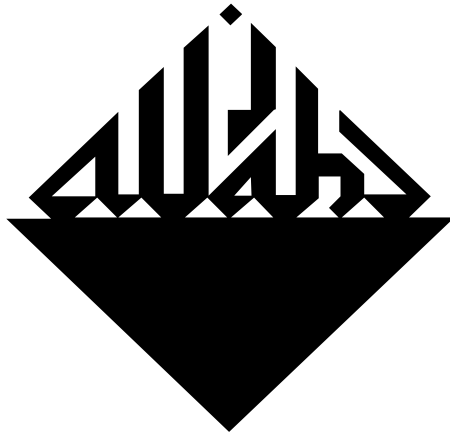


STUDIA ISLAMIKA

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TRUSTING IN GOD:
RELIGIOUS INSCRIPTIONS ON MALAY SEALS

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Table of Contents

Articles

- 1 *Annabel Teh Gallop*
Trusting in God:
Religious Inscriptions on Malay Seals
- 29 *Muhammad Wildan*
The Persecution of Rohingya Muslims
and the Path to Democratization in Myanmar
- 53 *Rahmat Hidayatullah*
Music, Contentious Politics, and Identity:
A Cultural Analysis of
“Aksi Bela Islam” March in Jakarta (2016)
- 97 *Jamel Rombo Cayamodin, Abdulhamit Durakoglu*
The Predicaments of Muslims in the Philippines:
An Exposition of Said Nursi’s Hypothesis
vis-à-vis Hizmet Movement Approach
- 149 *I Gst. Pt. Bagus Suka Arjawa, Zulkifli*
The Social Integration of Hindu and Muslim
Communities: The Practice of
“Menyama-Braya” in Contemporary Bali
- 179 *Jajang A. Rohmana*
Al-Sajā’ir wa shabakat al-‘ulamā’ al-Miṣrīyīn
fī Nusantara: Dirāsah fī makḥṭūṭ
“Bāb fī bayan shurb al-dukhān”

Book Review

- 227 *Anggi Afriansyah*
Konstruksi, Kontestasi, Fragmentasi, dan Pluralisasi
Otoritas Keagamaan Indonesia Kontemporer

Document

- 245 *Jamhari & Yunita Faela Nisa*
Voices from Indonesian Legislative
on Religious Education Policy

I Gst. Pt. Bagus Suka Arjawa, Zulkifli

The Social Integration of Hindu and Muslim Communities: The Practice of “Menyama-Braya” in Contemporary Bali

Abstract: *The social interaction between Bugis Muslims and Hindus in Bali has long been known to be harmonious. This interaction can become a role model for religious interaction in Indonesia. This paper aims to explain the practice of menyama-braya (brotherhood) as a cultural system and its relevance to the integrative social interaction between the Hindu and Bugis Muslim communities in Bali. The research was conducted in the villages of Serangan, Kapaon, Tuban, Suwung, Tanjung Benoa, and Angantiga. The research is qualitative in nature and draws on interviews and the broader literature. The study reveals that a successful harmonious social life cannot be separated from the adoption of menyama-braya culture, which combines the attitude of solidarity and tolerance. The practice of the menyama-braya cultural system has been maintained for generations through various methods, such as socialization, rituals, the use of the same symbols, and formal educational institutions.*

Keywords: *Menyama-Braya* (Brotherhood), Solidarity, Tolerance, Hindu-Muslim Integration.

Abstrak: *Interaksi sosial antara masyarakat Muslim Bugis dan Hindu di Bali telah lama dikenal harmonis. Interaksi ini dapat menjadi panutan bagi hubungan antar agama di Indonesia. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan praktik menyama-braya (persaudaraan) sebagai sistem budaya, dan praktiknya dalam integrasi sosial antara masyarakat Hindu dan Muslim Bugis di Bali. Penelitian ini dilakukan di desa Serangan, Kepaon, Tuban, Suwung, Tanjung Benoa dan Angantiga. Penelitian ini dilakukan dengan metode kualitatif dengan teknik wawancara dan studi pustaka. Studi ini mengungkapkan bahwa keberhasilan kehidupan sosial yang harmonis tidak dapat dipisahkan dari adopsi budaya menyama-braya, yang menggabungkan sikap solidaritas dan toleransi. Praktek sistem budaya menyama-braya telah dipertahankan selama beberapa generasi melalui berbagai metode yaitu, sosialisasi, ritual, penggunaan simbol yang sama, dan lembaga pendidikan formal.*

Kata kunci: *Menyama-Braya (Persaudaraan), Solidaritas, Toleransi, Integrasi Hindu-Muslim.*

ملخص: من المعروف منذ فترة طويلة أن التفاعل الاجتماعي بين المجتمعات المسلمة والهندوسية في بالي منسجم ومتناغم، بحيث يمكن أن يكون هذا التفاعل نموذجًا يحتذى به للعلاقات بين الأديان في إندونيسيا. ويهدف هذا المقال إلى شرح ممارسة مينياما برايا (الأخوة) كنظام ثقافي وصلتها بالتكامل الاجتماعي بين المجتمعات الهندوسية ومسلمي بوغيس في بالي. وتم إجراء هذا البحث في قرى سيرانغان، وكيباون، وتوبان، وسوونغ، وتانجونغ بينوا، وأنغانتيغا، مستخدمًا في ذلك الأساليب النوعية مع تقنيات المقابلة والدراسات المكتبية. وتكشف هذه الدراسة أن نجاح الحياة الاجتماعية المتناغمة لا يمكن فصله عن تبني ثقافة مينياما برايا التي تجمع بين موقف التضامن والتسامح، والتي تم الحفاظ عليها جيلا بعد جيل من خلال طرق مختلفة، وهي التثنية الاجتماعية، والطقوس، واستخدام الرموز الموحدة، والمؤسسات التعليمية الرسمية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مينياما برايا (الأخوة)، التضامن، التسامح، التكامل الهندوسي-المسلم.

Balinese local wisdom plays a significant role in creating a harmonious atmosphere in social life. Social integration in a plural society can be formed by applying this local wisdom. Integration is a condition where people are able to respect each other's differences and minimize those differences through the practices of social life (Condorelli 2018, 261). Local wisdom, i.e. *Menyama-braya*, is cohesive, insofar as it can unite religions, citizens and beliefs (Jati 2013, 397; I. N. Suryawan 2016, 568). This type of social life does not happen occasionally; rather, it has become a habit.

Bugis Muslim descendant communities in Denpasar and the regency of Badung in Bali have practised *menyama-braya* (Eng. brotherhood) with their Hindu counterparts. This has become a part of their social lives and has ensured that religious differences do not become flashpoints for tension. *Menyama-braya* entails people of different faiths helping one other through various interfaith activities, such as group visits, visits by dance troupes, communal support and outreach, and so on. These practices have engendered social stability and harmony.

Historically, pluralism in Bali first manifested itself via symbols. At Gambur Anglayang Temple complex, Kubutambah Village, Singaraja, there are three symbols of worship of three different religions, namely Islam, Confucianism, and Hinduism (Pageh 2018). In Tirtha Harum Temple, Serangan Island, there is a place to worship Chinese ancestors, namely Ratu Mas Subandar (Ayu and Kartini 2018, 71). In Sanur Village, Denpasar, there is the *Baris Cina* (China March) dance, which is performed by the Balinese in honor of Chinese culture (Warsa 2015). This form of social integration is also seen in Pegayaman Village, Singaraja, where a Muslim community uses Balinese names, such as I Wayan or Nyoman, as their first names (Arif 2019, 22).

The effects of *menyama brama* have, of course, been undermined by events such as the Bali bombings, which took the lives of hundreds of people in 2002 and 2005, and, on occasion, by other individuals who have tried to stoke tension in the community (Suwitha 2014, 386).

When tensions eventually dissipate, *Menyama-braya* continues as before. Challenges will, of course, continue to emerge, largely due to Bali's high rate of tourism and urbanization.

Scholars have studied the social integration of Muslims and Hindus in Bali from a variety of angles. Pageh (2018) writes that the integration of Hindu and Muslim communities in Bali dates back to the 12th century,

primarily in the form of symbols. The architecture of Gambur Anglayang Temple in Kubutambahan, Singaraja, is a combination of Hindu, Islam, Buddhist, Sundanese and Malay architecture. Baitulrahman Mosque, which is also in Singaraja and was built in the 17th century, was used as a rest stop by Hindus conducting ceremony processions.

Jayadi et al (2018) write that Muslim-Hindu integration can be understood from the symbolic Topat War ritual, which is held in Lingsar Village, West Lombok. For Hindus, this ritual is to achieve prosperity, and for Muslims, it is to show respect for the religious figure Syekh Kiyai Haji Abdul Malik, who is considered capable of making people prosper.

Fahham (2018) writes that the symbol of unity between Muslims and Hindus in Singaraja is also evident in the Keramat Mosque, the shape of which is similar to Meru, a site of Hindu worship. In Pengayaman, Singaraja, integration is also evident by Muslims taking Balinese names, such as Ni Wayan, as their first names. Suryawan (2017) also writes about the ways in which the community practises *menyama-braya*, namely by helping each other.

The accounts above emphasize how symbols have been used to integrate Hindu and Muslim communities. While Pageh, Jayadi et al, and Fahham recall the practices carried out by the two communities in Singaraja, Suryawan discusses integration in Petang Village, where the *menyama-braya* principle has not yet been explored in sufficient depth to understand what precipitated its implementation and the conception of the wisdom contained therein.

This study, therefore, discusses the social integration practices that are conducted based on *menyama-braya* and explores the wisdom to strengthen its practical foundation. This article analyzes *menyama-braya* as a cultural system and reveals the extent to which it is practised by the Balinese people. It depicts Bugis communities in Bali by viewing *menyama-braya* as a cultural system and a synthesis of solidarity and tolerance.

This article is based on research conducted in the Bugis *kampongs* (villages) of Serangan, Suwung, Tuban, Tanjung Benoa, Kapaon and Angantiga, where Bugis Muslims directly interact with Hindu communities. This study adopts a qualitative approach, namely interviews with members of both communities, as well as observations of their daily lives. In this study, secondary data collected from books and scientific works are used to support the primary analysis.

The Muslim Bugis Community in Bali.

Geographically, there are six areas where the Bugis community lives in Bali, namely the island of Serangan, the villages of Kepaon, Tuban, Tanjung Bena, and Suwung, which are located in Denpasar, and Angantiga, which is located on the mid-highland of the northern part of the regency of Badung. Initially, the Bugis all lived on Serangan or in southern Denpasar, before their work and the command of their king demanded that they move to the other places mentioned above (interview with Ramsudin, 20 January 2018). Angantiga village is the furthest from Serangan, located about 50 km north of Denpasar.

Bugis people who live in those areas were sailors who were stranded in the southern region of Denpasar, which at that time was ruled by King Pamecutan III. Some of those sailors were Bugis people who left their homeland in defiance of their Dutch colonial rulers, who defeated the kingdom of Makassar in 1669 (Suwitha 2017, 142). One year later, the Dutch East India Company, the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), took Tosara fort in Wajo (Suwitha 2014, 98). The people who did not accept this defeat then fled their lost kingdom and Sulawesi. Previously, the Bongaya agreement, signed between the Kingdom of Gowa and the Netherlands in 1667, had resulted in the separation of people in South Sulawesi (Ubaedillah 2017, 215–16).

Notwithstanding the spread of the Bugis people throughout Bali, the island of Serangan is the centre of the Bugis community. It is also the island on which *Masjid Assyuhadda*, the first mosque in Bali and a gift from King Pamecutan, was built. From Serangan, the Bugis' primary source of income and living, namely fishing, caused them to migrate along the coast to other coastal villages, such as Tuban, Kepaon, Tanjung Bena, and Angantiga. Tanjung Bena is a port in which ships dock in Bali. Sya'ban Tabrani (2018) explained that the Bugis people migrated because they were fishermen and had to live in coastal areas. Hanafi (2018), an elder of Bugis descendants in Tuban, also explained that Tuban, before the expansion of Ngurah Rai Airport in 1967, was a coastal suburb.

Three stories about the Bugis people and their role in Angantiga are particularly noteworthy. The first concerns the ancestors of the Bugis people in Angantiga, who were soldiers ordered by King Pamecutan III to guard Bangkyang Jaran in Petang, in the northern part of Badung. Bangkyang Jaran is a densely forested area, which, at the time, was notorious for

robberies and murders. This task, as ordered by King Pamecutan III, which was carried out by Bugis soldiers, resulted in the Bugis being awarded a place in the region, where they have been living ever since. The Bugis community's involvement in guarding this region is now evident in every major ritual ceremony. For example, the Bugis community that lives in Angantiga is invited to every *ngaben* ceremony, which is a type of Balinese cremation organized by Puri Carangsari, which is intended to bring the spirit back to the universe (Ramsudin 2018; Suarmandala 2018).

The second story recounts how current Bugis inhabitants are the descendants of three Bugis people who came from Angantelu, Karangasem. It also describes them as brave people who guarded the territory from criminals and notes their presence in the area dating back to 1442 (Suarmandala 2018). The third story recounts how the Bugis community in Angantiga, Petang, were brought to the region by Puri Carangsari and Puri Mayun to guard the opium and coffee trade to Buleleng port (Nordholt and Putrayadnya 2009, 165). Puri Carangsari and Puri Mayun were the authority of Petang districts.

***Menyama-braya* as a Cultural System**

In Indonesia, the Hindu-Muslim relationship has also had its fair share of conflict. Sallom (2009), quoting Marrison (1999), notes that, in the 19th century, Muslims and Hindus in Lombok were sporadically involved in conflict. Specifically, Sallom notes that the Muslim community and Hindu King of Lombok clashed in 1826, 1871, 1884, before the conflict reached its peak in 1891 (Sallom 2009, 74). It was in 1891 when Lombok was also first subjugated to Dutch colonial rule.

The Muslim Bugis community has lived harmoniously among the Hindu majority population of Bali. As Suwitha writes, however, the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005 created tensions between the two groups (Suwitha 2014, 386). After the first bombing, Hindu suspicion of Muslim Bugis ties to Amrozi and Imam Samudra, the masterminds of the bombing, grew. As time went by, those tensions dissipated, in part due to the cultural system of *menyama-braya*.

Nyama braya, which literally means *sanak-saudara* (relatives), can be interpreted as many relatives. Suwitha (2014, 313) argues that *braya* means community or life of the Balinese smallest community unit, *banjar*. Widastra (2008), in Suwitha (2014, 313), states that *menyama-braya* can mean a vertical biological brotherhood and a horizontal sociological relationship.

Sociologically, *menyama-braya* is an interactional lifestyle, a solution to social problems and the ethics of Hindu Bali society and community. Social life depends on social interaction and the most prominent social interaction in the Balinese Hindu community is *menyama-braya*. Put differently, *menyama-braya* is an integrative lifestyle. Beresneviciute (2003, 97) writes that social integration is a group of individuals who may be actors, agents or subjects that gather together in a societal space, living within the context of certain existing rules. Furthermore, social integration can be maintained by various societal groups to avoid damaging existing systems. The Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development states that solidarity and tolerance are important elements of social integration, including respecting the existing differences and providing equal opportunities for everyone (Jeannotte 2008, 6). Jeannotte writes that the goal is to strengthen social stability based on the human right of equality. According to the United Nations Social Development Research Institute (1994), the right to integration is based on equality opportunity and the right of every human being to a better life.

The principle of *menyama-braya* can be applied to economic practices, to interior design, and to societal challenges. In the Balinese regency of Klungkung, for example, small and medium businesses that produce traditional cloth adopt this principle in their company management. Sari Adnyani et al (2019, 148) write that a company can be managed well based on the principle of *menyama-braya* because it gets one thought, word and action in managing the company. The atmosphere of brotherhood creates a good work environment, which enhances business productivity. They discussed with each other about business opportunities in the area they visited.

One of the foundations of *menyama-braya* is harmony in both social interaction and social togetherness. Nirmaladewi (2018, 8) implements *menyama-braya* by reducing the number of partitions in buildings so as to allow workers to more easily see and interact with one other. Basyir (2016, 196) claims that achieving *menyama-braya* is a victory of sorts, meaning that the success and victory lies in implementing *menyama-braya* per se. Suwita (2016, 87) states that *menyama-braya*, broadly speaking, is a unitary state concept. All differences in terms of culture and social systems in one country can be understood and accepted, so that national unity is achieved. For example, if society understands the value of the Pancasila, social conflict will be suppressed.

As a form of cultured social interaction, *menyama-braya* has become a habit and behavioral pattern of all *banjar* and *desa pakraman*, (traditional Balinese village, which generally consist of more than one *banjar*) villages in Bali. *Menyama-braya* becomes a social practice that inevitably deemphasizes individualism, making selfishness in society less common. *Menyama-braya* is now a principle of life for all *banjar* and *pakraman* villages. Astra Wesnawa (2017, 62) argues that *menyama-braya* forges a kinship tie between community members; one that makes them work together, both in terms of social and religious matters. At this point, *Menyama-braya* is a source of social ethics, which provides social behavior guidelines that must be obeyed. It is a set of norms that members of a community must follow and those who do not will be punished.

The main characteristic of *menyama-braya* is mutual assistance. *Menyama-braya* is rooted in the philosophy of *Tat Twam Asi*, which teaches us that loving others is actually about loving ourselves (Sulandjari 2011, 181). Based on this philosophy, *menyama-braya* can cross social boundaries. The transcendent principle of Balinese Hindu society is evident in its perspective towards *banjar pakraman*. *Banjar pakraman* is a community of Balinese Hindu people within a *pakraman* village. This *banjar* community is considered a family bigger than the nuclear and extended family, because in this community various forms of mutual assistance in social relationships are realized. Various religious rituals and other family activities that need help from each other are carried out in *banjar pakraman*. That is why the term *menyama-braya* originally came from this environment. Wedding ceremonies, for example, take place in *banjar pakraman* and community members help to organize this.

Warren (1993, 16) states that the *banjar* community are the first Balinese brothers and sisters who, in illness, accident and other urgent emergencies, provide one another immediate aid. *Banjar* members are the first priority, more important, in fact, than distant relatives. Warren (1993, 48) further asserts that the strong brotherhood of *banjar* members is evident in the number of people who take part in funeral processions. This is where the concept of *menyama-braya* began, the meaning of which is strong brotherhood.

Menyama-braya is also part of agrarian life. As farming works require certain skills, including planting and weeding rice paddies, as well as spreading fertilizer, it is common for agrarian specialists who

live in other *pakraman* villages to travel to provide assistance. *Subak*, a traditional irrigation system used in Balinese society, is one example of cross-border *menyama-braya*. *Subak* is not dependent on people living in the same *banjar*, but on agricultural land ownership (Geertz 2000, 96). *Subak* is a collective form of *menyama-braya*, the membership of which transcends village boundaries, as well as ethnicity, race, religion, and social class. In the village of *Angantiga*, for example, the Bugis Muslim community participates in *Subak* activities with their Hindu counterparts, peaceably and naturally.

***Menyama-braya* as Synthesis of Solidarity and Tolerance**

The practice of *menyama-braya* can be related to the Balinese principles of adaptation and self-adjustment, which are known as *desa, kala, patra*. This concept contends that a group of people should be able to adapt to the environment in which they live. *Desa* means a place or social environment, *kala* means time, and *patra* means situation and conditions. Adaptation in this instance means social interaction.

Warren (1993, 15) writes that the implementation of *desa, kala, patra* is akin to the notion of the autonomy of the Balinese Hindu community. Balinese society has its own customary law, which is influenced by a range of local factors. This law may change, however, if necessary to adapt to the relevant situation and conditions, in this case adapting to a neighborhood where people of other religions and tribes live.

Here, the practice of *menyama-braya* enables the Balinese to adapt to the situation, habits (social ethics) and conditions of the surrounding environment. The new environment could either be a new geographical area or a new situation. Hindus living in the Bugis community make this adjustment in accordance with the principle of *desa, kala, patra*. With this process of adjustment, the attitude of tolerance and solidarity is required for the sake of social stability and social harmony.

Menyama-braya occurs among people who live close to each other geographically. In Balinese society, it has become commonplace to assist with the preparation of ritual facilities when in a neighboring village. In such an environment, this mutual cooperation can be created, mainly due to the same interests and goals of the community. Although *menyama-braya* is a basic tenet of Balinese Hindu life, the emphasis on cooperation to achieve common goals enables this social practice to take place across

religions and ethnic groups. Balinese traditional life practices show that cross-border cooperation can be done. From here, the combined principles of solidarity and tolerance that result from *menyama-braya* are evident.

Solidarity is an action and attitude among individuals or groups based on moral values to pursue common goals. The desire to live together, side by side, is a classic aspect of solidarity. Spencer, as cited by Oosterlynck and Van Bouchaute (2013, 9), writes that solidarity is a result of common interests and cooperation to realise those interests without coercion. Durkheim also emphasized togetherness by stressing the importance of trust, ideals, moral commitment, and common interests (Susiyanto 2006, 90; Muhadi 2006, 49).

In this context, togetherness is a key component of solidarity. In Indonesia, especially in traditional or rural communities, togetherness is alive and well. Laswel and Kaplan write that solidarity is a feeling of doing together, feeling together, and thinking together. This mutual sense will only be realized if group members have the same view for their future and realize that to achieve their respective goals, each one of them needs to play their role (Muhadi 2006, 49).

The form of solidarity in the future is nothing but positive things that can be enjoyed by society through such solidarity actions. The involvement of the Muslim community in guarding Hindu places of worship and vice versa is a good form of solidarity. Spencer also argues that the intended future is that of mutual common interests. One of those interests is, according to Fourie, distributing resources to those who need them (Oosterlynck and Bouchaute 2013, 6). There are many types of resources that can be distributed to the community, such as social stability, the ability to adapt, availability of natural resources and many others. Quoting Baurmann (1999), Nowicka (2017, 3) argues that solidarity is a social norm based on justice, peace and social unity, that does not seek financial profit. Thus, solidarity has positive goals that lead to common goals (Hanifah 2008, 15).

In many respects, harmonization, social stability and a peaceful life are the positive aspects of solidarity. Solidarity is seen as an act of cooperation, either between individuals or groups within a society. Solidarity can even be viewed not only on an individual or group level, but also on an international community level. Cooperation between nations to prevent a disease from spreading, for example, is an act of solidarity at the international level (Oosterlynck and Bouchaute 2013, 68).

Solidarity through *menyama-braya* will not be realized without tolerance among the members of a community. In essence, tolerance is an expression of awareness towards differences in a group of people. The common goal embodied in a form of solidarity reflects the existence of tolerance in a community. This means that tolerance plays its role when there is a difference or differences that cannot be omitted between the individuals in a community. Tolerance will function if each individual has no other way to smooth over differences, but rather has a desire to coexist peacefully (Broer et al. 2014, 85; Setyawati 2017, 61). Differences in a community or a society can occur in many ways and the members need accept them without coercion. According to Tamring, as cited by Abdul Rahman and Hambali (2013, 82), tolerance takes place within a society that comprises social, political, economic and/or cultural differences.

Where there are identity-based differences between community members, tolerance can construct social stability. Tolerance is essentially an attitude to create social stability by accepting differences within in a community. Mayorga (2014, 577) writes that tolerance is a principle for the coexistence of people, groups and cultures. Tolerance is not one's behavior but something that reinforces behavior, which can link groups or communities. Quoting Joe (2011), Broer et al argue that tolerance means to accept others who express a different lifestyle and to live harmoniously for the greater good.

According to Furedi (2012) in Broer et al (2014, 84), tolerance includes an element of freedom whereby one is free to embrace his beliefs and express his ideas, both in the media and in public. Tolerance is closely related to the conscience because values, ideas and opinions, mutual understanding, as well as respect for differences, are all necessary to achieve religious harmony (Maulana 2016, 123). Thus, in order to create social stability, the members of a society must respect each other's differences. The ultimate goal of tolerance is to live peacefully with others and accept existing circumstances.

Therefore, there is a connection between solidarity and tolerance, and it is embodied in *menyama-braya*. Socially, solidarity and tolerance are linked. It starts from the acceptance of differences in society. Tolerance understands the existence of differences and provides opportunities for various parties to express the values they have, while solidarity provides an understanding of the emergence of awareness, that people do have

differences, but that they prioritize mutual assistance to achieve their goals. The combination of both will be able to suppress conflict in a community or a society. In essence, solidarity and tolerance paint a picture of positive intergroup relationships. Christie and Dowes (2001, 136) write that intergroup relationships work best if the following exists: a) cooperative interdependence among groups; b) the same contact status between the minority and the majority that have the same purpose, for example, have the same goal to build a school; c) the existence of contact support in the group of people that represent institutions, for example, each of them becomes the head of the organization when conducting a meeting; and d) opportunities for all to interact socially.

Menyama-braya is a combination of solidarity and tolerance principles, which emphasize cooperation and mutual assistance within existing differences. This is then realized by Balinese Hindus and Bugis Muslims in Bali. Notwithstanding their obvious religious and cultural differences, their overwhelming desire for a peaceful life results in community solidarity, which is realized through *menyama-braya*. By understanding solidarity, both communities will be willing to cooperate with each other, and with tolerance, will understand that there are indeed differences between them. Through *menyama-braya*, helping each other in the context of understanding the differences is implemented and manifested.

Carrying coffins together during funeral processions is a manifestation of this solidarity and tolerance. For the Hindu community, *ngaben* is a fusion thereof. In Kepaon village, the Muslim community participates in escorting and carrying the *bade* (a place to carry a corpse to a cemetery). It is realized also by Bugis Muslim community in Tuban village. Cabunilas (2017, 151) notes that this solidarity for the minority recognized and paid attention not only to their interests and needs but also to their economic, political and cultural contributions. Their cultural contribution here is when they are able to inspire and broaden the insights of other people. Bugis Muslim's participation in the carrying of the corpse indicates solidarity with, and tolerance of, the Hindu community without having to worship in accordance with Hindu traditions.

Below is an elaboration on the *menyama-braya* practice, as conducted by both Bugis Muslim and Balinese Hindu communities living in the same region.

The Practice of *Menyama-braya*

In the community's daily life of different religions in Bali, the manifestation of *menyama-braya* as a cultural system is evident in their social activities. The first is mutual cooperation, which is deeply rooted in Indonesian culture. The Bugis Muslim community regularly demonstrates intra-community cooperation, regularly participating in mutual cooperative efforts or *ngayah* (Balinese), in accordance with the direction of *bendesa pakraman*, the leader of a Balinese customary community. The description of *ngayah* is a community activity that is carried out jointly and voluntarily by the people without expecting any payment or anything in return (Mahardika and Darmawan 2016, 26). In Serangan Village, for example, the Bugis Muslim community follows the orders of *bendesa pakraman* and participates in *ngayah*, including in the area where Hindu worshipping takes place, e.g., they clean Hindu temples (Mansyur 2017). This is a form of solidarity from the Bugis people to the Hindu followers on Serangan Island.

Two factors make the Bugis Muslim community engage in *ngayah* in the temple area. First, historically, the Bugis people intend to maintain close relations, or even 'brotherhood', of their ancestors, which has endured for more than 100 years. They are in debt to the royal family of *Puri Pamecutan*, because, in the past, their ancestors were given shelter and a mosque by King Pamecutan III. Second, it is tradition to respect the kingdom. Honoring the kingdom is a tradition maintained by the Bugis Muslim community on Serangan Island and in Angantiga village because the community lives closest to the palaces. Bugis communities living in other regions also respect the kingdom. The Bugis Muslim community on Serangan Island visits *Puri Pamecutan* where the King lives if there is a religious ceremony arranged by the kingdom. Such ceremonies include cremations, tooth fillings, and three-month baby anniversaries. According to Haji Mansyur (2017), those who come to the palace are not only parents or adults, but also young adults, teenagers, and children. They come to honor the kingdom, which gifted their ancestors land and a mosque. The Bugis community in *Angantiga* village also comes to *Carangsari* Palace in Petang, when the palace organizes a ceremony, such as *ngaben* or a wedding. Usually, they would do the same work as Hindu followers do. Participation in *ngayah* activities takes the form of meat preparation and cooking. The palace separates pork, which is prepared by the Hindus, from the

other meat, which is prepared by the Muslims. The clothes worn by the Muslim community accord with their customs, but the Bugis people do not mind wearing Balinese traditional clothes. That said, the palace recommends that they wear Muslim clothes (Ramsudin 2018).

Another form of realizing the concept of *menyama-braya* is the effort to guard each other's places of worship. On the island of Serangan, there are large places of worship that have their own symbols for the devotees. For the Hindu community, there are two places of worship, namely Sakenan Temple and Sasuhunan Wadon Temple. As for the Muslim community, there is a historical mosque, Assyuhada, which is located 200 meters toward the northeast of Sesuhunan Wadon Temple. These two symbolic buildings are consciously transformed by the Hindu and Muslim communities to symbolize the harmony between different religions, by involving the two sides whenever religious ceremonies take place. The Bugis Muslim community provides security assistance when a ceremony is being conducted by the Hindu community at Sakenan Temple and Sesuhunan Wadon Temple. Some guards wear national clothes, while others wear the Hindu customary *pecalang* uniform (Mansyur 2017). Wearing this outfit is an attempt to bridge the distance between the religions, while creating a sense of togetherness and peaceful atmosphere in the region.

The wearing of the *pecalang* uniform is an expression of sincerity and preparedness to absorb others' cultures. *Pecalang* are local Balinese security guards, most of whom are Hindu. The Hindu community says "suksma" to the Muslim community, which means thank you for their help.

When the Muslim community celebrates Islamic Holy Days and ceremonies, such as Idul Fitri and Idul Adha, the Hindu community also guards the mosques of the Bugis Muslim community. Some members of the Hindu community wear national attire, while others wear the *pecalang* uniform. The *pecalang* uniform worn by the Hindu community when guarding the mosque denotes a high degree of solidarity towards the existence of other religions in the region.

The practice of *menyama-braya* will be very visible when there is death in the community. At the funeral rites and preparations, solidarity is shown through certain activities of different religious communities, such as mutual help, attendance at the funeral, and providing other forms of assistance. This is seen in the Bugis village of Bali, where both sides exhibit such brilliant attitudes. In Tuban, at the funeral procession

of Haji Hanafi's mother, both Hindu and Muslim communities joined hands to carry the corpse to the Muslim cemetery. Haji Hanafi's family managed the funeral while the community members carried the corpse to the cemetery. Muslims wearing their Muslim clothes were positioned on the left side, while the Hindus wearing traditional Balinese clothes were on the right-hand side (Hanafi 2018). The same holds true for both Hindus and Muslims in Serangan and Angantiga villages.

The tolerant attitudes between Hindus and Muslims is evident in the celebration of their respective holidays. According to Haji Hanafi (2018), in Tuban, during *Nyepi* celebrations, the Hindu community gives the Muslim community permission to worship in accordance with their beliefs. *Nyepi* is a celebration of Saka's New Year for Hindus. It is celebrated in a symbolic way, whereby people are forbidden to travel, to light a fire, to have fun and to hold an event involving many people. Muslim communities in Tuban approach *Nyepi* by praying, but not using loudspeakers. The same can be said about the Bugis Muslim community on Serangan Island, Kepaon, Tanjung Benoa, and Angantiga. In Tuban, when Hindus want to cook on *Nyepi*, they will cook at Haji Hanafi's house. Even in the event of a fire or other distress, the blasted sounds of the Balinese Hindu community's *kentongan* will be followed by a *bedug* sound in the mosque with the same knocking pattern (Hanafi 2018).

The mutual tolerance of these two religious communities is a result of it having been engrained in both since their teenage years. At SMP Negeri 11 Denpasar (junior high school) and SD No. 2 (primary school) on Serangan Island, for example, Muslim students will stand up while their Hindu friends are performing the *Puja Trisandya*, which is a Hindu prayer ritual performed in the morning. They pray according to their own beliefs and Hindu students chant *Puja Trisandya*. The Muslim community will greet their teachers using the greeting "Om Swastyastu," as a sign of courtesy. Hindu students at SD No. 2 on Serangan Island will wear Balinese traditional clothes during the full moon and dark moon, and Muslim students will wear Muslim clothes (Saleh 2018). At SMP Negeri 11 Denpasar, Muslim students celebrate Idul Fitri at school and dress in traditional Balinese clothing during the Saraswati Day (Balik 2018). Based on the description above, it is evident that the two groups have implemented the principle of *menyama-brayma*. The Bugis communities who do *ngayah* (mutual

help) show an adaptation of their condition as those who live far from their homeland. That is where the tolerance is started to be applied. It is seen from their willingness to help make the ceremonial equipment at the praying places of a different religion. However, they still do not pray in Hinduism. This is a form of solidarity that can be given by the Bugis community in the form of helping the Balinese Hindu community.

Both parties apply the principle of tolerance. The guarding of the mosque and the temple during prayer times and the involvement of the *pecalang* on both sides during religious and customary rituals demonstrates the solidarity and tolerance of the other. Tolerance is an awareness and acceptance of difference and arises when individuals of different stripes have to live in peace (Broer et al. 2014, 85). To create social stability and good neighborly life, it is the act of solidarity that creates it. It is this solidarity that shows the desire to co-exist peacefully.

The involvement also shows the tolerance of both groups. When both Islamic and Hindu societies hold ceremonies, the guarding of the ceremony by each party provides the other group with comfort while it carries out its prayers. Prayer is an expression of freedom of expression of belief in public. This is one of the conditions of tolerance (Furedi 2012). This attitude gives an idea that the differences between them exist and cannot be equated. Thus, the way to appreciate the difference is to give freedom of expression and protect it. This is a form of tolerance applied in each Bugis Muslim village in Bali.

The Maintenance of *Menyama-braya*

A harmonious social life can occur across generations because of efforts and practices aimed at maintaining harmony. The spirit to nourish that harmony is maintained through socialization. This begins with primary socialization in families where children see and experience how tradition works. Primary socialization takes place during pre-school and school (Parera 1990, xxii). Other traditions, such as *ngejot*, and the mutual guarding of places of worship by the two religious communities have become a routine for them. *Ngejot* is a Balinese Hindu community tradition that involves providing food to relatives or neighbors during holidays. It is common for both Muslim and Hindu communities to participate, not only on Holy Day celebrations, but also during basic family activities (Hanafi 2018; Mansyur 2017; Ramsudin 2018; Tabrani 2018).

The tradition of *ngejot* itself comes from the Balinese Hindu community and involves giving food and fruits to the neighbouring community in order to maintain friendship. The Bugis Muslim community also practise this tradition during the celebration of Idul Fitri and Idul Adha. Besides the Day of Galungan or Kuningan, the *ngejot* tradition is practised in family ceremonies in the Hindu community. For example, at the *ngotonin* or tooth filing ceremony, the Hindu community does not give Muslims food that has been used for the ceremony, but rather food that is not used during the ceremony (Dana 2018; Ramsudin 2018). The Hindu community mentions this as *sukla*, meaning giving clean food to show respect to the community. Such an activity signifies the recognition of brotherhood, which in Hinduism is called *Tat Twam Asi*, and emphasizes the degree of security in social position. This *sukla* food tradition was originally given to religious leaders, or those who lead ceremonies. Thus, giving such food to the Muslim community can be considered an act on the part of the Hindu community declaring the Muslim community as its brothers and sisters.

Maintenance through Ritual

Quoting Senft (2009), Maifianti et al (2012, 2) note that one function of rituals is to create and stabilize social relationships. In Bugis village areas in Kepaon and Serangan, the *Rodat* dance is a ritual that maintains and recalls the harmonious relationship between the Muslim and Hindu communities. The *Rodat* dance is the manifestation of the Bugis community's attachment to Balinese society, especially in the Badung Kingdom (Puri Pamecutan). The dance is performed at every ritual at Puri Pamecutan. This dance is a war dance that recounts the war between the warriors of Badung, where Bugis troops faced off against the Kingdom of Mengwi. According to Tabrani (2018), this dance was created as a memory for the warriors who fought in this heroic battle. The war between the Kingdoms of Badung and Mengwi took place in 1891. The *Rodat* dance is thus a ritual that symbolizes the brotherhood and defense of the Bugis community to the Badung community during the war. This dance is still alive in the Bugis Muslim community in Kepaon, with its figure Sya'ban Tabrani. On Serangan Island, the dance is known, but not as well as in Kepaon Village (Mansyur 2017). The *Rodat* dance is performed at a ceremony performed at Puri Pamecutan.

The *Odalan* ceremony, the ritual performed at the temple, is performed at Puri Pemecutan and requires the presence of the Bugis Muslim communities of Serangan Island, Kapaon, and Tuban. The event at Puri Pemecutan is an annual fixture for the Bugis community on Serangan Island, whereby they provide support by assisting with the implementation of the ceremony itself, either by cooking, helping, making offerings, making *penjor*, mowing the grass, and/or decorating the temple. They do not, however, join in the prayers themselves. The visit was conducted not only by the Bugis community on Serangan Island, but also by those in Kapaon, Tanjung Benoa and Tuban (Tabrani 2018).

On the other hand, the family of the King of Puri Pamecutan also visits the Bugis Muslim community at various events, including wedding ceremonies, for Idul Fitri, and circumcision ceremonies. The inauguration of the existing mosque in Tuban and Serangan Island, for example, was carried out by King Pamecutan IX.

In the village of Angantiga, the Bugis people do *ngayah* and prepare food when there is a *ngaben* ritual at Puri Carangsari. At the ceremony, the youth from the Bugis village are honored as weapon carriers and stand at the forefront (Ramsudin 2018; Suarmandala 2018). This indicates that the ancestors of the Bugis community in the village were the security forces operated by Puri Carangsari.

Maintenance through Shared Symbols

The languages used by the community are Buginese, Balinese, and Indonesian in official celebrations. All three languages are understood by both communities. The Buginese use all three languages from an early age. The language also ultimately forms a new language that is more of a social language that children speak and retain until adulthood. The Balinese language is used by the Bugis Muslim communities on Serangan Island, Kapaon, Tanjung Benoa, Tuban and Angantiga. On Serangan Island, the Bugis language is still used by the community as a colloquial language, but they are still be able to speak Balinese. Meanwhile, in Kapaon and Angantiga, the Bugis language is less commonly used, in favor of Balinese language.

The religious harmony that occurs among Bugis Muslim and Hindu communities cannot be separated from the current role of Puri Pamecutan. This palace – Puri Pamecutan – is a legacy of the Kingdom

of Badung who gave permission for the construction of a mosque on Serangan Island. The relationship between Puri Pemecutan and the Muslim community of Serangan Island is divided into three aspects, namely the historical relationship, the relationship between the king and the community, and the relationship between community and community.

Historically, a palace or castle facilitates a harmonious relationship between the Bugis Muslim community and the Hindu community. The Bugis Muslim community's presence on Serangan Island, which resulted from their voyage from Makassar to Bali, was permitted by the Badung Kingdom. This is where the maintenance of a sustainable tradition continues. This relationship then spread even further, not only to the present king, the King of Pamecutan XI, but also the descendants of previous kings, which started from King Pamecutan III.

The Bugis community in Angantiga, Petang, uses Puri Carangsari (Carangsari Palace) as a symbol of its proximity to the Hindu community. Since the arrival of Bugis troops in Angantiga, which was the result of a request for troop assistance from Puri Carangsari at Puri Pemecutan Badung to keep the Bangkyang Jaran area in Petang secure, the Bugis Angantiga people have always been welcomed at Puri Carangsari.

Maintenance through Formal Institution

There is a formal institution that functions as a uniting institution, namely school. School is a formal institution that directly socializes the brotherhood of both communities. As a formal educational institution, school is not only able to unify students into one entity, but also unify the older generation – the parents of the students. At Elementary School No. 2 Serangan, the school committee is led by a Muslim and his vice deputy is a Hindu (Merta 2018). In the past, this formal institution was instrumental in strengthening the brotherhood between the two communities and this school has thus far maintained and affirmed this brotherhood. The parents who take their children to playgroups, kindergartens and elementary schools every day have opportunities discuss various topics while waiting for their children to be dismissed from school. From these daily meetings, the so-called *arisan* (rotating savings club) is formed and affirms the social relationship between the two communities. In the

Tanjung Bena area, during Idul Fitri, the PKK (empowerment of family welfare), the members of which are mothers and women from the Muslim community, involve PKK members from the Hindu community to take care of consumption or meals so that they actively participate in another religion's Holy day (Ardhana 2011, 99). Balinese language and characters are taught in elementary schools in Tuban, enabling the Bugis Muslim community to write in Balinese script and to understand the auspicious days of the Balinese Hindu calendar (Hanafi 2018).

Both elementary and junior high schools on Serangan Island are accepting of Muslim students and accommodating of their religious requirements. These schools finish at 12.00pm on Fridays so that Muslim students can attend *sholat Jumat* (Friday Prayers) at the mosque (Puja 2018). The Muslim elementary school students from Angantiga in Petang are also accommodated. Here, all Muslim students stand with their Hindu peers when they perform the Puja Trisandya prayer in class every morning prior to their first class. When the Hindu students recite this prayer, the Muslims students pray according to their own beliefs. Puja Trisandya is a Hindu prayer that is said in the morning. At SMP Negeri 11 Denpasar, which is located on Serangan Island, the Muslim students celebrate Idul Fitri at their schools (Balik 2018; Sumarsih 2018; Susilawati 2018).

In the village of Angantiga, the Bugis Muslim community participates in Subak, which is a traditional Balinese organization that regulates the distribution of water for rice fields and small plantations. This community participates in the process of *mapag toyé*, which is conducted by the Subak to take water at the beginning of harvest time. The Bugis' participation is an example of solidarity shown by its community. The goal of the water distribution itself is to ensure the plants grow well. Both communities in Angantiga demonstrate a tolerant attitude towards one another, with both reciting prayers based on their respective beliefs (Ramsudin 2018).

In *banjar dinas* (administrative village), Hindu and Muslim communities take turns serve as banjar head and banjar deputy: if the head is a Muslim, the deputy is a Hindu, and if the head is a Hindu, the deputy is then a Muslim (Samiana 2018). Marriage is essentially a formal institution that gives birth to the concept of *saling seluk* (mutual convert). It is a fact that marriage is a natural phenomenon of mankind

without having to distinguish religion, race and color. *Saling seluk* is a term used to describe the relationships between the families of married couples and local wisdom also applies to the relationship between the Muslim community and Hindu community. It is not uncommon for a man from the Bugis community to marry a woman from the Hindu community, and a man from the Hindu community to marry a woman from the Bugis community. In these marriages, a Hindu converts to Islam, a Muslim converts to Hinduism, or no one converts to another religion. If the husband and the wife are of different religions, they allow their children to choose which religion they want to embrace.

Mmarriage is important because it is one of the ways to maintain Hindu-Muslim harmony. This marriage has its own rules, which are actually apparent from the courtship, the process of taking the woman, talks between the two families, *mepamit* (farewell), and the rituals carried out by both families based on their respective religions. In the process of proposing, for example, there is a pattern of social relationship that blends the two cultures. The blend, then, gives a new culture to the community.

At every wedding ceremony organized by the people on Serangan Island, the two communities (always with formal representatives) are always in attendance, as are religious figures and traditional leaders of both communities. For Balinese Hindus and Bugis Muslims, the presence of these figures is indispensable, for it is the symbol of friendship and unity of their communities. The way of inviting those figures requires our attention, because it shows how both communities respect each other.

The existence of the concept of *saling-seluk* significantly contributes to both communities. This concept provides an understanding that there is a family tie between the Bugis Muslims and Balinese Hindus in these regions. For example, a Hindu has a Bugis Muslim brother-in-law or sister-in-law or one of the members of a Muslim family is Hindu. This concept is also implemented among family members who have converted to Islam from Hinduism and to Hinduism from Islam. This is evident by the fact that many Hindu families live in mostly-Muslim-populated area and, conversely, many Muslim families live in mostly-Hindu-populated area.

Saling-seluk has ensured that *menyama-braya* is realized based on solidarity and tolerance, as well as cooperation and helping each other,

regardless of religious, tribal, and cultural differences. The community no longer sees the differences because the people have already accepted them. The priority is their common goal, maintaining brotherhood and social stability.

With the local wisdom of *saling-seluk*, both communities understand each other's culture. For example, the Bugis community can understand how *menyama-braya* becomes a solution to social problems through the act of helping each other and the Hindu community can understand Bugis culture, which embraces bilateral parentalism and recognizes the descendants, men and women, as the heirs. These understandings result in a deeper brotherhood and lead to greater implementation of *menyama-braya*.

Since the Bugis community and Balinese Hindu community have co-existed on Serangan Island, and in Kepaon village, Tanjung Benoa, Tuban village and Angantiga village, they interact on a daily basis. This social contact takes place, for example, when they buy daily necessities. They usually go to the same place and often buy the same things. In the past, all the people on Serangan Island could take water from the water source located at the mosque (Samsudin 2017). They would meet in the same place and interact with each other. Common basic needs made the contact between them more intensive. Ramsudin (2018) and Mansyur (2017) stated that, consecutively, in Angantiga and on Serangan Island, the public figures of both communities would encourage the members to offer assistance when there is a ceremonial event in each group. In Kepaon, Hindu community leaders join together with Muslims on *malam takbiran* day, the day before Idul Fitri (Tabrani 2018).

To Bugis Muslims in Badung and Denpasar, *menyama-braya* has the same values as their philosophy of *kegasi sanree lopic kotisu to taro sengereng*. It is about how they integrate their ancestors' culture with the local culture of the new place in which they live. This philosophy means wherever I dock my boat, there I do good things (Ayudhistira 2017). With this, the Bugis people can adapt and socialize with the local people who live in the place that they visit or to which they move.

In Bugis kampongs located in Denpasar and Badung, the values of this philosophy are passed down by the parents meaning that the Bugis people do not feel awkward when they meet new people. They can mingle well with the people around them (Fatah 2018; Tabrani 2018; Yunita 2018). Most of the Bugis people do not understand the meaning

of this philosophy. This is the advice they receive from their ancestors, but they accept the values so as to be able to live a good social life in Bali. Other philosophies that are passed down through generations are *sipakatau*, which means respecting other people as they are, regardless of their strengths and weaknesses, *sipakalebi*, which means appreciating others' achievements or good manners, and *sipakainge*, which means giving advice and criticism to other people (Suliyati 2016, 70).

To the Bugis people, their ancestors and the elderly play an important role, especially with regard to giving advice regarding interacting with the king, with others, and with ourselves. Three sub-ethnic groups in Bugis, namely Bone, Sopeng, and Wajo, recognize ancestors' advice, which is called *Paaseng Toriolo* and which all Bugis people must obey. This advice, which can be for a person or a group of people, is about etiquette, attitude, solidarity, and relationships between families and communities (Nurnaningsih 2015, 395-400).

Hence, the Bugis communities in Denpasar and Badung embrace the philosophy of *kegasi sanree lopie katisu to taro sengereng* (wherever I anchor my boat, that's where I anchor good deeds, or *kemanapun perahuku kutambatkan, disanalah aku tambatkan budi baik...*), not only from their ancestors or elders that have already been in Bali, but also from those who are on Bugis land in South Sulawesi. With this social capital, they interact in the *menyama-braya* cultural system with the Balinese. Fukuyama (1995), in Mas (2015, 721), states that social capital is a capability that arises from the confidence (trust) in a community. Eva Cox (1995), in Trimurni Mas (2015, 721), states that social capital is a series of inter-human relations supported by the networks, norms and social trust that allows efficient and effective coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit and virtue. Toriolo or "the honored" are not only the ancestors, but also the king, wise men, and the Balinese priest who accompanied the King (Nurmaningsih 2015, 406). Because of this, *menyama-braya* in Bali is deeply internalized in the Bugis people and, therefore, implemented by those in Bali because of the generosity of the King Pamecutan, who in the past granted the Bugis people land on which to live. Until now, the descendants of King Pamecutan often come and engage in dialogue with the Bugis community in Denpasar and Badung (Fatah 2018; Tabrani 2018).

Menyama-Braya: The Challenge of Continuity

The efforts to maintain an integrative social life through *menyama-braya* are not without their challenges. There are still disturbances in the harmonious social life of Muslims and Hindus. The disturbances may come from within the two communities and from outside. Theoretically, social stability is challenged by several factors, causing conflicts that disrupt social harmony. Citing Taylor dan Moghaddam, Suwandi Sumartias and Agus Rahmat (2013, 16) emphasize that conflict can occur because of the egoism of one party, which then imposes its own interests. This occurred in the case of Muslim and Hindu communities in Bali after the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005. Social suspicion that originates from the tragedies has become a triggering factor to the disharmony between the two communities.

The first trigger was the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005. These terrorist attacks decreased the number of tourists in Bali to the lowest point and significantly increased unemployment. Since tourism is the main industry and a major locomotive of the Balinese economy, the social life of the Balinese suffered a great deal. Because of this disaster, some Balinese were angry and accused the Muslims in Bali of being friends of Amrozi and Imam Samudra. This anger affected the Bugis Muslim communities in Denpasar and Badung. Some Balinese considered they had destroyed their social life. Muslim figures, including Haji Bambang from Kuta, cursed the bombings, but many Muslims in Bali still felt cornered because some Hindus in Bali labeled them as security threats.

Besides the bombings, another disturbance on Serangan Island affected the harmonious relationship between the Hindu and Muslim communities. A teacher from outside Solo came to deliver a religious sermon in which he instructed Muslims not to visit their neighbors during the Holy days of other religions (Dana 2018; Putra 2018). The preacher also said that guarding places of worship of other religions was not right.

This seemed to create distance between the two communities. On the one side, the Hindus were reluctant to invite Muslims to join them to take care of the *pura* (Balinese Hindu place of worship) during a ceremony there, while Muslims felt the same when they visited their Hindu neighbors on Balinese Hindu Holy days, particularly Nyepi and Galungan.

Fortunately, the problems did not become serious because the

community members and leaders, as well as security officers, formed a *paguyuban* (group) to deal with this social disruption. The leaders and youths of both communities and *desa pakraman* often hold meetings, which were able to cool down any simmering tensions.

As Cohen (2010, 5) has argued, one effort to prevent difference of opinion is to strengthen future orientation. Difference of opinion can then be eliminated because the communities understand the future the citizens who live side by side need to develop in order to maintain harmony and stability. They also continue to carry out mutual-cooperation activities.

Conclusion

The integration of Hindu and Muslim communities in Bali has taken place on the basis of local wisdom called *menyama-braya*, which functions to maintain a harmonious social life between the two communities. *Menyama-braya*, as a synthesis of solidarity (which emphasizes mutual assistance) and tolerance (which emphasizes the recognition of difference), is a pattern of social behavior for Balinese society.

As a cultural system, *menyama-braya* can overcome individualism, which tends to occur among the Balinese in the midst of business and tourism activities in Bali, as has been suggested by Damayana (2011). *Menyama-braya*, as a synthesis of solidarity and tolerance, is an important cultural value of both Hindu and Muslim communities and may become a good model for the harmonious social life of other communities in Indonesia. This study also complements Suwitha's finding that people who migrate to Bali tend to absorb the cultural system of *menyama-braya* to guide their own conduct and behavior.

Menyama-braya is then implemented by both communities. It manifests in caring for mosques and *pura* together, participating in *malam takbiran* (the night of the last day of Ramadhan) parade, carrying corpses at funerals together, and giving food to one another on Holy days.

The social practice of *menyama-braya* is preserved through traditions, institutions, symbols, and socialization. Traditionally, it is socialized in the community for generations, among others, by giving food to neighbors on holy days, and performing the *Rodat* dance at the palace. This also functions to preserve a tradition of mutual respect between

the king and the people. Institutionally, it is preserved through schools and traditional institutions. Schools provide lessons and opportunities to socialize. Traditional institutions, such as *Subak*, are instrumental as means for providing social ties for the two communities. Likewise, through *banjar dinas* (administrative *banjar*), which is the smallest institution of the government in which they interact with one another. Furthermore, the institution of marriage maintains *Menyama-braya* because it is based on the local wisdom of *saling seluk* or interconnectedness between the Hindu community and Bugis Muslim community, whose brotherhood is still well preserved. Symbolically, this social attitude is preserved through the Balinese language, which is used in everyday life by both communities and through the existence of the palace where they maintain the custom of visiting each other especially on religious holy days. These phenomena are then socialized both in the families and in communities. With the cultural system and social practice, any threats to social harmony caused by certain people can be overcome.

The cultural system of *menyama-braya* resembles *kakari wato watang* (brotherhood between peoples of the interior and the shore) among the Alor people (Gomang 2006, 483). This local wisdom guarantees equality and brotherhood between the Alor people who live on the coastal areas and those who live in mountainous areas. It is also similar to the cultural values of *budaya kerabat* (kinship) found in Central Flores, the cultural system that unites Muslims and non-Muslims (Tule 2000, 99–100). Similarly, it has a similar function to *nganggung* (bringing food to mosques or prayer houses at the celebration of religious ceremonies) that maintains social solidarity among Muslims in Bangka (Zulkifli 2010). The importance of *menyama-braya* in Bali is also similar to the *Perang Topat* tradition in Lombok, symbolizing the harmonious social life between Muslims and Hindus in Lombok (Suprpto 2011, 2017).

Thus, within the local cultures of the Indonesian people, there exists a cultural system that unites people from diverse ethnic groups and religions. The cultural systems, such as *menyama-braya* in Bali, provide important patterns for harmonious social life and may become a mechanism to tackle threats to social harmony among diverse ethnic and religious groups within a pluralist Indonesian society.

Endnotes

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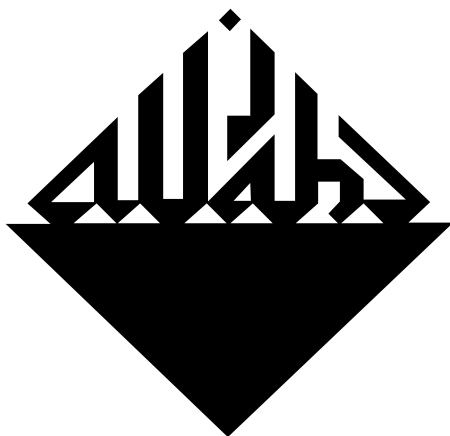
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AN EXPOSITION OF SAID NURSI'S HYPOTHESIS
VIS-À-VIS HIZMET MOVEMENT APPROACH

Jamel Rombo Cayamodin & Abdulhamit Durakoglu

THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF HINDU AND MUSLIM
COMMUNITIES: THE PRACTICE OF
"MENYAMA-BRAYA" IN CONTEMPORARY BALI

I Gst. Pt. Bagus Suka Arjawa & Zulkifli

السبائر وشبكة العلماء المصريين
في نوسانتارا: ءراساء في مخطوط
«بابء في بيان حكم شرب الكفان»
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