



ISLAMIC SYNCRETISM IN SAPTA DARMA IN SURABAYA

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Abstract:

Every religious believer has a certain method to get closer to God. A deep desire to connect with God reflects spirituality that can change an individual's behaviour to be more positive. The interaction between Islam and Sapta Darma is a means to achieve inner peace that integrates physical and spiritual awareness. This research aims to describe the form of syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma in Surabaya. The method used in this study is to combine field data and literature review with a qualitative approach. The syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma in Surabaya is very pronounced, but this condition encourages individuals to maintain both teachings. This is due to their desire to achieve balance and well-being in spirituality. Islam and Sapta Darma are not only seen as an escape from life, but also as a new paradigm in understanding the concept of religiosity and spiritual values through syncretism. Syncretic religiosity has become part of the society of Surabaya and functions as a local cultural identity.

Keywords: *Syncretism, Islam, Sapta Darma, Culture, Religion*

INTRODUCTION

Every believer of a religion has a desire to feel peace and intimate closeness to their God, without any doubts or pressures in religious practice. However, the influence of religious syncretism that occurred in the past is still felt today. This results in some religious people feeling worried about their choice of religion, due to a lack of deep understanding of the religious teachings. As a result, the chosen religion has not been able to provide a sense of security, peace, and inner tranquillity. The function of religion is to seek tranquillity and a sense of security, in accordance with the hierarchy of basic human needs.¹

In this context, the syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma reflects the integration of elements of the two religious traditions. This phenomenon of syncretism can be observed through ritual practices such as prostration and *ening*, which aim to achieve inner peace.² The hallmark of syncretism is that it is adaptive, accommodating, and flexible, allowing for harmonious interaction between different beliefs or religions. This harmonious combination makes the notion of syncretism very inherent in Javanese society, especially those that have been firmly rooted in various aspects of their social life.³

The case of Sapta Darma in Surabaya shows the phenomenon of Muslims who have undergone unconscious changes in their beliefs. This change starts from interaction with the figure of Sapta Darma, who through a persuasive approach, thus fostering a sense of trust to follow the teachings.⁴ Religion often attracts public attention because of its significant influence on the lives of individuals. On the other hand, syncretism causes religion to undergo a change in form, creates distance, and encourages religious people to be more aware of their identity in a homogeneous

¹ Mavatih Fauzul 'Adziima, "Psikologi Humanistik Abraham Maslow," *Jurnal Tana Mana* 2, no. 2 (2021): 86–93, p.87, <https://doi.org/10.33648/jtm.v2i2.171>.

² Eva Setia Ningrum, "Sistem Kepercayaan dan Praktik Keagamaan Sapta Darma serta Relasinya Dengan Penganut Agama Islam Perspektif Teori Konstruksi Sosial: Studi Atas Penghayat Kerohanian Sapta Darma di Sanggar Candi Busana Kota Malang" (Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, 2018), p.18. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.gde.2016.09.008%0A>

³ Harry J. Benda, *The Crescent and Rising Sun: Indonesian Islam Under Japanese Occupation, 1942-1945* (The Hague, Netherlands: Van Hoeve, 1958), p.320.

⁴ Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

society and culture. As a result, the identity crisis becomes inevitable, which has implications for important processes in the search for spirituality.⁵

A change in perspective or mindset, the most important thing is to feel the spiritual values of religion itself. In the modern era, spirituality plays an important role in arousing the spirit of life and satisfying inner satisfaction and curiosity. However, spirituality is no longer tied to the concept of divinity.⁶ Therefore, this study aims to answer the following simple hypotheses: (1) Is spirituality in question related to religious experience or simply an escape from life? (2) What is the form of syncretism between Muslims and Sapta Darma? and; (3) What are the characteristics of Sapta Darma that developed in Surabaya?

This research is based on the classical theory put forward by Clifford Geertz, who views religion as a cultural system.⁷ In the context of socio-culture and religion, the separation between certain cultures or religions that have been integrated and attached to other cultures or religions that have been adopted and used as the basis as well as source of inspiration for people's lives is very complex.⁸ The approach proposed by Clifford Geertz serves as a reference to analyse in depth the phenomenon of syncretism that is characteristic of Javanese society. This research aims to elaborate on the form of syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma in an effort to find spiritual values through the perspective of its adherents.

Research on syncretism and spirituality has been carried out by many academics before, considering that both are closely related to the beliefs of their adherents. Mark Woodward, in a work entitled "Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta"⁹, states that spirituality includes belief in God as well as the vast, unique, and complex meaning of life, which contains aspects

⁵ Rut Marchel Avellia, Yulius Yusak Ranimpi, and Rama Tulus Pilakoannu, "Krisis Identitas dan Konversi Agama dalam Perspektif Psikologi Agama: Studi Kasus Pada Pelaku Married By Accident (MBA)," *INSAN: Jurnal Psikologi dan Kesehatan Mental* 8, no. 1 (2023): 42–63, p.47. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jpkm.v8i1.2023.42-63>.

⁶ Ngainun Naim, "Kebangkitan Spiritualitas Masyarakat Modern," *Kalam: Jurnal Studi Agama dan Pemikiran Islam* 7, no. 2 (2013): 237–58, p.240. <https://doi.org/10.24042/klm.v7i2.457>.

⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago, USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), p.89.

⁸ Daniel L. Pals, *Seven Theories of Religion: The Seven Most Comprehensive Religious Theories* (Yogyakarta, Indonesia: IRCiSoD, 2012), p.328.

⁹ Mark R. Woodward, *Islam in Java: Normative Piety and Mysticism in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta* (Tucson, USA: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

of ethics and morality, well intertwined in syncretism rich in mystical elements. In general, spirituality not only discusses the relationship between humans and God, but also the impact of that closeness. In addition, the following researchers can be used as a reference to understand spirituality more deeply, namely: (1) David Tacey with a research entitled "The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality"¹⁰; (2) Kees de Jong with a research entitled "Living in Harmony as Christians: Spirituality from the Perspective of Theology of Religionum"¹¹; (3) Shinya Masa'aki with a study entitled "The Politico-Religious Dilemma of The Yasukuni Shrine"¹², and; (4) Suhandi with a research entitled "Religious Spirituality and Modern Society: The Existence of the Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah Tarekat in Bandar Lampung".¹³ Their research focuses on understanding religious identity and beliefs. Spirituality is considered to have a higher value compared to religion itself. Therefore, spirituality can encourage changes in attitudes and behaviours and provide inner satisfaction, thus occupying a very important position in human life.

This research aims to examine the challenges faced by Sapta Darma adherents in the context of Islam. They are confronted with two beliefs that encourage the integration of the two, with the aim of achieving well-being and balance in spirituality. This research will explore the forms of syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya, which includes the application of the teachings of both religions as well as the attainment of spirituality despite differences in the practices of the two. In addition, this research is expected to provide a new perspective or paradigm in understanding the concept of religiosity and spirituality values among religious people.

RESEARCH METHODS

The method applied in this study is a mixed study, which integrates data from the field and literature review. The qualitative approach was chosen because the focus

¹⁰ David Tacey, *The Spirituality Revolution: The Emergence of Contemporary Spirituality, The Spirituality Revolution* (New York, USA: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2004).

¹¹ Kees de Joong, "Hidup Rukun Sebagai Orang Kristen Spiritualitas dari Segi Theologia Religionum," *Gema Teologi: Jurnal Fakultas Teologi* 30, no. 2 (2006): 1–12.

¹² Shinya Masa'aki, "The Politico-Religious Dilemma of the Yasukuni Shrine," *ПОЛИТИКОЛОГИЈА РЕЛИГИЈЕ* 6, no. 1 (2010): 41–55.

¹³ Suhandi, "Spiritualitas Agama dan Masyarakat Modern (Eksistensi Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa Naqsyabandiyah Di Bandar Lampung)," *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama* 14, no. 1 (2019): 71–94, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v14i1.4485>.

of this research is to describe or explain concepts and views without involving numerical calculations.¹⁴ The data collection technique is carried out through observation and in-depth interviews to obtain the necessary information.¹⁵ Data collection with a qualitative approach focuses on description and analysis using theory and data obtained through in-depth interviews.¹⁶ The selected informants are individuals who are directly involved in Sapta Darma's activities and adhere to Islam.

Informants play an essential role as a source of data in research, which contributes to determining the validity of the information obtained.¹⁷ In this context, there are informants who adhere to two beliefs, namely Islam and Sapta Darma, including Rudi Siswanto, Aryo Pandugo, Sugi Slamet, Nur Ratih, and Noviani. One of the informants was identified as a leader in the Sapta Darma community, and was involved as an administrator and member. The triangulation process is needed to ensure the validity of the data obtained from these sources.¹⁸ Through cross-checking data with the triangulation method, the validity of research data can be well maintained.¹⁹

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF SAPTA DARMA IN SURABAYA

The socio-religious life of Sapta Darma in Surabaya is manifested in a community consisting of individuals with diverse backgrounds. Most of the members of this community face challenges in the economic aspect, coming from the lower middle class.²⁰ Social status within such communities shows similarity in life experiences, which tends to encourage the formation of certain social groups. This phenomenon produces a variety of social movements, influenced by professional

¹⁴ John W. Creswell, *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting, and Evaluating: Quantitative and Qualitative Research* (Boston: Pearson, 2012), p.15.

¹⁵ Howard Lune and Bruce Lawrence Berg, *Methods for the Social Sciences Global Edition* (Harlow: Pearson, 2017), p.23.

¹⁶ Adhi Kusumastuti and Admad Mustamil Khoiron, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Semarang: Lembaga Pendidikan Sukarno Pressindo, 2019), p.13.

¹⁷ Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Los Angeles, USA: SAGE Publications, 2001), p.6.

¹⁸ Sugiyono, *Metodologi Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R & D* (Bandung, Indonesia: Alfabeta, 2013), p.11.

¹⁹ Sirajuddin Saleh, *Analisis Data Kualitatif* (Bandung: Pustaka Ramadhan, 2017), p.10.

²⁰ Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

backgrounds, religions, ethnicities, races, and similarities in socioeconomic status.²¹ In addition, there are also similarities in religious backgrounds among the members of the community.

Most of the Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya come from Muslims, although there are also non-Muslim adherents. The diversity in Islamic practices among Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya is very striking, where many of them have embraced Islam from an early age, some even come from Islamic boarding schools. In general, they have the ability to read the Qur'an, which can be proven through the pronunciation of the verses, and some of them are also able to translate the content of the Qur'an.²² This background is influenced by the parenting style of parents who encourage their children to learn the Qur'an in a consistent way. The parenting style applied by parents in educating children to read and understand the Qur'an can be done continuously, so that the children grow into disciplined individuals and become good role models.²³

Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya come from various educational backgrounds, ranging from elementary school, Islamic boarding schools, to higher education. This diversity in education is a distinctive feature, because it can influence the arguments put forward by them in choosing Sapta Darma as a spiritual teaching. Some Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya stated that, Islam is a pure religion, but we have not felt inner peace, even though we have carried out prayers, fasting, and praying for forgiveness.²⁴ In the context of religious life, it is often difficult to distinguish between pure religion and the result of human thought or interpretation of religion. Pure religion is considered to be derived from God, absolute, and sacred, while the results of human thought are temporal, changeable, and profane.²⁵

Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya feel that Islam is a religion full of questions that require immediate solutions. The process of seeking spiritual truth that follows in the footsteps of the previous Prophets and Apostles creates confusion in understanding

²¹ Oman Sukmana, *Konsep dan Teori Gerakan Sosial* (Malang, Indonesia: Intrans Publishing, 2021), p.41.

²² Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

²³ Tarza Travelancya et al., "Pola Asuh Orang Tua Terhadap Perkembangan Sosial Emosional Anak Usia Dini," *Journal on Education* 6, no. 2 (2024): 10747–56, p. 10751, <https://doi.org/10.51878/edukids.v2i1.1328>.

²⁴ Aryo Pandugo, "Interview about Sapta Darma."

²⁵ Nurdinah Muhammad, "Memahami Konsep Sakral dan Profan Dalam Agama-Agama," *Jurnal Substantia* 15, no. 2 (2013): 268–80, p.272.

the essence of truth according to God. However, all of this can be found in the teachings of Sapta Darma through the practice of prostration and *ening*.²⁶ What can be felt through the senses, whether seen, audible, or touchable, often goes beyond measurable magic. Human perceptions, both ordinary and expert, tend to differ, both objectively and subjectively, as well as outward and inward, all interacting with each other and generating imagination. This search for truth by humans can give rise to various interpretations.²⁷

Adherents of Sapta Darma in Surabaya stated that Islam is a religion that faces many challenges, because since embracing Islam, they feel that they have never had any ease, even though they have tried continuously and repeatedly without satisfactory results.²⁸ Various life trials that come in a row can cause stress and difficulty in managing feelings well. Therefore, it is important to find effective ways to manage the heart through sincerity, patience, gratitude, and surrender to God.²⁹ With various reasons owned by Sapta Darma adherents, it is very important to understand more deeply about the development of Sapta Darma in Surabaya.

In summary, Sapta Darma was founded in the village of Keplakan, Pare Kediri, East Java by Hardjosapoero, who became known as Panuntun Agung Sri Gutama on December 27, 1955.³⁰ In Surabaya, Sapta Darma has various communities that form small groups through Sanggar, as a gathering place for community members. In the midst of the existing plurality, the followers of Sapta Darma tend to be resistant to the majority group that looks exclusive, even though they claim that plurality only applies to major religious groups.³¹

For Sapta Darma adherents, religion is seen as an essential formality to feel the depth of spirituality of the teachings adhered to, which in turn affects their daily lives. Religious identity, which is listed on the identity card (Kartu Tanda Penduduk), shows

²⁶ Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

²⁷ C. G. Jung, *The Spirit in Man, Art and Literatur*, vol. 1 (Princeton, USA: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.33.

²⁸ Noviani, "Interview about Sapta Darma."

²⁹ Esa Nur Wahyuni, "Mengelola Stres Dengan Pendekatan Cognitive Behavior Modification (Studi Eksperimen Pada Mahasiswa Baru Pendidikan Agama Islam (PAI) Fakultas Ilmu Tarbiyah & Keguruan UIN Maliki Malang)," *Tadrib* 3, no. 1 (2017): 99–117, p.106.

³⁰ Iman Budhi Santosa, *Nasihat-Nasihat Hidup Orang Jawa* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2013), p.117.

³¹ Nico L. Kana Chandra Utama, "Memayu-Hayu Bagya Bawana Sejarah Gerakan Sapta Darma di Indonesia 1952-2006" (Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2008), p.37.

Islam as a registered religion, which is interpreted as a form of surrender, not just a religious label.³² This religious identity has an important meaning in the formation of individual self-identity. Internal religious identity will shape the character of its followers, while externally it can create exclusivity or attract public attention because of existing differences.³³

Formality in Islam functions as a religious symbol, but still involves the implementation of teachings such as prayer, fasting, and zakat. Non-formally, Sapta Darma plays a role as a spiritual belief or spirit.³⁴ Both, formality and non-formality, are important elements in maintaining beliefs and facing challenges from the outside world. Religious education begins from an early age through the guidance of parents, and as they get older, the education is strengthened by educational institutions, both in Islamic boarding schools and in public schools. Islamic education in Indonesia continues to develop to meet the needs and demands of the times, especially formal education that is adjusted to government policies and has certain characteristics. Sapta Darma cannot be considered a religion that comes from the majority religion that is often ignored by the government, because its status is not as an official religion, but is recognized as a school of belief in society.³⁵

The interest of Sapta Darma adherents in Sapta Darma initiated by Rudi Siswanto is reflected in the friendly and polite attitude he shows to each individual. Rudi Siswanto is the figure who founded the Sapta Darma community in Surabaya, which is located in Sanggar.³⁶ This politeness and hospitality reflect a personality that has a high level of religion. Having religion means being able to understand oneself to become an individual who is in line with religious teachings, because religion functions as a guideline for behaviour.³⁷ Sapta Darma teaches noble values and the

³² Sugi Slamet, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

³³ Rizikita Imanina and M. Akhyar, "Gambaran Pembentukan Identitas Agama Pada Religious Disbeliever Usia Emerging Adult," *Jurnal Ilmiah Psikologi MIND SET* 9, no. 1 (2017): 18–38, p.28. <https://doi.org/10.35814/mindset.v9i01.723>.

³⁴ Sugi Slamet, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

³⁵ Muh. Iqbal, "The New Face of Indonesian Islamic Education: Hijab, Tolerance, and the Decree of the 3 Ministers," *QALAMUNA: Journal of Education, Social, and Religious* 13, no. 2 (2021): 201–18, p.210. <https://doi.org/10.37680/qalamuna.v13i2.864>.

³⁶ Nur Ratih, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

³⁷ Wiwik Setiyani, *Humanisme Memperkuat Perdamaian Antar Agama* (Surabaya: UIN Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2021), p.449. <https://doi.org/10.53947/perspekt.v1i2.33>.

importance of knowing oneself, which in turn will lead a person to know Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa or his God.³⁸

Knowing oneself and achieving serenity is the main goal of Sapta Darma's teachings. This concept emphasizes the importance of physical and spiritual awareness to internalize moral values.³⁹ This search for self-awareness was explained by Rudi Siswanto, a Sapta Darma figure in Surabaya, who revealed that his life journey is a search for spiritual truth, similar to what the Prophets and Apostles did in the past. He questioned the turmoil experienced by the Prophets and Apostles in seeking the ultimate truth according to Allah, as well as why there are various religions such as Magi (Ibrahim), Judaism (Moses), Christianity (Isa), and Islam (Muhammad SAW). Rudi Siswanto argues that it is as if Allah is conducting research on his Prophets by providing different religions. He asserts that if this is the case, this may give the impression that Allah is inconsistent (of course, he does not mean to blaspheme Allah), considering that Allah is Al-Rahman and Al-Rahim (Love and Affection). He also questioned where the truth lies between these religions: Magi, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, or other religions.⁴⁰

The persistence of Sapta Darma adherents in seeking spiritual truth is not tied to one particular religion, so they come from various backgrounds, both Muslims and non-Muslims. This diversity provides unique characteristics for the Sapta Darma community. The understanding of the socio-religious aspects of Sapta Darma teaches the values of a harmonious and prosperous life. The variety in Sapta Darma adherents also creates uniqueness in the way they understand and apply the teachings, especially in the practical aspect.⁴¹

IMPLEMENTATION OF ISLAMIC TEACHINGS AND SAPTA DARMA IN SURABAYA

Every religion has principles that its followers must follow. Without religious practice, a religion will feel dry and lose its meaning. Embracing Islam means that we

³⁸ Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

³⁹ Putri Chikmawati, "Konsep Manusia Dalam Ajaran Sapta Darma Dan Pemikiran Drijarkara" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, 2018), p.89.

⁴⁰ Rudi Siswanto, (2025) "Interview about Sapta Darma."

⁴¹ Ida Bagus Gede Bawa Adnyana and I Kadek Adhi Dwipayana, "Nilai Sosio-Religius Ajaran Siwa-Buddha Dalam Kakawin Sutasoma Karya Mpu Tantular," *Guna Widya: Jurnal Pendidikan Hindu* 6, no. 2 (2019): 26–37, p.35. <http://ejournal.iidn.ac.id/index.php/GW>.

must carry out the pillars of Islam, namely shahada, prayer, fasting, zakat, and hajj for those who can afford it. As a religion that is considered perfect, Islam must be believed and applied in daily life by its adherents. The enforcement of Islamic sharia needs to be carried out and implemented, similar to the role of customary institutions that contribute to the implementation of the sharia. Upholding the teachings of Islam is a non-negotiable obligation for every Muslim.⁴²

Islamic sharia functions as a fundamental foundation regulated in Islamic teachings. Shahada is a statement that there is no God but Allah and that the Prophet Muhammad is His messenger. This statement must be uttered, understood, and implemented, and witnessed by others, especially for those who have just embraced Islam. After converting, converts will receive guidance to maintain their faith and obtain protection and freedom in practicing religion. One of the obligations of Islamic sharia that must be carried out after shahada is prayer.⁴³

Prayer is a fundamental aspect in the life of Muslims. Therefore, lessons on prayer procedures begin from an early age, so that this practice can be embedded and become the main foundation in carrying out prayer services.⁴⁴ Prayer plays a role in shaping the character of discipline, as well as individual responsibility, and can even contribute to increased emotional intelligence and self-control, in addition to its benefits for physical and mental health. The various functions of prayer that can be felt by Muslims have the potential to improve the quality of faith and support the implementation of other worships, such as zakat.⁴⁵

Zakat, which is the third pillar of Islam, is one of the important aspects of Islamic law that must be fulfilled by every Muslim. This obligation becomes more

⁴² Abd. Wahid, "Kontribusi Lembaga Adat Dalam Implementasi Syariat Islam di Aceh," *MIZANI: Wacana Hukum, Ekonomi Dan Keagamaan* 6, no. 2 (2019): 151–60, p.156. <https://doi.org/10.14421/jsr.v1i1.1261>.

⁴³ Ismiyati, Hasan Mukmin, and Khairullah, "Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Muallaf Melalui Dana Sosial Islam," *Syarikat: Jurnal Rumpun Ekonomi Syariah* 7, no. 1 (2024): 134–43, p.140. [https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2024.vol7\(1\).16239](https://doi.org/10.25299/syarikat.2024.vol7(1).16239).

⁴⁴ Akmir et al., "Peran Shalat Dalam Pembentukan Karakter dan Etika Dalam Kehidupan Sehari-Hari," *JIIIC: Jurnal Intelek Insan Cendikia* 1, no. 6 (2024): 2247–52 p.2248.

⁴⁵ Nadiyah et al., "Peran Orang Tua Dalam Meningkatkan Kedisiplinan Ibadah Shalat Pada Remaja Perempuan di Desa Ngatabaru," *Jurnal Kolaboratif Sains* 7, no. 2 (2024): 844–50, p.848. <https://doi.org/10.56338/jks.v7i2.4975>.

urgent during the month of Ramadan, where zakat fitrah must be issued.⁴⁶ In addition to zakat fitrah, there are also other forms of zakat such as zakat mal, infaq, and sodaqah. The implementation of zakat, which is explained in the Qur'an, aims to reduce the level of poverty. Muslims are encouraged to share with those in need, in accordance with the provisions regarding who is entitled to receive zakat.⁴⁷

The fifth Islamic principle is the implementation of the hajj. This worship is mandatory for every Muslim who has financial ability and has met the needs of the person he has left behind. In detail, there are conditions that must be met to carry out the hajj, including being Muslim, being intellectual, having reached the age of puberty, being in good health, and being able to understand the implementation of the pillars of hajj with the right guidance. Hajj is a hope for Muslims because it has an important meaning in perfecting the pillars of Islam. In addition, a Muslim is also required to believe in the pillars of faith which are an integral part of the teachings of Islam.⁴⁸

A Muslim's faith in the pillars of faith, known as a believer, includes belief in six main teachings, namely: (1) Belief in Allah; (2) Confidence in the angel of God; (3) Belief in the prophets or messengers of Allah; (4) Confidence in the books of God; (5) Confidence in the Day of Resurrection, and; (6) Belief in *qoda* and *qodar* Allah.⁴⁹ The importance of instilling this faith from an early age is a solid foundation in Islamic teachings, so that it is not easily shaken.

The first explanation of the pillars of faith is the belief that there is no God but Allah and that there is nothing worthy of worship except Allah. One of the verses in the Qur'an that affirms faith in Allah is found in Surah Al-Ikhlâs.⁵⁰ The process of forming faith in Allah should begin from an early age through education that aims to grow closeness to Allah and feel His presence, as well as the most important thing is

⁴⁶ Ramli Semmawi et al., "Peran Zakat Produktif Dalam Meningkatkan Pendapatan Mustahik di Indonesia," *Edunomika* 8, no. 1 (2024): 1–13, p.3.

⁴⁷ Sarah Khairani Harahap, "Tinjauan Hukum Islam Terhadap Penyaluran Zakat Melalui Lembaga Amil di Indonesia," *Jurnal Al-Maqasid: Jurnal Ilmu Kesyariahan Dan Keperdataan* 10, no. 1 (2024): 130–45, p.135.

⁴⁸ Muhammad Maulana Ali, *Islamologi (Dinul Islam)* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Darul Kutubil Islamiyah, 1977), p.510.

⁴⁹ Erwandi Tarmizi, *Rukun Iman* (Madinah, Saudi Arabia: Universitas Islam Madinah, 2007), p.6.

⁵⁰ Siti Lailatul Qamariyah, "Keutamaan Surat Al-Ikhlâs (Studi Atas Hadis Dalam Sunan Abu Dawud Nomor 1461)," *Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 5, no. 2 (2020): 118–33, p.130. <https://doi.org/10.21580/jish.v5i2.6292>.

to always ask Him for help.⁵¹ Furthermore, the second faith is to believe in the Angel of God. A believer is required to believe by understanding and imitating the qualities of angels who are always obedient.⁵²

Faith in angels has not fully made a person a believer, so it is important to also believe in the books of Allah. Faith in the books of Allah provides benefits in the form of life guidance as well as knowledge and truth.⁵³ In addition, believing in the messengers of Allah, who are chosen human beings with noble morals, is also part of faith.⁵⁴ Belief in the last day is an important aspect that must be possessed by every believer, because every individual will be held accountable for all his actions in the hereafter.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the sixth pillar of faith is belief in *qada* and *qadar*. Some of the wisdom from believing in *qada* and *qadar* include: (1) not feeling sorry when facing calamities; (2) giving thanks to Allah when obtaining favourable things; (3) not easily discouraged in facing the situation; (4) accepting God's provisions with an open heart; (5) train yourself to be sincere, happy, and have a big spirit, as well as; (6) try and work hard to the maximum.⁵⁶

The implementation of Islamic teachings plays an important role in shaping the character of individuals with noble character through habituation in carrying out worship.⁵⁷ The habit of carrying out worship rituals regularly can produce a disciplined attitude and positive behaviour. The Qur'an and hadith serve as a guideline for Muslims, which are a source of knowledge to provide a clear direction in life and encourage gratitude to Allah. Only to Allah, Muslims are expected to surrender and

⁵¹ Syahrini Harahap and M. Iqbal Irham, "Pembentukan Keimanan Masyarakat Analisis Sejarah Ayat-Ayat Makkiyah," *Al-Fatih: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Keislaman* 5, no. 1 (2022): 29–42, p.33.

⁵² Azibur Rahman and Wahyu Aditama, "Kajian Tematik Tentang Malaikat," *Firdaus: Jurnal Keislaman, Pemikiran Islam, dan Living Qur'an* 3, no. 1 (2024): 19–29, p.22.

⁵³ Nunung Lasmana and Ahmad Suhendra, "Al-Qur'an dan Tiga Kitab Suci Samawi Lainnya," *Jurnal Asy-Syukriyyah* 18, no. 1 (2017): 39–52, p.40. <https://doi.org/10.36769/asy.v18i1.70>.

⁵⁴ Abdul Haris, "Muhammad Antara Rasul dan Manusia Biasa (Studi Analisis Atas Sebutan-Sebutan Muhammad Dalam Al-Qur'an)," *Jurnal Studi Ilmu-Ilmu Al-Qur'an dan Hadis* 2, no. 1 (2001): 69–81.

⁵⁵ Abdul Kosim et al., "Konsepsi Makna Hari Kiamat Dalam Tafsir Al-Qur'an," *Al-Bayan: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an Dan Tafsir* 3, no. 2 (2018): 119–29, p.112. <https://doi.org/10.21512/humaniora.v6i1.3306>.

⁵⁶ Iriil Admizal, "Takdir Dalam Islam (Suatu Kajian Tematik)," *Ishlah: Jurnal Ilmu Ushuluddin, Adab dan Dakwah* 3, no. 1 (2021): 87–107, p.91. <https://doi.org/10.32939/ishlah.v3i1.56>.

⁵⁷ Maryani, "Implementasi Syariat Islam Dalam Mewujudkan Keluarga Sakinah (Studi Kasus Masyarakat di Kecamatan Danau Teluk Seberang Kota Jambi)," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 11, no. 1 (2011): 65–83, p.69. <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v11i01.476>.

ask for His help.⁵⁸ However, not all Muslims can keep the Qur'an and hadith as a guideline for life, because there are some people who adhere to two religions at once, such as Sapta Darma.

Sapta Darma teaches the practice carried out by its adherents, where one form of teaching is to perform *ening* or prostration aimed at God Almighty. In the *ening* ritual, there are five names that must be pronounced, namely: Allah Hyang Maha Agung, Allah Hyang Maha Rokhim, Allah Hyang Maha Adil, Allah Hyang Maha Wasesa (Ruler of the Universe), and Allah Hyang Maha Langgeng.⁵⁹ The implementation of worship requires effort in resignation and sincerity to maintain consistency or do it regularly. Theology of worship can be understood as a planning or preparation that will be carried out, with the main goal of getting closer to Allah.⁶⁰ Sapta Darma adherents achieve self-achievement through *ening* or prostration, which aims to achieve good spirituality, so that strong spiritual well-being can be realized.⁶¹

The teachings of Sapta Darma include several important principles, namely: (1) Instilling the belief that Almighty God is one; (2) Practicing perfection in human prostration or devotion to the Almighty in order to achieve noble ethics; (3) Educating individuals to act with purity and honesty in ethics; (4) Teaching the community to manage their lives; (5) Applying the seven values (loyalty, honesty, defending the homeland, helping each other, believing in one's own strength, living in society, and believing that change is temporary), as well as; (6) Removing all forms of

⁵⁸ Zakiar, "The Relevance of the Concept of Hadith Jawami' Al-Kalim in the Information Era: New Strategies for Spreading the Widsom of Islam," *Al Quds: Jurnal Studi Al-Qur'an dan Hadist* 8, no. 3 (2024): 438–52, p.444. <https://doi.org/10.29240/alquds.v8i3.10847>.

⁵⁹ Aurellia Sapputri, "Religiusitas Remaja Kerohanian Sapta Darma Jemursari Surabaya" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, 2024), p.53.

⁶⁰ Grace Son Nassa, "Pengantar ke Dalam Teologi Natural Alister E. McGrath," *Pengarah: Jurnal Teologi Kristen* 2, no. 1 (2020): 15–32, p.18. <https://doi.org/10.36270/pengarah.v2i1.20>.

⁶¹ Pamela Hendra Heng, Franklin Hutabarat, and Septi Lathiifah, "Relationship Between Spiritual Well-Being and Quality of Life Among Students in Southeast-Asia Countries," *Proceedings of the International Conference on Economics, Business, Social, and Humanities (ICEBSH 2021)* 570 (2021): 1097–1103, p.1098. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.210805.172>.

superstition.⁶² The essence of Sapta Darma's teachings is to create peace of mind through religious behaviour by overcoming fatigue through a holy spirit.⁶³

Sapta Darma's teachings emphasize the importance of *ening*, which is an act of prostration by saying "Sang Hyang Widi Wasa, Allah Yang Maha Agung, Allah Yang Maha Rahim, dan Allah Yang Maha Adil".⁶⁴ This prostration is carried out by the followers of Sapta Darma as a form of loyalty to God Almighty. In the context of Sapta Darma, the concept of God is presented in a simple and abstract way, with an emphasis on self-development through behaviour that always helps others without expecting anything in returns.⁶⁵ This teaching also emphasizes *samadi* as a means to cultivate taste and body through spiritual practices, which include rituals of prostration, *racut*, and silence.⁶⁶

The teachings of Islam and Sapta Darma each have important meanings in the context of sharia and the implementation of worship rituals. Each belief system, regardless of its name, exerts a significant influence on the spirituality of its followers. Religion teaches individuals to submit, obey, and discipline the norms that apply to each adherent. The process of understanding religion by each individual undergoes a transformation, not only in the aspect of worship, but also in the application of worship values in daily life. The application of religious teachings aims to increase self-awareness in interacting with the environment, although they are often faced with confusion in determining which religion is their identity. In Surabaya, followers of Islam and Sapta Darma carry out worship at mosques and Sanggar.

⁶² Aditya Apriawan Saputra and Ega Mustika, "Kajian Kepercayaan Sapta Darma Serta Pandangan Masyarakat Dalam Perspektif Sosial dan Budaya di Kecamatan Mojosari," *SOSEARCH: Social Science Educational Research* 4, no. 1 (2023): 1–22, p.10.

⁶³ Dedi Wahyudi and Novita Kurniasih, "Literasi Moderasi Beragama Sebagai Reaktualisasi 'Jihad Milenial' Era 4.0," *Moderatio: Jurnal Moderasi Beragama* 1, no. 1 (2021): 1–20, p.2. <https://doi.org/10.32332/moderatio.v1i1.3287>.

⁶⁴ Abas Sambas, "Konsepsi Wahyu Dalam Ajaran Sapta Darma" (Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah, 2011).

⁶⁵ I Wayan Sudarma, I Wayan Rupa, and I Wayan Suca Sumadi, *Eksistensi Penghayat Kepercayaan Kepada Tuhan Yang Maha Esa Sapta Dharma di Provinsi Bali*, (Badung, Bali: Kepel Press, 2021), p.116.

⁶⁶ Wiwik Setiyani, *Humanisme Memperkuat Perdamaian Antar Agama*, p.178.

THE CONVERGENCE OF RELIGION AND CULTURE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF SYNCRETISM

Syncretism refers to the merger of elements from different cultures or religions resulting in a new form of culture or religion. Javanese Islam is an example of a religion that undergoes a syncretic process.⁶⁷ In the context of syncretism, world religions such as Islam and Christianity are often considered to have lost their original identity. This is due to interaction with external elements that change the appearance of the religion, so that it no longer reflects its original form as it was in Arabia or the Middle East.⁶⁸ Religion can be defined as a set of norms or practices that govern human life. To understand religion, a careful frame of mind is needed, because there is always a dichotomy between the religion of revelation and the religion of culture.⁶⁹ For a Muslim, the religion of revelation is reflected in the holy book of the Qur'an, which includes Magi, Jew, Christian, and Islam. These three heavenly religions interact with each other in the context of revelation, although they have differences in their concepts.⁷⁰ On the other hand, Islam and Sapta Darma do not have a significant historical connection.

Sapta Darma adherents understand that its teachings are not a religion, but a way to get closer to God through the practice of prostration and silence that allows them to feel a transformation in their hearts and souls. The experience experienced by Sapta Darma adherents can be considered a typical spiritual experience, which can only be felt and believed by followers of the religion. This religious process can affect an individual's personality, which arises from acceptance and deep dialogue with the leader of Sapta Darma.⁷¹ Intense interaction between leaders and adherents results in an accommodating attitude and a deeper understanding of religious messages that are

⁶⁷ Suwardi Endraswara, *Mistik Kejawaen: Sinkretisme, Simbolisme, dan Sufisme dalam Budaya Spiritual Jawa* (Ann Arbor, USA: University of Michigan Press, 2003), p.11.

⁶⁸ Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia and Islam* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer Dordrecht, 2010), p.2. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0056-7>.

⁶⁹ Heru Prasetya and Ingwuri Handayani, *Agama dan Kebudayaan: Pergulatan di Tengah Komunitas* (Depok, Indonesia: Desantara, 2010), p.70.

⁷⁰ Muhammad Ade Kurnia Harahap, Abu Muna Almaududi Ausat, and Suherlan, "Analysing the Role of Religious Education in Improving the Work Ethic of MSME Owners," *Journal on Education* 5, no. 4 (2023): 15050–57, p.15054. <https://doi.org/10.31004/joe.v5i4.2591>.

⁷¹ Rika Purwandari, "Manunggaling Kawulo Gusti Menurut Aliran Sapta Darma Ditinjau dari Agama Islam" (Universitas Islam Negeri Sumatera Utara, 2022), p.15.

conveyed comprehensively. The spirituality in Sapta Darma has been integrated with the soul of its adherents, which generally starts from the problems of life faced. The solution provided by the leader Sapta Darma, along with significant influence, was able to change their view of the previous religion (Islam). Socio-economic needs and the challenges of life that continue to press finally lead them to escape in the form of Sapta Darma. Doubts about the old religion are beginning to raise questions that cannot be answered in the context of Islam.⁷²

Clifford Geertz argues that religion functions as a system of symbols designed to foster feelings and motivations that are profound, easily spread, and difficult to remove from the individual.⁷³ In this context, religion should be a view of life and an ethos that emerges as a unique reality, because it involves emotions, feelings, and beliefs that are strongly internalized. Therefore, religion is not just about carrying out religious routines or fulfilling spiritual needs. The conversion of Sapta Darma adherents reflects a belief in the truth that does not require proof. This is due to the lack of religious practice that was previously practiced thoroughly or in an orderly manner. Worship that is carried out regularly has significant privileges, as explained by Ibn Rajab in his work "*Jami'ul Ulum Wal Hikam*", where *istiqomah* is interpreted as straight and focused behaviour, includes obedience both externally and inwardly, and stays away from all religious prohibitions.⁷⁴ The routine of worship in Islam has changed to the routine of prostration and *ening* carried out by Sapta Darma adherents. This practice of prostration contributes to the transformation of the behaviour of Sapta Darma adherents into better individuals, because the meaning of prostration in Sapta Darma is prostration *sumarah*, which is interpreted as meditation to achieve peace of mind while communicating with God, in order to achieve desired goals and intentions.

⁷² Ananda Fauziah and Wahyu Adinda Nur Ashifa, "Peran Dialog Antar Agama Dalam Mewujudkan Lingkungan yang Harmonis dan Keselarasan Dalam Masyarakat," *Global Islamika: Jurnal Studi dan Pemikiran Islam* 2, no. 2 (2024): 11–19, p.14. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.10614648>.

⁷³ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, p.342.

⁷⁴ Zikra Wahyuni Putri and Dapit Amril, "Istiqomah Dalam Al-Qur'an (Perspektif Abu Bakar Jabir Al-Jazairi)," *Istinarah: Riset Keagamaan, Sosial Dan Budaya* 4, no. 2 (2022): 90–104, p.94. <https://doi.org/10.31958/istinarah.v4i2.7234>.

The spiritual communication patterns that are possessed include the meaning of humanity, divine awareness, inner awareness, and social dimensions.⁷⁵

Sapta Darma, in the historical context, cannot be categorized as a religion, but rather as the result of the thoughts and meditations of an individual named Hardjosapoero, also known as Panuntun Agung Sri Gutama, which was founded on December 27, 1955.⁷⁶ The establishment of Sapta Darma is rooted in the experience of meditation or *samadi* done in solitude, which is then recognized as a supernatural spiritual experience and taught to achieve inner peace. Most of the Sapta Darma's adherents, as revealed in this study, identify themselves as Muslims and recognize Islam as their religion. The social construction of believers shows that externally, they consider Islam as a religion, while internally, Sapta Darma is their faith. The objectivity of Sapta Darma in Surabaya shows that it is not a religion, but a culture that emphasizes noble ethics. The Sapta Darma adherents studied in Surabaya still maintain their Islamic identity and have no plans to change it.

Religious identity is an interesting topic to study, especially since Sapta Darma adherents are still trying to make Islam their religious identity. Efforts to defend Islam as a religion show that there is a doubt that Sapta Darma is not a religion, but a spirit that influences behaviour patterns. In the context of political administration, Sapta Darma is categorized as a school of belief, not as a religion, and is an effort to preserve the cultural values inherited by its founder, Hardjosapoero. Religious political dilemmas can be experienced by anyone, as seen in the case of the Yasukuni Shrine in Japan which seeks to defend the Shinto religion.⁷⁷ Cultural values that arise from a belief have been internalized in Sapta Darma adherents.

Religion and spirituality are two different entities. Religion or religiosity has a specific theological foundation in accordance with the teachings of a particular religion, as well as involves the practice of worship that is structured and aims to help individuals understand their life experiences. On the other hand, spirituality is not tied

⁷⁵ Arini Sa'adah, "Pola Komunikasi Spiritual Dalam Praktik Sujud Aliran Kepercayaan Sumarah (Pendekatan Fenomenologi Paguyuban Sumarah di Kabupaten Ponorogo)" (Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Ponorogo, 2019), p.27.

⁷⁶ Faizal Azis, "Konstruksi Sosial Penghayat Kerohanian Sapta Darma (KSD) terhadap Ajaran KSD dalam Kehidupan Sosial (Studi di Sanggar Agung Candi Busana Sapta Darma Kecamatan Pare Kabupaten Kediri)," *Jurnal Sosiologi* 1, no. 1 (2017): 1–18, p.13.

⁷⁷ Shinya Masa'aki, *The Politico-Religious Dilemma of the Yasukuni Shrine*, p.47.

to specific theological beliefs or worship practices, but rather focuses on understanding life experiences.⁷⁸ Sapta Darma emphasized the importance of life experience and the search for serenity through prostration or *ening* meditation, which is a cultural interpretation. There is a harmonization between religion and culture in the context of Islam and Sapta Darma, which is intertwined in the motives and goals known as eclectic Islam.⁷⁹

Islam as a religion has a foundation of theological beliefs regarding divinity and prioritizes spirituality in life through the implementation of every form of worship that is obligatory for each adherent. Vertical worship aims to get closer to Allah through rituals and teachings listed in the pillars of Islam and the pillars of faith, while social worship serves as a driver to revive Islamic spirituality in the midst of the development of the times. Muslims continuously strive to improve the quality of their faith so that they are not trapped in spirituality that is separate from divine theology.⁸⁰ The culture of manners and noble morals is part of the Islamic teachings that are characteristic of Muslims, with efforts to internalize the values contained in the Qur'an. Islam Nusantara, which is the distinctive identity of the Indonesian nation, tries to accommodate people with local culture without putting aside certain identities, ideologies, or sects in Islam. The spirituality contained in Sapta Darma reflects cultural diversity in the search for a unique identity. In this modern era, there are still individuals who claim to have supernatural powers, which means they interact with supernatural beings or feel the powers believed by Sapta Darma's adherents. Therefore, the government's attention to restrictions on religious identity remains an important issue.⁸¹

People have the right to choose religion and beliefs according to their personal beliefs. Sapta Darma adherents in Surabaya often experience indecision that becomes

⁷⁸ Yasmin Kartikasari, "Alam, Manusia, dan Spiritualitas," *Jurnal Sosioteknologi* 24, no. 1 (2011): 1157–67, p.1161.

⁷⁹ Yunus and Mukhlisin, "Sosial-Budaya: Harmonisasi Agama dan Budaya Dalam Pendidikan Toleransi," *Kalam: Jurnal Agama Dan Sosial Humaniora* 8, no. 2 (2020): 1–26, p.17. <https://doi.org/10.47574/kalam.v8i2.78>.

⁸⁰ Muh. Fihris Khalik, "Reposisi Agama Sebagai Sumber Spiritualitas Masyarakat Modern," *Ash-Shahabiah: Jurnal Pendidikan Dan Studi Islam* 3, no. 1 (2017): 1–8, p.7. <http://journal-uim-makassar.ac.id/index.php/ASH/article/view/178>.

⁸¹ Abdul Rahman Matondang, Tuti Restilia Dalimunthe, and Maryam Khodimatullah, "Pembangunan Identitas Keagamaan Dalam Ruang Digital (Studi Kasus Tentang Kristen Cabang Muhammadiyah di Media Sosial)," *Al-Balagh: Jurnal Komunikasi Islam* 7, no. 1 (2023): 31–36, p.33.

a challenge in their lives, so they need to immediately find answers to make a choice. They can choose to adhere to a particular religion or stay in search until the right moment to make a decision. The Indonesian government and people are committed to not discriminating or intimidating religion or beliefs held by minority groups. Freedom of religion and belief in God Almighty is a manifestation of the values of Pancasila and is part of human rights that must be respected and chosen based on the identity of each individual.⁸² The experience experienced by Sapta Darma adherents reflects the process of searching for identity in the midst of existing religious diversity, in order to find the appropriate religious concept. In the context of modern developments, there is a mutually reinforcing relationship between religiosity and spirituality. Religiosity refers to the doctrinal activities carried out by individuals in religious practice, while spirituality is concerned with an individual's self-understanding of God and self-existence as a manifestation of belief. Religious teachings can form religious individuals with spiritual values that can be applied in social worship or responsible social life.⁸³

The form of syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma can be seen from the statement that Sapta Darma is not a religion, but rather the result of thoughts and meditation or *samadi* of an individual who is considered to be supernatural and taught to achieve inner peace. Sapta Darma adherents often face challenges that require them to confront two religions and cultures, which puts them in complex situations of choice. Syncretism as a part of life, allows Sapta Darma adherents to be involved in the process of searching and discovering their identity. Through dialogue and in-depth interaction with religious leaders or clerics, they can find alternative solutions to avoid indecision and anxiety, as well as strengthen their beliefs. Contemplation about religious awareness, which is different from cultural awareness, must be a priority in the effort to find identity. Although religion and culture are intertwined, they still have differences. Theoretically, the understanding of syncretism tends to be less dynamic,

⁸² Fatmawati, "Perlindungan Hak Atas Kebebasan Beragama Dan Beribadah Dalam Negara Hukum Indonesia," *Jurnal Konstitusi* 8, no. 4 (2011): 489–520, <https://doi.org/10.31078/jk844>.

⁸³ Said Alwi, *Perkembangan Religiusitas Remaja* (Bantul, Indonesia: Kaukaba Dipantara, 2014), p.23.

as it focuses more on the outcome of the meeting between two value entities (cultural or religious), which can result in imbalances within them.⁸⁴

CONCLUSION

The socio-religious aspect of the Sapta Darma community in Surabaya reflects the condition of marginalized communities that are isolated and require attention from religious institutions. Individuals fleeing economic hardship and frustration with life's challenges tend to isolate themselves and interact with others who experience similar fates. The Sapta Darma community emphasizes high moral values, so that it attracts the interest of the community regardless of background. The socio-religious process among Sapta Darma adherents is an effort to find an identity that has not been fully realized due to the pressure of various life problems.

Islam and Sapta Darma are two different entities in terms of teachings and ritual practices. Religion and spirituality are interconnected and strengthen each other, where Islam contains spiritual values inherent in its adherents. Furthermore, the form of syncretism in this study can be described in three main points, namely: (1) Sapta Darma is a teaching born from the interpretation of human thought and has become part of the culture of society; (2) Sapta Darma adherents view their beliefs (Sapta Darma) not as a religion, but as part of the appreciation of their beliefs, and; (3) They still make Islam their identity, while Sapta Darma functions as a belief or way of life. Although the syncretism between Islam and Sapta Darma is very real, it encourages individuals to maintain both belief systems, as they both help in achieving the universal goal of every human being, which is spiritual well-being and balance. Thus, Islam and Sapta Darma are not only seen as an escape from life, but as a guide in living life.

This research has significant implications in providing a deeper insight into the diversity of beliefs in Indonesia, especially in the city of Surabaya. The Islamic syncretism contained in Sapta Darma shows that religious identity is not always exclusive and rigid, but can be flexible and adaptive. This research also has the potential to help communities in understanding and accepting the existence of minority groups with different beliefs, which in turn can strengthen social inclusion and reduce

⁸⁴ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, p.103.

discriminatory practices. However, in the implementation of this study, there are several limitations that may affect the results, namely the focus of the research is only on the adherents of Sapta Darma in Surabaya. Meanwhile, there are still many Sapta Darma adherents in other areas, such as Magetan, Yogyakarta, and Sidoarjo. Therefore, the researcher hopes that further research can be carried out in these areas. In addition, it is recommended that the results of this study be used as comparative material to enrich the complexity of future research.

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