions that developed in the Mojokerto area).⁶⁴ The orientation of community stability either, implicitly or explicitly makes religion relevant at every age, relevant to every generation, relevant to all aspects of life (cultural, socio-political), and relevant for every space and time.

CONCLUSION

Religious attitudes that include inclusionism, exclusivism, pluralism, eclecticism, and universalism are forms of various typologies that indicate the orientation of individuals in embracing religion. Javanese people are one of the ethnic groups that have their patterns in practice or who have different cultures and unique characteristics. Based on the identification carried out in the above discussion, it was concluded that the attitude and religious orientation of Javanese people is part of the typology of pluralism, universalism, and eclecticism. Javanese people continue to prioritize sportsmanship, democracy, accommodating, and flexibility in accepting and embracing groups that are different from the beliefs of their ancestors. "Religious art" or the '*style*' religious establishment of the Javanese is a commitment to uphold the love of the homeland and the nation of diverse tribes, religions, languages, and traditions. The religious concept of Javanese society is when beliefs (whatever religion is embraced) always rhyme with something

⁶³ M.C. Ricklefs, *Islamization and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Sosial, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present*, Maps, Bibliography, Index. Book Review, Indonesia. (Singapore: NUS, 2012): 292.

⁶⁴ Wiwik Setiyani, "Peran Komunitas Tlasih 87 Sumbergirang Mojokerto dalam Membangun Harmoni Agama," *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 1 (June 5, 2015): 218–245.

mystical and supernatural (*interpersonal relationship*). Therefore, the religious leaders of the Javanese people have a uniqueness that can be used as a reference in building culture and instilling the values of the nation's nobleness.

The attitude and religious orientation of Javanese people found three dynamic and futuristic religious concepts, namely, prioritizing pluralism, universalism, and eclecticism. Harmonization and balance is a theoretical philosophy of life, becoming a criticism for adherents of religion (*world religion* and *indigenous religion*) about the religious culture of modern humans. Religious orientation should be focused on the concept of humanity or humanism opening new views on the various behaviors and attitudes of peace and unity of the people without conflict and opposition. The religiousness of the Javanese people can be a reference for other regional communities in building a civilization in the modern century.

REFERENCE

- Abdel-Fadil, Mona. "The Politics of Affect: the Glue of Religious and Identity Conflicts in Social Media." *Journal of Religion, Media and Digital Culture* 8, no.1 (March 2019): 11-34. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/21659214-00801002>
- Ahyani, Shidqi. "Islam Jawa: Varian Keagamaan Masyarakat Muslim dalam Tinjauan Antropologi." *Jurnal Salam* 15, no.1 (2012).
- Aji, Laksono Gunawan. "Clifford Geertz dan Penelitiannya Tentang Agama di Indonesia (Jawa)." *Citra Ilmu* 24, no. Xii (Oktober 2016): 115-123.
- Alisjahbana, S. Takdir. *Antropologi Baru*. Jakarta: Dian Rakyat, 1986.
- Amin, Darori. *Islam & Kebudayaan Jawa*. Editor Amin Darori, Penulis Jamil Abdul, Abdurahman, Amin Syukur, Anasom, Asmoro, Dkk. Yogyakarta: Gama Media, 2000.
- Arifin, Nur. "Motif Bergabung Dalam Aliran Sapta Darma Pengikut Ajaran Di Sanggar Agung Candi Sapta Rengga Yogyakarta." *Jurnal Sosiologi Agama* 11, no. 1 (January 21, 2018): 35-56.
- Arafa, Tajuddin Ahmad. "Filsafat Moral Ibn Hazm Dalam Kitab Al Akhlaq Was-Siyar Fi Mudawati-N-Nu." *Jurnal "Analisa"* 20, No. 01 (Juni 2013): 51-64.
- Beatty, Andrew. *Varities of Javanese Religion an Antropological Account*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Burley, Mikel. "Religious Pluralisms: From Homogenization to Radicality." *Sophia* 59, no. 2 (2020): 311-331. DOI: 10.1007/s11841-017-0636-3

- Cho, Francisca and Richard King Squier. "Religion as a Complex and Dynamic System." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81, no. 2 (June 2013): 357–398. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lft016>
- Cochrane, Janet. "Spirits, Nature and Pilgrimage: the "Other" Dimension in Javanese Domestic Tourism." *Journal of Management, Spirituality & Religion* 6, no. 2 (2009): 107-119. DOI: 10.1080/14766080902815130
- Cusack, Carole. "Pagan Saxon Resistance to Charlemagne's Mission: "Indigenous" Religion and "World" Religion in the Early Middle Ages." *the Pomegranate* 13, no.1 (2011): 33-51. DOI: 10.1558/pome.v13i1.33
- Dastmalchian, Amir. "The Epistemology of Religious Diversity in Contemporary Philosophy of Religion." *Philosophy Compass* 8, no. 3 (2013): 298-308. DOI: 10.1111/phc3.12007
- Darraz, Abdullah Muhd. "Islamic Eco-Cosmology in Ikhwan Al-Safa's View." *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Society* 2, no 1 (2012): 133-161. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijims.v2i1.133-161>
- David, Bird Nurit. *Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology*. The Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research: current anthropology, 40 (February 1999): 67-91.
- Departemen pendidikan dan kebudayaan direktorat pendidikan dan Jenderal direktorat sejarah dan nilai tradisional proyek inventarisasi dan dokumentasi sejarah nasional. *Sejarah Daerah Jawa tengah*. Jakarta: 1994.
- Eckersley, M. Richard "Culture, spirituality, religion and health: looking at the big picture." *MJA The Medical Journal of Australia* 186, no. S10 (May 2007): 54-57. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5694/j.1326-5377.2007.tb01042.x>
- Endraswara, S, 2010. *Etika Hidup Orang Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Narasi.
- Endraswara, Suwardi. *Dunia Hantu Orang Jawa: Alam Misteri, Magis dan Fantasi Kejawan*. Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2004.
- Eriksen, Hylland Thomas. *Between Universalism and Relativism: a Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture dalam Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives Edited by Jane K. Cowan, Marie Benedicte Dembour, and Richard A. Wilson*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Fauzi, Fauzi. "The Interactions of Madzhabs in Aceh: the Tripolar Typology." *MIQOT Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 41, No.1 (2017): 20-40. DOI: [Http://Dx.doi.Org/10.30821/Miqot.V41i1.327](http://Dx.doi.Org/10.30821/Miqot.V41i1.327)
- Gauchet, Marcel. *the Disenchantment of the World: a Political History of Religion*. United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Habermas, Jurgen. *Between Naturalism and Religion: Philosophical Essays, (Translated by Ciaran Cronin)*. UK and USA: Polity Press, 2008.

- Henry, Chambert-Loir Dan Reid Anthony. *Kuasa Leluhur: Nenek Moyang, Orang Suci, dan Pahlawan di Indonesia Kontemporer*. Medan: Bina Media Perintis, 2006.
- Herliana, Tricia Emmelia. "Preserving Javanese Culture through Retail Activities in Pasar Beringharjo, Yogyakarta." *5th Arte Polis International Conference and Workshop— "Reflections on Creativity: Public Engagement and the Making of Place."*, *Arte-Polis 5, 8-9 August 2014, Bandung, Indonesia. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 184, (2015): 206 – 213. DOI: 10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.05.081
- Janis, W. Mark and Crolyn Evans (Eds.). *Religion and International Law*. The Hague, Boston, London: Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, 1999.
- Johnstone, L. Ronald *Religion in Society a Sociology of Religion (Eight Edition)*. New York: Routledge, 2016.
- John, ST. Graham. *Rave Culture and Religion, Edited by Graham St. John*. London and New York: Roulledge, 2004.
- Keeler, Ward. *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Kirkpatrick, A. Lee "Fundamentalism, Christian Orthodoxy, and Intrinsic Religious Orientation as Predictors of Discriminatory Attitudes." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 32, no. 3 (Sep 1993): 256-268. DOI: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1386664>
- Koentjaraningrat. *Javanese Culture: Issued Under the Auspices of the Southeast Asian Studies Program, Institutet of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Maltby, John., Christopher Alan Lewis, and Liza Day. "Religious orientation and psychological well-being: The role of the frequency of personal prayer." *British Journal of Health Psychology* 4, no. 4 (Nov 1999): 363–378. DOI: <https://DOI.org/10.1348/135910799168704>
- M.C. Rifcklefs. (2012). *Islamization and Its Opponents in Java: A Political, Social, Cultural and Religious History, c. 1930 to the Present*. Maps, Bibliography, Index. Book Review, Indonesia. Singapore: NUS, 2012.
- M., Stringer & Cairns, E. "Catholic and Protestant young people's ratings of stereotyped Protestant and Catholic faces". *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 22 (1983): 241-246. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2044-8309.1983.tb00588.x>
- Mufid, syafi'i Ahmad. *Taklukkan, Abangan Dan Tarekat: Kebangkitan Agama Di Jawa; Pengantar Muslim Abdurrahman*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor indonesia, 2006.
- Murder, Niels. *Mysticism in Java; Ideology in Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005.
- Nadjib Mochammad. "Agama, Etika dan Etos Kerja Dalam Aktivitas Ekonomi Masyarakat Nelayan Jawa" *Jurnal Ekonomi dan Pembangunan* 21, No. 2 (Desember 2013): 137-150. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14203/JEP.21.2.2013.19-32>
- Nasr, S. H. *The spiritual significance of nature. In the need for a sacred science*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1993.

- Pals, L. Daniel. *Seven Theories of Religion; Tujuh Teori Agama Paling Komprehensif*. Edisi Baru. Yogyakarta: IRCiSoD, 2011.
- Prabowo, Dhanu Priyo. *Pengaruh Islam Dalam Karya-Karya R. NG. Ranggawarsita*. Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2003.
- Poerwanto, Hari. "The Problem of Chinese Assimilation and Integration in Indonesia." *Philippine sociological society* 24, no.1/4 (1976): 51-55. DOI: 10.2307/41853596 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41853596>
- Purwadi. *Tasawuf Jawa*. Sleman, Yogyakarta: Narasi, 2003.
- Putro, Zaenal Abidin Eko. "Ketahanan Toleransi Orang Jawa: Studi tentang Yogyakarta Kontemporer." *MASYARAKAT Jurnal Sosiologi* 15, No. 2 (Juli 2010): 15-36. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7454/mjs.v15i2.4860>
- Jalaluddin Rakhmat, *Psikologi Agama*, Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada, 2001.
- Reuter, Thomas. *Advertising a Global Environmental Collapse the Role of Anthropology and Local Knowledge*. UK: Lady Sthepenson Library Newcastle upon Tyne NE6 2PA, 2015.
- Ruhmkorff, Samuel. "The Incompatibility Problem and Religious Pluralism Beyond Hick." *Philosophy Compass* 8, no. 5 (2013): 510-522. DOI: 10.1111/phc3.12032
- Saprin. "Tasawuf Sebagai Etika Pembebasan; Memposisikan Islam Sebagai Agama Moralitas." *Kuriositas* 11, No. 1 (Juni 2017): 83-89. DOI: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229031144.pdf>
- Setiyani, Wiwik. "Dilema Keberagaman Muslim Pengikut Sapta Darma Dalam Menemukan Nilai-Nilai Spiritualitas." *RELIGI: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 16, no. 2 (2020): 167-187. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14421/rejusta.2020.1602-03>
- _____, "Peran Komunitas Tlasi 87 Sumbergirang Mojokerto dalam Membangun Harmoni Agama," *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam* 5, no. 1 (June 5, 2015): 218–245 <http://jurnalfuf.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/teosofi/article/view/102>
- SJ, Suseno-Magnis Franz. *Etika Jawa: Sebuah Analisa Falsafi Tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Jawa*. Jakarta: Gramedia, IKAPI, 1984.
- Sony, Sukmawan. "Kosmo-Ekologi Jawa Dalam Sastra Lisan." <http://fib.ub.ac.id/wrp-con/uploads/2-KosmoEkologi-Jawa-dalam-Sastra-Lisan.pdf> Di akses pada 7 September 2020.
- Sutarto, Ayu. "Becoming a true Javanese: A Javanese view of attempts at Javanisation." *Journal Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (Jan 2007): 39-53. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639810600650893>
- Suyono, P. R. Capt. *Dunia Mistik Orang Jawa: Roh, Ritual, Benda Magis*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2007.

- _____. *Ajaran Rahasia Orang Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 2008.
- Swartz, David. "Bridging the Study of Culture and Religion: Pierre Bourdieu's Political Economy of Symbolic Power." *Sociology of Religion* 57, no. 1 (1996): 71-85.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3712005>
- Wallensteen, Peter. "Universalism vs. Particularism: on the Limits of Major Power Order." *Journal of Peace Research* 21, no. 31 (1984): 243- 257.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F002234338402100304>
- Woodward, R. Mark. *Islam Jawa: Kesalehan Normatif versus Kebatinan*. Yogyakarta: LkiS, 1999.
- Yazzie, K. Melanie & Baldy R.C. Introduction: Indigenous People and the Politics of Water. *Jurnal Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 7, No. 1 (2018): 1-18.
- Ysseldyk, Renate; Kimberly Matheson and Hymie Anisman. "Religiosity as Identity: Toward an Understanding of Religion From a Social Identity Perspective." *Personality and Social Psychology Review, Sage* 14, no.1 (2010): 60-71. DOI: 10.1177/1088868309349693
- Zinnbauer, Brian J., Kenneth I. Pargament, Brenda Cole, Mark S. Rye, Eric M. Butter, Timothy G. Belavich, Kathleen M. Hipp, Allie B. Scott, and Jill L. Kadar. "Religion and Spirituality: Unfuzzifying the Fuzzy." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36, No. 4 (Dec 1997): 549-564. DOI: 10.2307/1387689