Kaharingan or Hindu Kaharingan: What's in a Name in Indonesian Borneo?

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What's in a Name in Indonesian Borneo?

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ABSTRACT: Many scholars have addressed processes whereby local faiths have come to be classified as Hindu. In Indonesia, such classifications are of profound significance among practitioners and for the state. For some Ngaju Dayaks, an indigenous people of Indonesian Borneo, obtaining recognition of Kaharingan, the traditional faith, as Hinduism was part of a struggle for social justice. Others demand that the alliance between Kaharingan and Hinduism be dissolved. The article explores the goals and activities of two important religious organizations committed to Kaharingan's survival and promulgation in different forms. The authors argue that differences between the two lend insight into how and why this faith is simultaneously classified as both a new and an old religion in Indonesia, as both Hinduism and not-Hinduism, and they suggest that the Kaharingan case encourages reflection on what constitutes a "new" religious movement.

KEYWORDS: Hinduism, Indigenous People, Indonesia, Kaharingan, Ngaju Dayaks, Religious Organizations

In late 2019 the Hindu State Religion Institute Tampung Penyang, located in Palangka Raya, capital of the Province of Central Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), convened a conference with national and international reach. Entitled "Hinduism in the Millennial Era," the venue was a hotel near the monument to President Soekarno,

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who founded this city in the rainforest more than sixty years ago. The conference commemorated a landmark religious alliance ratified forty years earlier: the integration of Hinduism and Kaharingan, a local faith practiced by some Dayaks—the ethnic identifier by which the province's indigenous population is known.[1] The more pressing goal was to create a high-visibility forum to address ongoing controversies regarding whether Kaharingan's alliance with Hinduism should continue. The event positioned Hindu Kaharingan and Hindu leaders publicly to re-explain and reendorse the merger's origins, development, and continued benefits. Presenters included Indonesian scholars and religious leaders, foreign researchers, regional government representatives, and civic organizers. Many attendees dressed in batik shirts with hornbill and water snake motifs inspired by Dayak tradition. Some brought supernaturally charged *penyang*, which are woven belts embellished with animal teeth and claws, tiny bottles of oil, and carved bone or wood talismans.[2] Others wore clothing characteristic of Bali—home to the highest percentage of the nation's Hindus—including *udeng*, a headpiece for men that is often taken to signify the Hindu sacred triad: Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva. Conference materials were distributed in plaited rattan bags, indigenous swag produced by Dayak women known for their skill as weavers.

The day commenced with a dance performance by students who encircled a representation of the "tree of life" (*batang garing*), a key Kaharingan religious symbol.[3] When the morning sessions concluded, a throng of reporters from regional newspapers, television networks including Dayak TV, and radio stations arrived with their equipment in tow. A dozen influential Hindu Kaharingan and Hindu leaders and activists then took the stage for the highly anticipated press conference. With one voice they condemned allegations from certain quarters that Kaharingan had been coopted by Hinduism. They countered critics' accusations that organizational and educational practices intended to dilute the local faith's authenticity had been set in place. The spokesmen and women quashed those charges by underscoring the legality of the process of consolidation. One stated that Kaharingan had, in fact, "emerged" as a religion due precisely to the merger. They offered assurances that traditional rituals continued to be enacted correctly, albeit beneath the larger umbrella of Hinduism.[4]

The present fissure over religious authenticity and authority within the Kaharingan community is interesting to consider in a broader historical context. By 200 BCE, Hindu empires had already appeared on some islands that now form part of the Republic of Indonesia. The neighboring province of East Kalimantan, for example, was the seat of an important fourth century Hindu kingdom known as Kutai Kerthanagara or Kutai Martadipura. Legend claims that the realm was established after the son of a Dayak leader converted to the faith

practiced by visiting traders from South Asia.[5] To understand fully why some Dayaks celebrate their religion's amalgamation with Hinduism while others would prefer to follow a different course, it is necessary to consider contemporary social, cultural, and political factors that inflect characterizations of this indigenous religion. Key among them is how the nation-state defines religion and administers religious affairs, and how the administration of religion in Indonesia has changed over time. Another factor is ethnic chauvinism toward the religions of marginalized populations, Dayaks included. How the religio-cultural components of Dayak identity intersect with indigenous political activism must also be weighed.

This article has multiple goals. The authors seek to contribute to knowledge of the characteristics and adaptive processes of a Bornean religion in ways that speak to interests in new religions, particularly regarding how and why this faith is perceived as both new and old in its Indonesian context. In so doing, the article expands the literature on Hinduism and indigenous religion in Southeast Asia with original ethnographic data from an island hinterland. In discussing how Kaharingan is understood and practiced today, we focus our attention on the origins of a fissure between indigenous religionists who identify as Kaharingan and those who identify as Hindu Kaharingan. We also reflect upon various ways that religious capital is created and operationalized in this indigenous and national setting. Religious capital here refers to social networks based on common religious values and goals, as well as resources that can be accessed through participating in, acquiring expertise about, or having authority over Kaharingan or Hindu Kaharingan praxes. This capital can be deployed in varied contexts. For example, from the 1940s through the 1960s, the first Dayaks to win regional office campaigned on a Kaharingan Party ticket. Members of the party were also the first to apply (unsuccessfully) to the Indonesian Ministry of Religion for official recognition of the Kaharingan Religion.[6] In that same vein, we indicate how the question of Kaharingan's status intersects with indigenous religious and political interests today. We close our discussion with comments regarding the adjudication, still pending as of 2022, of the current impasse between adherents of Kaharingan and Hindu Kaharingan.

Data on which this article is based were collected by the authors during their respective research in Central Kalimantan and Bali. Each author has carried out research on topics related to Ngaju indigenous religion for decades.[7] The material presented is drawn from formal and informal interviews, archival study of documents held by religious and secular organizations, and data collected utilizing the qualitative methodology of long-term participant-observation. The following discussion is based on the 2019 conference described at the onset of this article, which both authors attended.

In writing this article we initially found that our respective disciplinary trainings propelled us to approach the controversy between Kaharingan and Hindu Kaharingan differently. Yet, we consistently circled back to questions regarding philosophical, cosmological, and ritual alignments that Kaharingan and Hinduism are perceived to have in common with one another or not, and how those similarities and differences figure in the acquisition of religious capital in a nation that not only monitors faiths but formally approves them.

Hinduism has been considered an official religion in Indonesia for seven decades. Adherents of Hindu Kaharingan characterize their faith as a locally inflected expression of Hinduism. They have consistently rejected characterizations of Kaharingan as a Hindu sect, in part because the word *sekte* in Indonesia has implications associated with political dissent. In fact, a volume published by Central Kalimantan's government shortly before Kaharingan's official consolidation with Hinduism described the indigenous faith as "prehistoric" Hinduism, managing entirely to sidestep the complicated question of sectarianism.[8] Kaharingan activists who seek the reversal of consolidation instead reject characterizations of their faith as Hinduism. In tracing the current schism, this article reveals a paradoxical situation whereby an indigenous religion, presently considered by some to be among the nation's "oldest" faiths, suddenly has the potential to become Indonesia's "newest" religion as well. How the paradox is resolved will have important consequences for how Dayaks frame and express their cultural and religious identities in the future.

A DAYAK RELIGION AND THE STATE

Interest in religions in indigenous societies has surged in several academic fields. It bears repeating, as religious studies scholar Michael F. Strimska pointed out in his treatise on the "rebirth" of a "new-old" form of Icelandic paganism, that local religions are rooted in the history, texts, and folklore of a particular people and place.[9] The religion discussed in this article, Kaharingan, is associated primarily with native peoples known as Ngaju Dayaks who live in the Central Kalimantan Province. The term *Ngaju*, in addition to being the name of a Dayak subgroup, is also the name of their language, the mother tongue of up to eight hundred thousand persons. Central Kalimantan is often called the "Dayak Province" in light of the political circumstances that surrounded its 1957 establishment. Today, widespread deforestation attributable to multinational mining interests and oil palm production has drastically damaged the natural environment, although approximately half of the province remains blanketed in rainforest. The Ngaju mostly live along the middle reaches of rivers and tributaries in that forest. In their

language, the word *ngaju* literally means "upriver." Palangka Raya, the provincial capital, is on one of those rivers, the Kahayan.

Indonesian censuses do not collect information on ethnicity. Informal estimates suggest that Dayaks make up about forty percent of this province's two and half million inhabitants. The majority of Ngaju Dayaks are Protestant Christians. Late nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonial administrators from the Netherlands allowed missionaries to set up schools and clinics in the region and, over time, conversion became widespread. A smaller number of Dayaks have embraced Islam. Notwithstanding overall high rates of adherence to global religions, many thousands of people in Central Kalimantan (perhaps even up to 400,000) continue to practice some form of their ancestral faith.[10] While Kaharingan is a minority faith in an Islamic-majority nation and a Christian-majority province, indigenous religionists are very visible and politically active. Securing the Kaharingan vote, for example, is crucial for nearly any candidate hoping to attain a major provincial-level office.

According to adherents of Kaharingan, everything that exists in the universe, tangible or intangible, has a sensate conscious essence. As a consequence, everything that exists is obliged to behave in accordance with its *hadat*, a term which can be loosely translated as rules or as the proper expression of its being. In older scholarship Ngaju *hadat* is usually translated as "customary law." The word *hadat* has close associations with the Arabic word/concept of *adat*, which also means customary law. But it is important to keep in mind that many dimensions of *hadat* are directly linked to indigenous supernatural beliefs. If *hadat* is ignored, supernatural sanctions follow.

Hadat and the totality of the human and supernatural upper and lower worlds were created by the supreme being, Ranying Hatalla. Cosmogenesis is described in the Kaharingan holy book, called Panaturan. The Panaturan also describes the origins of supernatural beings and of humankind, specifically the male ancestor Raja Bunu and the female ancestor Kameluh Tanteluh Petak. It addresses how humans should interact with the supernatural world and provides broad guidelines for the enactment of key rituals. In the past, this knowledge was passed down orally. Indigenous efforts to record such understandings in textual form moved forward in earnest in the late 1960s. By 1972 Great Council of Indonesian Kaharingan Pious Scholars (Majelis Besar Alim Ulama Kaharingan Indonesia or MBAUKI), the Kaharingan religious leadership organization that later transformed into today's Great Council of the Hindu Kaharingan Religion (Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan or MB-AHK), had produced the first published version of the Panaturan. The book has since been revised and republished, most recently in 2018. The importance of the existence of this book to the recognition of Kaharingan as a religion cannot be overemphasized

Photo 1. Basarah, *Kaharingan Weekly Worship Service. In this image, Kaharingan priests and elders perform the chant* narinjet behas *to transform the animate essence of rice into a medium of communication between the faithful and Ranying Hatalla. Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan, 2021.*
Courtesy of Tiwi Etika.

because, as noted earlier, to be considered for the status of official religion in Indonesia a faith must be associated with a holy book.

During Thursday evening weekly Kaharingan worship services, *basarah*, officiants read from the Panaturan, make offerings to Ranying Hatalla, and ask for blessings.[11] At the start of *basarah*, an individual who is recognized as possessing deep knowledge of the faith (this can, but need not be, a ritual specialist) performs an important chant. That chant, *narinjet behas* (origin story of rice), transforms the essence of the rice into a medium of communication between the faithful and the supreme being. Small quantities of the rice are placed on the crown of participants' heads during prayers, at which moment worshippers are also dabbed with coconut oil that has been similarly ritually treated. Adherents also make offerings and pray to supernatural beings and supernatural guardians at their homes and farms. Important rituals are officiated by Kaharingan ritual specialists known as *basir*. As part of many rituals, *basir* communicate with supernatural beings using a poetic language called *Bahasa Sangiang*, characterized by semantic parallelism.[12] The largest, most complex, and most costly Kaharingan rituals are a mortuary cycle that culminates with a ritual of secondary treatment known as *tiwah*. At the conclusion of *tiwah* souls of

Photo 2. Sandung. *Kaharingan Ossuary. Bones of kinspeople are in entombed together in ossuaries following completion of the secondary mortuary ritual known as* tiwah. *Tewah, Central Kalimantan.*
Courtesy of Basir Rabiadi.

the dead reunite with their ancestors in the Prosperous Village (*Lewu Tatau*) in the upperworld. Kinspeople's bones are reunited in ossuaries called *sandung*. Some Hindu Kaharingan theologians suggest that the death rituals are intended to return or to escort the deceased's souls to Ranying Hatalla, and that the Prosperous Village is actually a form of Ranying Hatalla himself.

The complex rituals and elaborate supernatural beliefs associated with Ngaju Dayak indigenous religion have been the subject of anecdotal accounts, colonial reports, journal articles, scholarly and popular books, and, increasingly, social media posts, for over a century and a half. Descriptions have been produced by European explorers and colonial administrators, linguists, geographers, missionaries, Indonesian and foreign academics, and local men and women with a desire to preserve a record of or to advocate for their culture. The use of the term *Kaharingan* as a name for the religion began in the 1940s. The first academic study to employ it was school teacher and Indonesian civil service officer Sarwoto Kertodipoero's 1963 volume, *Kaharingan Religi dan Penghidupan di Pehuluan Kalimantan* [*Kaharingan Religion and Livelihood in Upstream Kalimantan*].[13] Several monographs on Kaharingan have since followed.[14] Shorter publications on Kaharingan have also been produced in fields of study including theology, philosophy, museum studies, cultural history, and anthropology. It is likely that scholarly attention to religion among Dayaks will increase because small but growing numbers of Dayaks are now "converting back" to Kaharingan, abandoning their Christian or Islamic faith.

Regarding religion in Indonesia generally, the first principle of state is "Belief in One God." All citizens are expected to adhere to a recognized religion. To understand that nation's general policies on religion and how religions achieved official recognition in the past, one may turn to historian of religions June McDaniel's essay on the development of Hindu Religion in Bali.[15] McDaniel suggests that, notwithstanding its ancient presence in Indonesia, Hinduism was only "rediscovered" as a religion there in 1962 when advocates persuasively made the case that it satisfied very precise criteria. Among those criteria are belief in a high god and possession of a holy book. To that point, she proposes that two varieties of Hinduism coexist in Bali. The first is the kind traditionally practiced by Balinese villagers. The second is the form that has been expounded and codified by religious leaders, intellectuals, and officials, and continues to be developed in accordance with parameters set by the state. According to McDaniel, the difference between these two varieties of religion can be characterized as being between Adat Hindu, which can loosely be glossed as local folk tradition, and Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia, the more recent phenomenon.[16] McDaniel states,

> The popular Adat form of Hinduism is both polytheistic and animistic with a variety of gods. It involves reverence toward good mountain spirits, bad ocean spirits, deified village founders, agricultural gods, ancestors and guardian spirits. Adherents follow taboos as well as purity and pollution rules, and the supernatural world is shown vividly in plays, dances, holiday processions and the visual arts. By contrast, Agama (the official Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia) is monotheistic, with revealed scriptures and moral rules.[17]

When Hindu advocates in Bali launched their campaign for religious recognition in the 1950s, they established an organizing body called Parisada Hindu Dharma Bali (PHDB), which later became known as Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia (PHDI). As part of the approval process, it was necessary for PHDB's leadership to demonstrate that their faith possessed, among other requisites, a supreme being and a book. McDaniel writes,

> In their formulation, one god was called the Almighty God, with other gods and ancestors demoted to angels or other aspects of the one God. The Vedas, Ramayana, and Bhagavad Gita became the equivalent of the Qur'an or Bible, and the Vedic sages or rishis became prophets. Philosophy and theology were based largely on South Indian Saiva Siddhanta and justified by Sanskrit mantras on the unity of Brahman (as divine ruler of the universe). Early Parisada members analyzed sacred texts to find a monotheistic basis for Indonesian Hinduism and to emphasize a legitimate "religion" rather than a collection of ethnic and polytheistic rites and rituals.[18]

PHDB elected to identify the high god by an Indonesian name—Sang Hyang Widhi Wasa. PHDI continues to grow, as does the number of citizens who self-identify as Hindu. PHDI offices can be found in every major city in every province.[19] There are currently close to five million registered Indonesian adherents of Hinduism, and some people estimate that there are also many thousands of unregistered ones.

McDaniel argues that Agama Hindu Dharma is a new religious movement in Bali, Indonesia. Regarding the distinction she poses between "old" and "new" Hinduism, it is instructive to keep in mind that prior to the official recognition of Hinduism by the state in the 1960s the Balinese were relegated to the category of "people who do not yet have religion" (*orang yang belum beragama*). Their situation paralleled the one in which Ngaju Dayaks who had not converted to global religions found themselves until 1980, when Kaharingan amalgamated with Hinduism and became officially known as Hindu Kaharingan. A major difference between the two cases is that the recognition of Hinduism twenty years earlier introduced a new variable in the Kaharingan religionists' struggle for recognition. Had Hinduism not been recognized, Kaharingan's path perhaps would have been different. The state's recognition of Hinduism in the 1960s turned out to be both advantageous and problematic for indigenous religionists in Central Kalimantan today.

At the time McDaniel's article was published, the Republic of Indonesia recognized only six religions: Islam, Christianity (meaning Protestantism), Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Citizens who do not adhere to any of these six faiths have long reported difficulties they have encountered in bureaucratic dealings with the state. In Central Kalimantan, for example, the authors of the present

article have both spoken with indigenous religionists who commented that it was not easy for them to obtain important documents such as birth or marriage certificates on which religious affiliations had to be listed. Anthropologists Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers have also noted in that regard that citizens who were not affiliated with an official religion were sometimes judged to be insufficiently nationalistic.[20] Over time, some indigenous peoples decided to convert to outside religions claiming to do so only because they felt pressured to have a state-recognized faith.

Thus, in Indonesia, adherence to a state-sanctioned official religion offers benefits. Advocates of Hindu Kaharingan often point out that Hinduism was an attractive option as it could incorporate religious inflections related to place and circumstances in Central Kalimantan, while still allowing Kaharingan to maintain its distinctiveness. An adherent explained that consolidation allowed Kaharingan to continue to engage in "cultural politics as a 'local' player so as not to be crushed by 'the global.' Hinduism represented the global or at least national sphere. Some supporters point to what they consider robust theological similarities between Kaharingan and Hinduism, including the notion of a principal deity, the organization of the divine pantheon, and the belief that ancestors who have been accorded *tiwah* have the same spiritual qualities as gods (comparing the reunion of human souls with the high god to the Hindu concept of *moksha,* liberation from the cycle of rebirth).[21]

Kaharingan's affiliation with Hinduism in 1980 gave indigenous religionists an important ability: to claim they had a religion—Hinduism—and to note on their identity cards and other documents that they were Hindu (but not Hindu Kaharingan). Although Dayaks are not the only indigenous religionists who have pursued consolidation with Hinduism, their experience is among the most frequently cited in the relevant scholarly literature on Indonesia. The Ngaju Dayak situation is frequently mentioned as a comparative study. Hindu Kaharingan has been alternately referred to as a very new or very old religion. A 2009 volume on of the Sa'dan Toraja of Sulawesi by anthropologist Roxana Waterson, for example, remarked on the successful efforts of Hindu Kaharingan religious leaders to achieve religious recognition. It referred to the cases of the Sa'dan and the Ngaju as "a striking contrast."[22] Her monograph included the poignant story of one village's last indigenous Sa'dan Toraja religionist. Waterson reports that he held a ritual to inform the spirits that he was converting to a global religion, and that "with the sacrifice of a pig and three chickens, the observance of [the traditional religion] in that village came to an end."[23] References to Hindu Kaharingan also appear in works on the Wana of Sulawesi, the Kayan and the Luangan of East Kalimantan, and others.[24]

Kaharingan was recognized as Hinduism during the period of Indonesian history known as the New Order (1966–1998). The New Order, led by President Soeharto (1967–1998), commenced after the fall of Indonesia's first president, Soekarno (1945–1967). During the New Order, state policy treated indigenous beliefs and practices as "belief systems" to be overseen by the Ministry of Education and Culture rather than by the Ministry of Religion. In a recent study of religious regulation during that period, scholar of comparative religions Ismatu Ropi argues that, at that time, the state attributed the necessity of registering adherence to a recognized religion to being a means to prevent social unrest as well as to improve the quality of peoples' lives.[25] He notes that, as a result, Indonesia's religious sphere probably became the most heavily regulated in the world. Ropi posits that for some groups enrolling in an approved faith may have been a way to protect themselves from intrusive power of the state in other spheres of their lives.[26] His statement resonates with a point made earlier in this article regarding why some Dayaks converted to Christianity or Islam, while others pursued Hindu affiliation.

Indonesia's Reform Era began in 1998 with the collapse of the Soeharto regime. In the decades that have followed, processes have been set in motion to create more checks and balances in the political system, give greater autonomy to provinces, and reduce the military's authority. Some aspects of the management of religion have also been revised.[27] A 2016 decision by Indonesia's constitutional court, formally ratified in 2017, created a path for local religionists across the archipelago to declare themselves to be adherents of faiths grouped in a category called "stream (or genre) of belief" or "ethnic religion."[28] Thus rather than describing themselves as Hindu, Kaharingan religionists today also have the option to indicate their adherence to an ethnic religion (*penghayat kepercayaan*) on their national identity cards (although Kaharingan still cannot be specified by name). Some indigenous religionists are building upon this momentum to pursue recognition for Kaharingan as an independent faith.

RELIGIOUS ALTERNATIVES AND LOCAL TRADITION

According to anthropologist Michael Lambek, successful approaches to the study of religion in the discipline of anthropology generally begin with the study of "acts of making and doing."[29] In that regard, Kaharingan offers a myriad of starting points. Indigenous religionists are vigorously engaged in preserving and advancing their faith. Kaharingan *basir* partner with lay religious leaders to produce and revise canonical texts and ritual guides. Hindu Kaharingan educators develop classroom materials for primary through tertiary schools.[30] Kaharingan's

physical footprint continues to grow with increasing numbers of meeting halls (*balai*) constructed throughout Central Kalimantan. Religious activists organize public events to bring attention to their aspirations.

Nevertheless, as noted earlier, controversy continues to grow among indigenous religionists regarding the next steps of their faith's evolution. Whether Kaharingan should be decoupled from Hinduism is a question that evokes strong emotion. On the one hand, there are those who insist that the issue is moot: Hinduism and Kaharingan were consolidated in 1980. On the other hand, there are those who claim that the Reform Era has created new prospects and that the ideal time to pursue autonomy is now. They point to divergences, not parallels, between Kaharingan and Hindu rituals and beliefs, including alternative interpretations of the theology that informs death rites. They continue to press for acknowledgment of Kaharingan as Indonesia's seventh religion. Kaharingan is, in fact, gradually becoming better known nationally in its own right. In the 2018 volume entitled *Believe, Value: Religions Encyclopedia* published by Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture, for example, Kaharingan was described as "a local religion . . . with many adherents."[31] This paradox invites reflection on the differences between Kaharingan's and Hindu Kaharingan's particular alignments with "a specific social order at a specific historical moment."[32] On the one hand, as an official expression of Hinduism, Kaharingan is considered part of a religion that is among the six nationally recognized dominant ones. On the other hand, it is now also recognized as an officially approved non-dominant religion, one in a cluster of newly approved ethnic alternative religious traditions.[33] The Reform Era has created thus space and possibility for Dayaks who seek to preserve their religion and heritage outside the umbrella of Hinduism. Some are assiduously working to do so.[34]

The following two sections briefly introduce the history and some activities of the two organizations most deeply implicated in campaigns for control over Kaharingan's future. One is the Great Council of the Hindu Kaharingan Religion (Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan or MB-AHK). The other is the Indonesian Kaharingan Religious Council (Majelis Agama Kaharingan Indonesia or MAKI). This overview reveals how deeply the history of these two organizations is intertwined even as their paths have continued to diverge.

MB-AHK

As noted earlier, belief in a high god and possession of a sacred text are among the key requirements for recognition as an official religion in Indonesia. While many local belief systems in Indonesia claim to worship a high god, Kaharingan is the only one that possesses its own holy book. That volume, called Panaturan, recounts the creation of the universe by

Ranying Hatalla. It is the cornerstone of dozens of texts that have been revised or produced by Hindu Kaharingan leadership since 1980.[35] Others include a manual that details how to carry out *basarah* worship services, religious songbooks, and guides for enacting various rituals. It is fair to say that, since the 1980s, MB-AHK has mostly been the public face of indigenous religion in Central Kalimantan.

MB-AHK's roots lay in a now defunct political party called Union of Kaharingan Dayaks of Indonesia (Serikat Dayak Kaharingan Indonesia or SKDI). In the 1950s, collaboration between SKDI and then-President Soekarno was fundamental to the creation of Central Kalimantan Province. However, SKDI disbanded in the 1960s. In the 1970s, some former members joined forces to establish an organization called the Great Council of Indonesian Kaharingan Pious Scholars (Majelis Besar Alim Ulama Kaharingan Indonesia or MBAUKI). Unlike SKDI, MBAUKI declared itself to be non-political, although its members were nearly all affiliated with Partai Golongan Karya, New Order Indonesia's presiding political party. After aligning with Hinduism in 1978, the organization's name was changed to the Great Council of the Hindu Kaharingan Religion (Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan or MB-AHK), which underscored its Hindu affiliation. In 1980, two Ngaju Dayak political and community leaders, Lewis Koebek Dandan Ranying and Liber Sigai, were sworn in as General Chairman and Secretary General of MB-AHK respectively by the Director General of

Photo 3. *Hindu Kaharingan Meeting Hall and MB-AHK Head Office. Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan.*
Courtesy of I Kadek Teja Suastika.

Hindu and Buddhist Community Guidance in the national capital. That same year, Kaharingan was formally recognized by the Ministry of Religion as a local expression of Hinduism.

In addition to activities geared at codification, which have so far yielded multiple revised editions of the sacred text Panaturan, MB-AHK has helped expand access to Hindu Kaharingan religious education. By the early 1980s, MB-AHK's efforts had contributed to the launch of the high school Parentas Palangka Raya, charged with preparing students for careers as Hindu Kaharingan religious teachers in primary and secondary schools. In fact, Parentas Palangka Raya was a branch of the Hindu Religion Teacher Education State High School in Bali. As the standing of the school in Bali improved, so, too, did that of Parentas Palangka Raya. In 2001 the high school was reorganized as the Hindu Kaharingan College of Religion (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Hindu Kaharingan or STAHK). Over time it was promoted to the rank of Hindu Religion State College (Sekolah Tinggi Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang or STAH-TP). In 2018 it advanced to the status of Hindu State Religious Institute (Institut Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang or IAHN-TP), a type of religious tertiary institution that grants both graduate and undergraduate degrees. The Institute's name, Tampung Penyang, subsidiarily reflects its association with Kaharingan, as the Ngaju Dayak phrase *tampung penyang* (amassed wisdom and blessings), is part of Kaharingan prayer.[36] Educators at that institution describe the curriculum as based forty percent on Dayak tradition, fifty percent on Hindu teachings as per PHDI, and ten percent on the national religious education curriculum. Like all public Indonesian religious higher education institutions, it operates with financial support from the Ministry of Religion. The student population is approximately eighty-five percent Dayak. Over the past twenty years, it has graduated nearly a thousand alumni.[37]

Successes notwithstanding, MB-AHK has not moved forward without controversy and resistance. Organizational governance has long proved problematic. Bylaws stipulate that MB-AHK must hold a quinquennial convention to renew or reassign leadership roles, the key ones being Director General and Secretary General. Those roles (and others) are allocated by consensus, not election. For the first decade following MB-AHK's establishment, no official discussions regarding renewals or reassignments of key leadership positions occurred. A convention was finally held in late 1992 at which no major leadership position changed hands. Many members claimed that consensus regarding leadership had not been reached at that assembly and, as a result, rejected its outcome. Within two years, thirteen of sixteen MB-AHK members had resigned their posts. MB-AHK's remaining members called on the provincial office of PHDI for help in mediating the crisis. A new oversight committee called for fresh deliberations regarding key positions, a proposal

accepted enthusiastically by Kaharingan community leaders. Negotiations concluded two years later with the ascension of a new General Chairman and a new Secretary General for MB-AHK. At the subsequent quinquennial conference, Rangka I Nau and Mantikei Ranan Hanyi were named General Director and Secretary General respectively for the 2002–2007 period. During their tenure, Hindu Kaharingan's prominence throughout the province expanded with the construction of large numbers of Hindu Kaharingan worship halls, including in remote villages. They also worked to enhance Kaharingan's visibility through creation of the Tandak Festival, a religious song festival similar to those held by Indonesian Christians and Muslims.[38] That festival is now held every three years at the provincial level and every two years at the district and city levels. As a result of their efforts in religious codification and publishing, religious education, and nurturing some aspects of indigenous cultural tradition, there is no question that MB-AHK and its collaborators in PHDI have amplified Hindu Kaharingan's public profile.

MAKI

During the contentious period within the Hindu Kaharingan leadership that extended through the early 2000s, many Central Kalimantan indigenous religionists established new religious organizations that were geared toward the recognition of Kaharingan as an independent faith.[39] Most prominent among them was the Indonesian Council of Kaharingan Religion (Majelis Agama Kaharingan Indonesia or MAKI). The group was launched in 2006 by Mantikei Ranan Hanyi, who by that time had left his position as MB-AHK's Secretary General.[40] Host of a popular program focused on local culture that broadcast on Palangka Raya's branch of the national radio station Radio Republic Indonesia, Hanyi was also a highly respected Kaharingan *basir*. He was the most active and visible of MB-AHK's younger generation of leaders in the 1980s and 1990s.

Under the late Hanyi's leadership the organization garnered support from a broad swath of the Kaharingan community, including many religious and political leaders. Yet, interest and support for this effort extended beyond indigenous religionists. For example, a sympathetic Christian Dayak member of the national parliament remarked in an interview with the major provincial newspaper, *Dayak Pos*, in 2006 that

> the followers of Kaharingan Religion have the right to enjoy independence because Kaharingan's followers are part of the Indonesian nation. Therefore, there is no need to be afraid to struggle for something that has become a national right.[41]

Photo 4. *MAKI Head Office. Palangka Raya, Central Kalimantan. Courtesy of Laman Dilan Gaya.*

The same year, MAKI representatives visited the Ministry of Religion office in Jakarta to attempt to register Kaharingan as a religion. Although at the time they were unsuccessful, government regulations regarding the administration of religious and other types of organizations continued to evolve.

In 2013 MAKI's current General Chairman, Suel, a former Hindu Kaharingan community advisor who left that position to become a civil servant police chief, succeeded in registering MAKI as a state approved social welfare organization (although not a religious one) at Central Kalimantan's Ministry of Law and Human Rights Office.[42] In 2016, MAKI was also recognized as an approved organization by the National Commission on Human Rights in Jakarta.[43] These recognitions won greater visibility and authority for MAKI. Its legitimacy remains based in the social welfare sphere. At the same time, boundaries between the social welfare arena and the religious one are not necessarily clear-cut in everyday practice.

In an interview with a leading news magazine in 2014, Suel sounded a note of protest stating that "I say that my religion is Kaharingan. But when taking oaths of office, they will say, 'I am appointed according to Kaharingan Hinduism.'"[44] He and MAKI's other leaders and supporters continue to demand the extrication of Kaharingan from Hinduism, in their words, to "protect the purity of Kaharingan teachings" and avoid "contamination by the teachings of other religions."[45] MAKI campaigns across the province and the archipelago to generate support from other

indigenous groups for the separation of Kaharingan and Hinduism. While that separation has not taken place, the group has had other successes. In 2016, as mentioned earlier, the Indonesian Constitutional Court awarded MAKI, together with the representative organizations of several other belief groups on other Indonesian islands, the right to list themselves as adherents of local belief systems on their identity cards.[46] Thus Kaharingan is now officially, and uniquely, recognized both as an independent local belief system in Indonesia and as a local expression of Hinduism in Central Kalimantan.

MAKI has redoubled its efforts to effect Kaharingan's classification as Indonesia's seventh and newest official religion. Among the high-profile organizations that have lent support to this campaign is the Dayak International Justice Council, an activist organization composed of indigenous persons from Malaysian Borneo and Brunei as well as Indonesia.[47] In 2019 MAKI filed a claim with the Indonesian National Ombudsman Office charging that Kaharingan's application for ratification as an independent religion was not receiving timely consideration by the Ministry of Religion.[48] After filing the complaint, MAKI hosted a press conference, widely publicized in the media and broadcast on Dayak TV, to increase public awareness of the situation. As of this writing in 2022, its complaint remains under investigation.

A LOCAL RELIGION ON A NATIONAL STAGE

The second half of 2019 brought greater visibility to the fissure between Kaharingan and Hindu Kaharingan, even while being a watershed year for both MB-AHK and MAKI. Among MB-AHK's successes were the academic and press conferences described at the outset of this article. Spokespersons there claimed that the amalgamation of Hindu and Kaharingan had preserved the local faith. Walter S. Penyang, current Director General of MB-AHK, and I Nyoman Sudyana, Head of PHDI's Central Kalimantan Office, jointly moderated one panel. Penyang underscored that there had been no disagreements between MB-AHK and PHDI for forty years. Sudyana insisted that, in all of those years, no Kaharingan ritual had ever been displaced or replaced.[49] The final speaker was IAHN-TP Student Executive Board President Fran Nandoe, who offered a student perspective. Nandoe avowed that he had never encountered discrimination against Kaharingan beliefs and practices at his school, but rather that "[students] have been encouraged to nurture and maintain our Kaharingan rituals, not stop doing them."[50]

MAKI, too, moved forward in pursuing its goals. In addition to holding its own press conference and filing a claim with the Indonesian National Ombudsman Office, MAKI aligned with a new pan-Kalimantan organization called the Dayak Peoples Movement

(Gerakan Masyarakat Dayak or GMD), also referred to as the National Dayak Movement (Gerakan Dayak Nasional or GDN). GMD was granted an audience with Indonesia's President Jokowi a few weeks prior to his second-term presidential inauguration in October 2019. Participants at the meeting presented the president with a list of key aspirations, including that the government ratify Kaharingan as Indonesia's seventh official religion.[51] While the movement cannot claim to represent all Dayaks, it does represent some Dayaks from each of Kalimantan's four provinces. It is clear that MAKI's campaign to win official recognition for Kaharingan as a faith that is on par with Islam, Hinduism, and other dominant religions continues to attract support across the island.

To reiterate, the crux of this controversy is not over differences in ritual forms or in cosmology. At this time MAKI recognizes the Panaturan as the Kaharingan holy book and deploys the manuals produced by MB-AHK as guidelines for leading weekly worship services. MAKI holds those services in worship halls identified by their signage as Kaharingan rather than as Hindu Kaharingan, but the two structures resemble one another. A difference is that adherents of Kaharingan who do not identify as Hindus predictably do not worship at Palangka Raya's Hindu Temple Pura Pita Maha, where adherents of Hindu Kaharingan sometimes do. Convergences notwithstanding, the fundamental question remains whether Kaharingan's reclassification would enhance indigenous efforts to preserve Dayak religion, cultural identity, and values. This article has shown that the situation is about more than semantics, although a local commentator did sardonically suggest to one author that "if the word *Hindu* were dropped from those holy books, MAKI would have what it wants."

CONCLUSION

This article opened by describing a conference that was, in part, intended to rebut a specific set of criticisms regarding the influence of an Indonesian Hindu organization on a Dayak faith. The spokesmen and women on the dais, Hindu and Hindu Kaharingan alike, underscored repeatedly that none of the beliefs or practices associated with Central Kalimantan's indigenous faith had been lost or replaced in the four decades that had elapsed since consolidation. The article also revealed that some indigenous religionists in Central Kalimantan take a different view. They have partnered with indigenous peoples across the nation to garner support for an independent Kaharingan religion. In their opinion, continued association with Hinduism erodes the faith, a situation with ominous implications for local identity and the likelihood of preserving Dayak culture. We have attempted to give equal weight to both perspectives throughout our discussion. Our emphasis on the transformation of

Kaharingan religious organizations and their alignment with the broader environment speaks to a point raised by sociologist David G. Bromley and religious historian J. Gordon Melton. Those authors suggested that newness in religions may come in different forms, for example, organizational rather than doctrinal.[52] If Kaharingan is successful is achieving recognition as an independent religion, it will be noted by the state as a new official religion. The faith itself will not be considered new by its adherents, who contend that it predates all forms of government, although they would concur that their religious organization is new, much as PHDI was a new organization in the 1960s. The fact that Kaharingan is now included in a recently approved umbrella category of ethnic religion is another kind of newness.

For now, Kaharingan and Hindu Kaharingan religionists continue to move their respective agendas forward, not in tandem but using the same holy book and performing mostly the same rituals. Given the interest that this situation has generated among legal and religious authorities, Dayaks, other indigenous religionists, and the adherents of some non-indigenous Indonesian minority religions, it may not be long before it is adjudicated. The consequences will resonate far beyond the sphere of religion and far beyond the island of Borneo, of course, because while issues of classification may, on the one hand, seem academic, for indigenous religionists who just a few decades ago were said to have no religion at all, maintaining—or attaining—a particular categorization holds real-world consequences that bear upon ongoing struggles for dignity, social justice, and cultural survival.

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ENDNOTES

[1] I Ketut Subagiasta and Tiwi Etika, "International Seminar Terms of Reference," unpublished announcement letter issued by Institute Agama Hindu Negeri Tampung Penyang, 11 June 2019.

[2] For more on the purpose and construction of the traditional accouterment called *lilis lamiang penyang*, see Johannes Saililah, *Penyang* (Palangka Raya: Universitas Palangka Raya, Lembaga Bahasa & Seni Budaya, 1983).

[3] The concept of key symbols is elaborated in Sherry B. Ortner, "On Key Symbols," *American Anthropologist*, New Series 75, no.5 (October 1973): 1339–1346.

[4] Readers interested in additional detail on beliefs and practices associated with this faith may consult Anne Schiller, *Small Sacrifices: Religious Change and Cultural Identity Among the Ngaju of Indonesia* (New York, NY and Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1997); and, Anne Schiller, "How to Hold a 'Tiwah': The Potency of the Dead and Deathways Among Ngaju Dayaks," in *The Potent Dead: Ancestors, Saints, and Heroes in Contemporary Indonesia*, eds. Anthony Reid and Henri Chambert-Loir (Sydney: Allen and Unwin for Asian Studies Association of Australia, 2002), 17–31.

[5] For various possible explanations regarding how Hinduism reached the Indonesian archipelago see June McDaniel, "Religious change and experimentation in Indonesian Hinduism," *International Journal of Dharma Studies* 5, no.1 (July 2017): 1–14.

[6] For more on the history of the establishment of Central Kalimantan Province and the activities of various religious and political groups within that context, consult Douglas Miles, *Cutlass and Crescent Moon* (Sydney: University of Sydney, Center for Asian Studies, 1976).

[7] Tiwi Etika is a faculty member in Philosophy at a Hindu tertiary institution and member of the indigenous religionist community examined in this article. Her initial studies, conducted during 2000–2001, traced the expansion of the worship services called *basarah*. During 2003–2005 she completed a study of Kaharingan concepts of a Supreme Being, comparing them, in particular, to notions of the divine in Indonesian Hinduism. She continues to conduct research on Kaharingan and on Hinduism, most recently on beliefs concerning human relations with the natural world and on indigenous environmental conservation. Anne Schiller is a cultural anthropologist who has conducted research in Kalimantan since the 1980s, including serving for one year as a volunteer teacher at a Hindu Kaharingan secondary school. The foci of her studies are religious bureaucratization, understandings and interpretations of indigenous rituals on the part of lay adherents, and indigenous social movements. Between 1995 and 1996, at the invitation of the Hindu Kaharingan governing council, she collaborated with indigenous religionists and the National Geographic Society to produce a television film on Ngaju Dayak death rituals. See Anne Schiller, "Talking Heads: Capturing Dayak Deathways on Film," *American Ethnologist* 28, no.1 (February 2001): 32–55.

[8] See Tim Penulis, *Sejarah Daerah Kalimantan Tengah* (Palangka Raya: Pemerintah Daerah Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah, 1978): 1.

[9] Michael Strmiska, "Ásatrú in Iceland: The Rebirth of Icelandic Paganism?," *Nova Religio*, 4, no.1 (October 2000): 106–132.

[10] It is difficult to assess the accuracy of statistical data on religious adherence in Central Kalimantan. Many Dayaks live in the mid- and upper regions of rivers where census-taking is spotty at best including due to limited transportation. Furthermore, not all adherents of Kaharingan choose to designate themselves as Hindu. Readers with an interest in official statistical data on religious adherence in Central Kalimantan may consult Kantor Wilayah Kementrian Agama Kalimantan Tengah, "Jumlah Pemeluk Agama," Issue 21, August 2019. https://kalteng.kemenag.go.id/kanwil/artikel/42972/Jumlah-Pemeluk-Agama/, accessed 11 June 2020.

[11] The term *basarah* is said to originate from the Ngaju Dayak ritual language known as *Bahasa Sangiang*. The term is interpreted to mean "surrender to God." As part of *basarah*, participants sit surrounding a brass bowl (*sangku tambak raja*) filled with raw rice, various ritual paraphernalia, and the tail feather of the rhinoceros hornbill. Adherents of Hindu Kaharingan consider the bowl to represent unity between humans and the universe, among humans, and between humans and the Supreme Being. For more on *basarah*, specifically the handbook for enacting this service, consult Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan, *Buku Kandayu* (2019 edition), (Palangka Raya: Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan, 2019).

[12] For discussion of examples of semantic parallelism in a host of religious traditions including Judaism and Christianity, but with special emphasis on Indonesia and references to Ngaju Dayak ritual language, see James J. Fox, *Explorations in Semantic Parallelism* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 2014). Some readers may be familiar also with the Balinese term *hyang*, which bears similarity to the Ngaju word *sangiang*. There are slight differences. *Bahasa Sangiang* refers to the Ngaju Dayak ritual language that is used by indigenous priests to communicate with supernatural beings called *sangiang*. In Bali, *hyang* refers both to supernatural beings who dwell in the heavens or *kahayangan*, as well to those beings' sublime qualities.

[13] Sarwoto Kertodipoero, *Kaharingan*: *Religi dan Penghidupan di Pehuluan Kalimantan* (Bandung: Sumur Bandung, 1963).

[14] See L. Dyson and M. Asharini, *Tiwah: Upacara Kematian Pada Masyarakat Dayak Ngaju* (Jakarta, Indonesia: Direktorat Jendral Kebudayaan 1980/81); Marko Mahin, "Kaharingan: Dinamika Agama Dayak di Kalimantan Tengah" (PhD diss., Universitas Indonesia, 2009).

[15] June McDaniel, "Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia as a New Religious Movement: Hinduism Recreated in the Image of Islam," *Nova Religio* 14, no.1 (August 2010): 93–111. As a side note we would add that Indonesians use the term *Agama Hindu* (Hinduism) rather than *Agama Hindu Dharma*. The term *Hindu Dharma* is associated with the name of the organization Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia.

[16] McDaniel, "Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia," 94.

[17] McDaniel, "Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia," 94.

[18] McDaniel, "Agama Hindu Dharma Indonesia," 96–97.

[19] For more on the history of the development of Hinduism in modern Indonesia consult Martin Ramstedt, ed., *Hinduism in Indonesia* (London: Routledge, 2005).

[20] Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers, "Introduction," in *Indonesian Religions in Transition*, eds. Rita Smith Kipp and Susan Rodgers (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1987): 23.

[21] A fuller discussion of similarities between Hinduism and Kaharingan can be found in Tiwi Etika, *Penuturan Simbolik Konsep Panca Sraddha Dalam Kitab Suci Panaturan* (Tangerang, AN1MAGE, 2017).

[22] Roxanna Waterson, *Paths and Rivers: Sa'dan Toraja Society in Transformation* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2009): 368.

[23] Waterson, *Paths and Rivers*, 372.

[24] See, Jane Monnig Atkinson, "Religions in Dialogue: The Construction of an Indonesian Minority Religion," *American Ethnologist*, 10, no. 4 (November 1983): 684–696; Isabell Herrmans, *Ritual Retellings: Luangan Healing Performances through Practice* (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2015); Jerome Rousseau, *Kayan Religion* (Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press, 1998).

[25] Ismatu Ropi, *Religion and Regulation in Indonesia* (Singapore: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017): 5.

[26] Ropi, *Religion and Regulation*, 155.

[27] Ropi, *Religion and Regulation*, 7.

[28] For more discussion on legislation 97/PUU-XIV/2016 consult Anonymous, "Pengakuan Identitas Penghayat Kepercayaan," *Konstitusi*, Issue 19, November 2017, https://mkri.id/public/content/infoumum/majalahkonstitusi/pdf/Majalah_133_1.%20Edisi%20November%202017%20.pdf/, accessed 29 April 2020.

[29] Michael Lambek, "Facing Religion, From Anthropology," *Anthropology of This Century*, Issue 4 (May 2012), http://aotcpress.com/articles/facing-religion-anthropology/, accessed 29 April 2020.

[30] Religion is a required subject of study in Indonesian public and private schools from elementary school through university. Indonesia requires students to declare their religion when they enroll in school and, wherever possible, that students in religion classes are taught by an instructor who adheres to that specific religion.

[31] Ibn Ghifari, *Menyakini, Menghargai: Ensiklopedia Agama-Agama* (Jakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, 2018): 187.

[32] David Bromley and J. Gordon Melton, "Reconceptualizing Types of Religious Organization; Dominant, Sectarian, Alternative, and Emergent Tradition Groups," *Nova Religio* 15, no.3 (February 2012): 6.

[33] Bromley and Melton, "Reconceptualizing Types of Religious Organization," 6.

[34] For a study of a converse situation in which local religionists in a Lithuanian neoshamanic community are willing to incorporate some practices of non-local origin as a part of a strategy to perpetuate and build their own faith, see Eglė Aleknaitė, "Baltic Paganism in Lithuainian Neoshamanic Communities," *Nova Religio*, 20, no.3 (February 2017): 13–35.

[35] Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan, *Panaturan* (2018 edition) (Palangka Raya: Majelis Besar Agama Hindu Kaharingan, 2018).

[36] IAHN-TP was the institution that sponsored the 2019 conference "Hinduism in the Millennial Era". See endnote 1.

[37] See Tiwi Etika, "Problematika dan Afirmasi Identitas Agama Kaharingan Pasca Integrasi ke Dalam Hindu Dharma," *Penamas*, 33, no.2 (December 2020): 185–204.

[38] For a comparative study of the role that traditional songs and music have played in the transmission of native pagan religions in Lithuania, see Michael Strmiska, "The Music of the Past in Modern Baltic Paganism," *Nova Religion* 8, no. 3 (March 2005): 39–59. In the Kaharingan case, similar to situation described by Strmiska, *tandak* serves at once as "a ritual activity, an element of community identity, and as . . . musical scripture"; Strmiska, "The Music of the Past," 39.

[39] Some prominent Kaharingan organizations that emerged during those years were the Indonesian Dayak Kaharingan Commission (*Badan Amanat Kaharingan Dayak Indonesia*), the Indonesian Kaharingan National Religious Council (*Majelis Agama National Kaharingan Indonesia*), the Kaharingan Religious Council of the Republic of Indonesia (*Majelis Agama Kaharingan Republik Indonesia*), and the Kaharingan Religious Struggle Team (*Tim Perjuangan Agama Kaharingan*). For detailed discussion of their founding and life cycles consult Gaya, "Integrasi Kepercayaan Kaharingan Ke Dalam Agama Hindu Di Kota Palangka Raya Kalimantan Tengah" (PhD diss., Institut Hindu Dharma Negeri, 2016): 264–283.

[40] Gaya, "Integrasi Kepercayaan Kaharingan," 297.

[41] The original text reads: "*Umat Agama Kaharingan berhak menikmati kemerdekaan, karena umat Kaharingan adalah bagian dari bangsa Indonesia. Oleh sebab itu tidak perlu takut untuk memperjuangkan sesuatu yang menjadi hak sebagai bagian suatu bangsa.*" See Alfridel Jinu, "Kaharingan Berhak Nikmati Kemerdekaan," *Dayak Pos*, 13 April 2006: 1.

[42] Recognition as a social welfare organization is significant in Indonesia because social welfare organizations often assume active roles in local and national politics.

[43] See Eka Hindrati, "Majelis Agama Kaharingan Indonesia Mendatangi Komnas HAM & Komnas Perempuan." Alliance Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) 17 October 2018, http://www.aman.or.id/2018/10/majelis-agama-kaharingan-indonesia-mendatangi-komnas-ham-komnas-perempuan/, accessed 15 June 2020.

[44] See Erwin Zakhri, Aris Andrianto, and Amar Burase, "Kaharingan or Hinduism? Kaharingan, a faith of Central Kalimantan, has long been lumped with Hinduism for bureaucratic purposes. Now its adherents are moving to break away," *Tempo*, 11 February 2014, https://magz.tempo.co/read/27962/kaharingan-or-hinduism/, accessed 15 June 2020.

[45] Gaya, Integrasi Kepercayaan Kaharingan, 297.

[46] See Eka Hindrati, "Majelis Agama Kaharingan Indonesia Mendesak Pemerintah Indonesia Agar Mengakui Kaharingan Menjadi Agama," Alliance Masyarakat Adat Nusantara (AMAN) 16 October 2018, http://www.aman.or.id/

2018/10/majelis-agama-kaharingan-indonesia-mendesak-pemerintah-indonesia-agar-mengakui-kaharingan-menjadi-agama/, accessed 29 April 2020.

[47] To view an interview with GMD leaders, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1g3mQ7-W-3M, accessed 27 June 2020.

[48] See Nifasri, "Catatan Pertemuan Antara Menteri Agama RI Dengan Pimpinan OMBUDSMAN RI," unpublished letter issued by Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia Seketariat Jenderal (27 January 2020): 2.

[49] For more on the preservation of Kaharingan ritual after integration, see Surat Edaran PHDI Provinsi Kalimantan Tengah Nomor: I/E/PHDI-KH/1 (21 June 1980).

[50] The emphasis that is placed on safeguarding particular ritual forms recalls Strimska's comment on a challenge faced by adherents of Ásatrú in Iceland, "If Ásatrú . . . goes too far from its original core traditions, the sacred forms of the cherished Pagan past, it loses its claims to authenticity." Strimska, "Ásatrú in Iceland," 112.

[51] See "Gerakan Masyarakat Dayak," *Indonesia Espres* (30 August 2019), https://indonesiaexpres.co.id/2019/08/gerakan-dayak-nasional-gdn/, accessed 14 June 2020.

[52] Bromley and Melton, "Reconceptualizing Types of Religious Organization," 12.

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