



Religious Contestation in Rural Area Cigugur Kuningan, West Java, Indonesia

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Abstract : *Religious harmony has become a fundamental challenge in a pluralistic society like Indonesia. Although this diversity has in many ways created space for cooperation, interfaith competition remains open and prone to conflict. This article discusses religious competition at the foot of Mount Ciremai, a small town in Kuningan, West Java, among Islam, Catholic and Madraism (a local syncretic religious stream). This research is a qualitative descriptive study. The study finds out that the competition began since early 20th century. This happened in order to maintain the existence and religious identity of each group. However, these tensions have recently begun to melt away and a space for dialogue and cooperation between adherents of the three religions and beliefs has begun to develop. Several factors that influence this change include the openness of each adherent, interfaith marriage, and political aspirations.*

Keywords : *Religious Contestation, Islam, Chatolich, Madraism.*

Abstrak : *Kerukunan umat beragama menjadi tantangan mendasar dalam masyarakat majemuk seperti Indonesia. Meskipun dalam banyak hal telah terjadi kerjasama dalam kehidupan beragama, namun beberapa kasus keberagamaan menunjukkan adanya aroma persaingan antar agama dan bisa memicu konflik horizontal. Artikel ini mengkaji tentang kontestasi agama yang terjadi antara Islam, Kristen, dan aliran Madraisme di kaki gunung Ciremai, Kuningan, Jawa Barat. Kajian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif. Hasil kajian menunjukkan bahwa sejak awal abad ke-20 terjadi ketegangan antara Islam, Katolik, dan Madraism/ ADS di kaki gunung ciremai. Hal itu terjadi dalam rangka mempertahankan eksistensi dan identitas keagamaan yang dianut masing-masing kelompok. Meskipun demikian, ketegangan tersebut belakangan mulai mencair dan mulai terbangun ruang dialog*

serta Kerjasama antar penganut ketiga agama dan kepercayaan tersebut. Beberapa faktor yang mempengaruhi perubahan tersebut antara lain sikap keterbukaan masing-masing penganut, pernikahan, dan aspirasi politik.

Kata Kunci : *Kontestasi Agama, Islam, Katolik, Madraism.*

A. Introduction

The majority of Muslim religious communities in Indonesia are in fact, apart from Islam, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Protestantism and Catholicism.¹ There is a believer or seeker of which is on each ethnicity as genuine archipelago religions, including "cultural religious" minorities who live dynamic in the frame of the unitary Republic of Indonesia. Pancasila as a philosophy of life for nation and state has a central role as a political instrument in managing the lives of religious people. This role can be seen in the fifth point of the Pancasila which describes the important elements of heterogeneous and pluralistic social, cultural and political structures.

Managing religious life in a variety of cultural backgrounds are faced with various challenges, obstacles, and disturbances, which sometimes lead to vertical and horizontal conflicts.² Economic inequality, political interests, and limited employment often trigger the occurrence of horizontal conflicts with religious nuances, which are often referred to as SARA nuances (ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup).³ The challenges of conflict in plural societies can also occur as a consequence of the advancement of science and technology, especially information technology, transportation, and media, making it easy for people to communicate and interact with global society. Access to global information has given rise to a new challenge

¹ Leo Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, and Aris Ananta, *Penduduk Indonesia Etnis dan Agama Dalam Era Perubahan Politik* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2003), 105 see; Leo Suryadinata, Evi Nurvidya Arifin, and Aris Ananta, *Indonesia's Population: Ethnicity and Religion in a Changing Political Landscape* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2003).

² What is meant by conflict here is conflict between groups of people with different religions, ADS, Islam and Catholicism (exogenous conflicts), not including conflicts within internal religious communities (endogenous conflict). See Ralf Dahrendorf, "Toward a Theory of Social Conflicts," in *Social Change: Sources, Pattern and Consequences*, ed. A. Etzioni and E.E. Halevy (New York: Basic Book inc Publisher, 1973), 101.

³ Myengkyo Seo, "Defining 'Religious' in Indonesia: Toward Neither an Islamic nor a Secular State," *Journal Citizenship Studies* 16 (2012).

with the emergence of trans-national movements which affect the dynamics of social, cultural, political and domestic.⁴

Some scientists on a global and local scale try to predict how the pattern of human interaction in the future, although there seems to be inter-design in it, related to what will happen in the future. Samuel P. Huntington predicts that relations between humans after the collapse of Soviet communists shifted to relations facing a civil society that led to what he called a clash of civilizations.⁵ While Japanese scholar Francis Fukuyama proposed his thesis of the situation as the end of human history,⁶ and Felipe Hernandes about a thousand years of human history,⁷ can be called Western scientists who respond to the form of interaction between human groups in the future. Muslim scholars also do not miss giving their analysis from a more substantive perspective. As Azyumardi Azra with the thesis of postmodernist tendencies which according to him the symptoms lead to Sufism, or neo Sufism,⁸ Radhar Panca Dhahana with its cultural polarization tendency⁹, and Franz Magnis Suseno¹⁰ those who criticize postmodernism too anything goes ("whatever can be done"), represent the views of local scholars who predict future trends in society.

The Muslim community as an element of the majority community in Indonesia has significant demographic potential in the play of its existence. However, the demographic dividend is not comparable with the economic and political power in a linear manner. So that it is very vulnerable to the tendency of conflict, both in cities and in rural areas. Political democratization whose momentum took place in 1998 has not fully implicated cultural structures and religious tolerance. In some cases in the

⁴ Robert W. Hefner, "The Study of Religious Freedom in Indonesia," *Journal The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 11 (2013).

⁵ Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Touchstone, 1996).

⁶ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Avon, 1993).

⁷ Felipe Fernandez and Armesto, *Millennium: A History of the Last Thousand Years* (New York: Scribner, 1995).

⁸ Azyumardi Azra, *Konteks Berteologi Di Indonesia, Pengaman Islam* (Jakarta: Paramadina, 1999), 131.

⁹ Radhar Panca Dahana, *Jejak Posmodernisme: Pergulatan Kaum Intelektual Indonesia* (Yogyakarta: Bentang, 2004), 7.

¹⁰ Frans Magnis Suseno, *Pijar-Pijar Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2005), 229.

regions, such as the establishment of Muslim places of worship in Papua and similar restrictions for Protestant followers in Bekasi, West Java. And discrimination against minorities as experienced by Ahmadiyya and Shi'a. This is a challenge for religious intolerance which must be resolved in the realm of the superstructure and cultural development as mandated by the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.¹¹

The life of religious people, especially the relationship between Islam and Catholicism and the followers of certain elements get their nursery in the countryside in a small town in Kuningan, West Java. Muslims as the most adherents through the leadership of Muhammad Rais and Ahmad Tohir cannot maintain their strength as Muslims who adhere to inclusive notions as well as polite and open Sundanese people, tolerating diverse understandings and orientations. Rais tends to "Sufism" while Tohir to "fiqh".¹² Sufism and fiqh are two religious ideations in Islam which have long been a movement for discourse on religious ideas that are difficult to reconcile. Only after Al-Ghazali and especially Mulla Sadra reconstructed the synthesis of fundamental thought and "reconcile" these two forces of extreme thought. However, Ghazali's and Sadhra's efforts have not been widespread in the Muslim world, especially in the grass roots as happened in the two religious leaders above.

Rais counter Tohir's "victory" is like strengthening Azra's thesis above in the context of religion in Indonesia. The victory of a more esoteric understanding received a response among traditional and modern Muslims, thus strengthening the thesis related to "Islamization" in Sufism-style Indonesia as proposed by several scholars.¹³ On the contrary, the reaction of the dhahiriyah textualists as often based on Muslim-oriented fiqh is getting stronger. Reactive pressure is carried out in the form of psychic and physical as the root of the conflict between religious people, followers of the dhahiriyah on the one hand with followers of spiritual understanding on the other.

¹¹ Nicola Colbran, "Realities and Challenges in Realising Freedom of Religion or Belief in Indonesia," *The International Journal of Human Rights* 14 (2010).

¹² Acep Aripudin, *Respon Dai Terhadap Dinamika Kehidupan Beragama Di Kaki Ciremai* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2011).

¹³ A. H. John, "Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History," *JSAH* 2 (1961): 10-23.

The exsoteric circles represented by Tohir spirit were also found in local Muslim elements, such as those from Muhammadiyah, NU and local Islamic groups outside of the two Islamic religious organizations. They put pressure on social and political channels. Mass demonstrations, group alliances and social allegiance to Rais followers occurred long until around the end of the 1990s. And after the death of Muhammad Rais, which later gave birth to "Madraism".¹⁴ The political path was carried out by Islamic groups to suppress Madraism groups as evidenced by the birth of several government regulations related to the prohibition of the teachings. Various efforts to rescue the teachings and community of followers are carried out by changing names,¹⁵ development of educational institutions to be associated with the Catholic community. "Resistance" among Muslims against Madrais community is not diminishing, but growing, especially after the advent of Catholicism.

The competition of various religious communities in one location is a phenomenon challenge in Indonesia's plural society. Although such situations and conditions are not a new phenomenon in the global context and history of religious people in the world. The process of competition people of different religions in Indonesia increasingly proves that history continues to recur with distinctions and different patterns of interaction adjusting to the social, political and cultural context of society. In the context of the struggle of people of different faiths, and also people of the same religion in Indonesia as observed walking past the stage of tension, conflict, and cooperation to manifest into a society that is integral, as can be seen in public at base of mount Ciremai, Kuningan, Indonesia.

The data in this study using an approach qualitative data. Quantification efforts are carried out because of data related needs. The method used to obtain data is through in-depth interviews with informant sources that have been determined, such as Islamic leaders, Catholics, and ADS leaders. Some local and outside religious organizations are also one of the data sources. Interviews are conducted in a closed and open or

¹⁴ Juwarno, Notes in Paseban, (Cigugur, 2007). Privat Document. N.d.

¹⁵ Yacobus Sandy Palgunadi, *Agama Djawa Sunda (ADS) Di Cigugur Kuningan Jawa Barat* (Bandung, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, 2005).

unstructured form with informants purposively.¹⁶ This technique is based on the consideration that the informant has the authority and competence regarding the expected information or data. The main sources of this research are Muslims, the ADS community, Catholics and the surrounding community. The motivation of the spread of religion and observation of the words and actions of religious leaders and their followers. Search and review the results of previous studies related to similar topics and themes through study documentation. Participatory observation is carried out to strengthen information by associating with related communities (emic approach).¹⁷ For certain reasons, distance observation was carried out with the intention that the existence of the author did not interfere, especially regarding matters that are considered private, but the balance was still carried out.

B. Religious Contestation

Religious contestation often occurs in multicultural and multi-religious societies in Indonesia, differences in perspectives and interpretations of sacred texts faced with social realities and ancestral traditions give rise to new types of religious understanding that are difficult to accept by adherents of mainstream religions and are even more often considered as new beliefs or sects or splinter religion. This paper tries to describe the phenomenon of religious contestation in West Java by using the theory of public sphere which was coined by Jurgen Habermas.

He is a critical philosophical figure and is closely related to the renewal movement, he also often carries out ideological and knowledge criticism using social transformation techniques with dialogue and communication methods.¹⁸

Contestation is defined as a strive or competition between two or more parties based on interest in a limited subject or material.¹⁹ His famous

¹⁶ Lexy J. Maleong, *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif* (Bandung: Remaja Rosda Karya, 2004), 44.

¹⁷ Matthew Miles and Huberman, *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publication Inc, 1990), 43.

¹⁸ Santoso Irfan, "Jurgen Habermas: Problem Dialektika Ilmu Sosial," *Komunika* 3, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–2.

¹⁹ Zuli Qodir, "Kontestasi Penyiaran Agama Di Ruang Publik: Relasi Kristen Dan Islam di Kota Jayapura," *Harmoni* 14, no. 1 (2015): 41.

theory regarding the public sphere allows for a fight or contestation to emerge in the public arena. The public sphere is a discourse that allows every debate, opinion, argumentation, which is covered by norms so that the arguments offered are more important than those who conveyed, this debate then gives rise to contestations covering every aspect that influences each other in people's lives, including religion.

In this paper, the contestation occurs in the community with different arguments, namely, the mainstream Islamic community and adherents of local Islamic traditions at the foot of Mount Ciremai, Kuningan, West Java. The difference in religious understanding and the feud between the two figures is the background of the conflict which requires adherents of traditional religions to appear religiously affiliated with Catholicism (conversion). But invalid in the step of conversion because of skipping baptism, this contestation then becomes an interesting matter that needs to be discussed.

C. A Picture of the Location

The location where the research was carried out was Cigugur. The location is right at the foot of Mount Ciremai. Cigugur is now a small city with a diversity of religious followers. This sub-district is located in Kuningan, West Java. Referring to population data at that location at the beginning of the religious struggle, it was estimated that there were around 3000 heads of families. This number is calculated based on the count of births and deaths carried out in 2010.²⁰ The total population in the district currently approximately 38. 594 people consisted of 9213 households. The largest population is concentrated in the Cigugur Sub-District which is also the centre of the sub-district administration.²¹

Residents at this location were originally Muslims. Borrowing Islamic typology C. Geertz who classifies Islam in the types of *santri*, *priyayi*, and *abangan*, including Muslims there.²² Therefore, the presence of

²⁰ Achives about the estimated annual population count in Cigugur District. Cigugur District population archive in 2010.

²¹ The Cigugur district monograph 2009.

²² Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

Madraism or ADS, Catholics, and Protestants, even Hinduism is a more recent development in the city called "miniature Indonesia" in religious life. The diversity of religious adherents is concentrated in the Cigugur Sub-District, Cisantana Sub-District, Sukamulya Sub district, and the remaining minorities are in Cipari and Cileuleuy from the 10 villages in Cigugur District. The development of non-Islamic religions greatly influences the development of the number of houses of worship,²³ religious leaders and religious people, in general, can be seen in the table, below:

Table I

No	Village	Madra ism	Islam	Catho lics	Protes tants	Hindu ism	Budd hism	Total
1	Cigugur	155	3800	3913	206	2	9	8085
2	Cisantana	30	4710	1600	18	-	-	6358
3	Sukamulya	16	2441	571	21	-	-	3045
4	Cipari	74	2995	40	-	-	-	3109
5	Cileuleuy	25	3860	31	-	-	-	3915
6	Babakan Mulya	48	3084	15	-	-	-	3147
7	Cigadung	-	6500	4	-	-	-	6504
8	Winduherang	-	3340	-	-	-	-	3340
9	Puncak	-	4044	-	-	-	-	4044
10	Gn. Keling	-	1675	-	-	-	-	1675
Total		348	36449	6174	245	2	9	43227

Source: Processed from various sources (sub-district profile, village profile and direct data collection) in 2009.

Referring to the explanation above, it is interesting to observe how the process of the struggle of the people differs from religion and dynamics, which are tangible and have implications for the pattern of communication and interaction between them. Muslims as a majority religious community, have not fully accepted the differences and are almost mired in hard and rigid relations. Especially when it is found that there are so-called "fraud" or "misdirection" teachings. On the other hand, the minority of ADS is also too loud in presenting its ideas related to religious understanding. It quickly got the reaction of Muslims, Islamic leaders in particular. Catholics appear to like getting a fresh breeze to "introduce" their religion. Considering

²³ The houses of worship in all sub-districts consist of: 32 mosques, 5 Catholic churches, 1 Maria Cave belonging to the Catholic, 2 Protestant churches, 1 worship center, 1 small 4x6 M prayer place belonging to Hindus and 1 hall belonging to ADS. Author's observations January 2010.

Sundanese society as synonymous with Islam, so that non-Islamic religions have difficulties when conducting religious propagation with conventional patterns. How the process of the emergence of different religions at Ciremai Hill or Cigugur, became a theme related to the form of relations between people of different religions in the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. It is also the form of patterns of interaction between them, the processes that are passed to the potential to become a whole nation in the frame of diversity and nationality. These discussions will be the central theme of this article.

D. Contestation between Islam, Cristianity, and Madraism

1. Islam versus Madraism

The coronation of Syarif Hidayatullah in 1479 as a Sundanese king and head of the Cirebon area with the rank of Tumenggung began the rising crescent moon in Tatar Sunda. Islam entered Kuningan, Cigugur in particular, around 1525 AD as the influence of the expansion of Islam from the Cirebon Sultanate through a sultan's envoy named Rama Haji Ireungan.²⁴ No deep information is obtained regarding Ireungan. However, he claimed to be one of the first Muslims to spread Islam in this region,²⁵ until the emergence of two religious leaders, Muhamad Tohir and Muhamad Rais.²⁶

The Islamic style brought by the propagator of Islam to these locations is not much different from the religious pattern in general. Shafi'i fiqh is a school of law, while theology closer to understanding Ash'ari or Ahl as-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah. Similarly, in Sufism follow Sufism al-Ghazali understand and Junaid al-Baghdadi.²⁷ These religious understandings, culturally not only suitable for the majority of Indonesian Muslims, have even become an Islamic sect of Southeast Asian Muslims in general. The tropical climate as a climate characteristic in parts of the Indonesian

²⁴ Edi S. Ekajati, *Sunan Gunung Djati Penyebar Dan Penegak Islam Di Tatar Sunda* (Bandung: Kiblat Buku Utama, 2005), 9.

²⁵ Edi S. Ekajati, "Sejarah Islam Indonesia, Cirebon-Banten 1500-an-1812," 2003, 1.

²⁶ W. Hernawan, "Komunikasi Umat Berbeda Agama" (Bandung, Pascasarjana Universitas Padjajaran, 2005), 171.

²⁷ Alwi shihab, *Antara Tasawuf Suni & Tasawuf Falsafi, Akar Tasawuf Di Indonesia* (Bandung: Pustaka Iman, 2009).

archipelago also contributes to the development of moderate ideologies. Referring to Ibn Khaldun's thesis, that it has an influence on the character of society, and is still relevant to the character of religious people in Indonesia.²⁸

Islam at Ciremai Hill in the Cigugur district also has an Islamic style as described above. Approximately 1911's after a long wandering Madrais come and colouring pattern religion in society. At the same time local religious leaders Ahmad Tohir also appeared. Ahmad Tohir, called (Mad Tohir) his father named Djadja Laksana, a local community leader. After returning from the pesantren, Tohir had a career as a religious leader as well as a trading business. Madrais and Mad Tohir seem to have a close age, although the background of their religious experience is different. And this affects the differences in understanding Islam. Madrais, as can be seen from his view tends to be more esoteric (esoteric oriented) Sufism. Related to the concept of divinity, for example, as stated by Djatikusuma, he believed that God was in all beings he called *Sir*. He has the highest position and the peak of everything.²⁹ *Siris* God who can only be felt in the human heart, energy of all power. *He is me and I am him*.³⁰

In the practice of religious rituals, such as the salvation ceremony of a new-born child, the inauguration of a new house and the commemoration of the independence of the Indonesian people, they are accustomed to performing thanksgiving rituals. Islamic elements, such as reading tasbih (subhanallah), tahmid (alhamdulillah, takbir (allahu Akbar) and tahlil (lailaha ilallah) are recited. But this is accompanied by additional readings that are addressed to deceased ancestors. Such actions according to Rachmat Subagja are indeed a religious tradition which later developed. And being a cultural imperative and can be paired with a traditional ceremony in society.³¹

Madrais in its development, not only adds to the Islamic ritual practices with extras taken from the Sundanese cultural traditions, such as

²⁸ Ibn Khaldun, *Muqaddimah*. (Daarul Fikr, n.d.).

²⁹ Yayasan Tri Mulya, *Pikukuh Adat Karuhun Urang: Pemahaman Budaya Spiritual* (Kuningan, 2000), 16.

³⁰ Djatikusuma, *Kontestasi Agama di Desa Ciremai*, 2011.

³¹ Rachmat Subagja, *Agama Asli Indonesia* (Jakarta: Sinar Harapan, 1981), 13.

doctrine Pikukuh Tilu,³² in fact, he did a combination or syncretism with the teachings of non-Islamic religions.³³ In the case of someone's death, a combination of religious teachings was practiced, such as replacing a white shroud with black cloth and using a coffin. Black cloth is clearly a colour symbol as found in Sundanese cultural traditions such as baduy clothes (baduy people). While the use of coffins is a tradition in Christianity. The syncretism of religious teachings conducted by Madrais received a reaction, especially from Islamic leaders, one of whom was Mad Tohir. Tohir, virtually, is the first local Muslim leaders reacted to the idea Madrais related to religious understanding. The open debate often occurs between Rais and Tohir, especially after the completion of community events related to religious ceremonies.³⁴

Mad Tohir, as mentioned earlier, has more religious ideas to fiqh, so it tends to be exoteric (exoteric oriented). Differences in the perspective on Islam, then spread to differences in Islamic practices to give birth to two camps of adherents or worshipers who tend to lead to conflict and hostility. The two religious leaders of different understandings developed their studies through socio-cultural institutions in the community. Tohir developed Islamic boarding, while Rais developed paburon (cultural pesantren). The Tohir boarding school is slowly disappearing because no one is continuing it,³⁵ while Paburon Rais still exists even though it has to go through a process of the name change.

Madrais followers existence and development paburon until after the death, become an institution seeker is an indicator victory oriented esoteric religious views, or are there other factors that strengthen it. Referring to several sources, especially Pikukuh Tilu, it has become the main reference for the teachings of the Madrais people or also called Rama Panyipta (the parents who created) during the leadership of Tedjabuana who was born in 1892. Tedjabuana officially resumed his father's traditional

³² Pemangku Adat, *Pemaparan Budaya Spiritual Paguyuban Adat Cara Karuhun Urang (Cigugur: Tri Panca Tunggal, 1995)*, p. 19-20. (Cigugur: Tri Panca Tunggal, 1995), 19-20.

³³ Niels Murder, *Kebatinan Dan Hidup Sehari-Hari Orang Jawa, Kelangsungan Dan Prubahan Kulturil* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1983), 7.

³⁴ Yusman E., *Kontestasi Agama di desa Ciremai*, 2010.

³⁵ In the north of Cigugur there is an alley called the pesantren alley. It is suspected that the name of the pesantren refers to the Mad Tohir's pesantren in the past.

activities in 1948 under the name Java Sundanese Religion (ADS).³⁶ For his efforts, Tedjabuana is called the Rama Penerus (an old man who continues his father's footsteps). There were many achievements made by Tedjabuana upon his return to Cigugur. In addition to repairing places of worship that are concentrated in Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal, service of members and ADS worshipers and the establishment of Junior High Schools.³⁷ In the midst of the strengthening of the ADS after the return of Tedjabuana to Cigugur, the pressure of Muslims was not abated, but it became stronger. Social isolation in the form of not engaging in ADS followers, intimidation and infidel stamps is heard directed at Madrais or ADS followers.

Conflict due to differences in understanding among Muslims that have existed for a long time has gotten momentum from 1960 to 1964. National political and social pressure related to the issue of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) has added to the social burden of leaders and followers of ADS who are considered to be non-religious.³⁸ At its peak, on September 19, 1964, Tedjabuana declared himself entering Catholicism through the Cirebon Parish where he was "secured". On September 21, 1964, Tedjabuana made an official letter which he signed himself that he decided to convert to Catholicism.³⁹

Tedjabuana's decision was considered by some to be appropriate because it could save his followers from the PKI issue which was destroyed by the New Order.⁴⁰ However, for local Islamic leaders, the decision was very unfortunate, even disappointing because, as evidenced, the decision of the top leadership of the ADS was not to return to Islam but to choose

³⁶ Selu Margaretha Kushendrawati, "Komunitas Agama Djawa Sunda: Sebuah Fenomena Religiusitas Masyarakat Di Kuningan Jawa Barat,," 2012, https://icssis.files.wordpress.com/2012/05/1819072011_29.

³⁷ Aripudin, *Respon Dai Terhadap Dinamika Kehidupan Beragama Di Kaki Ciremai*.

³⁸ Jerson Benia Narciso, "Christianization In New Order Indonesia (1965-1998): Discourses, Debates and Negotiations," n.d.

³⁹ Basuki Nursananingrat and Camara Bodas, *Peristiwa Sejarah Gereja Cigugur Sebuah Kesaksian* (Bandung, 2000) more see; Basuki Nursananingrat and Camara Bodas, *Umat Katolik Cigugur; Sejarah Singkat Masuknya Ribuan Orang Penghayat ADS Menjadi Umat Katolik* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1977), 20.

⁴⁰ Christopher James, "Sejarah Singkat Gerakan Sosial Madrais Cigugur," 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/notes/bangkitnya-kepercayaan-adat-nusantara/sejarah-singkat-gerakan-sosial-madrais-di-cigugur/1312605895483021/>.

Catholicism as an entry point for Catholic entry to Cigugur.⁴¹ Moreover, the ADS leadership lent a *jinem* room in Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal to become a temporary service and baptismal place for the new Catholic community. Although, as Palgunadi noted, the relationship between ADS and Catholicism was not always intimate, because the majority of ex-ADS Catholics did not want to be baptized, which caused disappointment to Catholic leaders. Apart from problems in ADS-Catholic internal relations, the decision was the beginning of Catholic relations with ADS as well as the beginning of Catholicism entering Cigugur.

Long in silence, because Tedjabuana's decision did not make Madrais's belief die. Prince Tedjabuana died on March 5, 1978, and the ADS leadership was continued by his son Prince Djatikusuma and the grandson of Rama Panyipta Ki Yayi Madrais. The vacuum after the death of Tedjabuana was shocking, Djatikusuma made an innovation related to the existence of ADS by reviving the Seren Taun ceremony (the old Sundanese ceremony tradition). The ceremony was first held on September 22, 1978. The ceremony was attended by more than 5000 ADS followers, both Muslim, Catholic, and even Protestant. Djatikusuma's success has fostered a new spirit of the existence of the mourners.

In a number of urban villages in the Cigugur district, there were also traditional cultural ceremonies, such as dadung parties, *ronggeng gunung* (a type of traditional art with a woman acting as *ronggeng*), *tarawangsa* (a type of seven harps), *jentreng* (Sundanese art from Sumedang) and *chattering*.⁴² *Ngareremokeun* is a sacred ceremony performed at night before the peak of the Seren Taun ceremony. The existence of Sundanese local art in important ADS community events is the spirit of preserving Sundanese cultural heritage traditions. The motivation of the spirit of Sundanese cultural conservation which is the foundation of the ideas of the ADS community still holds the suspicion of local Islamic leaders. The spirit of Madraism teachings still exists in the form of Sundanese cultures.

Suspicion of Islamic leaders, towards ADS, mourners seem to be continuing. The political pressure of the New Order which did not include

⁴¹ IY, *Kontestasi Agama di Ciremai*, 2011.

⁴² *Ngareremokeun* is a traditional ceremony originating from Baduy Kanekes, one of the rituals in Sunda Wiwitan or the Agama Jati Sunda, N.d.

ADS beliefs as religion reinforced the pressure of local Muslims on the ADS community. On July 11, 1981, Djatikusumah grandson Madrais announced the founding of PACKU (Cara Karuhun Urang Indigenous Association) as the ADS morphosis.⁴³ The PACKU activity centre is still in Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal with its branches in various regions. However, PACKU's trip was not smooth because it was still considered a community of mourners. The challenge, according to sources in the community is also the success of Islamic leaders lobbying to the local government.

The government through the West Java High Prosecutor granted the proposal of Islamic leaders by referring to the regulations above. On August 25, 1982, the West Java High Prosecutor issued Decree no: KEP-44 / K.2.3 / 8/1982 concerning the Prohibition of the Belief Flow of the Cara Karuhun Urang Indigenous Association (PACKU).⁴⁴ This decision was a severe challenge experienced by the ADS community during Djatikusuma's leadership. The prince's efforts to survive through fierce challenges, especially from the side of Islam. All innovations of PACKU's followers to survive have always received similar "resistance", both from the government and Muslims. In the case of the establishment of SMP which was initiated by ADS, Muslims were balanced by establishing madrassas, pesantren, and even mosques. The same is true of cooperative economic affairs as practiced by the Catholic community.

Efforts to persevere continue to be carried out by the Madraism community including name changes. Post-New Order collapsed in 1998, the followers of Beliefs Madrais re-organizing themselves. In 1999 they established AKUR (Indigenous Karuhun Urang). The change of name is certainly not just a change of name that has no value, purpose, and purpose. The word "AKUR" is not just an abbreviation as written in advance. The word "akur" is also a Sundanese acronym which means peace or harmony through shared cultural traditions. Madraism followers hope for a harmonious situation even though there are many differences among different religious communities.

⁴³ Observation, on Juni-Juli 2011. Ibid.

⁴⁴ Document of West Java High Prosecutor's regarding the ban on PACKU SK no: KEP-44/K.2.3/8/1982. N.d.

2. Islam and Catholics

Catholics appearing in the Cigugur region were initially a shocking decision by the Islamic leadership of Muhammad Rais, namely Prince Tedjabuana. He converted to Catholicism and then followed his followers following his "new religion". This view is the most popular despite being denied by Rosana. He argued that Catholicism in the Cigugur region was the result of the struggle of the missionaries, while Tedjabuana's decision was more of a "confirmation" or reinforcement of the results of the mission and spread of "good news" (proselytization).⁴⁵ A similar argument was also made by Father Mathias Coppens, who was the first servant priest at the time. Copen said that the decision of the followers to convert to Catholicism was his consciousness, there was no coercion and nothing affected.⁴⁶

Islam and Catholic relations have a long history in almost every location with various forms of relationships. In the Indonesian context, the relationship between Islam and Catholicism as can be seen in several regions has its own form of relationship and is dynamic. In the case of Ungaran, Islam and Catholicism are related to upholding tolerance, although controversy must be triggered by the problem of establishing mosques.⁴⁷ In fact, as Rofi said, the relationship between Islam and Christianity is not monolithic. Social and political factors also contribute to the relationship between the two followers of the religion.⁴⁸

The relationship between Islam and Catholicism and later Christianity in Cigugur went through several social and cultural stages. In the perspective of Islamic groups, especially the leaders, the arrival of Catholics is a new challenge in "mission competition". Catholics are "infidels". Da'wah to them is obligatory, even halal blood.⁴⁹ Words, such as

⁴⁵ Lukas N. Rosana, *Sejarah Perkembangan Gereja Katolik Kristus Raja 1964-2003* (Cigugur: Kuningan, 2005). Tesis of Universitas Sanata Dharma, not published.

⁴⁶ Copen then quotes Yohanes, 15:16. Interview with Pastur GKR 2011.

⁴⁷ Muh. Saerozi, "From Controversi to Tolerance; Dynamics of the Development of Istiqomah Mosque in Front of a Church in Ungaran Central Java Indonesia", *Journal of Indonesia Islam*, Volume 11, Number 02, December 2017.

⁴⁸ Ismatu Rofi, *Depicting the Other Faith: A Bibliographical Survey of Indonesian Muslim Polemics on Christianity*, *Studia Islamika Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, vol. 6, No. 1, 1999.

⁴⁹ A. Aripudin, *Respon Dai Terhadap Dinamika Kehidupan Beragama di Kaki Ciremai* (Jakarta: Rajawali Pers, 2011), 81

“*jeung penghayat acan selesai, Kristen geus datang*” (facing the prisoner is not finished, the Catholic has appeared). That is, Muslims “*face to face*” are no longer limited to followers of followers, but Catholics in religious life in Cigugur. The missionary or missionary competition of religious people in Cigugur is increasingly fierce and sensitive. Catholicism is a government-recognized religion, while madraism is not a religion even though it has changed and has the name of the Djawa Sundanese Religion (ADS). Because the Catholic government was recognized, so Muslims could not arbitrarily carry out da'wah as it was done to followers of Madrais. Islam has signed for not preaching against people who are already religious, both doctrinal and juridical. (QS, 109:6).

The exodus of religious conversion from madraism to Catholicism is a new round of interaction between Catholics and Muslims and followers in this city, as well as a new competitor to Islamic da'wah. Temporary Catholic services were carried out by local Catholic leaders by borrowing a small room in Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal (jinem room) belonging to the followers of madraism. In addition to serving new followers, Catholic leaders also established churches, established schools ranging from childhood to high school. Establish hospitals, cooperatives, carry out social actions and provide scholarships for people in need,⁵⁰ even giving financial assistance to the people who are going to get married.

The social service carried out by the Catholic leader was considered by Muslims as a form of Catholic mission towards Muslims. In the past, such a mission was considered “arrogant”.⁵¹ The missionary action was responded to by similar actions by Muslims, such as establishing schools, madrassas, Islamic boarding schools, Islamic colleges, cooperatives and even demonstrations that caused public concern about physical clashes between different religions. The government through the Ministry of Religion helped through the crass program (the acceleration program) by establishing the State Islamic Education (MTsN) and the State Madrasah Aliyah (MAN).⁵²

⁵⁰ Badruzaman, *Misi Katolik di Cigugur Masif*, (Yayasan at-Taqwa: Cisantara, 2006).

⁵¹ M. Amin Rais, *al-Islam wa Nashraniyah fi Indunisia* (Studia Islamika Indonesian journal for Islamic Studies, vol. 2, Number 1, 1995).

⁵² Crass program or program to accelerate the construction of religious facilities that received special attention from the government at that time. Areas that get the

However, the response of Muslims was unable to surpass the achievements of Catholics in the establishment of hospitals.

The pattern of the Catholic mission's approach to Islam, also with Madraism in the Cigugur case is almost similar, namely the expansion of mission through preaching (sermons, lectures, and dialogues),⁵³ the establishment of worship places,⁵⁴ the establishment of educational institutions, Koperasi⁵⁵ and politics.⁵⁶ For community service, Catholics have the advantage of being able to establish a hospital (Sekarkemulyan Hospital) and the location of Goa Maria's pilgrimage which was inaugurated on July 21, 1990, by Cardinal Tomko. Goa was established to serve the pilgrims of Catholics from various regions and cities that are equipped with complete facilities, such as a large cross wall, a statue of Mary, a shooting area and a hall where important rituals such as Christmas and Easter. Beside Goa Maria, which is bordered by the natural boundary of a valley, there is the Darul Mukhlisin Islamic foundation which is equipped with mosques, dormitories, schools, and radio stations. These two adjoining locations are called DM2 stands for "darul Maria and darul Mukhlisin". The reaction of Muslims when responding to the Catholic mission movement was faced with similar actions and movements. Only the establishment of the hospital that Muslims do not have it.

government's attention are generally areas prone to commotion over religious issues <http://dasmandjamaluddinshmhuh.blogspot.com/2015/06/kontroversi-bukualamsjah-ratu-perwira.html>. See also in document of Ministry of Religion of The Republic of Indonesia, Direktorat Kelembagaan Islam Departemen Agama RI, 1988.

⁵³ In the 2008-2009 survey, it was found that there were about 31 preachers/kyai/ustad from among Muslims. While the Pastor is about 6 people outside of the monks in Catholicism. The most phenomenal priests from the Netherlands are known as the "Dutch trio", namely M. Kuppens, W. Straathof, and A. Rutten. local priest; Sundar, Marhedi, Abukasman, Rafael Priyo Handiyanto, Edwardus Pausta, Antonius Eko Susanto, Markus Suradi, Yohanes Harry Poenomo Noll, and Kusen. Iman Sukmana, *Gereja Katolik Cigugur, Dinamika Historis Paroki Kristus Raja (1964-2014)* (Jakarta: Kanisius, 2014), pp.

⁵⁴ Currently, Catholicism has 4 churches. The oldest church is Christ the King which is located on the slopes of Cigugur. One of his famous priests is an indigenous citizen, namely Abu Kasman.

⁵⁵ Koperasi is a bussiness unit built on the basis of cooperation between members. Koperasi Dewi Sri, which is there, whose members are mostly Catholics.

⁵⁶ What is meant by Politics is the placement of Catholic citizens as heads of RT and RW. While affiliation to political parties is dominated by PDIP as can be seen in the 2009 and 2014 elections.

Several examples of Catholic social movements and actions that have provoked reactions from local Muslims as witnessed by the author. Apart from those stated above, it can be traced down to the following:

The action of mobilizing the masses in front of the Goa Maria gate. The mobilization of Catholic masses was originally a pilgrimage to Goa Maria. However, the mass action was considered by local Muslims as an unusual demonstration to show that the Catholics were many and dominant. The mobilization of the masses of Catholics to Goa Maria is considered not an ordinary thing but has a mission and show of strength. Through his spokesman Badruzzaman, a local preacher protested the act and considered it a form of Catholic proposition.⁵⁷ The reaction of Muslims to the demonstration was by mobilizing the masses of Muslims, both local Muslims and Muslims from areas outside Cigugur, such as Cirebon and Tasikmalaya.

1. Establishment of cooperatives with members of the majority of Catholics. Catholic Dewi Sri Cooperative is engaged in cow milk production and savings and loans.⁵⁸ Before Dewi Sri went bankrupt, this cooperative had sparked competition with Muslims. Local Muslims then established the Laras Ati Cooperative, which was followed by the Miftahul Janah Cooperative with its members being Muslim. Competition between Catholics and Muslims does tend to conflict. Only the efforts of each restraint can save them towards harmony.
2. Action throwing firecrackers by children and young Catholics aimed at local Muslim youth. Although it was originally a game, the firecracker was rung at inappropriate times, such as during the Maghrib and taraweh prayers and carried out near the mosque. The action took place in 1996. The action could be appeased by community leaders and local religious leaders.
3. Cases of seizing waterways for agriculture. The location where the Islamic and Catholic struggles and ADS took place was fertile land. The majority of the people live depending on agricultural products, especially crops, livestock, especially cattle and pigs for non-Muslims

⁵⁷ Observation, on Nopember 2011.

⁵⁸ Interview with Head Office of Koperasi Dewi Sri 14 Nopember 2011.

and services. Water regulation to supply agricultural land is sometimes irregular, giving rise to competition which is the trigger for religious conflicts.

4. Cynical taunts (war of words) between Muslim and Catholic groups, also ADS often occurs. Catholics call the Muslims poor, while Muslims call the Catholics dirty. ADS calls Muslims to be rude, while Muslims call ADS even though "Islam" is not circumcised, so it is prohibited to enter the mosque. The words of ridicule often trigger and ignite the conflict between them.
5. School assistance and marital assistance for economically disadvantaged people is often used as a way to persuade converts, both from Islam to Catholicism and vice versa, and there are even people who convert from Islam to Hinduism because of reasons to get the ease of living wedding. However, after they received the convenience assistance, many of them returned to their original beliefs.⁵⁹ Conversion of religion in these cases refers to the views of M.A. Kevin Brice is categorized as a convert of convenience which is a formality to obtain material.⁶⁰ The religious conversion behaviour, gave the idea to establish a mu'alaf institution which was initiated by Islamic religious leaders.⁶¹
6. "Aggressive" religious mission, especially Catholicism, against local Muslims and followers of followers. The purchase of community land by the Catholic community as well as by Catholic institutions for religious purposes is a challenge in maintaining relations between people of different religions in Cigugur, especially Islam and Catholicism. The progress of the economic potential of the Cigugur community, especially those engaged in services, tourism, and home industries, has made Cigugur one of the destinations or natural and religious tourist destinations. The response of the local community to these economic potentials is to provide facilities to support visitors, such as clean water facilities, providing souvenirs, restaurants, lodging,

⁵⁹ In the case of returning to Islam from 1990 to 2009 there were 311 people who returned to Islam. Interview with the head of FKUB 2011.

⁶⁰ M.A. Kevin Brice, *Si Bule Masuk Islam: Western Converts to Islam in Indonesia More than just Converts of Convenience* (Studia Islamika Indonesian journal for Islamic Studies, vol. 22, No. 1, 2015).

⁶¹ Interview with Chief of Mualaf 2011.

such as hotels and transportation services. However, at the same time, these communities need sufficient capital. One way out is to sell land at quite expensive prices. This opportunity was then carried out by several members of the community and Catholic institutions by buying land even though the price was expensive.

The pattern of the Islamic approach to Catholicism which tends to be harsh is then changed with a more dialogical approach.⁶² Local Islamic leaders Mashuri tried to approach the dialogue when dealing with Catholics.⁶³ The dialogue, referring to Denis McQuail and allows approaching problems perceptually with changing dimensions,⁶⁴ or as Alwi Shihab said, dialogue that is able to bring about a meeting point while abandoning the exclusive view of religion.⁶⁵ The themes of the sermon designed by Mashuri appear cooler and dialogic, such as the importance of recognizing the existence of a community of non-Muslim religious communities while providing solutions related to the interaction of Muslims and Catholics.⁶⁶ A similar response was made by a Catholic leader Abu Kasman. The pastor who memorized al-Quran tried to make Catholic dialogue more polite with a cultural approach.⁶⁷ Translation of several verses from the New Testament and the Old Testament into Sundanese, the language of instruction of the local community being the Kasman project in introducing Catholicism. This strategy was carried out by Kasman so that Catholic teaching was easy to understand. The position of Kasman as a local priest and the upbringing of the Church of Christ the King adds strength in communicating comprehensively and in a more cohesive relationship.

⁶² In the communications, the dialogue method allows approaching problems perceptually with alternate dimensions. Denis McQuail & Sven Windhal, *Communication Models for Study of Mass Communication* (London-New York: Longman, 1993), p. 24

⁶³ Mashuri is a local religious leader who has experience in comparative studies of religion, Interview on 14 Juni 2010

⁶⁴ Denis McQuail & Sven Windhal, *Communication Models for Study of Mass Communication* (London-New York: Longman, 1993), p. 24

⁶⁵ Alwi Shihab, *Islam Inklusif Menuju Sikap Terbuka dalam Beragama* (Bandung: Mizan, 1997), p.58

⁶⁶ In one of his speeches at the invitation of the Church of Christ the King, Mashuri entitled the theme of his sermon "Harmony in Pluralism" which contains the relationship between Jesus and Islam. Mashuri, *Serasi dalam Kemajemukan* (Kuningan: Tidak terbit, 2005).

⁶⁷ Abu Kasman, *Kontestasi Agama di Desa Ciremai*, 2011

Kasman also used the sermon to use Sundanese to distinguish it from less skilled Sundanese-speaking priests.

The thing was done by Mashuri and Kasman did not reach the stage of mission and da'wah based on the view of religious pluralism. However, both efforts can open the new direction of relations between Islam and Catholicism in the context of religious missions in the region. Internalization and dissemination of Catholic teachings by Kasman have not yet arrived at a more transformative mission such as carried out by several missionaries as did Kyai Sadrach in Central Java, C.L. Collen in Ngoro, East Java, and F.L. Anthing in West Java.⁶⁸ Kasman uses Sundanese local culture as a means of preaching the gospel where local culture is used as an acculturative medium in spreading religious teachings. Catholics named Aman, for example, perform shamanic rituals while carrying out missions using "jampi" and "ngelmu" and pronouncing them in Sundanese confessing faith in the Triune God. The practice of "ngelmu" and "slametan" which is Bible study with the method of dialogue, question, and answer, by sitting on the floor and praying, especially after the baptism.⁶⁹

The response to the approach of the Islamic mission, Catholicism and Protestantism in the Indonesian context is indeed almost the same. Alwi Shihab portrays how the response of the two communities of different religious communities in the dynamics of inter-religious relations has been carried out quite intensively by Muhammadiyah in several regions, such as Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Jakarta.⁷⁰ Karel A. Steenbrink (2006)⁷¹ and Th. Sumartana (1994).⁷² Of course, with exceptions in some areas, such as in Bandung. The recurrence of the history of the relationship between Islam and Catholicism shows that there are relations between religious people who are typical of Indonesia even though they have to go through several

⁶⁸ Jan S., Aritonang, *Sejarah Perjumpaan Kristen Dan Islam Di Indonesia* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2004), 87–101.

⁶⁹ Pastur Gereja Kristus Raja Cigugur, *Kontestasi Agama di Desa Ciremai*, 2010.

⁷⁰ Alwi Shihab, "The Muhammadiyah Movement and Its Controversy with Christian Mission in Indonesia" (USA, Temple University, 1995).

⁷¹ Karel A. Steenbrink, *Dutch Colonialism and Indonesian Islam Contacts and Conflicts 1596-1950* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006).

⁷² Th. Sumartana, *Mission at The Crossroads Indegenous Churches European Missionaries, Islamic Association and Socio-Religious Change in Java 1812-1936* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 1994), 24.

stages. Awareness of relations between people of different religions from horizontal conflicts can be controlled and minimized, so as not to cause clashes and even war as similar conflicts in other parts of the world.

3. Catholics and Madraism/ADS

The conversion of the Madrais community to Catholicism was originally a decision of the then leader of the death row, Prince Tedjabuana, who dissolved the ADS due to the New Order's political pressure and the people who had been fallen it.⁷³ He then gave freedom to his followers to enter one of the government-recognized religions. The majority of ADS communities are Catholic following the choice of Tedjabuana's decision. The history of this embrace can be traced to the branches of ADS that are outside the centre of mourners, such as in the areas around Kuningan, Tasikmalaya, Ciamis, Majalengka, and Banjar.⁷⁴ The conversion of these followers politically and culturally gives space to the survival of the Madrais community to survive. Because it can be seen that the ADS community did not really choose Catholicism. They generally don't want to be baptized. Though the baptismal procession is the first sacrament in Catholic initiation. There are also those who claim to have taken part in Catholic rituals, but their hearts are not and still adherents to the mourners' beliefs.⁷⁵

While the local Catholic leadership as represented by the Parish, wants them to be Catholic as a whole. The signs of the basic motives for religious converts to Catholicism for reasons of "self-salvation" seemed to be read by local Catholic leaders, and it turned out to be proven. Precisely in June 1981 when PACKU (neo-ADS) inaugurated thousands of "new" Catholic followers who were entrusted with their original beliefs, namely the Madrais people.⁷⁶ This situation was increasingly confusing to the local Catholic leadership until he had to deal with the leader of the community because it was considered a "betrayal".

⁷³ Jerson Benia Narciso, "Christianization In New Order Indonesia (1965-1998): Discourses, Debates and Negotiations," n.d.

⁷⁴ Rosidin, D.N, "Madraism, Kebatinan Islam and State" (Leiden, Leiden University, 2000).

⁷⁵ "Sunda Wiwitan," n.d., <https://www.kaskus.co.id/thread/53ef137b1a9975ba4f8b4612/cigugur-nasib-tragis-sunda-wiwitan---dewi-kanti-rela-tak-punya-akta-nikah/>.

⁷⁶ Aripudin, *Respon Dai Terhadap Dinamika Kehidupan Beragama Di Kaki Ciremai*, 62.

The religious attitude as shown by the followers of Madraism is indeed one proof that the freedom of one's right of belief is a human right. The incident can also be understood when they first entered Catholicism. After the dissolution of ADS by the government, the majority of Madraism community members did not choose Islam. Because the attitude of Muslims and their leaders was hard on them, in addition to domestic political factors that occurred during the New Order of Indonesia.⁷⁷ They chose Catholicism because they were considered not to have "historical sin". It was the perception of followers of the followers who were later realized by the Catholic leaders to be careful in responding to their diversity. Catholics learn from Islamic experience facing those who are considered to be failing.

When faced with followers of the community, Catholic leaders are more strategic because leaders have contributed to becoming a developing social instrument of Catholicism. This attitude is not found in Islamic groups. Islamic leaders choose to be apathetic, even permissive to the attitudes of leaders. Catholics are more persuasive and have good relations with the "royal family", especially those who are Catholic. The contribution of the Madraism community, especially its leadership, to Catholicism has given rise to a distinctive form of relational relationship. Catholics seem to be more accommodating to the Madraism community movement, as can be seen from their participation in the celebration of Seren Taun, a tradition belonging to the Madraism community. The attitude of the Catholics then leads to religious attitudes that are more tolerant while maintaining their beliefs.

D. Towards Cooperation and Integration

The seren taun ceremony which was used as the annual agenda of the AKUR community became one of the media to unite religious people in the Cigugur after a long period of conflict and conflict. The ceremony is held once a year which is concentrated in Paseban Tri Panca Tunggal. The ceremony is held every 22nd day of the month of Rayagung in the traditional Sundanese calendar. In the seren taun procession which lasted for 7 days, various procession ceremonies were carried out such as, demonstrations of

⁷⁷ Robert W. Hefner, "The Study of Religious Freedom in Indonesia," *Journal the Review of Faith & International Affairs* 112 (n.d.): 2013.

traditional Sundanese art and praying together.⁷⁸ The joint prayer was carried out because in his belief the ceremony was a form of gratitude to the Almighty for the abundance of agricultural produce for a year. In prayer, each follower comes with their respective religious backgrounds. Certain Muslims, Catholics, and others help make the annual event a success. Catholics, as said by Abu Kasman and Pastor Augustine, called it a "cross-faith celebration". Togetherness and unity can be enjoyed. The Catholic awareness has meaning as well as commemorates the historical contribution of the people to Catholicism. In fact, Catholics conduct their own mass in commemoration of the seren taun.

An exception for local Islamic leaders who are immune follows the annual cultural ritual. They are represented by Muslim leaders from outside the region, especially those from NGOs, such as Fahmina Cirebon. The relationship between Islam and Catholicism and followers of mourners seem to have not melted. Local Muslims still hold back and do not participate in the annual ritual. Muslims still sort and choose certain events that can be followed. In ceremonies for the death of members of the community, for example, Muslims are usually present with other religious people. They attend funerals and pray. In the process of praying, they were representatives of Islam, Catholicism, and followers giving prayers in accordance with their beliefs. Likewise in social affairs, the construction of mosques, waterworks, and celebrations of Indonesian independence are often the means by which the Cigugur people mingle, cooperate and help each other. Including mutual help in domestic affairs related to wedding celebrations and housewarming.

In terms of religious tolerance, it also appears to be starting to wake up. During the Eid-ul-Fitr celebration after Muslims fasted for a month, Catholics were accustomed to congratulating the Muslims they met. Among Muslims and Catholics who are neighbours are used to sending food to each other on the feast day. Likewise on Christmas holidays celebrated by Christians, including local Catholics. They share Christmas gifts, especially foods that are acceptable to Muslims. The momentum of such religious attitudes has become increasingly accustomed so that each religious follower feels valued and recognized as a citizen despite different beliefs.

⁷⁸ Observation, on Januari 2010.

In the case of the construction of mosques in the Sukamulya region and Cisantana Catholics helped make it happen in the form of physical and building material assistance. The same thing did not happen when Catholics built churches. However, the situation is understandable, because, in the two regions of Cigugur, the majority of the population is Muslim who have not fully realized the importance of working with the community. The presence of the Religious Harmony Forum (FKUB) is quite significant in its contribution to managing religious relations of different religions in this region. The organization founded in 2007, as the name implies, further strengthens the existence of people of different religions in this region. This organization serves to provide information on the importance of religious harmony, handling conflicts between different religions and strengthening brotherhood.⁷⁹

In addition to the Seren taun ceremony and certain religious events, cooperation between people of different religions also occurs when events related to the affairs of young people. At the art stage and sporting event to commemorate Indonesia's Independence Day, for example, young people from various religious backgrounds (Islam, ADS, and Catholics) mingled and collaborated to succeed in the annual commemoration event. This is facilitated by the sub-district and sub-district to have a function and encourage local youth to interact with one another. Get to know each other and chat in between activities. In fact, there are few cases of young people of different religions to know better which leads to a personal relationship to matrimony, so there are many families in Cigugur in a family consisting of several members of different religions.

Marriage between members of the community is different in religion, becoming one of the media and instruments for how religious people in Cigugur blend with one another in the most fundamental community institutions, namely the family. The kinship relationship plays a role in maintaining the integrity of the community and minimizing conflicts that have different religious backgrounds. However, it was also found that marriages of members of different religious backgrounds did not last long in families. They then re-embraced the original religion. Local Muslims responded to the symptoms of the number of cases of conversion by

⁷⁹ Chief of FKUB A. Nur, *Kontestasi Agama di Desa Ciremai*, 2010.

establishing converts, especially those who embraced Islam, and or those who returned to Islam. Data obtained in 2009 regarding this convert can be seen in the table, as follows:⁸⁰

Table 2

No	Village	Total	Coordinators	Information
1.	Cigugur	139	Nana Juana	+ 4 new converts
2.	Sukamulya	95	Sahri Sudarta	
3.	Cisantana	53	Tarkim	
4.	Cipari	24	Adnan Djajuli	
Total		311		

Source: Report of the Kuningan FKUB Coordinator from 1990 to 2009

The kinship relationship which is a strong adhesive factor in maintaining the integrity of the community of different religions has implications for the environmental factors in which they live. Many members of different religious families are found who have adjacent houses, or neighbours. This fact provides an opportunity for each family member and community to receive, meet, contact and communicate with each other. Exchanging gifts, buying and selling goods, and even borrowing and borrowing everyday necessities occurs like the public in general, without looking at the differences of belief between them. Back and forth people appear to occur in the morning when they leave for their respective assignments. The Islamic leader returned from the mosque, while the monks went to the church. Likewise, farmers, employees and students, they cross each other, greet one another. In fact, asking for a moment chatting relation to matters that have to do with the affairs of their daily lives, especially the mothers.

Another factor that plays a role in fostering an attitude of cooperation is equality in political aspirations. The Cigugur population majority voted for nationalist parties in the 2009 and 2014 elections, namely the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP). Then followed by the Golkar Party and the Democratic Party (both nationalist parties). One of the Islamic Prosperous Justice Party (PKS) is in fourth place. More details

⁸⁰ Chief of STAI Cigugur, 2010.

can be seen at the top of the 2009 and 2014 general election votes in the chart, as follows:⁸¹

Tabel 3

No	Party Name	Number of Votes for the 2009 General Election	Number of Votes for the 2014 election
1.	PDIP (the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)	1315	3295
2.	Partai Golkar (The Golkar Party)	730	3711
3.	Partai Demokrat (the Democratic Party)	468	3346
4.	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (the Islamic Prosperous Justice Party)	249	3392
5.	Partai Gerindra (Gerindra Party)	214	2978
6.		

Source: Data from election recapitulation in 2009 and 2014 in Cigugur District, Kuningan Regency

The similarity in political aspirations shows that differences in people's religious attitudes are not always influential and are in line with political attitudes. PDIP as a nationalist party is not only chosen by Catholics but also Muslims and mourners. The data also shows the existence of religious understanding among the people, especially Muslims who do not know yet, and or assume that religion in Islam has its own relationship compared to non-Islam.

For Catholics, the relationship between religion and politics is not a problem, because as can be seen in its teachings, religion and politics are separated. Islam has a different view because politics and religion cannot be separated. Such a view can be seen among Muslim santri. Referring to C. Geertz's thesis on the typology of Javanese Muslims, the majority of Muslims in Cigugur may be categorized as priyayi and abangan Muslims.⁸² Muslims in the santri category are still limited to Islamic educated graduates from Islamic boarding schools or Islamic colleges and Islamic boarding

⁸¹ Data on the results of the 2009 general election recapitulation, Cigugur District, Kuningan Regency.

⁸² Abangan are groups or community members who are "allergic" to Islam as a religious social organization, See Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, 113.

schools. While the *prijajis* are many of the groups of heretics, because indeed they, especially the leaders, are of royal descent. The similarity in political aspirations clearly supports opportunities for cooperation that leads to an integral society.

In line with political aspirations, cooperation between people of different religions was also facilitated by the sub-district government and the *kelurahan*/village government. Cigugur District and Cigugur Sub-District play a role in creating community integrity. In fact, the local government can play a direct role in controlling and creating balance in the government that accommodates and serves the entire community regardless of the background of differences in religion and belief.⁸³ In fact, several times the members of the Catholic community became the heads of the RT and RW and had once become a sub-district head. This fact shows that religious relations in Cigugur are increasingly developing in a better direction in the context of Indonesia.

E. Conclusion

Referring to the explanation of the competition for various religious communities, it can be concluded that competition within the internal Muslim leaders is the beginning of the emergence of people of different religions. They try to influence people through the spread of religious understanding. Within the Muslim community there are two orientations; inclined to *fiqh* and inner. these differences develop into conflict. *Fiqh* groups based in *pesantren* did not develop after the departure of their leader (Tohir), while inner group groups (*Madraism*) grew and developed and continued in descending order. The conflict between the two Islamic orientations does not stop in the form of intimidation, humiliation, isolation, and mass clashes even down to the realm of law.

The community of devotees (*batini*) made a name change to maintain their faith until dissolution. The devotees were then scattered into the religion recognized by the government. Apart from converting to Islam and Protestantism, the majority of the worshipers converted to Catholicism. Catholics entered, and even received support from *Madraism*. Catholics

⁸³ For the position of head of RT, RW and *lurah*, it has even been held by non-Islamic community members.

enter and carry out a mission that is quite progressive in starting mass religious conversions through a variety of approaches, social, education, scholarships and health services. The reaction of Muslims to the Catholic mission movement was carried out with a similar approach, except for the establishment of a hospital which had not been reached by the Islamic group.

Madraism with Catholicism. The momentum of events commemorating national holidays and general elections (Pemilu) is one of the media to reduce conflict because people of different religions have the same aspirations and work together. Conflict has become a social lesson that raises awareness among them through the ceremonial agenda of the AKUR followers; reduce the aggressiveness of religious missions or sermons against people who already have a religion; the formation of FKUB; foster mutual respect and respect among citizens. []

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