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The Harmonious Dialectics Between Hindu-Muslim in Bali (A Study in Jembrana Regency)

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Abstract

This paper discusses the harmonious dialectics process between Hindus and Muslims through 'urf or local wisdom which is believed to have philosophical, sociological, and psychological values with plural-multicultural nuances for the community of Jembrana, Province of Bali. This paper focuses on searching the effectiveness of some 'urf or local wisdom that functioning as a means of interacting between two religious communities leading to peaceful practices on Hindu-Muslim communities in Jembrana-Bali. The data sources are field observations and unstructured interviews from March-July 2019. This study is a field research using a case study method. The results show that the dialectics process with a multicultural nuance between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana is through the 'urf or local wisdom, namely male, ngejot, rebana, and mekepong traditions. Furthermore, from these four traditions, there is a process of active involvement, constructive understanding, and efforts to find joint commitments from various commitments so that a sense of brotherhood and understanding of the diversity between the two religious communities becomes extremely close. This dialectic can also shape the character of Hindu and Muslim communities in Jembrana to be humanist, tolerant, and inclusive, this phenomenon then leads to the process of association, integration, complementation, and sublimation. This research contributes to the field of religious and cultural studies by demonstrating how 'urf traditions serve as mechanisms for fostering tolerance, humanism, and inclusivity in a pluralistic society. It confirms the theory that Islamization in the region is not a confrontational process but rather an adaptive and integrative one. Methodologically, this study highlights the significance of qualitative case studies in exploring interfaith relations through localized traditions.

Keywords: 'Urf, Dialectics, Male, Ngejot, Rebana, Mekepong.

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INTRODUCTION

The borrowing of ethnic identity creates very high opportunities for integration and assimilation which impact on the formation of a strong bond of brotherhood. Integration and assimilation create its advantages in various aspects of Jembrana community life so that

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it develops the Hindu-Islamic brotherhood relationship (*penyamabrayean*) and its adherents' ethnicity. Some examples of cross-cutting affiliation in Jembrana can be known through the tradition of togetherness or cooperation (*ngejot* and *megibung*), genealogical kinship, political support, political functions (power), economics, sociocultural, collaborative art (tambourine and other contemporary art), the subak organization, the Mawlid of Prophet Muhammad (the prophet's birthday) in Air Kuning, the human life cycle ceremony in Pekutatan, the tooth-cutting ceremony that was done before the marriage covenant, the naming of Muslims in Jembrana by adding elements of Balinese names, such as Putu, Komang, Wayan, Made, Ketut, Nengah, Nyoman, etc. Overall, there are many ethnic identity loans in Bali, such as Galungan Islam (Eid al-Fitr), *Megibung* (often found in Denpasar, Karangasem, Pamogan), *Bebangkit Selam* in Angantiga, Ratu Mekah, Ratu Melayu, Ratu Syah Bandar, and Ratu Keling, as well as langgar (small mosque) in the Hindu places of worship.

This long struggle in the ethnic contestation made the integration of Muslims and Hindus stronger and instilled from generation to generation. Education, tradition, and history become important factors in maintaining and strengthening the integration to keep continue towards civil society in the era of regional and global autonomy. (Pageh 2013: 191–206). The dialectical model that emphasizes the *__urf* or local wisdom is important to embody, considering that lately there is often a politics of identity, whether ethnic, religious, racial and intergroup as a result of globalization and the transnational flow that insists on imposing the view that they believed.

From the four sources of Islamic law, the majority of Muslims in Indonesia use *__urf* as the basis of the law. *__Urf* which is commonly known as —tradition is essentially crucial in establishing Islamic law. According to al-Qarafi, in preaching, mujtahids must know the *__urf* or traditions of society first before giving legal fatwa so that they do not conflict with the benefit of the people (Al-Qarafi and Idris, 1998: 49).

The significance of *__urf* can be seen from the appreciation of Islam over the traditions that have existed in Arab society since before its arrival. Islam was born amid a culture and value system, even during the glory of religious beliefs and practices. All of that would be milieu and provide —context for the birth of Islam (Peters, 1995: 105). The urgency of *__urf* is increasingly felt when Islam entered the non-Arab world. Islam that is

—wrapped in Arabic culture is dealing with different cultures and traditions. Sometimes, religious leaders fail to understand other cultural diversity and traditions so they tend to think of it as —heretical and un-Islamic, and there is an assumption that the true and pure Islam is —Islam with an Arabic background. In fact, the process of Islamization in Indonesia is inclusivism, accommodation, and acculturation with local culture is a model of —Islamic that can be a social capital in shaping the *ummatan wasathan* tradition (Edi Junaedi, 2019: 392–400).

Urf or tradition in the community can be used as a socio-cultural mechanism and dialogue that is believed and has proven to be effective as a means of fostering relationship and solidarity between citizens who have institutionalized and crystallized in social and cultural order (Azra, 2002: 209). The diversity of religions, traditions, and culture of Indonesia is a historical reality that was born from the geographical conditions of the archipelago (Nugraha, 2018: 109). As a historical reality, religion and culture can influence each other, because both have values and symbols. Religion is a symbol that symbolizes the value of obedience and piety to God. While culture contains values and symbols so that humans can live in it. Religion requires a system of symbols, or with a different narrative, religion requires culture. However, religion and culture must be distinguished. Religion is final, eternal, universal, and absolute. While culture is generally relative, particular, and temporary. Religion without culture can indeed develop, but only as a personal religion because, without culture, religion as a collectivity will not have a place (Kuntowijoyo, 2001: 196).

The majority of the Balinese population embraces Hinduism which is often referred to as Hindu Dharma. Hinduism in Bali is a syncretism between Hindu schools, namely; Shiwa-Siddhanta, Brahma, and local beliefs that are wrapped with a variety of local traditions. In the pre-colonial era, Hinduism in Bali which at that time was known as the religion of Holy Water (*Tirta*), includes all aspects of people's lives, such as; kinship, livelihoods, residence, arts, and so on. Likewise, the practice of worship always involves government structures, such as the traditional village (*banjar*), the kingdom (*puri and griya*), kinship groups, irrigation groups, etc. For the Balinese, the palace (*puri*) is considered as the axis of the earth and household (*griya*) as the center of the holy aura as well as the key to

the main ceremonies. In addition to the characteristics that have been explained before, Hinduism in Bali is local and very different from one village to another. One example of the difference between Balinese Hinduism and Hinduism elsewhere is that the Balinese Hindu Community has a tradition of worshiping ancestors. For some places, ancestor worship is the main ritual, which according to their belief by worshiping the ancestors is enough to prove that they are doing Hindu rituals (Bhasyar, 2010: 10). Religion and culture have similarities, among others; First, religion and culture are systems of values and systems of symbols; Second, both religion and culture are easily threatened every time there is a change.

From the perspective of the social sciences, religion is defined as value systems that contain several conceptions about the construction of reality that plays a major role in explaining the structure of the normative and social order that serves to provide understanding as well as being able to interpret the surrounding world. While culture is an expression of human creativity, work and initiative (in certain societies) containing values and messages of religiosity, philosophical insight, and local wisdom (Sumbulah, 2012: 51- 68). As a system of knowledge, religion is a belief system that is filled with moral teachings and life guidance that must be learned, studied, and practiced by humans in their lives. In this case, religion guides as to what is good and bad, what is appropriate and what is not, and what is right and not right, so that religious values can shape and develop human behavior in daily life (Paisun, 2010: 154-68). When religion functions as a system of symbols, certain symbols are used to actualize the teachings of the religion they adhere to. These symbols can be in the form of deeds, words, objects, sacred or literary sentences, etc (History, Sarr, and Shamsuddin, 2019: 1-16). Islamic teachings contained in sacred texts (al- Qur'an and the Hadith) are teachings that are a source of human rights, and when that source is used or practiced in an area—as a life guide—then at the same time, local traditions can color the interpretation of the local community of the sacred text. Because the interpretation is in contact with the sacred text, the symbol it embodies is also sacred.

Interreligious dialogue is a fulfillment of applicable communication in a plural-multicultural society (Dewi, 2018: 96-107). Especially when it is seen in the *adagium ushul fiqh* (Islamic legal theory) which states that: —when an obligation cannot be fulfilled without a means, then the means become obligatory‖ (*Ma la yatimu al wajibu illa bihi fahuwa wajibun*).

Communication or cooperation will not occur without dialogue, therefore interreligious dialogue also certainly becomes an obligation. The Qur'an also stated —Indeed we have created you from male and female, and made you into nations and tribes that you may know one other¹ (QS.49: 13). It refers to the differences that always exist, for example between male and female, nations and tribes, that means the difference is a thing that is acknowledged in Islam, while what is prohibited in Islam is division and separation (*tafarruq*) (Wahid, 2006: 123).

This paper discusses the dialectical process between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana Bali which acculturated in several local wisdom in Bali that aims to create harmony between the two religious communities in Jembrana Regency, Bali Province. One of the dialectical models between the two religious groups is through cross-cutting affiliation.

This study is field research, which is explorative to obtain a picture of harmonious dialectics between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana through local wisdom. Specifically, this study focuses on how the dimensions of *ukhuwah*, brotherhood relationship (*penyamebrayaan*) become the initial foothold in interacting. In other words, this study intends to understand the phenomena that occur on the subject of the research by making description in a context of dialogue between Hindus and Muslims based on human values in the context of a multicultural society. For this purpose, this research uses a qualitative approach. In qualitative research, the researchers examine things in natural settings and interpret phenomena related to meaning (Merriam, 2009: 14).

Further, data collection techniques are conducted through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation from two communities, namely Hindus and Muslims. Observation is directly observing the process of interaction between religion and various other activities between the Hindu and Muslim communities in Jembrana. This observation is intended to understand the community's setting of dialogue. By understanding the sociological conditions of the community, as well as understanding the possibilities of social conflict that could be caused by different theological understandings and the implications in the context of different religious interactions, the writer tries to find a meeting point that strengthens the relationship of brotherhood.

The next technique is in-depth interviews. Many things are obtained from the informants through this technique. An unstructured interview technique is the interview technique chosen in this study. According to Deddy Mulyana, data collection techniques with unstructured interviews are relevant to this research, because it allows informants to define themselves and their environment using their terms based on the culture and traditions they believed (Mulyana, 2002: 18). This study used data analysis procedures based on Milles and Huberman. According to Milles and Huberman, data analysis in qualitative research generally starts from data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification. The methodological elements in this procedure simultaneously reflect interactive analysis components (Michael, 1992: 92). Analysis activities during the data collection are intended to set up focus in the field, compile provisional findings, make plans for subsequent data collection, development of analytical statements and setting the subsequent data objectives. After that, from the data collection, the data is reduced (data reduction) as an effort to select the focus on simplification and extract the field data.

DISCUSSION

The majority of the culture and traditions of the people in Jembrana are sourced from the system of ideas originating from Hinduism. So, sometimes it is very difficult to understand the social life of the Balinese people, without an understanding of Hinduism, especially Hindu Shiva-Siddhanta. People who want to study about Bali without understanding Hinduism will find it difficult to distinguish between religion and culture, because, philosophically, religious genealogy as a practice in Bali is the fruit from the teachings of *mimamsa* philosophy (Burhanuddin, 2012: 50). Moreover, Hinduism in Bali is heavily influenced by the teachings of *tantrayana* (Burhanuddin, 2012: 56) such as the *mimamsa* philosophy, this teaching also emphasizes religious rituals.

While Islam, as a religion that reached around the 17th century in Jembrana, which was first started by people descended of the Wajo Sultanate of South Sulawesi, Bugis and the last, the Pontianak Sultanate (Kuala Trengganu), built a civilization that originated from Islam as a religion worshiped by these migrants. Based on the author's observations in Jembrana, there is a unique aspect of the Jembrana Muslim community. While Muslims in

Bali use Balinese as their language of communication, the Muslim community in Jembrana use Malay (similar to the language of Malaysia) as their everyday language. This is because the last Muslim community who came to Jembrana were descendants of the Malay of Kuala Trengganu and the Bugis language was difficult for the native Hindus to understand. Meanwhile, the community from the Bugis tribe of Makassar still maintain their traditions and culture, such as *panggung* houses, yellow sarong and cap, food and so on. (Interview with KH. Ahmad Damanhuri, March 7, 2019).

Differences in beliefs and cultures between the two large communities in Jembrana do not limit or prohibit cooperation between Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana, especially in matters related to the interests of humanity. According to Dharma Santika Putra, what makes social relations in Jembrana works beautifully, increasingly strong and comfortable, with no domination, dichotomy, discrimination, and a component that is flourishing now, criminalization among elements of society, as a social observer of the lives of Jembrana community, he explained that Jembrana community as part of the Balinese population have cultural crystallization embedded in every individual since they were in elementary school or even kindergarten, either for Hindu, or Muslim, Christian, and so on. The culture being discussed is a culture that can accept or adoptive. Also, a culture that can adapt or adaptive. (Interview with Ida Bagus Komang Dharma Santika Putra, May 1, 2019).

Besides, according to KH. Ahmad Muzakki, the ethics of dialogue for Jembrana Muslims and Jembrana Hindus use the *wasathan* (midpoint) approach, neither extreme nor secular. (Interview with KH. Ahmad Muzakki, May 2, 2019) As chairman of the MUI in Jembrana Regency, he always reminds Muslims in Jembrana, as stated in the Quran: —be not excessive in your religion (QS.5: 77), do not let the Jembrana Muslims influenced by radical groups who consider what they do is the most correct, so that it will interrupt the relationship between religious people and inter-religious people.

Both cultures are based on a noble strategy in interacting with the community in Bali that has been known since long time ago, including the *Desa, Kala, Patra*. *Desa* means place, *kala* means time, and *patra* means the condition or situation where we are. The adoptive culture here assumes that the Jembrana community does not deny that social change is a certainty that is impossible to avoid. As there are social changes and time

developments, it is common to be able to adjust or be adaptive. (Dharmayuda 1995:2) Departing from this adoptive and adaptive culture, it raises a high solidarity culture between Hindus and Muslims in the Jembrana area, which by the Muslim community in Jembrana is known as the term *awak mesedare* (we are all brothers and sisters).

The Jembrana community has principles that differences in beliefs do not have to be equated and must not be contested, because for them, each has a belief (*aqidah* or creed) that is considered true. Ida Bagus Arnawa said, —every time I will hold a religious ceremony, my Muslim friends participate in helping to prepare the equipment or facilities that I need in the ceremony. In fact, he added, his cousin also converted to become a Muslim because he married a Muslim woman. Differences in belief in his family do not limit him to always communicate and work together in terms of *muamalat*. For him, the important thing is to live in harmony, helping each other, because if the life is harmonious, achieving material welfare will certainly be facilitated by God. (Interview with Ida Bagus Arnawa, April 7, 2019).

The model of dialogue between Hindus and Muslims is generally carried out in a structured and search-like manner, as if there is nothing to dialogue or talk about. Hindus and Muslims in Bali have understood and are thorough towards differences in beliefs between them, in which it has positive values to complement each other and does not have negative values to hate each other. Some local traditions used as a means for dialogue are:

a. Male Tradition

The *male* tradition is a religious tradition originating from Muslims. Even though the *male* tradition is a tradition that originated from Islam, the practice involves Hindus. Religious differences are not a barrier in the implementation of this tradition because Muslims in Jembrana are indeed very open to diversity. The *male* tradition is a form of a religious ritual carried out by every family and Muslim community in Jembrana, which is when the Jembrana Muslim community commemorates the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet's Birthday and *male* are an inseparable unit in its ritual activities for the Jembrana community. *Male* is an egg that is boiled by not peeling (removing the outer skin) arranged in such a way in many forms that have high aesthetic value and religious philosophy. There are *male* forms in "*pajegan*" or other forms by skewering dozens

of boiled eggs into banana tree trunks, decorated with colorful paper, there are also other forms that resemble ships, trees (bonsai), and camel. The Jembrana Muslim community considers the series or form of eggs as *male*. *Male* is usually also used as a gift (offering) for the people and invited guests present. Moreover, if there is a birth in the family, then in —praising the newborn baby, they must present the *male* as a thanksgiving to Allah SWT.

This ritual begins with a parade of the village carrying the eggs that have been arranged in various colors or following the tastes of the maker, such as in the forms of temples, ships, mosques, houses, bonsai, and so on. *Male* that is paraded around the village is escorted by a special group using traditional Balinese clothes called *pager uyung*, which is; the indigenous knights represented by some people from both Muslims and Hindus. In the parade around the village, the *male* that is paraded is accompanied by the recitation of *asrakal*, which is reciting salawat and praise to the Prophet Muhammad while playing a *rebana* or *marawis*.

After finishing the parade around the village, all the decorated *male* or eggs are collected in the mosque while accompanied by reciting salawat. The decorated and colored eggs are then skewered by bamboo and plugged into a banana tree, which makes it look like an egg-bearing banana tree (*pajegan*) that is displayed on the Prophet's Birthday. After all the *male* is on display, the pilgrims humming salawat in a congregation, followed by reciting the verse of *diba*" salawat which tells the life history of the Prophet Muhammad as a form of expressing their love for the Prophet. Next, the recitation of prayer becomes a closing section before the eggs are distributed to the people who attend the ceremony. When the eggs are distributed, the people are very enthusiastic to get the *male*, even though they have to jostle and scramble, they believe that they will receive blessings and salvation from the *male* that have been previously prayed by the priests or clergymen (Karim, 2016:1– 30).

As expressed by KH. Ahmad Muzakki, the *male* tradition contains noble values needed in order to create a harmonious life. (Interview with KH. Ahmad Muzakki, March 4, 2019) These noble values include: ethical values, aesthetic values, and social values. Implementation of these values can be seen from: *First*, ethical values. The parade process aims to inform the general public, especially Hindus (majority people), that Muslims are

asking for permission to perform a religious holiday, which in the process is not only followed by Muslims, but is also followed by Hindus, even much of the procession is escorted by *pecalang* (traditional Balinese police); *second*, aesthetic values. (WM 2004:36) The aesthetic values in the male tradition can be seen through the form or model of the *male* itself which demonstrates high artistic value. Another form of artistic value is the recitation of *asrakalan* when the *male* is paraded around the village. By wearing clothes acculturated by Islamic and Hindu culture, the parade participants seemed to drift into the procession atmosphere; *third*, social values. The social values in the *male* tradition are as a means of giving away with the wider community, both those who are Muslim or Hindu.

This tradition is not limited to Muslims only, but many Hindus also follow the process. Afterwards, eggs as the main substance of *male* are distributed to all participants of the Prophet's Birthday by regardless of religious differences. Such activities are a real form of the tradition of the Jembrana community who are consciously live together harmoniously in diversity. The portrait that happens in Jembrana is a manifestation of the harmonious dialectical process between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana-Bali. They realize that they are different in terms of religion, but religious differences are not a barrier or something that can prevent living together in building civilization or creating a civil society of Muslims and Hindus in Jembrana (Saihu, 2019 :174–201).

b. Ngejot Tradition

The mutual assistance activities between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana are known as the term *metetulung*, which means mutual assistance in religious and social activities. The mutual assistance activities occur when there are villagers or customary villagers who have works that need the assistance of energy, whether requested (*ngidih tulung*) or not requested (*mesuaka*). Although not requested, the community usually provides voluntary assistance because they feel that they are brothers and sisters (*menyama*). *Metetulung* is not only limited to helping each other in community activities, but also in terms of treatment, as many Hindus ask for the help of treatment to the priests or religious teachers in Jembrana. (Interview with I Komang Arsana, April 7, 2019).

The relation between Muslim and Hindu communities is strengthened by *ngejot* tradition. This tradition arises when one of the communities, both Hindu and Muslim, has

a customary work, inviting the other community or expressing gratitude by sending food. When there is a Muslim family that holds a wedding, birth celebration, or ceremony, they will invite Hindus and or Muslims to deliver food. Subsequently, the invited community will come by bringing rice, sugar, coffee (basic food), and so forth.

Likewise, during Ramadan, one form of tribute given by Hindus to Muslims is by *ngejot* the iftar food, such as rhombus-shaped rice cake or *ketupat*, fruit, iced *engkud* (coconut water), and so forth (Sumiati, 2017:137–46). Seen from its history, Muslims have carried out *ngejot* since the spread of Islam in Bali, in which acculturation or cultural assimilation surely occurs since hundreds of years ago, so that the *ngejot* tradition is not only implemented by Hindus in Jembrana, but Muslims also carry out this tradition. For the Muslim community, *ngejot* is a form of brotherhood and humanity to Hindus in Jembrana which is usually done during the Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, or when Muslims have a celebration and or other religious events.

The phenomenon is justified by I Komang Arsana (Chairman of Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia) of Jembrana Regency. He said, —often when I am celebrating Galungan or Kuningan and other celebrations, I always think of *ngejot* or delivering food to my Muslim brothers and sisters. The type of food I will give is of course not against Islamic law.¶ He also added that the positive impact of the *ngejot* tradition is extraordinary in maintaining harmony and strengthening the sense of brotherhood among fellow religious communities and this tradition will never disappear, because the recognition and practice of this tradition has been instilled early on, especially in the family. (Interview with I Komang Arsana, April 7, 2019).

This *ngejot* tradition is a means of strengthening *ukhuwah insaniyah* (brotherhood among human beings), and *ukhuwah wathaniyyah* (brotherhood of fellow compatriots). (Interview with Ali Rahman, April 7, 2019) This tradition has intertwined for a long time and reflects solidarity in daily life, which indirectly gives a positive impact in stabilizing the harmony of religious life that has been realized so far. Maintaining this *ngejot* tradition can be used as a basis for creating intimacy, peace, and strengthening the companionship between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana.

By delivering food between religious people on religious holidays, it is expected to strengthen the companionship and a sense of togetherness with one another. *Ngejot* is actually a Hindu tradition in Bali, which is providing food to the neighbors done by the indigenous Balinese Hindu community. This is a unique tradition, passed through generations from the Balinese. *Ngejot* can also be associated with sharing food or *jotan* with neighbors and relatives. For Hindus, this tradition is usually held on Galungan, Kuningan and Nyepi and the food shared is usually fast food, cakes and fruits, including salad dish or *urap*, a mixture of vegetable dish or *lawar* and pork. This tradition is a symbol of intimacy and the brotherly love of Hindus in Bali.

c. *Rebana* Tradition

Another form of tradition that becomes the local wisdom of Jembrana as a result of the dialectical process of Muslim and Hindu culture is *rebana* art. In the *rebana* tradition, lyrics and verses are in Islamic ambience using Arabic or Malay songs, but in order to be easily accepted by the surrounding community, the *rebana* artists arrange the songs with Balinese rhythms. Thus, the Jembrana community who are mostly Hindu will find it easier to accept and like this art and the meaning of verses which is the main goal can be conveyed effectively.

According to Ida Bagus Arnawa, all Jembrana community know that the *rebana* art or *burdah* originated from Muslims in the scope of percussion art. However, to strengthen the brotherhood between Hindus and Muslims, the *rebana* tradition in Jembrana is different from the *rebana* tradition or *burdah* in other regions. The difference is in the musical instruments played, the clothes of the *rebana* players, and the lyrics presented. Most of the lyrics presented are about harmony and tolerance between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana who around the 17th century lived together in harmony, working together in building Jembrana. The musical instrument of *rebana* also uses a traditional Balinese musical instrument. Likewise, the *rebana* players' outfits are traditional Balinese clothing and hijab as the identity of Muslim women. This *rebana* art or tradition is often performed at the time of the Birthday of the Prophet Muhammad SAW and also in circumcisions.

In Air Kuning Village, for example, the community carries out the *rebana* tradition in welcoming the holy month of Ramadan and it is still held today. What is unique in this

tradition is that it is not only followed by Muslims, but also followed by Hindus, as part of participating in enlivening the tradition while establishing tolerance among religious communities. The Air Kuning community playing the *rebana* percussion using special techniques. This *rebana* percussion is usually also accompanied by lyrics in Arabic and Malay with Balinese rhythm. They believe that this tradition will make fasting more peaceful, especially in Air Kuning village (Interview with Asmari, April 9, 2019).

As a matter of fact, according to Ida Bagus Indagosa, the *rebana* art tradition from Jembrana once represented Bali in the Istiqlal Festival in Jakarta in 1995. As the Regent at that time, he sent a *rebana* art performance in which the players or musicians were Hindus and Muslims wearing traditional Balinese clothing. When the majority of the lyrics presented at the festival were in the form of salawat, religious verses, the majority of the players were Hindu. Conversely, when the lyrics sung were in the form of Balinese songs, the music players were Muslim. As the Regent of Jembrana at that time, he advised the entire contingent of the Istiqlal festival that they did not only attend a festival, but they should show the Indonesian people the form of religious tolerance in Bali, which is a valid proof of the process of embodying religious harmony as a sublime phenomenon in the Jembrana area (Interview with Ida Bagus Indagosa, April 9, 2019).

d. *Mekepong* Tradition

One of the cultures and traditions in Jembrana as a process of Hindu-Muslim dialectics in this area is the *mekepong* tradition (a typical cow race of Jembrana). *Mekepong* is a characteristic of the Jembrana agrarian community in expressing the gratitude for their rice yields. Jembrana community still preserves this culture to this day, because in this culture, many benefits can be taken, among others: a sense of togetherness, mutual cooperation, tolerance, and philosophical-sociological meaning, which has the spirit to compete in looking for blessing and kindness. In the Indonesian language, *mekepong* means chasing. This tradition uses two pairs of buffalo chasing each other to become winners. This tradition originally emerged from the activity of plowing the fields carried out cooperatively by farmers during the growing season in the fields. In the activity of plowing the fields, two buffaloes are used to pull the plow (*lampit*) which is ridden by a jockey or *sais*. From the mutual activity of plowing the fields, then an eagerness to pit the power of

their respective buffalo arises. This is marked as the pioneer of the buffalo race which is called *mekepung* (Widiyanto, 2015:104).

The *mekepung* tradition in this rice field developed around the 1930s and the *sais* or jockey were the old Balinese royal warriors by wearing a *destar*, shawl, *selempod* (long pants without footwear and a sword is tucked in the waist covered with *poleng* or a black-and- white checkered textile). After a while—the tradition of *mekepung* was held in the middle of muddy rice fields and the *sais* or jockeys were always smeared with mud—the *mekepung* tradition then developed into *mekepung* on the roads around rice fields (*tegalan*). (Widianingsih 2014:90) The *mekepung* tradition on rice fields (*tegalan*) developed from the 1960s with the formation of the *mekepung* organization which consisted of two groups named —Regu Ijo Gading Timur¹ with a red flag symbol and the —Regu Ijo Gading Barat¹ with a green flag symbol (Sudiatmaka, 2016 :16).

When the *mekepung* is in *tegalan*, the facilities used are no longer *lampit*, but rather small carts or carts designed with very interesting decorations and carvings as a form of Balinese aesthetics. In their action, the jockeys wear traditional clothing, which is: wearing a batik *destar*, wearing long-sleeved clothes, wearing *selempod*, wearing long pants, and wearing shoes but do not slip the sword on the waist. *Mekepung* is routinely held every year when farmers finish harvesting in the fields (between July and October) which is followed and enlivened by other activities, such as *dangdut* orchestra, *bumbung* dance, and cockfighting (Interview with Ida Bagus Indagosa, April 9, 2019).

In addition to being a source of knowledge, the Jembrana community believes that this culture also has a strong structural system dimension. It is because as a system of ideas, actions, and results of human work in their lives, *mekepung* is also a means of learning and a means to find some cultural structures that seem exclusive. Based on observations, the structuralization of culture in Jembrana can be divided into two, consisting of; cultural structure from inside and cultural structure from outside. The cultural structure from inside tends to be expressive and have a large space so that it has the opportunity to develop in varied ways. This can happen because the structure becomes the essence and former of personality and the inculcation of cultural values which is a synergy between Hindu traditions and religions that has the core values of religion, ethics, aesthetics, and solidarity.

Through the four traditions above, including the tradition of *male*, *ngejot*, *rebana*, and *mekepong*, which develop in Jembrana, they become a tradition-based dialogue model or in Islamic terminology, it is called „*Urf*. From this phenomenon, confidence is embedded that the religious and cultural differences of Hindus and Muslims can be united and strengthen harmony between religions. The important and strategic values of local wisdom in nation-building makes it is very common that dialectics between Hindus and Muslims focus their activities on exploring the values of local wisdom (ethno-pedagogy) that grow in Indonesian society and culture with unity in diversity. (Azra 2003:40) The dialectical process through tradition or „*urf* is an embodiment of the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana* (three ways to happiness), consisting of *Parahyangan*, *Pawongan*, and *Palemahan* which will manifest in the sublime adage of Bali, *Tat Twam Asi* (you are me and I am you). The three ways to happiness are:

a. *Parahyangan*

Parahyangan means a harmonious relationship between humans and God Almighty. The Jembrana community, whether Hindu or Muslim, upholds religious values. This is seen as in every Hindu religious ceremony, such as Galungan, Kuningan, Nyepi, the Hindu community in Jembrana show solemn in their worship. It is sometimes even difficult to distinguish—to say that there is no difference—between those who are truly „*alim* or understand the religion and those who merely follow along. This phenomenon is a very common sight in Jembrana. According to I Komang Arsana, this phenomenon is caused by an understanding of the element of *parahyangan* that has been instilled since in the family and become a compulsory matter of religious education in every family in Jembrana. (Interview with I Komang Arsana, April 4, 2019) Implantation of religious education will surely lead to a noble human personality. Character building and development through religious education produce individuals who are physically, emotionally, socially, creatively, spiritually, and intellectually intertwined as a whole, able to function optimally, and become individuals who are ready to respond in dealing with problems of life in each dynamics of the community (Ramdhani, 2014:28–37).

As for the Jembrana Muslim community, the element of *parahyangan* is in line with the concept of *Hablum min Allah*, meaning to maintain a relationship with God by always

carrying out all His commands and leaving all His prohibitions. The flow of the relationship between humans and Allah in the teachings of Islam is reciprocal, in which humans make contact with God and God will also make contact with humans. The purpose of the relationship between humans and Allah is in the context of devotion to Him through worship rituals. (QS.51: 5). The phenomenon of the religious life of the Jembrana Muslim community is the same as that of other regions in Indonesia, which is with a high intensity of worship even though Muslims in this area are a minority group. According to KH. Ahmad Muzakki, who is the chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), as well as the manager of the Manba'ul Ulum Jembrana Islamic Boarding School, the worship activities of Muslims in Jembrana are very intensive, comfortable, and orderly, even in their religious activities, as if they are not a minority in Jembrana, they (Muslims) comfortably show the Islamic identity that colors the Jembrana area (Interview with KH. Ahmad Muzakki, May 2, 2019).

For example, for *mahdloh* worship only—the 5 (five) time prayer activities carried out in mosques or musallas—according to the charismatic Jembrana cleric, it is very crowded and this is also supported by the community around the mosque or musalla, even though in demographic settings, not all community around the mosques, musallas, or Islamic boarding schools, are Muslim. Many of the community around the worship houses are Hindu. Closing to dawn prayers, for example, all mosques and musallas in the Jembrana Regency sound loudspeakers, whether reciting *wiridan*, *syi'iran*, or turning on a CD containing recitation of Quran verses (*qariah*). It is a custom or tradition in the Jembrana area that a mosque or musalla sounds loudspeakers for recitation and so on at dawn, one hour before the beginning of prayer time. This is clear, according to some people, that it interrupts the night's rest, but so far, conflicts or objections to the tradition have never occurred.

The impression of Islam as a minority religion in the Jembrana area is completely invisible, different from other areas in Bali Island. The uniqueness of the results of social assimilation between Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana makes them different from Hindus and Muslims who occupy other areas in Bali Island, especially those who are outside Bali. For example, in the commemoration of Eid al-Adha and Galungan which is held at the Majapahit Banyubiru Mosque which is side by side to the Majapahit Temple located in the

Baluk Village, Negara District. When the Eid al-Adha commemoration is held, to honor the Hindu community around the Majapahit Temple, the Mosque Majapahit and local Muslims do not slaughter cows as sacrificial animals, because cows are one of the animals purified by Hindus, so that they replace them with goats or buffalo. The same thing also applies when the Galungan commemoration is held, to honor Muslims around the Majapahit Temple and Mosque, the community of Majapahit Temple will not slaughter pigs, because in Islam, pigs are one of the forbidden animals. This overview of religious tolerance can rarely be found—to do not say that it does not exist—in other areas of Indonesia.

Likewise, for the *ghairu mabdloh* worship (worship in general knowledge which aims for benefit, success and advantage of human beings), it does not seem to have a certain limit, distance or time at all for Muslims and other worshipers in carrying out their worships. All of them can calmly perform religious activities without hesitation showing the tribal, religious, and traditional identity that is attached to them (because many of these traditions do not originate from Jembrana).

According to I Made Kembang Hartawan, who is also the Deputy Regent of Jembrana Regency, healthy religious life in the entire Jembrana area resulted from several factors, including: *First*, the existence of maturity in practicing religion. According to him, if the level of religious maturity of the Jembrana community is shallow or even thin, the sounds from the mosque or musalla, especially at dawn time, will disrupt their sleep activities. Moreover, in the fasting month, sometimes there are several mosques or musallas that perform *tadarus* starting after the *tarawih* prayer until the pre-dawn meal time; *Second*, understanding the importance of practicing the concept of pluralism. The multi-ethnic, multi-religious Jembrana community—even though Hindu is the dominant religion—does not feel disturbed by the worship activities of other communities, because each of them thinks, if an individual is close to their God, they certainly will become wise and increasingly tolerant. Further, as Hartawan said, there is no single religion that teaches violence. The Deputy Regent of Jembrana added, —I often help the construction of mosques, Islamic boarding schools, musallas, even though I worship Hindu, because for

me, let God manage the affairs of heaven and hell, what is important is that we do good to others. (Interview with I Made Kembang Hartawan, April 14, 2019).

The phenomenon of diversity revealed by I Made Kembang Hartawan seems different from the current condition about other regional religious activities in Indonesia. Many people whose religious activities are increasing, seem to be exclusive, arrogant, think that other people who do not like how religion is considered wrong and bad. (Gellner 1992: 22) In fact, many of them consider that other people's religions is inferior, followed by insults, curses, and insults to other people's religious activities.

b. *Pawongan*

The philosophy of *Tatwan Asi* becomes the base of Jembrana's people interaction in doing activities in daily life. *Tat Wam Asi* which means you are me and I am you, becomes a basic foothold in the *pawongan* element. It is to establish harmonious relations between human beings without distinction of ethnicity, religion, race, and class. Valid evidence of the implementation of the *pawongan* element is the existence of a close equal relationship (brotherhood), then *agawe suka ning len* (trying to make others like it).

Pawongan element implemented in *menyama-braya* can be seen from the tradition of *ngejot*. *Ngejot* is interpreted as a form of harmonious relations between Hindu and Islamic societies. In this case, it is emphasized that religious communities always maintain harmonious communication and relations through the *Sima Krama Dharma Santhi* activity. In Islamic terminology, it is called *silaturahmi* (keep in touch).

This activity is considered important and strategic. Considering that human always lives side by side and can't live alone. Even though in some areas in Bali the *pawongan* element can't be considered to be going well - due to many rigid customs that are still very strong among Hindus. However, in the case of Jembrana, custom does not become an obstacle in building harmonious relations between human beings. In Bali in general, the existence of rigid customs by always displaying high rigidity is sometimes a source of disharmony between the dynasty within the Hindus. There are people who claim to be the highest caste people based only on their descendants who do not use the concept of religion as their basis of reference. Absolutely, this will not be able to foster harmony, if there is still an arrogant house which claims to be the most dignified. In line with this,

Dharma Putra, believes that in the case of Bali, custom is sometimes the source of conflict, not religion.

Dharma Putra adds that Jembrana people uphold social norms, both those that originate from religion and those that originate from customs. The norms in daily interactions are; respect and appreciate others, either people who are known and people who are not known. Jembrana people who are Hindus, for example, will greet people who are not yet known as *gus*, the words of *gus* comes from *Bagus*, as the highest appreciation or respect for others. Moreover, in schools, teachers in many schools use the word *gus* in greeting and reprimanding their students (Interview with Ida Bagus Dharma Putra, dated 7 April 2019).

Likewise, Muslims, in greeting people who are not yet known, they usually greet with the word *mad* or *mat*, derived from the word Muhammad which is attributed to the meaning of the name Muhammad as praiseworthy person. For Jembrana Muslims, this *mad* calling is intended not to offend or make the feelings of strangers disturb or "uncomfortable" when they are called. Dharma Putra, also adda that the call "Gus" or "Mad" has been going on for hundreds of years ago and it is rooted to this day in Jembrana. Therefore, it becomes a valuable local wisdom. Through such culture can foster a high spirit of kinship in all communities left by Jembrana District.

c. *Pelemahan*

Besides *parahyangan* and *pawongan* elements, in *Tri Hita Karana*, there are also tee elements such as *pelemahan*. *Pelemahan* means establishing a harmonious relationship between human being and the natural environment. This teaching emphasizes on humanity to maintain the preservation of the surrounding natural environment. Thus, the realization of natural harmony and the preservation of the balance of the ecosystem; such as plants, animals and other things that are *skala-niskala* (seen or unseen). (Haryati 2017: 175) In the teachings of Hinduism, the *pelemahan* element is manifested by the ritual of Bhuta Yadnya (a sacred offering ceremony that is sincere in the face of natural elements). Examples which are usually applied in the *pelemahan* element are; *tawur agung*, with the aim of maintaining balance, the preservation of the universe with humans (the balance between the macrocosm and the microcosm).

For Jembrana people, it has been a must to care for and maintain nature with clean, neat, beautiful, and healthy, such as; not cutting down trees carelessly (illegal logging), not causing air pollution, water pollution, organize parks to make it look attractive, and others. This phenomenon is common to the Balinese people in general. Thus, it is not surprising, if the Balinese people reject the reclamation in the Benoa bay because according to them, the reclamation is contrary to the *pelemahan* element. It can damage the harmonious relationship between humans and the natural surroundings (macrocosm and microcosm).

In general, One manifestation of *pelemahan* concept in Jembrana and Bali is the existence of subak. Subak is an association of farmers who manage irrigation water in paddy fields that develops into customary law characterized by socio-agrarian-religious characteristics. In subsequent developments, the meaning of subak is expanded in meaning and characteristics into an association of farmers tasked with regulating the distribution of water which has a socio-technical-religious character. The development of the characteristics of subak, due to the increasing scope of activities in it includes technical agriculture and technical irrigation. In subak organizations, water use and environmental preservation become elements of a *pelemahan* which is highly maintained. Regulations in Subak are able to organize and manage irrigation systems on the basis of harmony and togetherness in accordance with the principles of the *Tri Hita Karana* concept. On that basis, the Subak system is able to anticipate the possibility of water shortages (especially in the dry season) by managing the implementation of cropping patterns in accordance with its chances of success or following market developments.

Subak as social cultural organization has strength and wisdom which are flexible and able to absorb various agricultural technology updates and adjust the activities to the culture that develops in the surrounding community. Thus, every activity in the subak always reflects the balance of harmonious and harmonious relations between humans, humans with the environment, and humans with God. Ceremonies or salvation seemed to ask for salvation from God in every will start to the fields is an element of *parahyangan*. Subak is also a means of *siaturahmi* (keeping in touch) between people as well as a means of sharing (water) in preserving and earning a living,

If it is seen in Islamic perspective, the concept of *Tri Hita Karana* is the core of Islamic teachings. It is moral guidance. Islam emphasizes the teachings of *ihسان* or goodness

and does the best for all parties by not discriminating between tribes, religions, races, and groups. It starts with God, intelligent beings, and even intelligent beings. The presence of the Prophet Muhammad, carrying teachings whose main purpose is to invite people to do the best (moral) to creatures created by God, in accordance with his words:

إِنَّمَا بُعِثْتُ لِتَمَمَّ صَالِحَ الْخَلْقِ ۖ

"Indeed, I was sent not for anything else, except to perfect virtuous morals."

This fact shows that he was tasked with perfecting various areas of morality based on character and morals. Having a morality in interacting - as taught by the Prophet - is not only for Muslims, but to all humans regardless of religion, race, ethnicity, and class, even to all of God's creations. (Shihab 2018: 97) The Prophet Muhammad, also reminded Muslims through his saying:

لَنْ يُؤْمِرَهُ أَحَدُكُمْ حَتَّى يُحِبَّ لِحَيِّهِ مَا يُحِبُّ لِنَفْسِهِ ۚ

"There is no faith in one of you until he likes his brother, what he likes for himself."

The learning and the application of morals is very important in interacting with the surrounding community. Thus, if humans want to be considered that he has faith and fear of God, then it is obligatory to maintain brotherhood and maintain harmony in society. This is based on the words of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH):

وَاللَّهُ لِيَوْمِهِ وَاللَّهُ لِيَوْمِهِ وَاللَّهُ لِيَوْمِهِ قِيلَ مَنْ يَرْسُولُ اللَّهِ قَالَ مَنْ لِيَأْمُرَهُ بِمَا جَارِي بِهِ ۖ

"For the sake of Allah. He does not have faith. For the sake of Allah, he has no faith. For the sake of Allah, he has no faith. "Someone asked: "Who, Prophet? " he replied: "the neighbors are not safe from their crimes and interference."

From the *hadith* above, it is clearly stated that Muhammad SAW - as a prophet who carried the last treatise - strongly advocated the application of good character to the people wherever he is. Faith and morals, if they are applied perfectly, it results with shame. The shame referred here is shame to carry out actions which are not condoned by God. Actions which are not condemned by God, are generally said to be actions that do not maintain good relations with God, do not maintain good relations with humans, and do not maintain good relations with the surrounding environment, which the Jembrana people say are poignant, *pawongan* and *palemahan*.

The Prophet Muhammad strictly stated relationship between faith and shame and by always paying respect to guests and so forth through his words:

الْحَيَاءُ وَالْإِيمَانُ قَرَوَانٌ جَمِيعًا فَنَذَارُفَعُ أَحَدَهُمَا رَفَعَ الْآخَرَ

"Embarrassment and faith are like hand in hand together. If one does not, then the other (also) does not exist."

Faith and shame, both encourage their owners to do good and noble morals, and prevent them from evil and depravity. In Jembrana, as expressed by KH. Muzakki, of the many Islamic educational institutions always teach Muslims to always increase their faith and piety to God by making shame their main foundation. Embarrassment here is shame to do ugliness, shame can't help others, shame to act arbitrarily to others, shame to be unfair, and other things related to negative social behavior in the community (Interview with KH. Ahmad Muzakki, May, 2nd 2019).

From this phenomenon, it can be understood that one ways to communicate and/or do harmonious interaction is through *urf* or local wisdom. „*Urf* or local wisdom is important to put forward, because for the context of a pluralistic Indonesia, local wisdom can't be ruled out. Furthermore, as these traditions continue to be developed, the Jembrana community feels no difference in social interaction. The difference between them is only a matter of faith. Through this activity, the religious differences between them do not become a gap in interacting. From the understanding of this difference, it will absolutely further strengthen the sense of nationalism, which includes ethical values and the values of unity. (Ridhoul Wahidi 2019: 267–80).

CONCLUSION

Urf or local wisdom is efforts of Hindus and Muslims in Jembrana-Bali as a means of interacting using their intellect (cognition) to act and behave towards an object or event occurring in a particular space. This dialogue model is apparently not contradictory in Islam because *Urf* or local wisdom is also a source of law which can be used as a basis for interacting in a multicultural society. Some local wisdom used as a means of dialoguing in Jembrana Bali is the traditions of *Male*, *Ngejot*, *Rebana*, and *Mekepong*. Some of these traditions are direct embodiments of the sociological philosophy of Jembrana community, Tri Hita Karana meaning three causes of happiness: Parahyangan, Pawongan, and Palemahan. Furthermore, practicing the three philosophies, the relationship between

Muslims and Hindus in Bali is getting closer. In addition, this is a form of practice of the great adage in Bali named *Tatwam Asi* (you are me and I am you). As a dialogue space involving a pattern of relationships between humans and humans or humans with their physical environment, some of these traditions have their own values applying in the Jembrana-Balinese people. It is the values believed to be true, and becoming a reference in the daily behavior of the local people.

Therefore, the meaning of those traditions is to establish good relations with God (*hablum min Allah*), good relations with humans (*hablum min annas*), and establish good relations with nature (*hablum min al-'alam*). Thus, it is to create harmonious and dialectical harmony between the two religious communities leading to the character of humanist, tolerant and inclusive, ultimately manifesting in the processes of association, integration, complementary and sublimation.

This research contributes to the field of religious and cultural studies by demonstrating how *'urf* traditions serve as mechanisms for fostering tolerance, humanism, and inclusivity in a pluralistic society. It reinforces the theory that Islamization in the region is not a confrontational process but rather an adaptive and integrative one. Methodologically, this study highlights the significance of qualitative case studies in exploring interfaith relations through localized traditions.

Despite its contributions, the study is limited to the Jembrana community, and its findings may not be universally applicable to other regions. Future research is recommended to explore similar traditions in other Malay and Southeast Asian communities to provide a comparative perspective on local wisdom as a means of interfaith harmony. Further investigation into the impact of globalization and formal religious institutions on the continuity of these traditions is also suggested.

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