

**KEJAWEN: A RELIGION THAT IS SEEN AS (ONLY) A CULTURE
REVISITING KEJAWEN TEACHING USING INDIGENOUS RELIGION
PARADIGM****KEJAWEN: AGAMA YANG DILIHAT SEBAGAI (HANYA) BUDAYA
TINJAUAN KEMBALI AJARAN KEJAWEN DENGAN MENGGUNAKAN
PARADIGMA AGAMA ADAT****Leyla Adrianti Hermina^{1*}**¹ CRCS, Universitas Gadjah Mada

*Corresponding author

E-mail: ladrina.bagan@gmail.com**Abstrak**

Kajian ini mengeksplorasi praktik spiritual masyarakat Jawa yang disebut Kejawen, yang sering disalahartikan sebagai tradisi budaya dan bukan agama. Dalam konteks Indonesia, kriteria khusus menentukan apa yang dimaksud dengan sebuah agama, dan sayangnya Kejawen tidak sejalan dengan standar pemerintah tersebut. Akibatnya, Kejawen umumnya dianggap bukan sebagai agama formal namun sebagai praktik warisan yang diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi. Bahkan ada yang menganggap Kejawen bersifat mistis atau kuno, tidak layak untuk masyarakat masa kini. Mengingat, di kalangan praktisi Kejawen pun masih ada keraguan untuk menyebut agama sebagai agama mereka. Dalam penelitian ini, saya mendalami Kejawen dengan terlebih dahulu mengkaji literatur untuk memahami intinya, kemudian mewawancarai tiga praktisi dari Jawa Timur dan Yogyakarta. Pendekatan ganda ini membantu saya melihat bagaimana Kejawen cocok dengan konteks agama yang lebih luas dan tempatnya yang unik di antara kepercayaan spiritual. Saya mengumpulkan data dari berbagai sumber, termasuk buku dan jurnal, dan melakukan wawancara semi terstruktur secara offline untuk mendapatkan wawasan lebih dalam. Studi ini menggunakan analisis tematik untuk mengidentifikasi pola-pola dalam data, memberikan pandangan komprehensif mengenai kompleksitas Kejawen dan keselarasan dengan kerangka keagamaan global dan adat. Untuk menilai kembali status Kejawen, tulisan ini meninjau kembali definisi mendasar 'agama' dan esensi aslinya. Dengan menerapkan Paradigma Agama Pribumi, kita bisa melihat sejauh mana keselarasan Kejawen dengan kerangka tersebut. Analisis komparatif ini bertujuan untuk memantapkan kembali posisi Kejawen, dan berpotensi mengakuinya sebagai agama asli Indonesia, yang berakar kuat pada warisan nenek moyang negara.

Kata Kunci: *agama adat, kejawen, jawa, mistisisme***Abstract**

This study explores the Javanese spiritual practice known as Kejawen, often misconstrued as merely a cultural tradition rather than a religion. In the Indonesian context, specific criteria define what constitutes a religion, and Kejawen, unfortunately, doesn't align with these governmental standards. As a result, Kejawen is generally perceived not as a formal

religion but as a heritage practice passed down through generations. Some even view Kejawen as mystical or archaic, unfit for contemporary society. Considering, even among Kejawen practitioners, there's a hesitancy to label it as their religion. In this study, I explored Kejawen by first reviewing literature to understand its core, then interviewing three practitioners from East Java and Yogyakarta. This dual approach helped me see how Kejawen fits into wider religious contexts and its unique place among spiritual beliefs. I collected data from various sources, including books and journals, and conducted offline semi-structured interviews for deeper insights. The study used thematic analysis to identify patterns in the data, offering a comprehensive look at Kejawen's complexities and its alignment with global and indigenous religious frameworks. To reassess Kejawen's status, this paper revisits the fundamental definition of 'religion' and its original essence. By applying the Indigenous Religion Paradigm, we can examine how well Kejawen aligns with this framework. This comparative analysis aims to reestablish Kejawen's position, potentially recognizing it as an indigenous religion of Indonesia, deeply rooted in the country's ancestral heritage.

Keywords: indigenous religion; kejawen; javanese; mysticism

INTRODUCTION

In Indonesia, a nation long influenced by the world religion paradigm, recognition of a religion is contingent on meeting specific structural criteria. This paradigm, a vestige of colonial influence, initially acknowledged only Islam, Christianity, and Catholicism as legitimate religions. These religions were deemed official due to their alignment with defined elements: monotheism, a prophet, a holy book, an institutional framework, and global acceptance (Maarif, 2019). As a result, followers of unacknowledged faiths faced a dilemma; they had to align with one of the state-recognized religions to enjoy full citizenship rights.

A pivotal moment occurred in November 2017 when the Constitutional Court approved a judicial review of the 2013 Administration and Population Law, affecting believers of indigenous religions (beliefs). This landmark ruling, however, did not equate to immediate

acceptance or recognition by adherents of official religions in Indonesia. For indigenous beliefs to gain official status, adherents must establish an organization, register it with the Directorate of Belief in God, and conform to specific criteria, including monotheistic worship devoid of animist elements (Maarif, 2017).

Despite legal recognition, societal perceptions of indigenous beliefs remain unchanged if the prevailing religious paradigm persists. Rituals, symbols, and teachings of indigenous communities are often relegated to cultural practices rather than religious observations. With Islam as Indonesia's dominant religion, there's a risk of traditional practices being dismissed or modified to align with Islamic law. The Kejawen practitioners I encountered during my research, for example, adhere to one of the six state-recognized religions. They refrain from classifying Kejawen as their religion,

instead labeling it a belief system. Kejawen, for them, encompasses a profound connection with the divine (*manunggaling kawula gusti*) and the belief that their practices (*laku*) bring life benefits and aid in achieving spiritual goals.

The perception of Kejawen as a mere cultural tradition rather than a religion could lead to the erosion of its intrinsic value. Essential practices like *mutih* fasting, meditation, *Selamatetan*, and reverence for the *keris* may be dismissed or stripped of their sacred significance. Modern adherents of official religions often overlook these rituals, not seeing them as integral to their faith. Even Javanese dances and the *keris*, deeply embedded in Kejawen, are preserved as cultural artifacts rather than spiritual symbols.

This article seeks to challenge the reduction of Kejawen to ancestral culture. It will examine Kejawen through the lens of pre-Western religion theories, which did not adhere to the Christian-centric world religion paradigm, and explore it within the indigenous religion framework. This perspective aims to reestablish Kejawen's religious standing, highlighting its spiritual depth and significance beyond mere cultural practice.

METHODOLOGY

In working on this article, my approach involved two main steps. Firstly, I immersed myself in a literature review to build a solid understanding of Kejawen. This meant diving into various studies and articles, gathering insights

from past research that shed light on what Kejawen is all about.

In this study, I used purposive sampling to select three Kejawen practitioners in East Java and Yogyakarta, aiming to closely match the research's needs. Through in-depth interviews with these adherents, I was able to gain a more personal and practical perspective of Kejawen. Combining this real-life insight with the academic knowledge from my literature review, I then examined how Kejawen aligns with broader concepts of religion. I specifically focused on how it fits within the frameworks of world religion and indigenous religious paradigms. This comparison was key to understanding Kejawen's unique position in the tapestry of spiritual beliefs and practices.

Data was collected through a mix of sources, including books, journals, and offline semi-structured interviews. This approach is effective for understanding complex thoughts and behaviors by offering a broad view from varied experiences. Interviews are allowed to deep dive into personal experiences, blending structured questions with the flexibility to follow the conversation's natural flow. The data was then analyzed using thematic analysis, a method chosen for its versatility in identifying patterns across different data types, from interviews to social media content. This technique is valued for its comprehensive examination of qualitative data and



adaptability to various research questions.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Kejawen According to Scholars

Kejawen is a big part of Javanese culture. It's not just a set of beliefs, but a way of life that includes everything from stories and myths to deep thoughts about life and the universe. It's all about understanding yourself and the world in a way that goes beyond just thinking - it's about feeling and experiencing things in a mystical way (Mulder, 1999). Kejawen teaches that to really get life and God, you need to feel and understand things in your heart, not just in your head (Yogiswari, 2020). Kejawen is a spiritual tradition that prioritizes ethical conduct, social harmony, and the pursuit of inner wisdom. Kejawen practices are diverse, ranging from meditation and the cultivation of inner power (kebatinan) to the observance of traditional rituals that seek to maintain balance between the human, natural, and spiritual worlds (Geertz, 1976).

In Java, people see Kejawen as a way to connect directly with God. It's not just about believing in a higher power. It's more about how you live your life and act on your beliefs (Endraswara, 2015). Kejawen folks think deeply about God and believe God is everywhere, even inside every person. They have special names for God, like Gusti, Sang Hyang, or Pangeran (Yogiswari, 2020). A big idea in Kejawen is 'unity of existence' (manunggaling kawulo gusti). This idea says everything in the world is

connected - our thoughts, imagination, and even our souls (Wasisto, 2020).

Kejawen isn't about arguing over the right way to worship. It's more about seeing the common ground in all religions. It teaches you to look inside yourself, to understand your own thoughts and feelings (Shashangka, 2014). For Kejawen people, practicing their beliefs is a way to be spiritual. Their spirituality is tied closely to human psychology (Endraswara, 2015). For Koentjaraningrat (1985), Kejawen is a spiritual practice that emphasizes inner wisdom, harmony with the universe, and a direct, personal experience of the divine. Koentjaraningrat explores how Kejawen influences are not just religious rituals but also daily life and social relations, like those marking the agricultural cycle to life-cycle events like birth, circumcision, marriage, and death.

People learn Kejawen from spiritual teachers. These teachers make textbooks that fit the specific Kejawen group they're teaching. Even though Kejawen has the same basic ideas, there are different ways it's taught. But for Kejawen folks, the differences don't matter much. What's important is that their actions in life help them connect with the 'unity of existence' idea.

Kejawen Teaching

Kejawen, a unique part of Javanese culture, started without a clear concept of God. Over time, the Javanese developed a special understanding of spirituality. This understanding combines deep thinking and emotional



experiences. A key teaching in Kejawen is 'sangkan paraning dumadi'. This means everything comes from God and eventually returns to God (Endraswara, 2015). This idea helps people understand life and find God by exploring their life's path. It's about seeking, knowing, living, and realizing where life comes from. Then, it's about living life's journey and purpose until you find and meet God again. The best thing in Javanese life, according to Kolis (2018), is realizing who you are and feeling united with God.

For Javanese people, practicing their religion, Kejawen, is more about actions than just ideas (Endraswara, 2015). Kejawen focuses on growing inside, especially in the mind (Shashangka, 2014). It teaches that suffering comes from being separated from your true self. When people act based on their ego, they become selfish. This selfishness can lead to problems and bad behavior. Kejawen says looking inside yourself can help solve many moral and ethical issues. It's about growing spiritually as individuals and then as a society (Wasisto, 2020).

Kejawen doesn't have strict rules (Endraswara, 2015). Different groups, or 'paguyuban', are led by spiritual teachers. Each teacher wrote their own books based on old Javanese scriptures and poetry. Spiritual teachers or gurus play a crucial role in guiding practitioners on their journey. The relationship between a teacher and disciple is considered essential for transmitting esoteric knowledge and wisdom. Bopo Suryadi, a

Kejawen teacher, says the most important things in Kejawen are belief ('belief') and practice ('laku') (Bayuadhy, 2015). 'Laku' is what you do in life to achieve your goals. It should be done with good intentions and belief in God. It can be everyday actions or special practices for inner growth or to achieve specific goals. When practicing, you must believe God is with you and will help you.

Harmono, a Kejawen follower, shares some of his practices:

1. Every morning, he meditates to think about yesterday and plan for today, aiming to be better than yesterday. If he did something wrong, he tries to fix it.
2. Every evening, he prepares offerings like food, water, flowers, and incense to thank God and remember his ancestors.
3. On special days, like Friday legi, he makes bigger offerings, thanking God, remembering ancestors, reflecting on his actions, and asking for forgiveness.
4. He practices different types of fasting for self-reflection, protection, soul cleansing, and mastering Kejawen knowledge.

Kejawen also involves community activities. People work together and hold 'selametan' (communal gatherings) for various reasons, such as moving into a new home, long trips, pregnancies, or births. They pray, eat together, and prepare offerings to thank God and their



ancestors. Selamatan is also done for deaths, birthdays, celebrations, and big harvests. It's a way to connect with each other and their spiritual roots.

Kejawen and The Universe

In Kejawen, a traditional Javanese belief system, there's a deep respect for nature and the spiritual world. Harmono, a follower of Kejawen, explains that there are four elements considered sacred: earth, fire, water, and air. Kejawen people believe that human life on earth is possible because of these elements. To show respect and maintain harmony with these elements, they often make offerings at specific natural sites such as trees, rivers, and mountains. This practice is a way of honoring the vital role these elements play in their lives.

Another important aspect of Kejawen is the reverence for ancestral spirits. Kejawen followers believe that staying connected with the spirits of their ancestors brings strength and helps them achieve their life goals. They see ancestral graves as a link between the living and the spirits. Regular visits to these graves are common, where they make offerings and pray. This practice reflects their belief in the importance of ancestors in their daily lives and spiritual journey (Endraswara, 2015).

Kejawen also acknowledges the existence of supernatural beings such as jinn, devils, weaklings, memedi, and danyang. Danyang are unseen creatures believed to protect villages. Kejawen followers see these beings as fellow creations of God and treat them with the same respect as they would their

neighbors. Ali, from the Sabda Panglatas Ati group in Blitar, East Java, mentions that these supernatural beings are considered during rituals and practices. Just like informing neighbors about a home event to avoid disturbance, Kejawen people make offerings to these beings. This is done to ensure harmony and protection during their rituals and daily life. They believe that by respecting these supernatural entities, they maintain a peaceful coexistence and are safeguarded by them in their endeavors.

Religion Paradigms

I. Religion in Indonesia

In Indonesia, the term for religion is 'agama'. Before colonialism and the country's independence, 'agama' encompassed all belief systems present in Indonesia. This includes globally recognized religions like Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism, as well as indigenous Indonesian beliefs. However, after Indonesia gained independence, the definition of religion began to change.

Initially, Islam was the first religion officially recognized in Indonesia. Gradually, Islam became a model for what a religion should look like in the Indonesian context, similar to how Christianity has often been viewed in Western countries. Although not explicitly stated, for a belief system to be considered a religion in Indonesia, it is typically needed to have certain elements. These include monotheism, a prophet, a holy book, a structured institution, and international recognition.

This criterion meant that many indigenous beliefs, which didn't meet these requirements, were not classified as religions but rather as cultural beliefs or customs. As a result, sacred rituals and practices of these ancestral religions were often stripped of their religious significance. People who followed these indigenous beliefs were sometimes viewed as less religious or not adhering to a 'proper' religion (Maarif, 2019).

As of now, Indonesia officially recognizes six religions: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Islam, being the majority religion in Indonesia, and Christianity, a major religion globally, have become prototypes for what is considered a religion in the country. Minority religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism have undergone significant struggles to gain recognition. They had to make adjustments to align with the basic concepts of the majority religions. The journey for indigenous religions to gain recognition and justice in Indonesia has become even more challenging (Maarif, 2017).

The way religion is defined and recognized in Indonesia is heavily influenced by the global paradigm of what constitutes a religion. This influence has shaped the country's religious landscape and the recognition and treatment of various belief systems within it.

II. World Religion Paradigm

The term "religion" has its roots in the Latin word "religio." When

understood in a substantive sense, it may refer to an external power or force. However, used adjectivally, it suggests a quality of life or a way in which humans perceive the world, embodying a sense of being religious. Religion, therefore, is more about human experiences and perceptions than about objective, unseen power. In its original Latin usage, the term encompassed ritual ceremonies, regardless of whether they were directed towards a deity or a set of obligatory practices (Smith, 1966 cited from Maarif, 2017).

When Western scholars began studying religion, they constructed the concept of 'religion in the West.' This construction was based on Western cultural norms and often served to assert Western superiority. This Western hegemony in religious studies has been significant, shaping the understanding and study of religion primarily through a Western lens (Cotter & Robertson, 2016; Maarif, 2017). Over time, Western scholars expanded their study to include religions beyond Christianity. These religions were compared, analyzed, and often ranked based on how closely they aligned with Western propositions of what was considered 'true' (Smith, 1964 cited from Cotter & Robertson, 2016).

Western interest also extended to indigenous religions. One influential scholar in this field was Tylor, who proposed the theory of animism. Tylor suggested that religious belief originated from a fundamental error: attributing life, soul, or spirit to inanimate objects. He based his theory on the assumption



that local religions emerged from primitive people who were historically undeveloped and unable to differentiate between dreams and waking consciousness (Maarif, 2019). This theory further reinforced the world religion paradigm, which Christianity often used as its conceptual foundation. As a result, it imposed a pattern on all religions to fit the mold established by Western scholars. Tylor's theory of animism has been criticized for contributing to the marginalization and repression of indigenous peoples and their belief systems.

III. Indigenous Religion Paradigm

The world religion paradigm, as described by scholars like Simkins (2014) and Maarif (2019), presents a hierarchical view of the relationship between God, humans, and nature. In this view, God is at the top of the hierarchy, followed by humans and their culture, with other creatures and nature at the bottom. This hierarchy implies that God created humans to inhabit and serve Him, and nature was created to fulfill human needs. Such a perspective often leads to the belief that nature is a resource for human use, subordinate to human interests. This framework can contribute to the perception of indigenous peoples as 'primitive', especially when their practices, such as making offerings to nature, don't align with this hierarchical view.

In contrast, indigenous belief systems often have a more egalitarian view of the universe. In these systems, God is still supreme, but everything in

the universe, including humans and nature, is seen as having equal importance. For example, Aboriginal people in Australia view the Earth as a mother figure, providing all sources of life, and therefore believe that nature should be respected and cared for as one would care for their own mother (Wilson, 2005). Similarly, the Kejawen people in Java hold a view that aligns humans and nature. They not only respect the four elements (earth, fire, water, and air) but also consider supernatural beings as part of their community, deserving of respect.

Indigenous communities, through long-held beliefs passed down from their ancestors, tend to care for their natural surroundings as they recognize their own livelihood is deeply intertwined with nature. They believe that their actions towards nature will ultimately reflect back on them. This perspective fosters a harmonious relationship between all subjects of the universe, which can be challenging to comprehend for those accustomed to the world religious paradigm. This paradigm, with its emphasis on human dominion over nature, often justifies the exploitation of natural resources for human benefit.

This difference in worldview highlights a fundamental contrast: while the world religion paradigm often places humans above nature, indigenous belief systems see humans as part of a larger, interconnected web of life where every element, be it natural or supernatural, is treated with respect and care. This indigenous perspective emphasizes a

symbiotic relationship with nature, rather than a dominative or exploitative one.

Kejawen is a Religion

In Smith's writing (1998), the term 'religio' is described as an external power or force, but when used adjectivally, it suggests a quality of life, a way humans perceive the world, and a sense of being religious. Religion, in this sense, is more about human experiences and interactions with the unseen, rather than the unseen power itself. If we consider this original meaning of religion, then Kejawen, with its focus on inner cultivation and personal experience of divinity, can indeed be classified as a religion. Kejawen teachings emphasize thought and inner development to achieve unity with God, creating a deeply personal religious experience for its followers (Wasisto, 2020).

If this interpretation is challenging due to the evolution of the term 'religion' over time and the influence of various scholarly contributions, another approach is to view Kejawen through the lens of the indigenous religious paradigm. This perspective considers the daily practices and beliefs of Kejawen followers, which includes introspection about their actions, especially regarding their impact on others. This introspection extends to their interactions with supernatural beings, whom they regard as fellow creations of God.

For example, when Kejawen followers plan to cut down a tree, they

not only ask the tree for permission but also any supernatural beings that might reside in it, recognizing that they are about to disturb the home of these beings. This respect is also shown in other activities, such as holding events, constructing new buildings, or demolishing old ones. Kejawen followers communicate with and seek permission from supernatural beings, adhering to a principle of non-disturbance and mutual respect.

Furthermore, Kejawen followers deeply understand their reliance on nature for survival, especially in a predominantly agricultural society. They recognize that mistreating nature equates to destroying their own livelihood. Therefore, nature is not just a resource but a vital part of their existence, especially to a sibling. The offerings they make, derived from the word 'aji' meaning respect, are a testament to this relationship. These offerings are not just rituals but expressions of gratitude and reverence towards nature, which sustains human life.

CONCLUSION

The core principle of Kejawen is the concept of 'manunggaling kawula gusti,' which translates to the unity or oneness of the servant (human) with God. This principle underscores the importance of maintaining harmonious relationships with all of God's creations, including humans, nature, and supernatural beings. The path to unity with God in Kejawen is through living a life of goodness and maintaining these positive relationships. Interestingly,



Kejawen doesn't place God at the center of its teachings in the conventional sense. Instead, God is seen as the ultimate goal or destination of life. This perspective is a significant departure from some of World Religions, where God is often the central focus of worship and daily religious practice. In Kejawen, the emphasis is more on the journey and the actions taken in life to achieve unity with God.

When we evaluate Kejawen through the lens of classical religious theory and the indigenous religious paradigm, it indeed qualifies as a religion. It encompasses a comprehensive system of beliefs, practices, and values that guide the way its followers perceive the world and live their lives. This system is deeply spiritual and rooted in a quest for a profound connection with the divine. This understanding challenges the often narrow definitions of religion that have been shaped by dominant world religions. Kejawen, like many indigenous belief systems, blurs the lines between religion, culture, and philosophy. It offers a holistic approach to spirituality that is deeply intertwined with daily life and the natural world. Therefore, Kejawen should be recognized as a religion in its own right, not merely a belief system or cultural practice. It holds all the elements of a religion: a belief in a higher power, a moral and ethical framework, rituals and practices, and a comprehensive worldview. This recognition is important not only for academic and theoretical

accuracy but also for respecting and validating the spiritual experiences and practices of its followers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The process of making this article is under the direction of dr. Samsul Maarif from CRCS UGM, we discussed the frame of mind and important issues to be conveyed in this article. In addition, this article becomes deeper with the interview process with three Kejawen people, Bopo Suryadi and pak Ali from Sabda Panglatas Ati group and mas Harmono from Murtitomo Waskito Tunggal group from East Java. They are very helpful in providing information about Kejawen and all the details.

REFERENCES

- Bayuadhy, G. (2015). *Laku dan Tirakat; Berbagai Upaya Masyarakat Jawa untuk Menggapai Kebahagiaan*. Saufa.
- Cotter, C. R., & Robertson, D. G. (2016). After world religions: Reconstructing religious studies. In *After World Religions: Reconstructing Religious Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315688046>
- Endraswara, S. (2015). *Agama Jawa: Ajaran, Amalan, dan Asal-usul Kejawen* (1st ed.). Narasi.
- Geertz, C. (1976). *The Religion of Java*. University of Chicago Press.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1985). *Javanese Culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Kolis, N. (2018). *ILMU MAKRFAT JAWA SANGKAN PARANING*



- DUMADI; Eksplorasi Sufistik Konsep Mengenal Diri dalam Pustaka Islam Kejawen Kunci Swarga Miftahul Djanati*. CV Nata Karya.
- Maarif, S. (2017). Meninjau Ulang Deinisi Agama, Agama Dunia, dan Agama Leluhur. *Kebebasan, Toleransi Dan Terorisme Riset Dan Kebijakan Agama Di Indonesia*, 297.
- Maarif, S. (2019). Indigenous Religion Paradigm: *Studies in Philosophy*, 44, 1–20.
- Mulder, N. (1999). *Agama Hidup Sehari-hari dan Perubahan Budaya; Jawa Muangthai dan Filipina*. Gramedia.
- Shashangka, D. (2014). *Induk Ilmu Kejawen*. Dolphin.
- Simkins, R. A. (2014). The Bible and anthropocentrism: putting humans in their place. *Dialectical Anthropology*, 38(4), 397–413. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-014-9348-z>
- Smith, J. . (1998). Religion, Religions, Religious. In M. Taylor (Ed.), *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Wasisto, M. A. (2020). *REFLECTING ON KEJAWEN: JAVANESE ESOTERIC TEACHINGS IN INDONESIAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT*. December.
- Wilson, K. (2005). Ecofeminism and First Nations peoples in Canada: Linking culture, gender and nature. *Gender, Place and Culture*, 12(3), 333–355. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09663690500202574>
- Yogiswari, K. S. (2020). Genta hredaya. *Genta Hredaya*, 4(2), 101–111.



This page is intentionally left blank to complete the page numbering

