Re-Enchant The Universe Through Indigenization
Building an Eco-Spirituality in Mount Merapi Landscape

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Abstract

Modernity and the coming of world religions have disenchanted the universe. The universe is merely seen as material *an sich*. Local people lost their relational worldview with the cosmic realm. One of the way which taken by world religion is local theology. This process makes local culture lost its significance roles for local people. Being separated from relational worldview with the universe people explores the universe freely. Looking at those phemonenon, it needs to re-enchant the world and to rebuild interconnectedness relationship among people with the universe which can be done through indigenization in many aspects. Indigenization here is bringing up local culture with its worldview to all people in a new way. The central purpose through bringing up local culture is to rebuild the relationship among people and the universe. To deepen this understanding looking at the indigenous religion in Javano understanding about mother, especially known as Mbok Turah (an Abundant Mother) in Hargobinangun village, Pakem, Yogyakarta is rich of insight. Local people who mostly are farmers accept Mbok Turah as Javano representation of the abundant universe as Mount Merapi gives them. The building of the Mbok Turah shrine reconnects them to build interconnectedness relationship with the universe. The interconnectedness relationship brings people to see universe as their part of identity. An eco-spirituality is constructed through these practices.

Key words : local theology, indigenization, worldview, interconnectedness relationship, enchantment

I. Introduction

The encounter between world religions and indigenous religions can not be avoided. The encounter goes in many ways. One of them is through a local theology. Mostly a local theology is constructed by world religions to engage itself with local religions or local traditions. Local theology grows together with universal theology which in some part can not be differenciated.

Local or indigenous theology goes in many diffferent ways. Inculturation is other shifting perspective in local theology. This term is welcomed by world religions. For Catholic Church inculturation expresses the acceptance of the church to local culture. Inculturation helps local people to understand world religion and to express their understanding in a local way. They use songs, dances, local language

and other cultural views to express their faith.[1] Protestantism, for long time also understands the importance of context which constructs a contextual theology to build a theology in accordance with the real condition of the society. In Indonesia, contextual theology which is built by Protestantism tries to answer the need of people, such as poverty, plurality, secularization, etc.[2] In these understandings inculturation and indigenous theology are apart of contextual theology as far as the context of the society is bringing up. Islam in Indonesia also does a contextual theology and builds Islamic practices through inculturation such as the growing of Islamic prayer in Javanese ways, includes *slametan, gunungan,* pilgrimage, etc.[3]

Looking at those phemonena, this writing discusses the aspects of the encounter between world and indigenous religion. I argue that local theology or indigenous theology is far from representing local or indigenous religion into account. Local and indigenous theology in many aspects d is not enough to represent indigenous theology from the perspective of the local people. Although local theology tries to build theology based on local tradition and beliefs, local theology places indigenous religions inferior to world religions evenmore as a mean of world religions to contruct herself. Instead of building local theology, I suggest the importance of indigenization. Indigenization relates to the emerging of theology based on the dialogue between local and world religions.

In this writing I attempt on number of themes which try to build a holistic worldview to take local spirituality into account in building an eco-friendly understanding. The main question are how does the encounter of world and indigenous religion could give benefit for both all people from world and indigenous religion? How does the encounter could give abundant benefit to the environtment? From those questions I seek a spirituality which could bring environment to be enchanted again.

First, I give a different perspective on local theology which usually built by theologians of world religions. I try to contruct an understanding which enhances both indigenous religion and world religion. Second, instead of placing world

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[1] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1985), 5.
[2] E. G. Singgih, *Berteologi dalam Konteks* (Jakarta & Jogjakarta: BPK & Kanisius, 2000), 17-33.
[3] For more information see Geertz, Clifford, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976, Mark Woodward, *Java, Indonesia, and Islam* (Spingler, 2010).

religions superior to indigenous religion I try to take indigenous religion as superior to the world religion which in practiced can be called as an indigenization. By indigenization means taking indigenous religion into account. To go to this understanding I try to look carefully at the indigenous religion in Javano understanding about mother in Mount Merapi lanscape specifically in the village Hargobinangun, Pakem, Yogyakarta. They have a story based on local culture about a mother in their place as Mbok Turah means an Abundant Mother. She understood as having manything. Although there is no community which takes Mbok Turah as their central figure, but many villagers from these areas know about Mbok Turah and take her as one of important figures in their life related to their belief. They build a statue as a figure of Mbok Turah. Third, I will contruct a basic point of view to see indigenization in theology related to indigenous religion.

My theoritical approach to study this theme is based on theoritical insight proposed by some scholars on world religion and indigenous religion such as Alfred Irving Hallowell (1960), N. Bird-David (1999), James L. Cox (2007). They see religion in a more intersubjective, relational and interconnectedness related to their understaning on the realm, personhood, social life in community, and also to the spirit and supranatural beliefs. Those theories are fruitfull to analyse and propose the practice of indigenization. I take Robert J. Schreiter (1985) to understand what local theology is. Using theory of religious studies such as Wilfred C. Smith (1963) and Talal Asad (1993) which see the spread of religion regarding to the spread of power and Tomoko Masuzawa (2005) who argues religion as a Western thought I will analyze local theology as a mean to contruct world religion based on indigenous religion. Only after evaluating those concepts, the definition of indigenization in theology can be done.

II. The Project of Local Theology

The shifting in the perspective of theology, recentdays is flown from "theology from the above" to "theology from the bellow". Theology from the above starts its reflection based on the teaching, scripture, and classical understanding of its religion and how this understanding is important to the world. While theology from the bellow bases its reflection from the people, reality, and world phenomenon.

Although the methodology is not strict as mentioned above, the difference of the basis of reflection makes difference result of theology and other implications. Theology from the bellow recently contructs the coming of liberation theology, contextual theology, indigenous theology, local theology, political theology, public theology, and other implications such as inculturation, indigenization, contextualization, etc.[4]

Although theology from its fundamental understanding is always contextual and local, but as the etymologycal definition of theology as the study about God or God's word take the context of the people behind.[5] Edmond Dunn stresses that although theology takes God as the main problem of its study, theology should see how God's word which is being lived and practiced in the society. In this understanding theology comes to the field of religious experiences. Moreover Edmond Dunn puts theology to understand religious experiences as understood in society and also defined by social scholars such as Max Weber, Rudolf Otto, William James, etc. Theology then reflects about society who lives in relation to God's word (supernatural).[6] Therefore, theology is always about the teaching of the supernatural in the social context and local understanding.

Althought theology tries to cover social context, doing contextual or local theology is not an easy task. It is a local adventure so that a universal theology (world religion) places to be relevant for a particular culture.[7] Evenmore, seeing the relation between local culture and world religion as a foreign culture always put them into confrontation or confirmation.[8] Richard Neibuhr, a theologian distinguises five relations which usually occurred in the relation between religion and culture. The dialogue between local culture and religions can be radical where religion rejects culture, accomodative where both religion and culture has no opposition but work together, synthetic where religion and culture is in mutualrelationship, dualistic where the people both live in religion and culture and interchange it, and

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[4] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology*, 3-5.
[5] Edmond J. Dunn, *What is Theology?: Fundational and Moral* (Mystic: Twenty-Third Publications, 1998), 7-9.
[6] Edmond J. Dunn, *What is Theology?: Fundational and Moral,* 9-11.
[7] Clemens Sedmak, Clemens. *Doing Local Theology* (New York: Orbis Books, 2002), 3.
[8] E. G. Singgih, *Berteologi dalam Konteks,* 28-30.

transformative where religion understood super than culture and religion transform culture.[9]

Those relations shape theology into many different reflections. Local theology which seeks to construct theology based on its local culture is influenced. Schreiter based on the work of Dulles (1974) distinguises local theology into three categories: translation, adaptation, and contextual approaches.[10] First, in translation religion is freed from its previous cultural accretion. Religion is always brings its cultural views from its original place. After being freed from its previous culture religion is ready to come to the new culture. The religion then translated into a new local culture. Translation is important to be used in pastoral setting in which religous try to help local people to understand the message. Lituragical and prayer is ussually always take the first place in doing translation.

Second, in adaptation the acceptance of local culture is much deeper. Usually they come into different step. In the first step theologians learn and systematize local culture and make it understandable to the universal. After that, they will explain their teaching as the way local culture understood. So, religion come to the culture, but before the coming of religion, local culture has been prepared. Religion not comes as a foreigner, but religion also changes itself so that it is understood by local culture. The second step of adaptation usually goes deeper. Religion come the local culture and religions grow genuinely. The method is "one of planting the seed of faith and allowing it to interact with the native soil..."[11] The interaction will come to a new religion without lost its original teaching and original culture. It is a way where dialogue happened and pluralism is growing.

Third, in contextual models their main concern is not about the transmition of religion, but the condition and context.[12]This understanding comes into two types of contextual models. First, the main concern usually is about a local place with its culture. They use ethnographic approach and the main concern is about identity. This approcah is critized that it is usually like archaism or come to the origin of the culture. The problem arises because culture always changes and instead of being

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[9] H. R. Neibuhr 1956 cited by E. G. Singgih, *Berteologi dalam Konteks*, 36-40.
[10] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology*, 6-16.
[11] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology*, 11.
[12] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology*, 16.

monoculture, culture comes to the hybridity. The second way is giving the concern to the need of local culture and the need of the people. The real conditions of the people, such as poverty, hybridity, ecological concern, etc become a starting point to do local theology. In these second models comes liberation theology. The real concern of religion in doing theology is the salvation of the people in their real condition, not the transmition of the religion itself.[13]

III. Doing a Local Theology

Looking at those dinamics it is understood that local theology is purposely done by world religion to serve world religion itself. World religion needs local theology to accept local context in order to be accepted by local context. The spirit of local theology is still from the perspective of world religion which in order to be localized seeks local culture.

Seeing local theology as a mean of world religion is in accordance with seeing genealogy of religion. The word "religion" as a historical term introduced by Catherine Bell (2006) emerged as a language to name such phenomena which did not exist before or did not need a name.[14] In naming religious phenomenon, it needs a basic understanding. Bell argues that religion firstly appear as irrational. It is only after the Enlightenment which followed by the rise of "the Philosophers" the word "religion" and its meaning is understandable and seeks universalized. This phenomenon has placed rationality as a main center of human paradigm. This paradigm was implemented to religion and followed by religion. Religion then was universalized. In this sense Bell argues that it is Christianity which became the "prototype for religion in general".[15]

It is Bell who argues that after paradigm on universality well accepted, religion is seemed something that is needed. As E.B. Tylor (1832-1917) mentioned, universality raises the "cultural necessity of religion".[16] Anthropologically society needs religion in order to be accepted as modern and human value. Paganism is being avoided. Being modern means accepting religion and it is world religion which

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[13] Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theology*, 13-16.
[14] Catherine Bell, "Paradigms behind (And before) the Modern Concept of Religion", *History and Theory* 45,4 (Desember 2006): 27.
[15] Catherine Bell, "Paradigms behind (And before) the Modern Concept of Religion", 29.
[16] Catherine Bell, "Paradigms behind (And before) the Modern Concept of Religion", 36.

concidered as religion. Every local religion and beliefs need to adjust with world religion. In this understanding local theology is understood to take local beliefs into inferiority.

Wilfred C. Smith widely argues on that theme and becomes a pioner to that debate. It was after Enlightenment that religion has come to the systematic concept. And only after Schleiermacher critized how scholars should see religion, the genealogy of religion is being discussed. Schleiermacher proposed idea to see religion as being practiced by its followers not a system of belief which transfered to the believers from religion institution. The process of transfering the belief called by Smith as "reification". Reificatin is the process of making the word religion into real and gradually accepted become an objective and systematic existence.[17] According to Schleiermacher anything which can be observed is not religion but an expression of religion. It is the transfer of belief from religious institution which claims holding the right and best beliefs and practiced which force indigenous religion to follow world religion. In that understanding, conversion means change its previous belief to new belief that is from world religion.

In that sense, Talal Asad goes beyond in analysing the growing of world religion. In *Genealogies of Religion* Talal Asad does not only problematizing the term "religion" but also recognizing religion as an expression of power relation.[18] The dominant power tends to spread its religion to the people. It is not only power as understood in colonization or state power that spread the religion, but also power in a broader meaning, namely the idea of modernity or universality, authority, and economic power. Asad (2001) also argues that reification as mentioned by Smith can work in soutinization of charism as introduced by Max Weber.[19] According to Asad it is also impossible to have a universal definition of religion because the process of defining religion is through tension and power relation.[20]

In those understanding the spread of religion always takes local religion as inferior and should be converted. In Indonesia the conflict between world religion and indigenous religion and the process of building local theology occurred in almost

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[17] Wilfred C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (London: Fortress Press, 1963), 5.
[18] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion* (London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), 46.
[19] Talal Asad, "Reading a Modern Classic: W. C. Smith's 'The Meaning and End of Religion'", *History of Religions*, 40,3 (Feb., 2001), 209.
[20] Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion,* 29.

every religion. In Islam the dialogue between Javanese traditions and Islam which tended to go to conflict showed by some Javanese literatures such as the conflict between Haji Muttamakin and Ketip Anom in the Serat Cabolek in 19 century, in *Serat Centhini* between *Syekh Siti Jenar* and Walisongo (nine ulamas), etc. Christianity also experienced in Gereja Kristen Jawi Wetan (the Christian Church of East Java) where Coolen, a Russian-Javanese teaches Christianity as *ngelmu* and prayed as local people did in Gunung Semeru of Godess Dewi Sri.[21] In Central Java Sadrach community is also opposed by Christian Church when Kyai Sadrach taught Christianity using Javanese and Islamic terms and symbols. Other encounters between world religion and indigenous religion also tends to conflict. The conflict is not only happened among world and indigenous religion but also within world religion whether they accept local traditions or not.

IV. An Indigenization in Hargobinangun, Yogyakarta

In Java, Indonesia, pilgrimage is popular in many religious backgrounds. It is also a complex practice based on a deep religious and culture worldview of human understanding. Pilgrimage emerges from many different human understanding about their culture, religion, and tradition. Among others, it intersects with the process of identitywhich is built for its community in interaction with local and global identity.The relationship between Javanese identity and global identity such as the coming of world religions is mixing and melting to the practice of pilgrimage as well. For this information, looking at Javanese literature from many centuries show their understanding about this melting of Javanese traditions and world religions, such as in Javanese texts Serat Centini, Dharmogandhul, Dewarutji, etc.[22] It is also known that there are many pilgrimage sites in Java such as taking place as a grave, tomb, and many rituals.

From a Local Belief to Mbok Turah Shrine

It is in Hargobinangun, Pakem, Sleman that the villagers know the story about Mbok Turah. Its name is Mbok Turah, which means a mother who has more or

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[21] See Sutarman S. Partonadi, *Sadrach's Community and its Contextual Roots* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 134-135 and Philip van Akkeren, *Sri and Christ* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1970), 92.
[22] See M.C. Ricklefs, *Mysitic Synthesis in Java* (East Bridge: Signature Books, 2006).

abundant. The mother understood has manything and abundant. However they do not understand the mother is full of richness, glamour, wealthy, or has many properties. The mother they understood is a Javanese mother, wearing *batik-kebaya*, her hair is hair-bunned using a bodkin, sitting as a Javanese mother in a quite way. They made a woman statue, sitting in silence and waiting for her childbaby. (See appendix 1)

The story about Mbok Turah comes from a story spread from one person to another in Hargobinangun, Pakem, Sleman, from long time. Firstly, according to villager, the story related to the place. The place is a small forest in the side of Kali Boyong (Boyong River) as a river from the Merapi Mountain. It is said, at night villagers hear many babies were crying from this place. This story made villagers in fear and unrest. In 1980-s these phenomenon were continued. Secondly, they also understood that there is a Javanese mother whom they knew as a Javanese supernatural figure resides in this place. Many villagers came to this place offering an incense, flowers, and food. Villagers honor the figure of Javanese mother to this place.

There is also a story related to the story of an ancient Javanese woman who supports the richness of Merapi Mount. Some villagers still remember the story of the role of Mbok Turah who supports Merapi in giving fertility to the land near Merapi. Mbok Turah stays in Boyong River to keep the fertility of the land surround Boyong River. Mbok Turah they understand giving fertility to the land. This story is wellknown because most villagers are farmers. They depends their daily life on their agricultures.

In 1990s, a Catholic priest resided near the place. As a writer this priest looked for a quite place to stay for writing. Villagers finally discussing about this place and the phenomenon usually happened. Together with a priest, villagers built a statue of a Javanese woman. Villagers until now honor the Mbok Turah and frequently coming to this place, offering manythings and stay quite before her statue. Now, this place is known by many people to be visited. The place also becomes a cultural site where many people perform their art and cultural tradition. Visitors are from many different places and background. Villagers of Hargobinangun itself are Javanese from Catholics and Muslims. Visitors from other cities also from many different backgrounds interm of religious background and ethnicity. Villagers come

to visit Mbok Turah shire to pray before her. However many believers from many different background also come to this place to say a prayer.

The Fusion of Intersubjectivity in Mbok Turah Shrine

Mbok Turah shrine in Hargobinangun represents indigenous religion in those places. It consists of local worldviews related to their social life, cultural traditions, environment, and world of spirit. Mbok Turah shrine binds their intercultural and understanding about their daily life and spiritual beliefs. In the words of Hallowell as he observed Ojibwa people, villagers in Hargobinangun create a relational worldview. Mboh Turah shrine is their way to positioning themselves in the universe and express their relational intersubjectivity with others surround them. Villagers in Hargobinangun show themselves as 'dividual', in the word of Bird-David who as a person constitutives of relationship.

All those understanding about intersubjectivity can be seen from their understanding about Mbok Turah and their practices related to their activities in Mbok Turah Shrine. The figure of *Mbok*, a Javanese Mother, for them is special but ordinary to their daily life. *Mbok* is a friendly way to call a Javanese mother. When they call a mother as *Mbok* means they close enough to her. The figure of *Mbok* is also not a special figure, but an ordinary Javanese woman with their daily activities as a mother for her children, a wife for a husband, and a woman who also works as the hushand does. They close with a figure of *Mbok*. Turah means more or abundant. They understand Mbok Turah as a mother who has more or abundant. In a figure of a mother they find manythings in her. What they need is found in a figure of a mother.

Taking story about Mbok Turah into their activities means taking their cosmological view about their life into the central. Regarding to their relationship with the cosmic world, they want to unite with the universe especially with the land, mountain, and the abundant river in Boyong River. For people near Merapi, this mountain they see as a central to this world. Merapi does not give calamity to them, but gives prosperity to their land. Villagers want to unite with the Merapi which as a folkfore told, Mbok Turah supports Merapi to give fertility. Villagers honor Mbok Turah as their way to relate and unite themselves with the universe. As people know,

from lava Merapi, fertility is given to their land. Boyong River from Merapi also support in giving fertility. Boyong River gives much water to their land.[23]

Connected to their way of calling *Mbok* to the Mbok Turah is trying to connect themselves with other people in surround Merapi and Javanese as whole. It is their way to call and relating with others without boundaries. All Javanese from different economic status also called a Javanese woman as *Mbok* especially to those who close to them without need to give special honor such as to their mother. It is a calling to a woman who is familiar and friendly. The way they call *Turah* is full of their understanding about their priciple of life. *Turah* is more or abundant, but it is not full of prosperity and richness. Mbok Turah is a figure of Javanese woman who are simple, humble, loyal, and friendly. They call Turah because they remember the Javanese teaching about to always say enough, not desire to get more and more, but to feel in peace and thankfullness because feel everything is enough.

Villagers in Hargobinangun are also familiar with the figure of Mbok Turah because when they look at Mbok Turah, they see themselves. They see the figure that represents a person who is struggling for life but always feel thankful, humble, and in peace for anything she gets. Mbok Turah is a figure who represents people with the world. They are connected with others, land, and the history of themselves. As farmers they see Mbok Turah gives a hope for their work but they do not want to get very much harvest. They do not seek for richness but a peaceful such they see in a Mbok Turah figure.

They adore Mbok Turah means they are aware of other individu as a community who are mostly farmers. Mbok Turah is the way they connect with the land which gives them abundant harvest to live. Mbok Turah also binds their solidarity as neighborhood and with the nature. In those places usually held traditional gamelan, ruwatan, and traditional performance such as Javanese dances, such as Jathilan. Those are their way to connect one to each others.

Intersubjectivity in Mbok Turah shrine represents interconnectedness between human with nature and, which they call, supranatural. It also represents their ontologycal understanding about themselves which always interrelated with others.

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[23] Graham Harvey, "Introduction". In Graham Harvey (ed.) *Indigenous Religions: A Companion* (London: Cassell, 2000), 4-5.

Indigenization in Mbok Turah Shrine

It can be seen that that the practice in Mbok Turah shrine is an indigenization. Indigenization usually understood by a process of taking world religion into a local belief and practices.[24] I argue that indigenization places the indigenous religion as the subject rather than the world religion. Indigenous religion takes the whole part of the beliefs of world religion and indigenous worldview fully still exists in the process. In this case world religion follows and melts in indigenous religion.

Villagers of Hargobinangun are Catholics and Islam. Visitors who are coming from several places are also from many different religious backgrounds. They still remain in their belief as members of world religion. In seeing Mbok Turah, they have different opinion. Some visitors from Catholics reflect Mbok Turah as Mary, a mother of Jesus. When they pray before Mbok Turah, they imagine that Mbok Turah is Mary. As Catholics they usually pray before Mary statue or go to Mary grotto. Catholics pray, offer an offertory before Mbok Turah. They also believe and accept the understanding about Mbok Turah and its characteristics. They find the characteristic of Mary is similar to the characteristic of Mbok Turah as villagers understand it. In this understanding Mbok Turah shrine binds them into one in this place. Muslims who are coming to this place understood Mbok Turah as a Javanese figure who helps them. When they see Mbok Turah they see the mother who is generous. Villagers who are Muslims sometimes also come to this place. They ask for blessing. Their understanding about belssing (*barakah*) in Islam melts with the way villager believes in Mbok Turah.

In this understanding, indigenization means the worldviews of indigenous religion influences world religion. People who are coming to this place although have their own worldviews accept the worldview of indigenous religion about Mbok Turah. Its worldview also becomes their worldview.

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[24] Bird-David, N. Et.all. "Animism Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology: Commentaries and Author's Reply". *Current Anthropology, 40*, 1999, 67-68.

V. Indigenization in Theology of Everyday Life in the Pilgrimage

James Cox (2007) argues that usually the study about indigenous religion supports world religion and it is namely pro missionary work. In Indonesia the work of missionary is also began through studying local religion. The works of Albertus C. Kruyt (1915), Rahmat Subagya (1972, 1981), and Zoetmulder (1995) represent these phenomenon. Although they work for the sake of academic exploration, in some point they will define indigenous religion from the perspective of world religion. This condition as Cox and Tomoko Masuzawa (2005) mentioned is based on the wrong understanding about culture.[25] The Western thought on religion that only shows the superiority of the West and discredites indigenous religions.[26]

Looking at the encounter between world religion and indigenous religion in Mbok Turah shrine in Mount Merapi Lanscape, the superiority of world religion is eliminated. The encounter puts indigenous religion as a subject. However at the same time, the process of indigenization in Mbok Turah shrine can not be differenciated from world religion because people of this place are followers of world religions.

The encounter in Mbok Turah shrine is not only about the ritual and practices but also about theology behind the figure. When the followers of world religion pray at this place, they have dual understanding that complements one to each other. As Catholic they remember Mary, mother of Jesus. They understand clearly that Mary in Catholic Church has special place and believed has special role to help human attains to salvation. The teaching of Catholic Church *per Mariam ad Iesum*, to Jesus through Mary, is always remembered by Catholic. In Catholic tradition the figure of mother is taking into account. It represents the closeness and caring. Mother of Jesus, Mary, in Catholic Church also called Mother for All. This belief encourages Catholics to honor Mary and come to her through prayer. This devotional practices also known in Indonesia and be practiced in almost in every places.

In Islamic context, pilgrimage also takes an important role. The pilgrimage to shrines and tombs in Indonesia are familiar among Muslims. Javanese Muslims, also Catholics, understand pilgrimage to shrines and tombs as *laku* or *tirakat* to say a

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[25] Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 2-3.
[26] James L. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous: The academic Study of Indigenous Religions* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd, 2007), 33.

spiritual journey in seeking peace. It is not only a visit to a sacred place. Even for some Javanese *laku* or *tirakat* also a way to connect with spiritual power. Sometime they do it to get special power and ability to do something which sometime irrational.[27]

For Javanese, the figure of Mbok Turah in everyday Javanese spirituality also consists of depth spirituality which represents their notion of *rasa* (feeling). *Rasa* is from Sanskrit which means essence, delight, and feeling. This understanding also represents their inner life. Paul Stange (1984) defines "*rasa* is at once the substance, vibration, or quality of what is apprehended and the tool or organ which apprehends it.[28] It means *rasa* connects to the inner feeling and deep spirituality of Javanese. The sacredness of Mboh Turah Shrine also consists of deep Javanese spirituality about *rasa*.

It is *rasa* that places Mbok Turah superior to the world religion. Villagers in Hargobinangun believe Mbok Turah is a representation of themselves as farmers but also beyond themselves because Mbok Turah has ability to give manything. That is why they called it Turah, more, abundant.

The melting of socio-religious background in this place comes to the understanding that Mbok Turah srine represents their identity as community of farmers in Hargobinangun. They are bond in as a community or in the word of Cox as kinship. Mbok Turah helps them to reconnect with the cosmos that is the universe at large, the land, the river, the mountain, social life, and the supernatural they know. Mbok Turah also help them to connect theirselves with their life, that is their daily life as farmers and their future, to have enough harvest from their field, to surrender their life to the figure of the mother, and to have hope for their future.

In this cases, indigenous religion as Cox mentioned consists of two characteristics those are location and kinship. Seeing its location Cox writes "it is limited to groups that construct their identity as belonging to a place and to a particular lienage".[29] A location becomes their part of their identity. The traditions in community are also "derived from the chain of memory traceable to ancestors".[30] As

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[27] Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 131.
[28] Paul Stage, "The Logic of *Rasa* in Java," Indonesia 38 (1984):119.
[29] James L. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous*, 89.
[30] James L. Cox, *From Primitive to Indigenous*, 89.

Harvey also mentions about being native and relative, the people also relate themselves with human surround them and ancestral spirit. In those relational understanding the boundaries between human and non human is melted.[31] Understanding the relational understanding among them mean understanding their positioning in the cosmic world.

VI. Conclusion

Looking at the need to do an indigenization which places indigenous religion into account and looking the practice of Mbok Turah Shrine which rebuild relationship among people and the realm, these practices construct the interconnectedness relationship between human and the realm. The cricis of environment and the disenchantment of the universe is recover by indigenization. Javanese people who are familiar with the story of Mbok Turah come again to their relational worlview about the universe. Environment becomes a part of human existance and human could respects environment.

In relational worldview the task to be friendly with the environment is not only a responsibility which comes from outside, but it is inherited as the existance of human as a human person. It comes to the ontological understanding about human person. Human always relates to the environment. These understandings rebuild a harmonious relationship among existants. The environment also becomes enchanted again.

Therefore this relationship strongly develops a holistic understanding in order to be friendly with the universe. To be concern with the environment is not a task but an awareness of human as he/she understands him/herself as a human person. It is comes from inner and deep understanding not merely a task. In this understanding to be friendly and being concern with the environment is a spirituality which can be called as an eco-spirituality.

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[31] Graham Harvey, "Introduction", 5.

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Interview

Antonius L., a villager of Hargobinangun and housekeeper of Mbok Turah Shrine, May 27th May, and September 17th 2014.

Participant observation by the author on May 25-26th 2014.

Appendix

Pict. 1: Mbok Turah Shrine (Picture by author).

Pict. 2. A painting "Sumringah" (Joyfull) by Budiana.
On June 29th to July 3th 2013 a painting exchibition about Mbok Turah was held in Mbok Turah Shrine and Bentara Budaya Yogyakarta (Picture by author).

Pict. 3: A painting entitles "Nyaur Utang Mbok Turah" (Pay back to Mbok Turah) by Koni Herawati in a painting exibition August 22-31, 2014 in Bentara Budaya Yogyakarta (picture by author).