

Social Reproduction of Spiritual Values in the Sustainability of the Sumarah Association in Wirobrajan Yogyakarta

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Abstract

His study examines the social reproduction of spiritual values in sustaining the Sumarah community in Wirobrajan, Yogyakarta. The research aims to analyze how spiritual teachings, collective practices, and intergenerational interactions contribute to the continuity of Paguyuban Sumarah amid contemporary social changes. This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with a phenomenological approach. Data were collected through in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation involving community leaders and members of Paguyuban Sumarah in Wirobrajan. The findings reveal that the sustainability of the community is maintained through the internalization of spiritual values such as sincerity, self-awareness, harmony, and inner peace, which are transmitted through routine gatherings, spiritual exercises, and daily social interactions. In addition, kinship relations and cultural adaptation play significant roles in preserving the existence of the community among younger generations. The study concludes that social reproduction of spiritual values functions as an essential mechanism for maintaining the continuity and identity of Paguyuban Sumarah in modern society.

Keywords: Spiritual Values, Social Reproduction, Spiritual Values

Introduction

Paguyuban Sumarah is a form of spiritual school in the Javanese spiritual tradition that emphasizes the practice of total surrender (*sumarah*) to God (Paul Stange, 2008). As part of the non-material cultural heritage, the existence of the Sumarah Association reflects the system of values, beliefs, and spiritual practices that developed in Javanese society. In the midst of the increasingly intensive currents of modernization, rationalization, and globalization, the existence of such spiritual communities has become interesting to research, especially in relation to efforts to maintain local spiritual identity.

The Wirobrajan area in Yogyakarta City is one of the social spaces that still shows the continuity of spiritual practices, including the activities of the Sumarah Association (Clifford Geertz, 2008). The socio-cultural conditions of Yogyakarta, which is known as the center of Javanese culture, also provide a context that supports the development of various local spiritual expressions. In this case, the Sumarah Association not only functions as a forum for individual spiritual practice, but also as a social institution that facilitates interaction, the formation of meaning, and the strengthening of solidarity between members.

Research on the Sumarah Association in Wirobrajan was conducted by Bahari, in 2021 wrote the implementation of sumarah prostration on the religiosity of Muslims. The sumarah association becomes relevant to understand how the teachings and practices of the spiritual are maintained, transmitted, and adapted in the context of contemporary society. In addition, this study is also important to examine the relationship between local spirituality and social changes that occur, including how individuals interpret their spiritual experiences in the midst of modern life.

In addition to having a uniqueness in spiritual teachings, sumarah also applies a different pattern from other believers (Bahari, 2021). Sumarah in recruiting members overrides the recruitment system to become a follower of sumarah, in addition, sumarah in the concept of juru or pamong is not applied because according to its adherents suamarah is the concept of surrender to God Almighty and the soul vocation means there is no coercion. Thus, this research is expected to contribute to the development of the study of the sociology of religion, cultural anthropology, and the study of local beliefs in Indonesia.

Method

Qualitative research is an approach to explore and understand the meaning that is considered to come from social or humanitarian issues (Cresswell, 2018). This research uses a qualitative approach with the aim of understanding in depth the practice, meaning, and social dynamics in the Sumarah Association in Wirobrajan, Yogyakarta. This approach was chosen because it is able to explore subjective experiences and members' interpretations of the teachings and spiritual practices carried out. The data collection techniques used include. Observations are made directly on the activities of the Sumarah Association, especially in spiritual practices such as regular meetings or processions of spiritual exercises carried out at the time of practice. Through this observation, researchers can understand the social situation, interaction patterns, and forms of practice carried out by members so that this observation stage can be observed for the next method stage process.

This study uses 2 data sources, namely primary and secondary sources. The primary source was obtained from direct interviews with informants in the field. Interviews are conducted in a semi-structured manner to informants consisting of active members, figures or supervisors, and new members. This technique aims to explore the understanding, experience, and meaning given by informants to the teachings of Sumarah. The informants interviewed consisted of DPC Mr. Sarah, grandson Sukino Mr. Nugroho and Buk Desi as a member of the Sumarah and other members of the Sumarah Family. Secondary data is obtained from archives, records, books, and other written sources related to the Sumarah Association. Documentation can also be photos of activities or personal notes relevant to the research. Such as the name sign of the Sumarah Association, which is displayed in the Sumarah Hall, photos at the time of practice and during the interview.

The systematics of the discussion of the sumarah association goes through a process starting from the meaning of the sumarah association, the history of sumarah, the practice carried out by the sumarah from marriage to death, the development of branches that adhere to

the sumarah association, and the author will analyze using Pierre Bordieu's theory of habitus, capital, and arena. to dissect the extent to which the Sumarah Association can consecrate its practice in the current current of modernity.

Result and discussion

History of Establishment and Development of the Sumarah Association

The Sumarah Association is one of the spiritual schools that develops in Indonesia, especially in Java. Etymologically, the term Paguyuban Sumarah comes from two words, "guyub" and "Sumarah". The word "guyub" comes from the Javanese language which means harmony, peaceful, loving each other, please help, sorry-forgiving. Meanwhile, the word Sumarah is taken from one sentence of Sumarah's prostration to the Divine presence. Sumarah means surrendering one's soul and body to God Almighty (Paul Stange, 2008).

Sumarah is a form of total surrender, complete surrender to God Almighty by the way of Sumarah Prostration which aims to gain peace of mind and mind. The Sumarah Association is a group towards peace of birth and mind with the path of Sumarah Prostration to God Almighty. Sumarah is also often interpreted as Prostration Against Allah (Sumarah). The Sumarah Association was founded by Soekino Hartono or commonly called Pak Kino (Paul Stange, 2008).

The beginning of its establishment is inseparable from the history of the struggle of the Indonesian nation in order to achieve independence. As a person who was obliged to fight for the Independence of the Indonesian Nation, Mr. Kino, who at that time was very diligent in serving God Almighty, also begged to be given independence for the Indonesian Nation by surrendering all soul and body to God Almighty, by prostrating Sumarah to God. Pak Kino felt that his request to ask for independence would be granted or approved by God Almighty, therefore Pak Kino was always diligent and diligent to serve Allah by performing Suprostration Sumarah, until one day Pak Kino received "revelation" or guidance. Over time, the guidance of the Sumarah Association has developed step by step. His teaching was no longer to gain physical strength as in a war situation, but to ascend in stages to gain spiritual tranquility.

"Yes, in the past, Mr. Kino received a revelation at night while sleeping, after that, Mr. Kino tried to tell the people around him, and Mr. Kino immediately met Ahmad Dahlan regarding the receipt of the revelation and Ahmad Dahlan responded please, because you are the one who feels and receives". concluded Ahmad Dahlan, the Founder of Muhammadiyah".

Founder of Sumarah

The practice of anger was introduced by a man named Raden Ngabei Soekinohartono (Kino) who lives in Wirobrajan, Yogyakarta. One night, on September 8, 1935, he received a revelation in the form of light, and a dialogue took place that the residents of the Sumarah Association believed to be God YMK, which contained the teachings of Sumarah (Paul Stange, 2008). From that revelation, Kino began to spread his teachings to the closest people from 1935 slowly. He did not dare to openly build this group because it could have been seized by the Dutch.

Social, political, and religious settings

The presence of anger cannot be separated from the socio-political turmoil at the beginning of its appearance. In 1937 the founder experienced his first revelation and realized the need for a presentation to others. From 1935 to 1945, hundreds of pioneer members began to emerge and the flow of anger spread widely in the Javanese region. The founders were almost all born at the turn of the 20th century, their maturity became individuals of maturity understanding of Indonesian nationalism.

At that time, the growth of anger was still slow because it was influenced by the Dutch grip and Japanese dominance. After 1945, anger began to receive a response from the youth instantly. Hundreds of young men and women began to participate in the spiritual stream. As a result, sumarah has undergone a transformation that is not only in terms of membership composition but also in the technical and structural fields (Paul Stange, 2008).

The journey of the establishment of Sumanger by Sukino cannot be separated from adherents of other teachings such as the Subud school (Paul Stange, 2008). However, sukino and muhammad dawn have the same spiritual emotional closeness so in their spiritual practice the problem lies in the difference in claims about revelation. Sukino had received a revelation before contact with Mr. Subuh, especially when a moment like this began to spread throughout Java while the subud sect still consisted of only forty people.

After the Dutch finally left this country, Kino and some of his followers began to spread his teachings outside Yogyakarta. It should be noted here that the Sumarah Association develops according to and follows God's guidance or instructions. Until now, the followers from Sumarah number 7,200 people and spread in many places on the island of Java, especially Madiun and Central Java such as Semarang. In foreign countries, there are already several foreign nationals, in some countries who learn the method of sumarah and hold regular meetings to perform prostration exercises.

Analysis Teori Pierre Bordieu

Bourdieu called the habitual patterns embedded in humans habitus. Habitus is the result of social experiences that take place continuously so that it shapes a person's tendency to think and act (Bourdieu, 1977). In the context of the Sumarah Association, the spiritual habitus can be seen in the attitude of members who tend to be calm, not aggressive, avoid conflicts, and view life more resigned and reflective. This habitus does not arise naturally, but is formed through a long social process. New members who enter the Sumarah community will learn through encounters with old members, participate in the practice of prostration together, listen to spiritual teachings, and engage in a community culture that emphasizes calm and inner awareness. Through this process, spiritual values slowly become part of the individual's consciousness. This is where the process of social reproduction of spirituality occurs.

In addition to habitus, Bourdieu's theory also explains the importance of capital in maintaining the sustainability of the community. In the Sumarah Association, there is what is called symbolic capital, namely the spiritual authority possessed by senior figures. They are revered not because of formal power, but because they are considered to have a certain depth of inner experience and spiritual ability. This respect creates social legitimacy that helps

maintain the stability of the organization. In addition to symbolic capital, there is also cultural capital in the form of spiritual knowledge, prostration procedures, Javanese spiritual languages, and understanding of the teachings of inner peace. This cultural capital is passed on to new members through social interaction and community practices. The more one understands the spiritual culture of Sumarah, the stronger his position in the community. The Sumarah Association can also be understood as a field or social arena, (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In this arena, Sumarah is confronted with various other social forces such as formal religion, modern culture, scientific rationality, and changes in people's lifestyles. The sustainability of the organization depends on the ability of the community to maintain its spiritual identity in the midst of modern social pressures.

Modernity often gives birth to crises of meaning, individualism, and anxiety in life. In such situations, Sumarah offers an alternative space for individuals to gain inner peace and balance in life. Therefore, the sustainability of the Sumarah Association is not only due to the strength of its organization, but also because this community is able to provide spiritual meaning that is still relevant to modern life. Through Bourdieu's theory, spirituality in the Sumarah Society can be understood not as just an abstract personal experience, but as a social practice that is continuously reproduced in community life. Peace of mind is not just an individual experience, but the result of social, cultural, and symbolic processes that take place collectively.

Thus, the research on "Social Reproduction of Spiritual Values in the Sustainability of Sumarah Societies" shows that the sustainability of local spiritual communities is highly dependent on their ability to reproduce habitus, maintain symbolic capital, and pass on spiritual values to the next generation. From the perspective of the sociology of religion, the Sumarah Association is an example of how local spirituality is still able to survive in the midst of modern social changes through the ongoing social reproduction process.

Movement Leaders and Member Demographics

Nugroho as the daily administrator is the grandson of the founder of Sumarah who graduated from Agricultural Science, he also often invites the surrounding community to learn and teach agricultural science, especially farmer women in Wirobrajan. In the celebration of the meeting of believers throughout Indonesia, he often became a delegate from the sumarah association to attend the invitation. His wife was an employee of the state civil apparatus and had three daughters, each of whom was free to choose the teachings that they thought were comfortable and calm without any coercion.

Waras as a member of the sumarah association once studied at one of the Yogyakarta campuses and was an assistant lecturer to Mr. Mahfud MD at that time. Now Mr. Sanas has a doctorate. Pak waras is often an invited envoy for inter-campus activities to discuss material about believers and at the same time is an active informant of researches conducted by the public about the Sumarah community. Other members, not many are also local residents and there are also from outside the district who practice the teachings of Sumarah, not many of them are housewives.

Sumarah Teachings, Programs and Activities

The stage for acquiring spiritual tranquility. The Sumarah Association has several main teachings (Fendi Gatot, 2009). First, the teachings know three elders, namely Soehardo who used to be in charge of education and development, H. Soetadi who used to be in charge of the field of organization and pradja, and Soekino himself who used to serve in the spiritual field based on the One God and the struggle for the Independence of Nusa and the Nation.

Second, is the teaching about the soul. According to the Sumarah Association, all the souls of mankind initially come from spirits that are still holy and will then experience rebirth (reincarnation) as long as they have not reached purity. The soul will later undergo evolution in order to achieve holiness again, because while in the world the soul has sin.

"A member of Sumarah at the time of his birth his parents freed him to adhere to anything without coercion, because the core of his teachings is the call of the soul, even when the Sumarah believer dies there is no coercion he is buried in any way or symbol burned like the Chinese ritual, or buried like the ritual of the Islamic religion"



Source: Research Interview Results

Third, is the teaching of Sumatran science. The science of Sumarah is a guidance given by God or Allah so that people believe and serve Allah by doing Sujaman Sumarah. Humans will be full of sins over time, and to purify them, humans must always be diligent in performing Suprostration Sumarah. Fourth, the teachings about sesanggeman. To achieve the level of holiness, the Sumarah Association provides an order or prohibitions that must be obeyed by members or residents of the Sumarah Association. These commandments and prohibitions are a guidance or "revelation" that comes from Allah through the intermediary of Pak Kino. These commandments and prohibitions are called sesanggeman (ability) or in Javanese it is called laku. In addition to containing commands and prohibitions, the sanggeman also contains moral provisions to be practiced or carried out by Sumarah residents in daily life in order to purify themselves.

"Mr. Kus said that Sumarah reached the stage of manunggal kawula gusti reaching the stage of wahdatul of form and the process has no limits, reaching that stage there are those who have seen for many years how he interprets the power and harmony in the teachings of sumarah"



Source: Research Interview Results

Sumarah programs and activities can be carried out on Thursday night at 20.00 at the Sumarah Association Hall. As for the activities, Joint worship such as prostration together while reading the appreciation, this can be done until the soul feels calm and surrenders to God Almighty. Each member is different to interpret this tranquility, even if there is a motorcycle noise or other noise, worship continues without obstacles.

On the 17th of every month there will be a meeting of the Sumarah Association of Regional Administrators throughout Yogyakarta from Sleman, Bantul, Kulon Progo, Gunung Kidul, and Yogyakarta City in the context of the event there will be an evaluation of the management of the Sumarah Association organization to follow up on the movements that will be carried out at the next meeting. Not only that, every year there is a meeting throughout Indonesia that adheres to the flow of sumarah groups in various places of the regional rolling system.

The Uniqueness of Sumarah with Other Groups

The emergence of the Sumarah school in the mid-20th century has a specific uniqueness with other schools (Paul Stange, 2008). This uniqueness can be seen from the emphasis on total surrender means surrendering completely to the one God. In contrast to other schools that emphasize more on active minds or certain techniques. In addition, sumarah also has a main practice known as the practice of sumarah prostration. The prostration has the characteristics of physical movements such as prayer movements but with a total mental condition this is very different from other groups that use certain concentrations, mantras or visualizations.

Another uniqueness can be seen from the emphasis on anger against teachers as an absolute figure that does not apply even if there is a supervisor (Maulana, A. M. R., Muttaqin, M., & Fitriyani, A. N, 2021). In sumanger, the relationship with God is considered direct without the intermediary of others, unlike other schools, teachers are considered to have authority and charisma as an apnutan to achieve God. Sumarah also does not force its members not to leave the formal religion. This makes it more inclusive when compared to other religions that form their own belief identity.

The uniqueness of sumarah cannot be separated from the uniqueness of contemporaneous schools such as subud and pangestu (Haryanto, J. T, 2021). If it is more specific, it can be compared, sumarah is simpler, not systematic, while pangestu is more structured and philosophical and has written teachings like *Sasangka jati*. Another unique difference lies in the practice of ritual, sumarah emphasizes the practice of total surrender without using techniques while pangestu has the practice of wejangan, stages of understanding, and appreciation of wejangan. Another peculiarity is anger with subud. It lies in the main method of anger using resignation in silence, with subud having a process of psychic training that can involve spontaneous movements. In the organizational structure of sumarah relating, it is loose and simple, while subud is organized internationally, moreover, the capacity of its spread is only focused on the island of Java, which is different from subud has reached the international arena.

Response of the Community, Mainstream Religious Groups and the Government and the Survival Strategy of the Sumarah Association.

The emergence of sumarah received a full response from other teachings such as the subud school which said that the teachings practiced by sumarah especially its founder, Sukino, first carried out religious practice exercises before receiving revelation from God (Ahmad Rosidi, 2011). The claim was rejected by the sumarah school that Sukino had first received revelation to establish the sumarah school.

The above response is also inseparable from the state's response at that time. In 1952, the Ministry of Religious Affairs proposed a minimum definition of religion that contained important elements including: having a prophet, the holy book, and international recognition. This definition does not consider the spiritual school as a valid religious expression, even considers the spiritual to be outside the law because for the spiritual "God" reveals himself directly in the heart of everyone without going through intermediaries, be it in the form of prophets or holy books. In 1953, the Ministry of Religious Affairs reported the existence of three hundred and sixty new religions or spiritual groups and in 1954 the Ministry of Religious Affairs established the Pakem (Development of Community Beliefs) as the body authorized to supervise new religions and spiritual groups and their activities.

During the New Order period, according to adherents, the government's recognition of the existence of the school of beliefs at that time became clearer (Sudarminta, J, 2013). Through the MPR Decree which states that: Belief in God Almighty is one of the basic capital of National Development. The Decrees of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia Number IV/MPR/1973 and Number IV/MPR/1978 also state that spiritual and mental capital, namely Trust and Piety to God Almighty, is an invaluable driving force for the fulfillment of the nation's aspirations. The Dictum of the Decree of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia No. II of 1978 states that religion and belief in God Almighty are matters related to personal relationships with God Almighty who he believes and believes in. The TAP-TAP MPR further encourages the recognition of the Government of Indonesia towards the existence of the Faith/Spirituality school by issuing Presidential Decree

of the Republic of Indonesia No. 319 of 1968 concerning Repelita 1969/1970-1973/1974 and Repelita II 1974/1975-1978/1979.

Subsequent developments after the reform and amendment of the 1945 Constitution on Human Rights and Religion have regulated the existence of religious schools in Indonesia which are the legal basis of articles 28 a), b), and c). and article 29 b). "The state guarantees the freedom of each citizen to embrace his or her own religion and worship according to his religion and beliefs". The phrase "his belief" with a dualistic understanding is, first; The phrase of his belief is understood as a realistic school of belief that is still alive outside of the official religious beliefs recognized in Indonesia. If there is one; The phrase of belief is in the sense of beliefs adhered to or beliefs about religious beliefs held in Indonesia. The religious demographics of Indonesian society are classified as a pluralist or multi-religious and multi-religious country. In civil administration, the religious affiliation of the community is divided into six religions: Islam, Christianity (Protestant), Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. Religious identity is still listed in the Identity Card (KTP) and other population documentation. In accordance with Law Number 23 of 2006 concerning Population Administration, Article 64 paragraph b). that adherents of religions outside the six "official" religions or schools of faith may vacate or not fill in their religious identity in their ID cards and other population documentation but are still served and recorded in the population database (Law No. 23. 2006).

The Rise and Fall of Anger

In the context of modernization, globalization, and changes in the pattern of religiosity of society, the sustainability of Sumarah is an interesting phenomenon to be studied academically (Bahari, 2021). Its resilience is not solely due to doctrinal conservatism, but rather to a combination of adaptive cultural, social, and epistemological strategies. First, in terms of preserving the core teachings, Sumarah shows consistency in the main practice in the form of silent meditation and surrender. The stability of this doctrine creates a strong identity and distinguishes it from popular forms of spirituality that tend to be eclectic and commercial. In the framework of Religious Studies, this can be understood as an effort to maintain *the sacred core*, which is an essential element that does not undergo negotiation even though the social context changes.

Second, there is a discursive adaptation strategy. Although the substance of the teachings is relatively fixed, the way it is delivered has undergone a transformation. Traditional terms such as "taste" and "resignation" began to be explained through more universal and contemporary language (Howe, 1980). For example, it is associated with the concept of self-awareness or the practice *of mindfulness*. This approach allows Sumarah to reach the younger generation without having to lose its spiritual legitimacy. From an anthropological perspective, this reflects the process *of cultural translation*, which is the translation of local meanings into a global framework.

Third, the sustainability of Sumarah is supported by a flexible community structure. In contrast to hierarchical formal religious organizations, the Sumarah community tends to be loose and does not depend on one authoritative figure (Agung, Y. R., Mahpur, M., & Zawawi,

M, 2021). This pattern reduces the risk of disruption in the event of a leadership crisis, while allowing for decentralized reproduction of teachings. This flexibility is one of the important factors in maintaining existence in the midst of social dynamics. Fourth, there are limited institutionalization efforts through documentation and academic studies. Teachings that were previously oral in nature began to be transformed into writings, archives, and scientific research. The involvement of academics serves not only as external legitimacy, but also as a mechanism for the preservation of knowledge. This documentation is important to prevent the erosion of traditions due to generational changes.

Fifth, Sumarah adopts a strategy of moderate positionality in the religious landscape. He does not confront formal religion, but rather places himself as a spiritual practice that can coexist. This attitude reduces the potential for conflict while opening up a wider space of acceptance in a pluralistic society. Thus, Sumarah's survival strategy is not single, but is the result of an interaction between core value conservation and contextual adaptation. Its resilience lies in its ability to maintain the depth of spiritual experience while negotiating limited to the demands of the times. In an academic framework, this phenomenon shows that local traditions are not always eroded by modernity, but can survive through selective and reflective adaptation mechanisms.

Conclusion

The concept of habitus in Bourdieu's theory suggests that members of the Sumarah Society slowly form a distinctive way of thinking and acting through a collective spiritual experience that is constantly repeated. The spiritual habitus is seen in the member's attitude of life that is calmer, reflective, simple, and prioritizes inner balance over materialistic orientation.

In addition, the sustainability of the Sumarah Association is also supported by the existence of symbolic capital and cultural capital. Senior spiritual figures possess moral authority and symbolic authority that play an important role in maintaining the legitimacy of the community. Meanwhile, spiritual knowledge, prostration traditions, and Javanese cultural symbols became cultural capital that was inherited to new members as part of the process of reproducing local spirituality.

In the modern social arena marked by rationalization, individualism, and formal religious dominance, the Sumarah Association is still able to maintain its existence through the ability to reproduce spiritual values that are considered relevant to the inner needs of the community. This community is an alternative space for individuals to gain tranquility, meaning in life, and spiritual harmony in the midst of the crisis of modernity. Thus, Pierre Bourdieu's theory shows that the sustainability of the Sumarah Society does not occur naturally, but is the result of a social process that involves the formation of habitus, the inheritance of cultural capital, symbolic legitimacy, and the collective reproduction of spiritual values.

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