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“*Menyama Braya*” (Brotherhood) As a Harmonious Social Interaction Between Hindus and Muslims in Bangli Regency, Bangli

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Setiap agama, baik Islam, Kristen, Hindu, Budha, dan Konghuchu pada dasarnya tidak pernah mengajarkan umatnya berbuat aniaya terhadap umat lain. Tapi sayangnya, agama yang mengajarkan perdamaian tak jarang dijadikan legitimasi untuk mengganggu, memusuhi bahkan memusnahkan umat lain terutama yang mayoritas terhadap yang minoritas. Hal ini bisa difahami mengingat masyarakat Indonesia adalah masyarakat majemuk dengan pemeluk agama yang beragam. Karena itu perlu dicara jalan keluar sehingga hal-hal semacam itu tidak terjadi. Di Kabupaten Bangli, Bali terdapat komunitas Muslim yang minoritas dapat hidup berdampingan dengan masyarakat Hindu yang mayoritas. Secara kuantitas jumlah umat Muslim sangat sedikit, akan tetapi mereka bisa hidup berdampingan tanpa ada persoalan yang berarti. Beragam aktivitas bisa dijalankan dengan baik sesuai dengan falsafah *Tri Hita Karana*, termasuk di bidang seni tanpa adanya kekhawatiran. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah pendekatan kualitatif dengan rancangan studi kasus. Rancangan yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah generalisasi lebih luas dan lebih umum penerapannya untuk kasus harmonisasi hubungan antar umat beragama, khususnya umat Hindu dan Muslim. Dalam penelitian studi kasus ini digunakan rancangan studi kasus observasional dan multi situs, dimana peneliti hadir di daerah kantong-kantong masyarakat Muslim yang tersebar di beberapa wilayah/desa di Kabupaten Bangli untuk melihat lebih dekat bagaimana mereka membangun toleransi beragama dengan masyarakat Hindu yang mayoritas. Rancangan metode tersebut digunakan untuk menelaah sebuah fenomena toleransi beragama di berbagai tempat yang berbeda. Dalam pelaksanaannya dilakukan beberapa kali pengumpulan data dan hasilnya dianalisis sehingga tersusun teori sementara.

Basically, all religions such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Konghuchu never teach their followers to maltreat the followers of the other religions. Unfortunately, however, the fact that the religion, which is usually the majority, which teaches peace is frequently used to legitimate the attempts its followers make to disturb and even eliminate the followers of the other religions, which are usually the minorities; it is frequently used to show hostile attitude to the followers of the other religions. That can be understood as Indonesia is a multi cultural country where every religion has its followers. Therefore, solutions should be sought for to anticipate what was described above. In Bangli Regency, there is a Muslim community which exists next to the Hindu communities. Quantitatively, there are not so many Muslims; however, although they live next to the Hindu communities, they live peacefully. Every activity, including art activity, can be properly performed and without anxiety, as implied by the philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*. Qualitative approach was employed in the present study with a case study design. It was expected that the present study would lead to a theory which might be generally and widely applied to the case of harmonious relation among the followers of different religions, especially the Hindus and Muslims. In this present study, an observational case study and multi site design was used, meaning that the researcher was present at the residences where Muslims live and which are located at several villages in Bangli Regency to observe more closely what they did to be tolerant of the Hindus as the majority. Such a method design was used to analyze a phenomenon of religious tolerance at different places. The data were collected several times and were analyzed to form a temporary theory.

Keywords: Harmonious social interaction, *menyama braya*, *tri hita karana*, and state integrity.

One of the serious problems that Indonesia has faced recently has been the problems which may lead to the state disintegration. One of the factors which has been responsible for this is the religious conflict. Basically, every religion such as Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Konghuchu never teaches its followers to maltreat the followers of the other religions. Unfortunately, however, the religion which teaches peace is frequently used to disturb and eliminate the followers of the other religions. Even it is used to show hostile attitude to the followers of the other religions.

In Indonesia religious conflicts have taken place many times. The conflict between Christians and Muslims in Ambon and Poso, the conflict between two groups of Muslims in Sampang and Jember exemplified that religious teaching was used by groups of people to legitimate the hostile attitude of the followers of the other religion or religious sects. This contradicts the essence of the religious teaching which always teaches love and peace. The religious conflict between Muslims and Christians, for example, has taken place in Ambon. Such a conflict may also involve Muslims versus Hindus, Muslims versus Buddhists, Christians versus Hindus, and Christians versus Buddhists. This could be understood as Indonesia is a plural country in regard to religions. It is possible the conflicts among ethnic groups and races will possible worsen the religions conflict. However, such conflicts can be avoided if Indonesia, as a nation, allows the attitude of being tolerant to develop and grow.

If viewed from the potential of conflicts, according to McGuine, the religious conflict in Indonesia will not only involve Muslims and Christians, but also Hindus. As an example, the Bali bomb blast in 2002, which caused the Bali economy to collapse, contributed to the establishment of the organization of what is referred to as *Pecalang*. Initially, the members of such an organization were responsible for controlling the performance of any religious or traditional ceremony. In this case, their responsibility is like the responsibility of the police. However, as the organization developed, its members have also had the responsibility for sweeping the outsiders who come without any either permanent or temporary identity card 'Kartu Penduduk (KTP)' from outside Bali, especially Java and are generally Muslims.

Such a condition will potentially cause the religious conflict between Muslims both as newcomers and native people and Hindus to take place in Bali.

In the last few years, religious coercion has taken place in Indonesia. Such coercion has resulted from the attitude of being intolerant or has been intentionally created to support the interests of a certain group. If further analyzed, the religious conflicts have resulted from economic and political factors; some have also been intentionally created by the group of people who intend to maintain or acquire better social status. One of the highly effective ways of avoiding the religious conflict or the conflict which is intentionally created in the name of God is creating a harmonious relationship among the religious followers; in other words, the attitude of being tolerant of others should be developed. If no attention is paid to the religious conflict, then Indonesia will face serious problems, one of which is the disintegration of the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia.

In Bangli Regency, there are several Muslim communities. As the minority, they live among the Hindus, who are the majority. They have been living where they are now for years; they stay at Sidembunut village and Bebalang village, Bangli District, Sudihati Village, Agan Sari Village, and Kutuh Village, Kintamani District.

Unlike the other eight regencies/city in Bali Province, such as Samarapura Regency, Karangasem Regency, Buleleng Regency, Badung Regency, Gianyar Regency, Jembrana Regency, Tabanan Regency and Denpasar City, Bangli Regency is mountainous. Geographically, the eight regencies are more open; as a result, they have made better progress in every aspect which leads to plural communities. Bangli Regency is about 50 kilometers from Denpasar; however, the Muslim communities living there have been able to live peacefully with the Hindus who are the majority. It is this which has made the present study so unique that no researchers had explored it. In other words, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, nobody has explored such uniqueness. Such model harmony is usually created by the groups of people who are involved in any conflict to eliminate it. This present study tries to describe the harmonious social interaction which had been

made for years, from which the model harmony was made, meaning that the model created would be a reconstruction of harmonious life between the Muslims, as the minority, and the Hindus, as the majority. It is this which was interesting to be explored as a reference to maintain the national integrity.

Qualitative method with a case study design was used in the present study. The case study design can be used to develop the theory adopted from the setting of a study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). It was expected that this design would lead to a theory which may be applied wider and more generally to the case of harmonization among the religious followers in general and between the Hindus and Muslims in particular.

In the present study, the observational case study design and multi sites were used. The researcher was present in the Hindu residences in Bangli Regency to observe more closely how they were becoming tolerant of the followers of the other religion. Such a method of design was used to analyze the phenomenon of religious tolerance in different places. The data were collected several times and were analyzed using the temporary structured theory.

"MENYAMA BRAYA" (BROTHERHOOD) AS A HARMONIOUS SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

From what was observed in the field and the result of the interview in which the interviewees were the informants, it turned out that the activities collectively done contributed to the establishment of the behavior of being in harmony between the Muslims and Hindus in Bangli Regency. The awareness and intention of and the commitment to being unified was the key for the followers of the different religions to living next to each other harmoniously. In this way, the sense of belonging to one nation will appear (Soekarno, 1965: 3-4).

Such a harmonious social interaction was based on the local wisdom, that is, *Tri Hita Karana*, which includes 1) the activities related to the construction and maintenance of *parahyangan* (the holy place), 2) the activities related to the maintenance and

improvement of *pawongan* (the humanity), and 3) the activities related to the maintenance of *pelemahan* (the environment). The activities which contributed to the harmonious life mentioned above will be described as follows.

Activities related to *Parahyangan*

In Bangli Regency, the activities related to *parahyangan* could be seen from the existence of the mosque referred to as *Masjid Agung Bangli*, which is big enough and was constructed in the city center. It is the holy place where the Muslims do their daily and routine religious activities. Sidembunut Village, Bebalang Village, Bangli District, and Sudihati Village and Kutuh Village, Kintamani District, had one *langgar* or *mushola* (mini mosque) respectively. What was unique was that the ornaments used were the Balinese style, as could be observed at Sidembunut Village.



Figure 1. *Langgar* or *mushola* (mini mosque) in Sidembunut Village (Source: Dewa Agung G.A., 2013).

The other thing which proved the harmonious social interaction between the Muslims and Hindus was the existence of what is referred to as *Langgar Temple* or well-known as *Java Temple* located at Bunutin Village. It was stated by those who were responsible for the maintenance and the performance of religious activities at the temple that it was the holy place not for the Hindus but also for the Muslims. The fact that it was visited by the Muslims coming from outside Bali as well as from Bali also proved this. The local informant stated:

Umam Islam yang datang, mereka di sini sembahyang/sholat dan bagi saya tidak apa karena itu bagian dari saling menghargai. Kami sediakan tempat untuk sembahyang, meskipun ada perbedaan arah. Mereka

(umat Islam) sembahyangnya menghadap ke barat (baca: kiblat) sehingga harus membelakangi pura. Kalau kami sembahyangnya menghadap ke timur. Bahkan pernah orang Islam yang datang membawa sesaji and berpakaian adat layaknya orang Bali. Bagi saya tidak ada apa-apa yang saling menghargai dan menghormati.

Meaning:

I do not mind seeing the Muslims who come here to pray (sholat), that's part of mutual appreciation. We prepare a place to pray, although the direction to which they face differs from the direction to which we face when praying. They (the Muslims) face westward (read: *kiblat* 'direction of Mecca'); however, we face eastward when praying. One day a Muslim came wearing Balinese costume. It did not matter to me as it was part of appreciating and respecting one another.

Based on the visit I made to this temple, a place where Muslims might say their prayers was prepared. In addition, a place where they could obtain the holy water 'wudlu' was also prepared to show that they were welcome and that the Hindus were tolerant of them. This had taken place since around the 11th century, as stated in the *Usana Bali* Manuscript "Lontar Usana Bali".



Figure 2. Dalem Langgar Temple (Source: Dewa Agung G.A., 2013).

It was stated that *Khayangan Tiga* (the three main temples in a traditional village) were constructed as an attempt made to unify the sects at that time, meaning that the Balinese people were religiously and socially bound. He came to make the Balinese people coming different sects in harmony and

happy (Soebandi, 1983: 99-100). It was this which made every Balinese loyal to what was taught by Mpu Kuturan. Organizationally, the Balinese people, who were Hindus, felt that they were bound in every aspect of life. As the name implies, "Pura Langgar" (Langgar Temple), which is made up of two words, reminded us of the holy place which was constructed for the Hindus (temple) and the Muslims (Langgar). The pictures show that there is a mixture between the Balinese architecture and the Islamic architecture.

At Kutuh Village, Kintamani District, where several activities related to *parahyangan* which both the Hindus and Muslims did together. Such activities were the ritual which was performed to propose for rain during dry season and the ritual which was performed to express gratitude to God. When a girl who was a Hindu married a boy who was a Muslim, they should perform a ritual procession at the girl's family temple to ask her ancestors for permission that she would follow her husband's religion, meaning that she would convert into Islam. Similarly, when a girl whose religion was Islam married a boy who was a Hindu, on Idul Fitri Day she should go to mosque bringing an offering with her. The difference was that one component of the offering brought by the Hindus was what is referred to as *canang* but the offering brought by the girl who married a Hindu did not have any *canang* in it (the offering she brought was only made of palm leaves and flowers). When there was a temple festival, the Muslims also took part in it; they participated in cooking foods, playing the *gambelan* orchestra, and offering what is referred to as *atos*. They did this as their principle was that "the objective of every religion is the same; however, the ways of reaching it are different."

Generally, it could be stated that there was a good relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Bali. This could be observed from the fact that the Muslims were made to feel free to say their prayers. As an illustration, when the Muslims performed what is referred to as '*shalat jama'ah*' at mosque, they were allowed to say '*suara adzan*' using the loudspeaker. In addition, they were also allowed to say '*khutbah jumat*' using the loudspeaker as well. Apart from that, when the present study was conducted the '*majlis ta'lim*' in Bangli totaled 23;

they were all active. The researcher observed that in Bali many young people became members of the 'majlis taklim', unlike the other regions where the members of the 'majlis taklim' came from the old generation.

When the Muslims celebrated their holydays, the *pecalang* (the traditional policemen) played an important role; they were responsible for the security, especially when *Hari Raya Nyepi* (the Quiet Day), which was celebrated by the Hindus, fell on Friday or on the same day when *Hari Raya Idul Fitri* was also celebrated by the Muslims. In this case, the *pecalang* played an important role in escorting the Muslims to Mosque to say their prayers while the Hindus were not allowed to go outside their houses to implement what is referred to as *Catur Bhrata Penyepian* (*amati geni* 'nobody is allowed to do things with fire'; *amati lelungan* 'nobody is allowed to go anywhere'; *amati karya* 'nobody is allowed to work'; and *amati lelanguan* 'nobody is allowed to amuse him/herself'). On this special day, the Muslims did not go outside their houses either. When an activity was done at any temple, the Muslims also took part in it by selling things, going to the bazaar held by the Hindus and giving material and moral support. When the Muslims celebrated 'Idul Adha' (Day of Sacrifice), the Hindus also gave their assistance in the form a goat or cattle to butcher (the researcher watched the Hindus gave contribution in the form of a cow when the Muslims celebrated 'Idul Adha'). A Muslim leader stated that the Day of Sacrifice 'Hari Korban' was identical to the day when the 'mecaru' ritual (ritual of sacrifice) was celebrated to purify the village and to give offering to the bad spirits so that the microcosmos and macrocosmos would keep balanced.

Activities Related to *Pawongan*

The *pawongan*-related activities are the activities which are directly, indirectly, horizontally related to human beings; nobody can survive without others; they should help one another as the implementation of the principle of 'gotong royong' (helping one another). When the present study was conducted, this was done by the Muslims in Bangli Regency as the implementation of the attitude of 'menyama braya' (brotherhood).

According to what was stated by Widnya (1981: 13), the principle of 'gotong royong' (helping one

another) was based on the philosophy of *segilik*, *seguluk* and *sabayan taka*, meaning that as society members we should be unified, have the same objectives and share happiness and sadness. In addition, the ideal of helping one another was the basis of collectivity and the cooperative-based economy. The democratic style characterized by the family atmosphere in the traditional village was a reality. In the traditional village every member had liberty, equality and fraternity. This was the basis of collective life in the traditional village in Bali in general and in Bangli Regency in particular. The traditional village was like a human body; if one part did not function, then the other parts would not function either; as a result, abnormality would appear (Putra, 1981: 1060).

Based on the information obtained from the interviews in which the interviewees were the informants, there was a very good relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Bangli Regency; they respected each other especially in the activities of humanity. As an illustration, when a Hindu family was performing cremation ceremony 'ngaben', the Muslim families came to the house of the Hindu family performing such a religious ritual bringing some rice, sugar and other needs. Similarly, when a Muslim died, the Hindu families also came to his/her house to show condolence. The fact that they appreciated each other could also be observed from the religious activity they did to purify the village. Similarly, the Hindus performed the sacrifice ritual to keep the macrocosmos and microcosmos balanced.

When there was a temple festival, which was certainly performed by the Hindus, the Muslims did not use the loudspeaker or they turned it down, meaning that they understood each other. One year *Hari Raya Nyepi* (the Quiet Day) and *Hari Raya Idul Fitri* fell on the same day, when the Muslims did not use the loudspeaker at all so that they did not disturb the Hindus who were carrying out what is referred to as 'Catur Bhrata Penyepian'. The Muslims said Happy Nyepi and Happy Galungan, depending on which one was celebrated by the Hindus, and the Hindus said to the Muslims Happy Idul Fitri when they were celebrating it. Togetherness could also be observed when Kintamani traditional village was performing what is referred to as *Dasa Wisma* for which competitions were held. In addition, the

Muslims were also given the first opportunity to perform their Islamic art 'terbangan' followed by the Balinese art 'gong' when they welcome the Regent in such a program.

Mixed marriages had been taken place between the Muslims and Hindus for years especially in Kintamani District. In the beginning there were many obstructions; however, as time passed by, they finally could understand and accept each other. As a consequence, in a family there might be two religions; Islam and Hindu. It seemed that they started to understand what pluralism meant; pluralism should be perceived as a genuine engagement of diversity within the bond of civility (Rahman, 2001: 31).

They congratulated to each other when they were celebrating their holidays, national holidays and Islamic Holidays. The Muslims always got together with the local people to prepare the anniversary of the Independence Day of the Republic of Indonesia and when the Muslims held what is called MTQ competition. In Bangli Regency, the roles played by the *pecalang* (the traditional policemen) and the policemen of the Republic of Indonesia were great in making such programs successful, meaning that they accepted differences. In religious pluralism there were two things which were given emphasis. First, diversity especially religious diversity should be acknowledged and accepted. This was exemplified by Rasul with his attitude of being tolerant of Muhajirin, Anshar and non-Muslim leaders. They made conventions which were poured into Madinah Charter consisting of 46 items. As the central figure, Muhammad made an attempt to embrace all strengths without taking the religious and ethnic backgrounds into account to construct a new city-state (Bulac, 1998: 203). Humans are equal before God; what differentiates them is what they do. In Yayur Weda XL.6, it is stated that : "dia yang melihat seluruh mahluk dalam dirinya sendiri dan menemukan refleksi dari dirinya sendiri dalam semua mahluk tidak pernah memandang rendah siapapun." [one who sees every creature in himself and finds all creatures reflected in himself will never humiliate others].

It seemed to the researcher that the informants of the present study expected that FKAUB would be

established in every sub-district not in regency/city level only to overcome the tolerance among the followers of different religions. The subdistrict was the grass root, as it was at this level that various social interactions could be identified. Establishing FKAUB in the subdistrict level means helping the city government overcome the SARA-related unexpected problems. The Muslims organized marriages through KUA; however, they coordinated with the local leaders (the Hindus) in regard to social affairs as acknowledgement. Discrimination should be avoided in a plural country; the regulations issued by the government should be used as a collective guide. If there are SARA-related problems, the religious leaders under FKUB should coordinate rapidly, and, if necessary, those who are involved should be summoned. Anticipation should be made to avoid non-SARA related problems from becoming the SARA-related ones. Texts should be interpreted from the current era context in such a way that the religious leaders will not become exclusive; they should be made to be inclusive. It is such an inclusiveness which should be possessed by the religious leaders in our country. Then the religious dialogue will develop into the dialogue of life.

Both the majority and minority should recognize each other; what may be done and what may not be done should be identified. The minority should not have discriminative way of thinking; the minority should do what is popularly known as *di mana bumi dipijak, disitulah langit dijunjung* (we should make ourselves adapted to where we are). In general, as far as the *pawongan*-related activities are concerned, the Muslims and Hindus got mixed. The Muslims were also requested to participate in any activity held by the traditional village. They were requested to give donation, to be part of *seka teruna* (the organization of young people), to take part in making *ogoh-ogoh* (the bad spirits symbolized by statues which are usually made as part of the Quiet Day celebration). Such activities were centralized in order to unify all the differences. An attempt was also made by the community leaders to avoid the conflicts which might take place in the grass root by visiting the Muslim families and getting involved in the activities held at the mosque, indicating that, as the minority, they were accepted by the majority.

Palemahan-Related Activities

According to Warta Hindu Dharma (1980: 15), the traditional village 'desa adat' seemed to be the development of what is called '*desa perdikan* or *sima*', the Hinduism-based autonomous village. The traditional village means the village of honesty (village = place; tradition = honesty) which was established in order to reach material and spiritual safety. A balance in life, for example, the balance in *palemahan* (environment) is needed in order to reach spiritual and material safety, meaning that one should make adaptations to the area where one lives. He should keep the *bhuwana agung* (the macrocosmos) and the *bhuwana alit* (the microcosmos) balanced. This is strictly adhered to by the Balinese community to live a harmonious life. When the present study was conducted, the Muslims and Hindus in Bangli Regency implemented these principles in the framework of reaching a harmonious life.

Generally, the Muslims living in Bangli Regency were migrants; however, they did not come at the same time. Those living at Sudihati Village were predicted to come to Bali in 1950s; however, when those living at Angan Sari Hamlet came to Bangli was not known; they had mixed with the Balinese people with their culture. Many worked as farmers and many others worked as traders. Those who lived at Sidembunut Village and Bebalang Village were all new comers; they were generally traders and government civil servants.

According to what was informed by the people living in Kintamani, whom the researcher recorded, the Muslims currently living in Kintamani were predicted to come in 1950s. They got lost and were taken care of by the local leaders. A plot of land was provided to them where they could construct a house to live in. Such a plot of land, which belonged to the traditional village, had been occupied from generation to generation. When the present study was conducted, the land was used as a residence, a place to run a small business, where a mosque was constructed and an educational institution was established. As the land belonged to the traditional village, no certificate of ownership might be issued for it. As a compensation for the land, they were obliged to help the Hindus materially and morally any time without burdening them to show brotherhood '*menyama braya*'. They were also obliged to pay a certain amount of money

to the traditional village once a year as a form of togetherness, as stated by Sarwono Kusumaatmadja (1996: 50-52) that a harmonious interaction should be created as follows:

- 1) The strategy of work partnership between the bureaucrat and apparatus and the common people regarding the operation of the state sectors should be developed into the national integration.
- 2) The forms of interrelation among various societal elements should be avoided from economic pragmatism, especially political pragmatism.
- 3) The bureaucrat and apparatus, as the holders of the constitutional mandate, should carry out the state governmental administration and should give what is reasonable to every attempt made for the sake of the community development.
- 4) The recognition for the diversity in socio-cultural background is not necessarily followed by an extreme view of dichotomy.
- 5) The strategic layers and community elites should work harder to communicate politically with the government and themselves.
- 6) An effort to create togetherness or brotherhood among the national resources in a more massive level should be made more strategically.
- 7) It should be recognized that the matters pertaining to the expansion of national insight within the framework of national integration is not the monopoly of the bureaucrat and government apparatus. All parties or all the elements of society diversity should be given the same opportunity to realize the national commitment through their respective way and devotion.

Based on what was temporarily observed, the way they cultivated their land and harvested what they planted referred to what the Hindus who lived around them did. What is meant was that when they planted and harvested plants was based on the Balinese calendar system. This was done as an attempt to create balance between the macrocosmos (the surrounding nature) and the microcosmos (the human beings). In this way, a balanced and harmonious life and physical and spiritual safety would be created.

The locations where they would build temples and mosques were determined by several particular considerations. Such locations should not only be

strategic but should also reflect the balance between the macrocosmos and microcosmos with an expectation that they would contribute to tranquility and physical and spiritual balance. Therefore, it did not matter that the Great Mosque 'Masjid Agung' was close to the Hindu Temple. This could be seen at Banjar Blungbang and Kintamani Village, where mosques were close to family temples. They were only separated by a wall. However, they could perform their religious activities properly. This could not have occurred if they did not refer to the principle of *menyama braya* "brotherhood".

CONCLUSIONS

Muslims and Hindus in Bangli Regency can live side by side; they are in harmony and understand each other based on the values of *menyama braya* (brotherhood). The Islam followers in Bangli Regency are the minority; however, this does not mean that they are marginalized or intimidated by the majority, who, in this case, are Hindus. Such a brotherhood has been created since a long time ago, as they understand the religions they adhere to well and the existing local values.

The fact that they are in harmony can be observed from various aspects of life such as arts, architecture, as can be seen from their houses and holy places such as the mosque at Sidembunut village and Dalem Langgara Temple at Bunutin Village, Bangli Regency.

The intention of the Muslim and Hindu leaders in Bangli Regency, Bali, to establish brotherhood 'menyama braya' is highly good, based on their understanding of the philosophy of traditional village and administrative village. It is these institutions with their activities which are made to function well such as religious activities, social interactions

and the use of land for residence, civilization and cemetery.

The philosophy of *Tri Hitakarana* has been used as the basis of brotherhood "*menyama braya*" between the Muslims and Hindus as an attempt made to establish religious tolerance. There are three activities which are performed by the Hindus and Muslims to live in harmony based on the attitude of brotherhood "*menyama braya*"; they are *parahyangan*, *pawongan* and *palemahan*.

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