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**PELA- GANDONG AND HARMONIZATION LIFE
OF BROTHERHOOD (ORANG BASAUDARA)**

(Study case The Relations of Islam and Christianity post conflict in Ambon)

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Abstract

In post conflict period, Moluccas people were re-echoed the desire to be a civilized society and a dignified. Moluccas Community believes that the spirit of Pela-Gandong is able to glue back the kinship that had marred. Pela is cultural friendships which have been institutionalized in every heart, mind, and behavior of the Moluccans, it's mean that they come from the same culture, although their religion is different. Pela-Gandong is a "mental awareness "of the "orang Basudara" were so strong, so whatever the burden and responsibility of the "orang Basudara" is a shared of responsibility. This Relationship has relevance to the teaching of religion in ukhuwwah concept. Therefore, the embodiment of teaching of Pela and the values which contained it's none other the practice of religion. Instead, the reluctance to hold of Pela tradition, it's same as reluctant to implement the values of religion itself.

Keinginan masyarakat Maluku untuk kembali menjadi masyarakat yang beradab dan bermartabat kembali dikumandangkan pascakonflik. Masyarakat meyakini bahwa spirit Pela-Gandong mampu merekatkan kembali tali persaudaraan yang sempat tercederai. Pela-Gandong adalah persahabatan kultural yangtelah melembaga dalam setiap hati, pikiran, dan perilaku masyarakat Maluku, yaitu bahwa mereka berasal dari budaya yang sama walaupun agama yang mereka anut berbeda. Pela-Gandong panggilan jiwa orang Basudara, yang begitu kuat, sehingga apapun yang menjadi beban dan tanggung jawab orang Basudara merupakan tanggung jawab bersama. Ikatan seperti itu memiliki relevansi dengan ajaran agama dalam konsep ukhuwwah. Oleh karena itu, pengejawantahan ajaran Pela dan nilai-nilai yang terkandung di dalamnya tidak lain merupakan pengamalan ajaran agama. Sebaliknya, keengganan untuk memegang tradisi Pela, sama dengan enggan melaksanakan ajaran agama itu sendiri

Keywords: Pela-Gandong; post-conflict; ukhuwwap; Ambon

A. Introduction

In reality, Indonesian is a pluralistic country from the aspects of ethnicity, race, culture, and religion. In the context of national and state is a resource for Indonesian national unity. Ambon city that have title the “Manise” city ¹ or “pretty” is not for shows a beautiful landscape, but the lives of the people who matter to tolerance and pluralism (plurality) of race, ethnicity, language, and religion. The tolerance of Ambon’s Manise, it’s had been as a pilot region or “model” for the development of harmony in Indonesia. Tarmizi Taher, a former minister of religion RI in every speech both at home and abroad, always said that the Moluccas as an example how success to build a good relationship between adherents of different religion. Sukarno, first president of Indonesia's was quoted as saying TJA. Uneputty once said: “If we are looking for a form of national unity so we can get it in Moluccas, we should learn from Moluccans”².

The good tolerance of Ambon society in cultural as supported by local wisdom in Ambon, this is Pela-Gandong. For centuries the local wisdom has been effectively to build tolerant of social life in Ambones. However, in the beginning of 1999 the people of Ambon surprised by the human tragedy that makes their shock and lose of trust to life together. Its make some of Moluccans began to asked about the existence and essence of Pela Gandong which as adhesive in Ambones society life.

In post conflict period, the Ambones resounding strong desire to be a civilized society and a dignified again. Some people believe that the spirit of Pela -Gandong still able to strengthen brotherhood in the Ambon. They wait hopefully to the effectiveness of local wisdom for the unity of nation (safe, beautiful, and prosperous). They believe that only people of Ambon in Moluccas who can restore the dignity and the rule of 'greatness' of Ambon. Some people began to realize that there was something wrong in the implementation of Pela-Gandong in Ambones lives. This is one’s reason the writer chose to write about Pela-Gandong and harmonization the brotherhood life (Muslim and Christian) in Ambon post-conflict period.

The main question in this paper is to be answered how the harmonization of brotherhood lives in post-conflict of Ambon, especially among of rural society that have a relationship the pela or gandong with other villages where they are different religion and how the different responses of the two leaders of different religious communities about pela-gandong

¹The word “Manise” actually is the abbreviation of safe, beautiful, and prosperous

² T.J.A. Uneputty, *Perwujudan Pela dalam Kehidupan Social Budaya Masyarakat Maluku*, (Ambon: Star Offset, 1996), p. 20.

B. History of Pela-Gandong

The term of Pela-Gandong is a designation to two or more countries that are raised brothers to one another. Pela-Gandong is the essence of the two words *pela* and *gandong*. "*Pela*" is a relationship of unity, while "*gandong*" means brother. So *pela-gandong* is a relationship of unity with each as a brother³.

According to Jhon Chr. Ruhulestin at least there are three meaning the term of *Pela* which influenced by linguistic environment. First, the linguistic environment in the Uli Hatuhaha area at Haruku island (*Pelauw*, *Kailolo*, *kabaue*, and *Hulaliu*), the meaning of *Pela* is "already", it's seen on sentence "*Ale Pamana pela*" which means that do you have eaten. Second, linguistic environment on Uli Solimata in Ambon Island (*Tuleha*, *Tengah-Tengah*, and *Tial*), *pela* have meaning "enough", an example of the use of language seen in the phrase "*Mahaya taha pela*" which means the food is not enough. The term of *Pela* is equal with the term "*pelania*" which means until well or stop, and Third, The environment of language in *Seram* community it's same with the word "*peia*" which is refers to the definition of "brothers" were drawn from the *kakehan*⁴ tradition.

Brother in *kakehan* tradition its does not refer to a relationship based on genealogist factors but tribal members⁵.

Besides the definition above, Ruhulestin is also noted that the other assumption the word of "*pela*" is comes from the word "*pila*", which means make something for us together. Sometimes the word of *pila* is given the suffix "*tu*" it's get *pilatu*. Means of *Pilatu* is strengthen, secure or organize something is not easily to be broken. Then it changed the meaning, its effort to secure or rescue⁶.

³Early febriana, "Kearifan Lokal sebagai media penetrasi pesan-pesan penyuluhan social" in <http://www.kemsos.go.id/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=18036>

⁴*Kakehan* means secret of alliance. Usually, prospective members are children *kakehan* adulthood, after which they gather in the woods and down to where it is to be a secret. There they were sworn in ceremony, their processes for approximately three days. A sign that they have become members of *kakehan* is given *Tatoo*. After that they were trained for a few months at home *kakehan*, they are taught "to live wisely, well, polite towards family and the people around him, and maintain fellowship / brotherhood in *kakehan*. *Kakehan* tradition developed in the community *Seram* Island (*Nuaulu*) in order to face the threat of the luar. Jhon Chr. Ruhulestin, *Public Ethics; Digging Tradition of Pela- Pela in Maluku*, (Salatiga: University of hristian Satya wacana, Salatiga, 2005), p. 147.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

In another perspective, the word *pela* is the acronym of "*peia*" and "*luia*" which means "something covenant to love one another for sibling or such as siblings".⁷ *Pela* is also means: "the forms of union of countries".⁸ In the literally the word of *pela* which derived from the word *pela-u*, have means "you are first and then I"⁹, which mean is to interest of each priority and it's the main characteristics of the village believe in-*pela*.¹⁰

Another possibility word of *pela* is from the semantics development of word "*pilatu*" the means are unity, strengthens or strengthening".¹¹ The children's in South-east Moluccas, precisely in Ely/Elat village, Phoneme "*p*" in the word *pela* sounded with "(mbe)", so the word (*pela*) becomes "*Mbela*", so the villagers are understood as "friends who help each other in of joy and sorrow". This definitions seems to have relations with the word *pela* in Central Moluccas, where in the real the ancestors of domestic children/South-east Moluccas is also used of *pela* / defense with Slide village in Central Maluku (now is include district in East Ceram).¹²

This last means is reinforced by Stresmann who said that in other areas in outside of Central Moluccas, there are also words that have similar meanings; *bela* which means friend or best-friends. This is found in Southeast of Moluccas: *bela* in Banda Elat-Kei Besar, *belano* in Wokam village on Aru Island, *bel* or tea-bell in Kei Kecil. There is also word *balbela* in Fordata Island on the island of Yamdena, Tanimbar.¹³

From the history, the tradition of *pela* was emergence from two Villages which helped each other, and then it's bound by a collective agreement from generations to generations. The both of villages bind themselves to jointly defend each other either in joy or in sorrow.

Pela-gandong usually involves two different villages with different religions (Islam-Christian). It was created by itself for some reason, such as Kailolo and Tihulale countries was located in district of Central Moluccas on October 2, 2009 their back to presence of each other *pela* as a fraternal bond and its raised the Governor of Moluccas.

⁷J.E. Lakollo, *Budaya Pela-Gandong dari Pulau Ambon*, (Ambon: League of cultural in Moluccas, 1997), p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5

⁹ T.J.A Unepputty, *Perwujudan Pela dalam Kehidupan Social Budaya Masyarakat Maluku*, p. 17

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Karnusa Serang, figure in Banda Ely/Elat society, *interview* in Ambon, on 1 5th July in 2014 at Campus of IAIN Ambon.

¹³ Nicodemus Sedubun, "Pela di Maluku Tengah", dalam <http://ohoi-ra.blogspot.com/2014/05/pela-di-maluku-tengah1.html>

There are some versions with regard the beginning of pela-gandong tradition. According to the first version, in the era of Dutch colonial was created a mutually beneficial of relationship between the two countries which in 1921 AD when Dutch held striped boat race in Central Moluccas, both of countries are a team. This team is a winner so the bond of brotherhood feeling emerged between the two countries. One year's later; the solidarity is shown when Kailolo country builds of Nan Datu Mosques. Then Kailolo invite Tihulale country and Tihulale come to bring some wood and boards that will be used in the construction of the mosque. Conversely, a few years later the Tihulale country building the Beth Eden church, domestic residents of Kailolo give many ceramics. This barter was happened occurred at around 1922 and recently in 2009 the both countries returned to pledge bond as brother (Basudara).¹⁴

According to the second version, pela-gandong was born in the Dutch colonial period, starting when the Netherlands was about to convene the Latupati at Amarina who will kill King of Pulauw (Islam) named Ronesina. This plan was thwarted by King of Titawey (Christian). The Alliance between king of Ronesina and king Titawey is the forerunner of pela-gandong to protect each other and to keep differences on ethnic and religion in Ambon.¹⁵

It is not clear which of the two version is firstly, but this shows that in Haruku island (Kailolo and Pulauw village) and other islands in surrounding, such as the island of Nusa Laut (Titawey village) and the island of Ceram (Tihulale village) which entirely included in the territory of Central Moluccas. The bond of brotherhood agreement we known as pela or gandong was started and commonplace between villages since colonial period.

Another version even told that the birth history of pela was happened in long time before the arrival of Europeans. That stems from head hunting and warfare between groups, tribes or villages, people of Alifuru in the back country of Ceram Island. As a result, tribal or village feel threatened its will attempt to establish pela with other villages. Usually, weak village or villages will join with stronger village. Interwoven between villages in pela have aims to obtain protection of save. Highly influential leader of war is a Kapitan. He has magical powers to capable of defeating the rival. So usually the war was happens is not a war between the groups against group or overwhelm. But, the war between the two Kapitan, they are fighting with weapons or magical powers, while the following in the group just waiting for a second who's in the fighting to be a winner. Then the winners become a feared leader, as well as the group. The losers with his group will attempt to seek shelter to the winner. In seeking this

¹⁴Yunus Rahawarin, "Kerjasama Antarumat Beragama Dalam Penyelesaian Konflik di Ambon dan Tual Maluku", *Dissertation*, (Yogyakarta: UIN Suka, 2010), p. 67.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 67-69.

protection is always ending with take the oath of brothers (pela). Both is being a brother bond of mutual to protect and assist in the safe or war situation. Other condition is no marriage between the two groups and generations. The curse of Pela between the both groups was centered on the drinking blood together. Usually from a losing team members were taken and mixed then drunk together, ranging from his Kapitan then followed by members of the group. The bond of originally pela in Alifuru tribes in the back of Ceram Island is not familiar with cannibalism and revenge. Time for this formation is not known in certainty. But most likely, he formed long before the arrival of the influence from Sultanate of Ternate and Tidore before the fifteenth century.¹⁶

According to Cooley, at least there are two things that stand out in traditional Moluccans society that underlie pela, the cooperation and conflict. The particular cooperation of villages can establish and improve relationships in the form of pela. Instead the conflict has reached to overcome the problems encountered and further improve relations of pela.¹⁷

Appointment of pela itself has various shapes based on the level of ties between the countries/villages who get-pela. Bartels says that there are three types of pela, they are Pela Keras or pela Batu Karang, Pela-Pandong and Pela Tempat Sirip. In Ambon, Pela Keras is also called Pela Tuni (in Ambon language, Tuni mean Keras (hard)). However Cooley mentions there are only two types of Pela, Pela Batu Karang and Pela tempat Sirip. Pela-Gandong include into Pela Keras, because there was prohibited to marry among the members.

There are three kinds of Pela we known in the society, namely:

1. Pela Tuni, means True of Pela (Pela Sejati) . This type can not to changing. This type was happens because relationship of blood between traditional leaders country/village, or for major events concerning the life and death of the village, so there was a relation of pela with good relationships. In this type of Pela the relationship is very stronger, so it is also called "Pela Batu Karang (Rock of Pela)". This type of Pela is realized in the form of oath by drinking blood ejected through their fingers and then mixed with Sopi (a type of liquor in Moluccas) and then drink after them the ends of the weapon (machete) dipped into the blood mixed with Sopi. Of this type of

¹⁶Nicodemus Sedubun, "Pela di Maluku Tengah", in <http://ohoi-ra.blogspot.com/2014/05/pela-di-maluku-tengah1.html>

¹⁷Hamadi B. Husain, *Kerukunan Hidup Umat Beragam di Maluku*, (Ambon: Usuluddin Faculty, 1995), p. 70.

pela is also called "Pela-Darah" (Blood of Pela). In this Pela is accompanied by a pledge oath together as follows:

- a. That both countries/villages should help one another.
 - b. That both countries /villages must fulfill the promise that has been spoken.
 - c. That both countries/village not allowed being married with his brother of Pela.
2. Pela-Gandong, is bond of Pelayang based on family lineage ties; one or several tribes/clans in different villages claim to have the same ancestor. This can lead to the conclusion of a treaty between the villages which have same origins tribe/clan. At this stage, kinship rope is passed on to everyone in the village who be united. This type of Pela is also called Bongso.
3. Pela Tempat Sirip. This type are not held of absolute agreement should be observed, and the oath which He swore as in Pela Tunj. Called Pela tempat Sirih (Betel place of Pela), because a nut is used as a medium that play a role in the effort to approach each other toward mutual agreement in lifting of Pela. In this type are not absolute as Pela Tunj because there is no ban to marriage between villages/countries who have relation of Pela. In addition, this type is favors friendship treaty, so it's not known the existence of sanctions for violators of the agreement between them.¹⁸

Based on the results of field inventory in all villages on the island of Ambon, has found that almost all villages have a trust relationship, either in the form of Pela and Gandong with another villages on the island of Ambon, Haruku, Saparua, Ceram, and the Islands of Lease. Not a bit of relationship occurs between villages/country inhabited by the Muslim with the Christian community. For example, the relationship of pela or gandong in Muslim community with a Christian can show on the island of Ambon presented in the following of table:

¹⁸*Ibid.*,p. 65 and 67. Dieter Bartels, *Hubungan "Pela di Maluku Tengah dengan di Nederland* (Arizona: Yavapai Collage, 2001), p.3.

Table
The Relationship of Pela-Gandong
Between Muslim villages and Christian villages in Ambon

No	Village / Country	Religion of Community	Pela with Village/Country	Religion of Community	Types of Pela	Ket.
1	Batu Merah	Islam	Passo	Christian	Gandong	
2	Hila	Islam	Hative Besar	Christian	Gandong	
3	Hitu Lama	Islam	Hative Kecil	Christian	Gandong	
			Nusaniwe	Christian	Gandong	
4	Hitumessing	Islam	Galala	Christian	Arumbai	
			Hative Kecil	Christian	Gandong	
			Allang	Christian	Batu	
			Lilibooy	Christian	Karang	
					Batu	
					Karang	
5	Laha	Islam	Amahusu	Christian	Gandong	
6	Larike	Islam	Allang	Christian	Gandong	
7	Mamala	Islam	Waii	Christian	Tungku	
8	Morella	Islam	Waii	Christian	Tempat Siri	
9	Negeri Lima	Islam	Hattu	Christian	Gandong	
10	Ureng	Islam	Lilibooy	Christian	Tumpah Darah	
11	Wakasihi	Islam	Hatu	Christian	Gandong	

For the Moluccas, Pela-Gandong is a heritage that "sacred" by all communities and historically proven and capable of reducing social problems (conflicts) that they facing. Pela-gandong is native culture of Moluccans that is a powerful tool for the adhesive and become interfaith brotherhood, tribe and race. A sense of togetherness in the "teachings" pela and behavior that are put to one another in various aspects of moluccans life, it can be seen in the association of them every day. Feel kinship to maintaining the unity of the community is a characteristic of a pela society.

By "teaching" Pela, Muslim countries could help his pela Christian for example build up the Churcp. Likewise, Christian diverse country can help his pela who's Islam to build a mosque. Not only help one in the building of mosques and churches, but also during the inauguration of places of worship are two different religious communities that just blend each other. Even when the

prayer will be implemented, pela-gandong's Christian actually prepares the water for ablution and prayer rugs/mats for prayer. Likewise, pela-gandong Muslim will prepare a seat when their pela-gandong Christian will perform the religious service.

One's interesting thing is that pela-gandong which became a symbol of religious harmony in Moluccas in generally occurs between Islamic countries with a Christian country. The Both harmony (Islam-Christian) were increasingly strong and sturdy as bound by a promise to be mutually agreed by the two countries were air-pela. Appointments are agreed that the following:

1. Mutual to Love each other
2. Mutual to Respect each other
3. Mutual cooperation each other
4. Mutual to help aids each other
5. It should not be blamed or blame in public
6. There should be helping others more than his own pela
7. There should be no resentment among the country's Pela
8. Don't be married to fellow country boy Pela (this is for those who are sibling)
9. Ownership (utilization) together with the results of the garden/forest

These Promises to be mutually agreed between the countries that pela appear to be maintained and respected by them and are very effective in maintaining and preserving religious harmony in the Moluccas. This can be proved in the event January 19, 1999, known as the events' Eid-Bloody.

At the time of the occurrence of human conflict, the countries that have relationship of pela are never fighting each other; even tend to help each other, although there are differences of religion between them. The differences of Religious is not become a barrier to working together and helping each other. This not mean the mutual confuse religion with other religions, but mutual respect within the framework of "lakum dinukum wa liya din" it's apparently still maintained by each other.

C. Overview of Conflict in Ambon

The roots of Conflict in Ambon, as stated by Shamsuddin, can be seen from the moment of contact between Islam and Christianity since the colonial of Portuguese and Dutch (VOC) in Moluccas there are:¹⁹ First, was happen the forced of Christianity and Islamization. Islam was come in Moluccas in peacefully before the arrival of Christianity. After the Portuguese and the Dutch came to Moluccas the problem arises, for example, the case of baptism to the

¹⁹Syamsuddin, *Dakwah dan Kontruksi Sosial: Persepsi terhadap Pelaku Dakwah di Kota Ambon* (Yogyakarta: UIN Sunan Kalijaga, 2012), p. 82.

villages of Islam to Catholicism by force, after it forced of Islamization was happen by Sultan Hairun and last occurred evangelism by the Dutch (VOC), there are also several Islamic countries force be Protestants.

Second, was happen the destruction of Cultural roots of Moluccans. Cultural consensus based on Siwalima,²⁰ five communities that previously had embraced of Islam was changed by Portuguese as Catholicism, likes was happened in Hatawano, Saparua Island, Hatuhaha and Leihitu in Ambon Island. The same was done by Dutch to converting society of Waai become Protestants, although he didn't do it in sporadically as Portuguese. The impact is lima community is Islam and siwa is Christianity, there are also Lima group be Christian.

Third, the next cultural destruction was happen when resettling the countries that do not conform to traditional system. Chaos was happen when Dutch try to decline the country from the old country to get new place, because there are groups of Siwa placed in the group of Lima, the opposite is also a group of Lima who is placed in area of Siwa. For example, community in Batu Merah, which mostly comes from Huamual in Lima was placed in Siwa, so now be a problem with country of Soya.

Fourth, economic injustice by Dutch was done more favorable to Christianity trade. In Economic sector is more detrimental to Muslim and interests to Christian. Trade of monopoly and hongi tochten by VOC, with a cutting of clove and nutmeg in a large scale, this was happen in Banda islands and territories of Huamual, which majority of the population are Muslims.

Ambon conflict at the end of the twentieth century, (i.e in 1999) is considered as the Muslim-Christian conflict that resurfaced. The conflict sparked by a fight between youth Muslim with youth Christian who work as a

²⁰The newspaper is customary communion and fellowship groups. Literally Siwalima is a combination of two words Siwa and five, Siwa means nine and five means five. This concept refers to the three brothers who claimed to be the ancestor of the Moluccas which comes from the island of Seram, ie Ulisiwa, Ulilima, Uliassa. Ketiganya escaped from bandang. Setelah flood subsided, they separate themselves by following the direction of twigs which they rode upon floods. Uliassa youngest offspring believed to inhabit some of the islands of Ambon Island, Haruku, Saparua and Nusa Laut, whereas Ulilima Ulisiwa eldest brother and sister both still inhabit the island of Seram. Descendants of both are known as Shiva and Pata Pata Lima and has a union to live in social cooperation and development ekonomi. Pada, Pata Siwa more mengaliaskan group in Portuguese and convert to Christianity, while Pata Lima Five religion Islam. See Hatib Abdul Kadir, "Sapa Bale Stone, Stone Bale He: Political tradition revivalism Siwalima People "Ambon" Post-Conflict", *Journal of The play* Vol. 1 No. May 1, 2012, p. 61-62. Thus, the term does not refer to the number Siwalima and number of countries that bind the union, but only just symbols only.

driver of city transport when they hung on Mardika of Terminal Market. From this feud of two young men, the conflict spread and extends to the all area in Ambon. Moreover a few years later this conflict has expanded to all area in Moluccas which involves two different religious communities. Conflict in Ambon (1999-2002) was deeded approximately 3000- 4000 people, while the number of refugees from all over the Moluccas Island is estimated at about 440 thousand people.²¹ The impact of this conflict is make Ambones was segregated into regions based on their religion, the Muslim community and the Christian community.²²

D. The life of Muslims before and Post-Conflict

In history Ambones was consisted of social structure pattern the social grouping in hierarchical level each has reflecting the broad of territorial coverage and genealogy.²³ The social grouping structure is known as Ulisiwa or Patasiwa and Ululima or Patalima, which became popular term of Siwalima. There are Uli (village) it's consisting of nine Uku (village) and called Ulisiwa, and there's Uli consist of five-Uku called Ulilima. According to RZ Leirissa the social grouping with certain of characteristics, especially in terms numbers nine and five these have become a cosmology about how the Ambones see themselves and their environment.²⁴

The structure of Traditional community in Moluccas with this polarization they understand the differences as a functional element, and it's not something that should be eliminated or avoided.²⁵ Both of religion (Islam and Christian) was contributed the acculturation culture in Ambon. In historical perspective when Islam was enter in Moluccas and then it's accepted by society of Ulilima, and when Catholic and Protestant were welcomed by the people of Ulisiwa. In Symbolic and cultural of Siwilama society was developed into a culture of Salam-Sarane. The invention and cultural accommodation process

²¹Lambang Trijono, *Keluar dari Kemelut Maluku : Refleksi Pengalaman Praktis Bekerja untuk Perdamaian Maluku*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), p. 72.

²²Subair, dkk. *Segregasi Sosial Berdasarkan Agama Pascakonflik di Ambon* (Yogyakarta: Grha Guru, 2008), p. 33. .

²³J.W. Ajawaila, "Orang Ambon dan Perubahan Kebudayaan", in *Indonesia Antropology*, No. 61, Thn..XXIV, 2000,p. 17

²⁴R.Z. Leirissa, *Maluku Tengah di Masa Lampau: Gambaran Sekilas Lewat Arsip Abad Sembilan Belas*(Jakarta: Arsip of National Republik Indonesia, 1982), p. 1.

²⁵Nicola Frost, "Adat di Maluku: Nilai Baru Atau Eksklusivisme Lama" in *Indonesia Antropology*, No. 74, Tp.XXVIII, p. 4.

were making Moluccas culture as a unity.²⁶ The main of Moluccas (Ambon) Culture as a unity is the culture of Ambon and all the basic values that shape its can to understand only in perspective of togetherness between Patalima and Patasiwa or between Salam and Sarane. When trying to understand in other perspective that's means be against basic forma of Moluccans cosmology

The entry of religion and the acceptance by people in Ambon it's not indicate there are a problem to leads the conflict. According to M. Saleh A. Putuhena, the early people of Ambon (Moluccas), with a Mono-Dualistic of view (top-down, the sea-shore, Patasiwa-Patalima), it's never questioned about differences of religion.²⁷ Acceptance of Islam or Christianity by a group of people is for granted of framework and maintaining views on the concept to balance or mono-dualistic which has become a world-view. In Ambones the perspective or view that balance of Salam (Islam) and Sarane (Christian) is should owns because it is based on mono-dualistic perspective. Ambones were having built their awareness that if we have already to embrace of Islam (Muslim), so there must be also relatives who could receive Sarane (Christian). Ambones is never having potency to be a conflict so there have Gandong concept. In cultural context, Gandong is relationship (fraternity) between the two villages of different religions (salam-sarane) but they were bound in genealogy.²⁸

This view may be true when the religion, both Islam and Christianity was propagated by religious of preachers, who merely just a preaching mission, they did not have a political tendency. The missionaries were succeeded to instilling that mission of love is becomes important dimension of religiosity was to both Muslims and Christians. Interaction of salam-sarane is take place in a positive way, because each group is part of another and have responsible to efforts turn for each other's. Then was came the term salam -sarane karja rame-rame, which means that Muslims and Christians to work together.²⁹ Then this Cooperation was confirmed again with the birth of a culture system that is known as a Pela it's to maintain the integrity of interaction between salam and sarane. The Positive interaction which reinforce of cultural identity for Ambonese who have same emotional of bond, although they different of religion was lasted for centuries.

²⁶M. Saleh A. Putuhena, "Peranan Pendidikan dalam Pengembangan Budaya", This Paper, in Seminar Moluccans Culture in 60th Years Anniversary of Moluucans Province, Ambon, 26th July 2005. p. 3.

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸ Hadi Basalamah, *Pemikiran Tentang Interaksi Sosial Salam-Sarane dalam Membangun Kerukunan Antarumat Beragama Pascakonflik Di Kota Ambon* (Makassar: Post Gaduate Program University of Islamic State Makassar, 2006), p. 98.

²⁹*Ibid.*

However, when we examined more deeply, when the religious mission has been contact with politics of colonialism, so it's begin to a self-identification in the extreme process. More Muslims choose attitude as opposition to colonialism. So it can be understood that in Moluccas was occurred several times of war which is the resistance of the Muslims against imperialism. For example the war of Wawane, Alaka war, war of Iha, and so on.³⁰ In political perspective the community of Sarane (Christian community) slightly to benefit by the colonial policy, while his brother (basudara) salam (Islamic community) in relatively of marginalization position.³¹

During the Dutch colonial period in Ambon, aspects religion, education, and politics is an important concern for the colonial government. There is a kind of confidence the Dutch elite in Moluccas that Christianity is a way to increase the loyalty the local people to the colonial government, and to achieve this goal it should be pursued with education.³² The close relationship between education and Christianity has been successful until the twentieth century; many Christians who have managed to acquire the modern education as compared to other regions in Indonesia.³³ While on the other hand, the Muslim in Moluccas was not want to send their sons to school in Netherlands school's because their fearing that their son will to be Christianized, in addition at the time the education of politic it doesn't give access to indigenious communities including Muslims. Nevertheless, in social interaction as a two communities the relationship between Salam-Sarane likes relationship of brother (Basudara).

In addition to the aspects which became the basic values of their culture likes pela, gandong and so on, it can be felt several differences between salam-sarane in Ambon, both from cultural and political aspects. Differences among other are present in several aspects such as aspects of language, fashion, music or art and dance, political aspects, aspects of the sport. Differences of dialect,

³⁰HLM. Maryam R. L. Lestaluhu, *Sejarah Perlawanan Masyarakat Islam terhadap Imperialisme di Daerah Maluku* (Bandung: Al-Ma'arif, 1986), p. 25.

³¹Richard Chauval, *Nationalists, Soldiers, and Separatists* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1990), p. 105.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 25. See, M. Natsir, *Islam dan Kristen di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Tinta Mas, 1966). p. 20.

³³ The schools were first established the Dutch government is a Christian school, as happened during the Portuguese, while they are mostly recruited is the sons of the king because the king occupies an important position for the efforts of the Dutch colonial political control range. See Tri Ratnawati, *Finding Peace in Maluku: A Historical Approach Politics, the Communal Conflict in Indonesia Currently*, (Leiden-Jakarta: INIS, 2003), p. 4.

fashion, sports and particular of music as well as the political affiliation was influenced by differences of religion.

It's difficult to ascertain since Ambones Salam-sarane start to position the religion as a collective identity, even religion became a measuring tool to assessing a person. There is an assumption that since appeared the imperialism, Ambones have been dissected significantly of salam-sarane so in this time salam-sarane regards interaction as a psychological demarcation in thought of Ambones. Imperialisms are also give impact to destroyed basic structure of Siwalima, salam-sarane by a forming exclusive of communities was based on religion in form of customary lands are strictly segregated. The indigenous communities began to form organizations affiliated to religion, including political parties which is based on religion. The emergence of political and religious organizations was have emphasized the expansive nature of the two religions, the mission of an obligation that are to support the exclusive solidarity. This seems is also to strengthen the psychological segregation salam-sarane relations in Ambon. These differences are increasingly emphasized the collective identity.

In other side, the collective identity is due the view of religious formalism. The religion was just into a formal that no longer in functional. When formalism put forward, we just appear black and white the view of religion to every individual and collective behavior. Meanwhile if one religion preferred was a denomination in functional aspects then the emphasis of how the values of religious moral ideal are interpreted and applicable in the midst of social life community. The value of religion is not just to "punish", but also "help". Definitions aspects of consciousness and value of religious doctrines in the past can give effect to community in their interaction, whether it leads to conflict or integration.

Ambon's conflict lasted nearly four-year (1999-2002) has made polarization of salam-sarane which segregated into two regions of different area. The Muslim life in post- conflict was segregated by religion, although in social life remains long time. However, in some other areas in Ambon there are also people who have returned to same place in different places of religion.

E. Pela-Gandong as Adhesives Relations of Brotherhood (Basudara)

Local wisdom of pela-gandong in Ambones can be termed as a cultural friendship which institutionalized in every heart, mind, and behavior of Ambones. They believe that their originally come from the same culture despite their religion is different. Because it's a cultural bond, the pela-gandong can be

interpreted as "a calling of soul" of brotherhood (basudara).³⁴ The soul of brotherhood (basaudara) is very strong so whatever was burden and responsibility of brotherhood (basudara) was shared. The Philosophy of Pela-gandong has universal social value is also recognize by a number of people, including the academics. It's same with stated by Polly Kurkare, pela-gandong is the wisdom that comes from local but the value have International scale. He said that pela- gandong is universally valued friendship were bound not only by the indigenous people of Ambon alone, but anyone who wants to bind the cultural brotherhood among anywhere. People who come from Makassar, Bugis, Javanese, Buton, and the other which is not customary, during they stay in Ambon and wants to build a constructive community in Ambon can do it.³⁵

Spirit of Pela-gandong has been embedded for centuries in Moluccas, especially between Islam and Christianity. For the non-indigenous (non-Ambones), Pela-gandong will difficult to understand if only to see the looks of reality. Bond and calling a soul of Pela Gandong is really a spirit of the Ambones with pela to continuously strengthen the bonds of friendship and brotherhood as equally brother (Basudara). It was raised by Mrs. Hanna; pela-gandong is a natural brotherhood and friendship of Ambones who seek to build social harmony through cooperation, mutual help, and each to shoulder between citizens.³⁶

The core of pela-gandong tradition is presence and attention in community of pela-gandong to help each other, work together in a constructive social life. Some activities can be realized in the embodiment of pela-gandong to build church or mosque. The community of Muslims who build mosques was assisted by Christianity. Each community gave a labor, materials and money to completion the construction of religious facilities. As according to Polly, that actualization of pela-gandong was manifested by Ambones in form of discordant of energy and provision of materials, such as cement, wood, and others to construction of the mosque, as happened in Haruku. Conversely, when the Christians built churches, Muslims help, as was done by Christians.³⁷

Solidarity the basudara (brother) of pela is also indicated to conservation of natural and social laws tradition. They have a shared of responsibility to maintain and preserve nature and maintain proprietary rights their brother (basudara) through embodiment of sasi. Lands and trees that grow

³⁴ Hanna P, Widyaiswara Provinsi of Moluccas, *Interview*, Ambon on 1 July 2014 in Moluccas.

³⁵ Poly Kurkare, Dosen FISIP Unpatti, *Interview*, Ambon Tanggal 4 July 2014 in FISIP Unpatti Office, Ambon.

³⁶ Hanna P, Widyaiswara Balai Diklat Provinsi Maluku, *Interview*, Ambon on 1st July 2014 di Balai Diklat Kementerian Agama Provinsi Maluku.

³⁷ Poly Kurkare, Dosen FISIP Unpatti, *Interview*, Ambon Tanggal 4 July 2014 in FISIP Unpatti offices, Ambon.

in the land of the brotherhood (basudara) during the sasi period was utilized and maintained not to use prematurely.

Relationship of brotherhood "people basudara" in pela-gandong tradition is a part of Islamic teachings about social relationships that are embodied in the concept of ukhuwwap. According to the explanation by Idris Latuconsina, pela-gandong was part of the Islamic doctrine of brotherhood, especially about human brotherhood.³⁸ Something similar was stated by Umar Payapo, that Islam upholds the teachings of ukhuwwah, which one of the meanings is brotherhood of man.³⁹ In explicitly Islam was mentions that "ukhuwwah" as inspired from texts in Qur'an⁴⁰ and the Prophet of Muhammad SAW.⁴¹

As a concept, ukhuwwah are includes of human brotherhood (ukhuwwah basyariyah / insaniyah), fraternal fellow of countrymen (ukhuwwah wathaniyah), fraternity of collateral (nasab), such as between children and parents, and also brotherhood in religion (ukhuwwah Islamiyah). Three types of ukhuwwah was mentioned in firstly is clearly beyond brotherhood in religion. Therefore, practice of Pela and values which contained are implementation of Islam. In contrast, reluctance to hold of Pela tradition, it's same with reluctant to implementation the values of religion itself.

F. Conclusion

From the explanation above these can be understood that strength of pela is in the collective consciousness of countries that have pela, they actually are brothers, both in collateral relatives or brother because of the agreement between them.

In the human tragedy in Moluccas was indication of serious violations in human right. But it seems the relationship of pela-gandong which has been a long symbol of brotherhood in Moluccas community has enough power to eliminate rancor between two groups arising from that human tragedy. It's as never happened. It can be "understood" because in addition a "doctrine" of pela about love each other, there is also "teaching" of pela about should be no

³⁸Idris Latuconsina, Secretary of MUI Maluku, *Interview*, Ambon Tanggal 6 July 2014.

³⁹ Umar Payapo, academic, *Interview*, in Ambon on 5th July 2014 at campus of IAIN Ambon.

⁴⁰Some verses in holy Qur'an which tell about Ukhuwwah are QS. Ali Imran (3): 105; QS. Al-Hujurat (49): 10 dan 13; dan QS. Al-Anfal (8) : 62. Teks dan the meaning of verses is on the Appendix of this paper.

⁴¹ There are many hadists which tell about ukhuwwah some of them are called in the appendix of this paper

"revenge" amongst the children of domestic who have brother agreement or pela tradition . Although it must be recognized that it's not only way to muffle of human tragedy in Moluccas, but at least the condition of Moluccas unrest that so many casualties (Muslim-Christian) can be suppressed and not more widespread with the approach of pela-gandong. Although the Moluccas society are different customs and religion extremely can be called a "never get along" in many ways, but with pela-gandong they were "became one and united" in almost all social problems.

Although, word of pela-gandong often spoken in together, but from the history the word pela and gandong each other has a different background. Pela is more focused on the agreement between two country/village, while gandong is not only addition an agreement but it's also cause of blood relativities between two country or village.

In the "values" of pela-gandong "unknown" differences in religion, ethnicity and race. The differences of religious actually accepted as a reality of life to live in harmony and peace in society as "brotherhood (basudara)" who have pela-gandong, that mutual respect, mutual aid and put the interests of each.

Pela-gandong as the original culture of the Moluccas, it seems very important role to fostering and enhancing of harmony among religious adherents (Muslim-Christian). This is one thing that it "not be able" by adherents of religions self. This inability seems because of "religious fanaticism" that tends to justify their own religion and blame others religious. While the relationship between pela not known it, for example, "fanaticism of pela-gandong" which is known "values" of pela-gandong is; one heart and one gandong (bladder) like brother and sister.

1. Observing the heterogeneity of Moluccans, presumably the values which exist in teaching of pela-gandong is also the substance of the teachings in religions, it's should be continue and explored, to developed and preserved this existence by the government to an effort "reconcile" the adherents of different religions post-conflict period in Moluccas.
2. Approach to development harmony of religious in the Moluccas is expected to use two patterns:
 - a. The pattern of religious approach. This pattern is only used for inter-religious adherents (among people of diverse). This pattern is more emphasis on religious awareness and observance.
 - b. The pattern of Pela approach. This pattern can be used for inter-religious adherents (between different of religions). Although the substance of Pela-gandong is "equal" with the values of the religions, but should be avoided of languages religion. This pattern should be more emphasis on the cultural similarities, derivatives and customs.
 - c. The government is expected to become a facilitator celebration of "panas pela" (a kind of reunion between country / village who have

pela). This is important because the "panas pela", the land / village who have pela will warm of friendship relations and agreements was ever professed by the ancestors of have pela. It's must to do to continue to be obeyed and respected and take together from generation to generation.

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