

Dharma Kasogatan and Padma Buwana Communities: Collaborative Rituals and Social Challenges at Mangir Lor Hamlet, Yogyakarta

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Abstract: This paper discusses the social challenges faced by Utiék Suprapti during her efforts to revive rituals in order to pray for ancestors under a newly-constructed *lingga-yoni* temple at her house yard at Mangir Lor Hamlet, Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta Province. She faced objections by local people supported by the police chief when she conducted a collective ritual with the Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community in November 2019. As if local people were ignorant of what kind of ritual she performed, even though the previous year 2018 the same ritual with the same intention had successfully been conducted. After the objection became viral news in social media, in front of the local apparatus at the Office of Bupati Bantul, Utiék Suprapti declared herself adopting Hinduism as her religion. In order to find a solution towards the objection, Utiék Suprapti has been advocated by Gemayomi (Yogyakarta Popular Movement against Intolerance) including in mediating with residents and apparatus. By applying participant observation and interview as data collecting methods, this article tries to answer how the two communities of different religious teachings can conduct collaborative rituals harmoniously and why residents expressed their objection against the collaborative ritual.

Keywords: *Kasogatan, Utiék Suprapti, Mangir, Gemayomi, Siwa-Buddha*

Introduction

Mangir Lor is 1 out of 20 hamlets of Sendangsari Village, Pajangan District, Bantul Regency of the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region. According to the official website of Sendangsari Village (BPS Kab. Bantul, 2019, p. 17), the total population of the village in 2019 was 12,102 people, with most population depending on farming (wet and dry seasons type of farming as well as livestock farming) and small business sectors such as craft, home industry, and service. The website also mentions that the villagers of Sendangsari preserve their ancestral traditions, especially those inherited from the Islamic Mataram royal tradition. The so-called Javanese Islam tradition is reflected in their daily manners such as conducting polite and respectful mutual communication style, applying mutual assistance or collaboration (*gotong-royong*) and making a decision by consensus (*musyawarah*), as well as practising *selamatan* (communal feast in order to

achieve salvation) and village cleansing atmosphere from negativity and impurity, also conduct various kinds of traditional Islamic Javanese rituals and culture including playing Javanese *gamelan* music instruments. Aside from that, at Mangir hamlet there are some archeological sites inherited from Hindu era which attract local tourists. According to 2019 data from the website, among population of Sendangsari Village only 2 people were recorded as Hindu, 74 people as Protestant, 125 people as Catholic and the rest as many as 11.904 as Moslem.

Late afternoon of Tuesday, November 12, 2019, the frontyard at Utiek Suprapti's house at Mangir Lor Hamlet, Sendangsari Village, was decorated with a kind of woven palm leaf divider, indicating that a significant event was taking place. Meanwhile, a *lingga-yoni* stone temple in the yard was wrapped with black, yellow and white coloured cloths that looked brand new. At the floor of the temple there were various offerings such as flowers, water, incense, and food. There was also a white decorative umbrella in one corner. Around 30 male and female guests appeared to be present wearing traditional clothing.

A Kasogatan (Astawa, 2007; Suamba, 2007; Vajrapani, 2013) priest wearing a maroon sarong with a yellow sleeveless top and a a-crown-like headcover and triplicate necklace made of *genitri* was seen sitting cross-legged in the yard facing at the temple. In front of him there were various offerings, water, flowers, a bell and a *vajra* (Vajrapani, 2013) on a small table. His appearance is reminiscent of a Balinese Hindu priest, but the maroon color of his sarong reminds the distinctive colour of the Vajrayana (Buddhist Tantrayana)(Majelis Dharma Duta Kasogatan, 1976; Suamba, 2007; Vajrapani, 2013) tradition. He started the ritual by reciting a mantra while both his hands doing *mudra* (*mudra* is a symbolic or ritual gesture or poses in Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism). He rang the bell with his left hand while touching his solar plexus with his right fingers. His mouth continued reciting mantra initiating a series of prayers for ancestors of the archipelago organised by the Padma Buwana ritual group led by Utiek Suprapti. The plan was that after the Kasogatan priest, the following ritual was supposed to be the main ritual which would be chaired by Sri Begawan Putra Manuaba, a senior Hindu priest most respected among Hindus in the Yogyakarta area.

But, before the Kasogatan ritual session was over, at around 3.30 p.m., the district police chief AKP Sri Basariah and her staff came and asked for the event to be stopped. Indeed, at the crossroad not far to the left of Utiek Suprapti's house, many male residents

gathered and watched over Utiék Suprapti's house. The Kasogatan priest was forced to end his session even though he had not done his most important part yet: pouring milk and honey over the top of the *lingga* temple. At the moment, a minibus with guests coming for a Hindu ritual was not allowed to drop off the passengers and was rejected by the crowd. The bus then returned away with the passengers on board. Not long after that, from the right side of Utiék's house, a car with a senior Hindu priest on board, was banged by a man. The police chief rushed to pick up the senior Hindu priest to avoid further unrespectful objections.(CNN Indonesia, 2019; Yuwono, 2019)

In short, the planned prayers for the ancestors could not be continued. The news went viral quickly, and reporters started to come by. This was the culmination of tensions Utiék Suprapti had been facing since 2011 in the relation with her efforts to preserve cultural heritage. The following day, a group of staff from the Ministry of Religious Affairs visited Utiék Suprapti for verification.

This incident raised questions: Why did the rituals at Utiék Suprapti's house receive objection from local people? Did local people reject collective rituals of Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community and Hindu Padma Buwana group? How can Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community and Hindu Padma Buwana ritual group perform collaborative rituals harmoniously? Is there significance or any contribution made by this article to the existing studies?

Methods

In order to answer the question of why the rituals at Utiék Suprapti's house yard were objected to by residents, from in emic perspective I had been conducting participant observation for a week since the day of objection on November 12, 2019 until the Regent of Bantul summoned her on November 18, 2019. During the week I had the opportunity to conduct in-depth interviews, especially to help Utiék Suprapti write down the chronology and background of the objection against her rituals by neighbours as the primary material. (Utiék Suprapti, personal communication, November 14, 2019) for clarification with various parties, including for manuscript submitted by Utiék Suprapti to Seminar on Religious Freedom, Harmony and Human Dignity in Indonesia: Expectations and Challenges (Kuswantin, 2020) organized by ICRS at Pendapa Museum of Prambanan Temple on March 11, 2020 in which the discussion section was attended

by King Willem-Alexander and Queen Maxima of the Netherlands. While for ethical perspective I quote the article written by Setyo Boedi Oetomo titled *Konflik Penolakan Ritual Doa Leluhur Paguyuban Padma Buana di Pedukuhan Mangir Bantul, Yogyakarta* (A Conflict over the Rejection of Ancestral Prayer Rituals of Paguyuban Padma Buana in Mangir, Bantul, Yogyakarta) (Oetomo, 2020)

While in order to answer the question whether local people reject the collective rituals of Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community and Hindu Padma Buwana group, firstly I have to answers how can Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community and Hindu Padma Buwana ritual group carry out rituals together harmoniously, since Vesak 2018 I had been participating at various ritual events attended by the leader of Dharma Kasogatan community, including Vesak in 2018 and 2019, *Kebo Mulih Pekandangan* ritual by Sunda Wiwitan community in Cigugur (Kuningan) at the end of 2018, *Kebo Ketan* ritual at Kraton Ngayom Sekaralas (Ngawi) in 2019, ritual for the 1st Night of Suro by Garuda Mukha community in Kediri in 2019, rituals at Utiék Suprapti's house during 2019, and the last one was a ritual in order to support the *adat* revival at Pulausangkar Village, Batangmerangin District, Muarabungo Regency, Jambi Province, from the last week of December 2020 to the first week of January 2021. Utiék Suprapti also participated in the ritual activities at Cigugur and Pulausangkar. Aside from participating in various rituals, I also interviewed the ritual leader of Dharma Kasogatan -- just call him Romo Widhi (pseudoname) (Romo Widhi, personal communication, March 7, 2019) -- regarding his religious activities.

I also complemented my research report with relevant library sources. My participation in various Dharma Kasogatan rituals since Vesak 2018 has been an entry point to exploring Kasogatan communities as the subject of my doctoral research.

Results

In order to answer the questions, first I should introduce what Dharma Kasogatan community and the leading character as well as who Utiék Suprapti are, and how can the Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community be able to perform prayer rituals with Utiék Suprapti's Hindu Padma Buwana group harmoniously.

Dharma Kasogatan

Dharma Kasogatan is a pseudoname for a WAG (Whats App Group) Kasogatan ritual community. The word *Kasogatan* can be found in the term *Dharmadhyaksa ring Kasogatan* which means Buddhist advisor for Maharaja Hayam Wuruk, while for Shivaist advisor was called *Dharmadhyaksa ring Kasaiwan* (Ensink, 1999; Majelis Dharma Duta Kasogatan, 1976; Suamba, 2007; Swantana, 2018). Etymologically the word *Kasogatan* derives from the word *sogata* or *sugata*, which according to *Buddhasasana: Concise Pali-English Dictionary* (Mahathera, 2014) the meaning *sugata* is happy, blessed existence, lucky, and someone who has reached the realm of happiness. Still according to this dictionary, the word *Sugata* also means *Buddha*.

Dharma Kasogatan is a WAG community with about 35 members who were claimed as non-monastic Tantrayana practitioners. The WAG members live in cities such as Yogyakarta, Jakarta, Jepara, Solo, Kediri, and Bali. This WAG community leader, Romo Widhi (pseudoname) (Romo Widhi, personal communication, March 7, 2019), is a bachelor born in Ngawi in 1976 who lived in Yogyakarta. During the year 2019 Romo Widhi had been performing rituals several times in several places wearing maroon or yellow Tantrayana-style priesthood clothing and a 'crown' studded with various gems, as well as triple necklaces of genitri strands, for example at Vesak Day at Candi Abang Temple in Yogyakarta, at *Kebo Mulih Pekandangan* ritual by Sunda Wiwitan community in Kuningan (West Java), at *Kebo Ketan* event in Ngawi (East Java), at the Night of the 1st of Suro by Garuda Mukha community in Kediri (East Java), as well as at Utiek Suprapti's residence on Hindu sacrade days. Romo Widhi performed rituals in various places, in addition to fulfilling invitations, because he and his community did not have any gathering place.

Romo Widhi claimed that he had been ordained as a priest of Tantrayana Zhenfo Zong Kasogatan (Nuh, 2012, 2016; Sudarto, 2014), but unfortunately, he was not satisfied with the atmosphere of the Kasogatan board which according to him was dominated by Zhenfo Zong's style. So then he chose not to be active within the board, instead he had been trying to act alone in seeking the teachings of Kasogatan as mandated by a senior from Dharma Duta Kasogatan Board, the late Romo Oka Diputhera. The Dharma Duta Kasogatan Board was founded in 1975 in Ambarawa (Central Java) by a group of figures consisting of Romo Giriputra Sumarsono, Romo Oka Diputhera, Romo Cipto Wardoyo, Romo Sudarsono, Romo Ananda Suyono and Romo Karuna Atmaja. Although the board

received much sympathy from Buddhists, especially those of Javanese ethnicity, the board was later integrated with Zhenfo Zong group from the United States led by Guru Lu Shen Yen. Officially in 1998 its name was changed to *Majelis Agama Buddha Tantrayana Zhenfo Zong Kasogatan Indonesia* (Indonesian Tantrayana Zhenfo Zong Kasogatan Buddhist Council)(M Taufik Hidayatulloh, 2015; NURHIDAYAH, 2019; Sudarto, 2014). The integration is said to be symbiotic mutualistic because Zhenfo Zong needed an organizational platform at that time, while Kasogatan was short of operational funds(Romo Widhi, personal communication, March 7, 2019). The integration resulted in Kasogatan's mission to revive the Buddhist teachings of the Nusantara tradition being blurred and even halted as Chinese Zhenfo Zong's teachings dominated the ritual atmosphere(Rm. Mettiko Dahyono, personal communication, April 5, 2019).

Romo Widhi claimed that he had learned Kasogatan from Monk Wajraphala and Monk Dewa Dharmaputera at Padepokan Lawu. After studying with the two monks, started in 2008 for eight consecutive years he had been going back and forth to Bali in order to explore Kasogatan teachings that have still been existing at the Island of Gods through discussions with Buddhist priests including Ida Pedanda Buddha Gede Jelantik Giri Puspa, Pedanda Panji Sogata, and Ida Pedanda Buddha Gede Purwa Gotama.

In the Context of Shiva-Buddha

Behind the question of how Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community can perform rituals with the Hindu Padma Buwana ritual group harmoniously, there is an assumption that Buddhism and Hinduism are two different religions with different teachings. This is understandable as nowadays what is generally understood in Indonesia, is that Buddhism is based on the Tripitaka scriptures and Hinduism is based on the Vedas. However, in the history of pre-Islamic Java, Hinduism (Shiva) and Buddhism (Kasogatan) once had been referred to simultaneously as Shiva-Buddha (Suamba, 2007). This means that Shiva-Buddha was considered one religion or a collaborative belief. As written by I.B. Putu Suamba (Suamba, 2007) which quotes the famous (*Kakawin Sutasoma*: 1) *Apan tiwa juga sirang muni Buddha pakṣa / yañ tan wruhing parama tattwa Śīwatwa mārga / mangkang munīndra sang apakṣa Śīwatwa yoga; yan tan wruhing parama tattwa jinatwa maṇḍā*// (Because it is considered imperfect if a Buddhist priest does not know the nature of Shiva's teachings, so does a Shiva priest is considered imperfect if he does not know the essence of Buddha's teachings). 2) *Rwāneka dhatu winuwus wara Buddha*

Wiśwa / bhinneka rakwa ring apan kēna parwanosēn / mangkā ng Jinatwa kalawan Śīwatwa tunggal / bhinneka tunggal ika tan hana dharma mangrwa // (It is said that the two manifestations of Him are Buddha and Shiva, it is said as different, but when can they be divided into two, thus the Buddha's truth and Shiva's truth are one, different but one, there is no ambiguous dharma).

In the opening remarks for Suamba's book, the President of Indonesian Hindu University Denpasar Prof. Dr. I. B. G. Yudha Triguna, MS (Triguna, 2007, p. ix), stated that for nearly 10 centuries from the 5th to the 15th centuries, the island of Java had been experiencing the dynamics influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. The meeting and merging of Shiva-Buddhist teachings had been a unique cultural phenomenon different from other places worldwide. Central and East Java are areas where these two religions could not only live side-by-side peacefully, but had a very deep unionship; not only at the level of ceremony, morality, but also at the level of *tattwa* or metaphysical aspects.

Meanwhile, in the book of *Puja Parikrama Bauddha Kasogatan di Bali* (Vajrapani, 2013, p. 6) edited by Mpu Sri Dharmapala Vajrapani and adapted from the thesis of Drs. A A. Gede Oka Astawa M.Hum. (Astawa, 2007) entitled *Agama Buddha di Bali*, it was written that the process of the blending of Buddhism and Shiva (Hinduism) gave rise to Shiva-Buddha religion. However, each is free, remains in its original tradition, and enjoys its autonomy. Astawa cites Yamin (Yamin, 1962) about inscriptions that show peaceful life between the two religions in Java, such as the Pucangan inscription (965 Saka) which mentions the existence of two kinds of priests, namely Shiva and Buddha who ordained Airlangga as a king in 941 Saka; and the Gunung Butak inscription in 1216 Saka which mentions *Dharmadhyaksa ring Kasogatan* and *Dharmadhyaksa ring Kasaiwan*; and cited Sukmono (Sukmono, 1974) about *Kidung Sunda pupuh III stanza 41* which states, among other things, that "Priests Shiva and Buddha are ready to carry out a ceremony that must be carried out together". Meanwhile in this book (Sukmono, 1974, p. 9) it is written that today in Bali it is still seen that Shiva and Buddha's priests perform ceremonies together, for example in significant ceremonies (such as *tawur kesanga, penyejeg bhumi*) the presence of both priests is essential. Because without the presence of the two priests (Shiva and Buddha), then the ceremony is considered incomplete. Meanwhile in the closing section (Sukmono, 1974, p. 233), it is written that the Hindu Dharma adherents in Bali consist of two significant schools of thought, namely Shiva Sidanta and Buddha-Mahayana Kasogatan. The Kasogatan Buddhist sect is implied in a mantra written on the

golden plate (*peripih*) at Pegulingan Buddhist Temple which reads: ...*Vidhya carana sampanah, Sugata loka vidhyanuttarah*... which more or less means: ...there is only one path of knowledge, namely the path of knowledge of the Buddhist world that is matchless (Majelis Dharma Duta Kasogatan & Maha Mandala Kasogatan, 1977; Utama et al., 2019)

So, it is clear that in the context of Shiva-Buddha, Buddhist Dharma Kasogatan community will always be able to perform joint rituals with Hindu Padma Buwana group harmoniously. As acknowledged by Utiék Suprapti as the leader of Padma Buwana, they sense the maximum vibration when both groups practice communal prayers and recite mantras together. In the context of Shiva-Buddha, the Buddha or Kasogatan part is from the esoteric Mahayana or Buddhist Tantrayana or Vajrayana tradition (Suamba, 2007), instead of from the Theravada tradition.

Utiék Suprapti

Utiék Suprapti is a woman born in 1962 who lives with her only son in Mangir Lor Hamlet, Sendangsari Village, Pajangan District, Bantul Regency, the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region. She had been living in Bandung for some years, she then returned to her hometown in Mangir Lor with her son who was then two years of age, after she divorced her son's father. In order to finance his son's education, Utiék Suprapti works at a local cooperative, aside from selling the yields of her backyard house.

Utiék claimed (Utiék Suprapti, personal communication, November 14, 2019) that she was not interested in spiritual activities until she experienced a kind of sensation in 2011 when she was joining a *ruwatan* purification ritual at Pura Dalem Museum not far from her house. She said that at that time she was invited to join the *ruwatan* merely to accompany a relative. A Balinese priest was leading the ritual. Under an old *lingga-yoni* temple, she sat cross-legged with both palms in *anjali* position. Suddenly, she felt a kind of reliable energy pushing her body up from the floor she sat on. Her body bounced up and down repeatedly like a dribbled basketball. Simultaneously, heavy rain suddenly poured down accompanied by thunder flash. She felt a more profound experiential sensation, but she felt inappropriate to tell others for fear that it would be considered over-claiming. It was this spiritual experience that changed her.

Shortly after that, she met with Mbah Mulyo Sumarto who then taught her Javanese Hindu mantras and *Ajaran Sewelas Pada* (a Teaching of Eleven Stanzas), which essentially is about how to live with nature or how to harmonise our microcosmos

(*buwana alit*) within macrocosmos (*buwana ageng*). "We are the *buwana alit* and the universe is the *buwana ageng*," she said at her house. Not yet finished with Mbah Mulyo Sumarto, she met with Sri Begawan Putera Manuaba, a very respected Yogyakarta-base senior Hindu priest. He then guided her the procedures of Hindu rituals. The senior priest also advised Utiék to preserve a *yoni* stone lying at the yard of Mbah Pariman's house -- Utiék's next door -- considering that the initial location of the *yoni* stone, based on the findings of a relatively large brick foundation, was at Utiék's front yard. With Mbah Pariman's approval, Utiék then moved the *yoni* stone a few meters to the place she believed to be its original location. Utiék admitted that she started registering the ancient *yoni* stone as a cultural heritage object that she could use as a place for interfaith prayers. Utiék also tried to socialize the idea by inviting community leaders from the three Mangir hamlets (Lor, Tengah and Kidul). According to Utiék, this socialization has been carried out three times.

Refuging Under MLKI

Realizing her spiritual tendency, on January 15, 2012 Utiék joined the HPK (*Himpunan Penghayat Kepercayaan kepada Tuhan YME* or Association of Believers of Unofficial Religions) which accepted individual membership. HPK has now become MLKI short for *Majelis Luhur Kepercayaan terhadap Tuhan YME* or The Supreme Assembly of Believers of Unofficial Religions which requires group membership) (MLKI, 2018). She claims to have a spiritual tendency closer to the teaching of Javanese Shiva-Buddha while her official religion as written on her ID card was not Hindu.

One day in 2012, the local police chief invited Utiék to discuss the *yoni* stone. The police chief claimed to have received many reports from residents complaining about the smell of the incense smoke Utiék used for praying. In the police station there were 14 males from various local offices, from district, village, religious affairs, military, the heads of three Mangir hamlets, and other security-related offices. In the all-men forum, Utiék was asked to show permit letter. She explained that she was struggling to get the permit, by registering the *yoni* stone to BPCB (*Balai Pelestari Cagar Budaya* or Institute for Preservation of Cultural Heritage). In case it is verified that the *yoni* stone is a cultural heritage object, then the stone can be used following the Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2012 concerning the Preservation of Cultural Heritage and Cultural Conservation Article 2 paragraph 2 concerning the utilization of cultural heritage for religious, social,

economic, and historical/ educational interests. Utiek recalled that 2 out of the 14 men gave her positive responses. The police chief finally asked Utiek to sign a prepared statement that until gaining any permits, Utiek was not allowed to use the *yoni* stone to pray.

A few days later, Utiek was visited by a couple friends who wanted to join prayer facing the *yoni* stone. She realized that she had signed a statement: "How can I be forbidden to pray in my yard?" She ignored the signed statement.

The next, on April 22, 2012, Utiek was visited by the Head of Mangir Lor Hamlet, the Head of Mangir Tengah Hamlet and Mbah Pariman. They came to ask for the *yoni* stone to be returned to Mbah Pariman's yard, on the pretext that Utiek had violated the statement she had signed. Utiek refused. However, at the road outside Utiek's house there were many men gathered. Among of them was police chief who then came into Utiek's house and asked for the *yoni* stone to be returned. Utiek refused. However, a man from a neighbouring hamlet who seemed to be mobilizing the masses approached the *yoni* and said that the *yoni* stone had to be dismantled. The young man looked emotional and gave a code by raising his right hand up. The masses then stepped up to the temple and tried to lower the *yoni* stone, but failed. The police chief stepped up to the temple and shouted "*Allaaah hu akbar!*" He managed to shift the *yoni* stone which was then lowered and pushed away by the masses to Mbah Pariman's houseyard. The arabic expression of *Allah hu akbar* exclaimed by the police chief did not represent the natural way of local people who used to be more Javanese in manner than Islam, but it was understandable as the police chief is not local origin but came from Sumbawa, an island with solid Muslim character.

Adopting Hindu

Without the ancient *yoni* stone Utiek continued to pray at the exact location. She is sure that the site of the ancient foundation is more critical than the *yoni* stone itself, as she believes it is the artifact of her ancestor, Ki Ageng Mangir 2 or Ki Megatsari. (Meanwhile, the ancient *lingga-yoni* temple at Mbah Bali's land not far from Utiek's house, also known as Pura Dalem, is believed to be the artifact of Ki Ageng Mangir 4 or Wonoboyo 3 whose life story has become a legend).

The hardship made Utiek's belief got even more substantial. On October 29, 2012, she was ordained as a Hindu by Sri Begawan Putera Manuaba at Mrajan Agung Kasihan,

Bantul. The acknowledgement by a Balinese spiritual teacher, Sri Jaya Nara, regarding the artifact of Ki Ageng Mangir 2 in front of her house, confirmed her belief.

One day at the first week of August 2014, Utiék had a visitor from Bali who claimed that he was sent by his teacher, Maha Guru Sri Jaya Nara, to meet someone at a village that has many ancient Hindu stones not far from Parangkusumo Beach which clues lead to Utiék Suprapti. Less than two weeks later, on August 16, 2014, Maha Guru Sri Jaya Nara accompanied by around 200 followers came to visit Mangir. During the visit, the Balinese guest donated, which was handed over directly to Sendangsari Village Head. Sri Jaya Nara was so impressed with the former *yoni* site in front of Utiék's house that he donated for Utiék to order a new *lingga-yoni* stone temple.

The *lingga-yoni* made by Mbah Joyoprono in Mutilan was named Maha Lingga Padma Buwana by Sri Begawan Putera Manuaba and was purified on February 25, 2015 by Maha Guru Sri Jaya Nara. She came from Bali with around 60 followers. Utiék Suprapti used this date as the official establishment of her ritual group Paguyuban Padma Buwana in responding the change of HPK to MLKI, in which HPK accepted individual membership, while MLKI requires group membership. Utiék's Paguyuban Padma Buwana ritual group had to wait four years to get official registration via notary. So, at this stage, her group was still accounted as an extra-ordinary member of MLKI which was not fully acknowledged yet. Nevertheless, as reported to MLKI, the core activity of her Paguyuban Padma Buwana is to carry out spiritual rituals with Javanese Shiva-Buddha values such as: Kliwon night mantra chantings, full moon prayers, Hindu and Buddhist holy days prayers, and *piodalan* or commemoration of the *lingga* temple(MLKI, 2018).

Intimidation & Objection

The installation of *lingga-yoni* stone at the houseyard of Utiék Suprapti's residence invites more people from different religious backgrounds to participate in interfaith prayers. Utiék admitted that her party often experienced intimidation, and even some men reminded the pilgrims not to come again. Utiék once had been visited by an unknown man who advised her not to convert her religion, to whom Utiék responded politely that belief is a private matter between her and the Creator of Life.

In 2018 Paguyuban Padma Buwana held a *piodalan* commemoration day for the *lingga* stone temple by conducting joint prayers led by Hindu priest Begawan Putera Manuaba and Buddha Kasogatan priest Romo Widhi. This event of joint prayers went well

without any obstacles. However, a year later, on November 12, 2019, a similar event was forced to stop before half of the procession was completed. Utiek had already taken care the notification letters and permits from neighbours. After getting the approval signature from the Head of the RT, Monday, November 4, 2019 as suggested by *Bhabinkamtibmas* (People's Security and Order Supervising Officer), Utiek delivered the notification letters to offices of police chief, military chief, head of district, head of village, heads of 3 hamlets, as well from religious affairs and head of block, as well as to cultural and tourism office, interfaith communication forum at district and regency levels, the head of attorney as the team leader of PAKEM (*Pengawas Aliran Kepercayaan dan Aliran Keagamaan* or the Supervisor for Unofficial Religions and Denominations)(Afandi, 2009), Bantul police, Bantul *Kesbangpol* (Body for Nations and Politics Unity), and to Pokdarwis Tourism Awareness Group Mangir. Until evening of November 11, 2019 there had been no response from any anyparty. However, around 10.00 p.m., the night before the *piodalan* commemoration event, Utiek Suprapti was summoned to come to Pajangan Police Station for that very night. She met the verbal summon accompanied by her son, Pak Setiadji (a guest from Jakarta) and Pak Rajut (an activist from Gemayomi mass organisation). At the police station, three officials were waiting: the police chief, the military chief and a Babinsa (non-commissioned law enforment officer under the military office)(CNN Indonesia, 2019; Yuwono, 2019).

The police chief opened the meeting by saying that her party had been visited by around a hundred residents who expressed their objections against the event being held at Utiek Suprapti's house on the pretext that there was no permit yet. The essence of the dialogue between Utiek Suprapti and the police chief is as follows(Utiek Suprapti, personal communication, November 14, 2019):

Utiek: "But Pak Bhabinkamtibmas has guaranteed that I only need to submit notification letters. I have recorded the statement of Pak Bhabinkamtibmas"

Police Chief: "Oh please Ma'am, if you continue, the residents threaten to boycott the roads." Utiek: "Well, is it not the other way around, Ma'am? Shouldn't you be the one helping me? I could cancel if you told me this 3-4 days ago."

Then Setiadji offered two options: 1. To get permission from Jakarta; or 2. Cover the venue with a curtain so it cannot be seen from outside when the next day's prayer is held. A young man from a neighboring hamlet who came later at the police station, interrupted that basically the event should not be held. Pak Setiadji replied, "Since I am

already here as a guest from far away, I will be praying." Not long after that, the head of the village came in and the police chief asked why do the residents refuse the prayer, he said "Actually people are happy when there is an event at Bu Utiek's place. However, she has not socialized yet about her activities." Utiek denied the statement by the head of village and said that she had delivered socialization three times.

After going through tough negotiations for 3.5 hours to no avail, Utiek asked permission to leave. The police chief ordered that tomorrow's event be cancelled. While shaking hands, Utiek responded, "Let nature take care of it"

Social Media Supports

The next day, prayers were held for ancestors at Utiek Suprapti's residence. The event started around half past three in the afternoon, but about an hour later the police chief with two staff came when Kasogatan priest was carrying out the ritual. The plan was that after Kasogatan ritual would be the turn of Hindu ritual led by Sri Begawan Putra Manuaba. Nevertheless, the police chief requested that the event be stopped. At the crossroad to the left of Utiek's house many males seemed to have gathered around watching over Utiek's house since noon. After a while, a small bus with Hindu people from Sayegan on board was forced back by a crowd of males. Not long after that, from the right side, a car with Sri Begawan Putera Manuaba on board was banged.

In short, the masses and the police chief's pressure forced the prayers for ancestors at Utiek's house yard to stop. Various offerings that had been prepared for two days were in vain. Moreover, within minutes the news about the objection against prayers at Utiek's house went viral on social media. This was the peak of tensions Utiek Suprapti had been facing since 2011. The following day a group of guests consisting of officials from the Ministry of Religious Affairs and related offices came to Utiek's residence for verification.

Utiek Suprapti then received a summon letter from the Secretary of Bantul Regency on Monday, November 18, 2019 with an agenda for coordinating Paguyuban Padma Buwana. She felt that she would be "judged" because the invitees included all apparatus of Bantul Regency, namely: the Regent, Head of Attorney, Police Chief, 0729 Military Chief, Secretary, Assistant I for Administration, Head of Cultural and Tourism Office, *Kasatpol PP* Municipal Police Chief, *Kakankesbangpol* Head for Body for Nations and Politics Unity, *Kakemenag* Head of Office of Ministry of Religious Affairs, Head of

Government Administration, Head of Intelligence for Attorney Office, *Kasat Intelkam* Chief of Police Intelligence & Security, Territorial Military Chief *Pasi Kodim 0729*, Local Intelligence Body, Head of Interfaith Communication Forum, Head of District, District Police Chief, District Military Chief, Head of Village, MLKI Bantul Regency, Head of Mangir Lor Hamlet, Head of Mangir Kidul Hamlet, and Head of Mangir Tengah Hamlet.

The day before the meeting with the Regent of Bantul, Yogyakarta Advisor (*Pembimas*) for Hindu and PHDI (*Parisadha Hindu Dharma Indonesia* or the Indonesian Hindu Society) held a meeting with all representatives from throughout Yogyakarta Province. In the meeting, Utiék Suprapti conveyed what she would state at the meeting with the Regent of Bantul the next day. 1) She has embraced Hindu since 2012 and has applied for official conversion since July 2018. 2) That she disbanded her ritual group Paguyuban Padma Buwana and thus no longer be a member of MLKI. 3) She takes refuge under the PHDI (Indonesian Hindu Society) and asks for guidance from Provincial Advisor *Pembimas* for Hindus (Oetomo, 2020).

Advocacy by Gemayomi

Utiék Suprapti had also received advocacy from a mass organisation named Gemayomi (Yogyakarta Movement against Intolerance). Thanks to Gemayomi activists that had been intensively coordinating with the head of village, a month after the incident, on December 11, 2019 a community meeting was held whereby Utiék Suprapti conveyed to the local people that she officially embraces the Hindu religion. In the occasion, the provincial Hindu advisor under MoRA explained that what Utiék Suprapti had been doing so far did not contradict with Hindu teachings, and the *lingga-yoni* stone temple at her house yard could be categorised as a *pamujan* or *mrajan* which is equivalent to a *mushala*, and is not categorised as a *pura* which is equivalent to a mosque. It means the existence of *lingga-yoni* stone temple at Utiék's residence does not require a special permit, except the regular house construction permit.

The Pretext of Objection

So, why did the people of Mangir object ritual prayers at Utiék's residence on November 12, 2019, considering that the same event took place successfully in the previous year? Oetomo (2020, p. 61) concludes that the objection against Padma Buwana was not the problem of religious intolerance, because the Mangir people still preserve

Javanese traditions such as *slametan* and put offerings ant archeological sites in the village. Oetomo reccomends that it would be better if Pokdarwis tourism awareness group in the village, the management of Pura Dalem Museum and Utiék Suprapti establish collaborate in developing the village tourism agenda. Nevertheless, there were several opinions I have collected from several parties during my field research:

There was a kind of contestation regarding the village tourism potential development plan. Utiék Suprapti had refused the offer to be subordinate of a Pokdarwis tourism awareness group in her village, instead she offered to collaborate in equal position. The disagreement regarding the tourism development plan was suspected of having contributed to the local people's objection against ritual events held by Utiék Suprapti. According to Utiék, the one who mobilised mass to refuse the prayers at Utiék's house was the same person who asked Utiék Suprapti to be a subordinate under the tourism development plan in the village.

Some local people seemed offended when Utiék Suprapti introduced her *lingga-yoni* stone temple at her houseyard as a Hindu site, considering that the area around Sendangsari Village is known for the cemetery of Muslim propagators.

There was a local resident of Mangir who has been away for a long time and recently visited Mangir with impressive attributes as an actor of the militant Islamism movement. It was suspected that his presence had inspired some Mangir residents to be more puritanical. Utiék admitted that before his visit, the people of Mangir were known to be very tolerant towards old traditions such as offerings for ancestors.

There was a shift in local leadership, from older groups who were more tolerant towards non-Islamic teachings to younger people who were more puritanical. Utiék Suprapti distinctively felt this shifting in local leadership in a way that the same event of prayers in 2018 ran without any problem but failed the following year due to objections by residents.

Discussions

Indonesia is a state that intervenes in the private religious life of its citizens by requiring its citizens to officially choose one out of six religions sanctioned by the state, namely Islam, Protestant (Christianity), Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism or Confucianism. Recently, the *Penghayat* or believers of unofficial religions have also been recognized by the state. The choice of belief must also be stated in the people's identity,

family cards, and other official documents. Such state practice can be considered intervening in citizens' private lives and may cause sensitive issues in case there is religious conversion among citizens. The objection by neighbours towards different styles of prayers conducted at Utiek Suprapti's house constitutes the implication of rigid state regulations regarding citizens' beliefs. In addition, state recognition only given to international religions marginalised domestic religions. Consequently, the Shiva-Buddha coalition unique to Indonesia is only regarded as part of Hinduism.

Conclusions

No single factor exists in residents' objection against collaborative ritual at Utiek Suprapti's houseyard at Mangir (Yogyakarta) on November 12, 2019. Aside from people being ignorant regarding the concept of Shiva-Buddha, there was a contestation element in the village tourism development plan between Utiek Suprapti and the local tourism awareness group. There was also an objection against the idea of Utiek to introduce Mangir as a non-Muslim area, and it seemed that puritanism among young people had been strengthened, as well as there had been leadership shifting from a more tolerant older generation to a more puritanical younger generation.

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