

## **MADURESE CHRISTIAN In Search of Christian Identity within Muslim Society**

**Akhmad Siddiq**

State Islamic University of Sunan Ampel, Surabaya

*email: a.siddiq@uinsby.ac.id*

### **Abstract**

*In many discussions and conversations with Muslim Madurese I often heard common belief that none of Madurese individuals embraces Christianity. They mostly conceive that almost one hundred percent of Madurese people are Muslim while Christian people living in Madura are generally non-Madurese. It might be right but the fact shows that some of the Madurese have embraced Christianity, besides Madurese Christian community in Sumber Pakem East Java which is practicing Christianity for more than four generations. The ignorance of Madurese Muslim toward Christian population, especially Madurese Christian in Madura, appear because of less interaction between Muslim and Christian on the one hand and social worries of Madurese Christians to express their identity on the other. This paper aims to describe the existence of Madurese Christians, examine how they survive inside and outside Madura island, and how they interact with Madurese Muslims. It also attempts to elucidate cultural connection between ethnicity (of Madurese) and religiosity (of Christian).*

*[Dalam perlbagai diskusi dan perbincangan dengan orang Madura, seringkali terdengar pernyataan bahwa tidak ada orang Madura yang memeluk Kristen. Dipercaya bahwa 100 % orang Madura adalah muslim, sedangkan orang Kristen di Madura adalah bukan orang Madura. Hal ini mungkin benar, namun realitasnya berkata bahwa ada sekolompok orang Madura memeluk Kristen beberapa generasi dan tinggal di Sumber Pakem, Jawa Timur. Ketidaktahuan ini disebabkan oleh minimnya interaksi antara*

*Madura muslim dan Kristen disatu sisi, dan di sisi yang lain karena adanya kegagangan kelompok Madura Kristen untuk menunjukkan identitasnya pada publik. Artikel ini menjelaskan keberadaan orang Madura Kristen dan bagaimana mempertahankannya dan berinteraksi dengan muslim, baik di dalam maupun luar Pulau Madura. Artikel ini juga mengeksplorasi hubungan kultural antara etnisitas (Madura) dengan agama (Kristen).]*

**Keywords:** Madurese, Islam, Christianity, social identity.

## A. Introduction

It is somewhat sensible when many Madurese claimed that almost all Madurese are Muslims. Statistics reported that more than 99 percent of Madurese population are Muslims. There are approximately 8,000 Christians living in Madura compared to 3,787,174 Muslims. Based on BPS (Central Bureau of Statistics), other religious believers living in Madura are Buddhists and Hindus—in spite of its very small number—with their own temple and shrine in Pamekasan and Sumenep.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Emha Ainun Najib, an Indonesian Muslim writer and artist, illustrated Islamic picture of Madura by saying, “Di Madura ayam dan sapi pun Islam (In Madura, even the chicken and the cow are Muslims).”<sup>2</sup>

Madurese Islam has traditionally established for centuries through at least three key elements: the pesantren (Islamic traditional education system), the Nahdlatul Ulama (Muslim organization), and the kiai (traditional Islamic authority).<sup>3</sup> Pribadi asserts that the santri culture of Madura was rooted to religion that makes it difficult to draw a clear distinction between tradition and religion.<sup>4</sup> Strength and weakness of Muslim-Christian relationship in Madura and beyond do not only remain

---

<sup>1</sup> BPS Kab. Pamekasan, *Kabupaten Pamekasan dalam Angka 2016* (Pamekasan: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Pamekasan, 2016), p. 186; BPS Kab. Sumenep, *Sumenep dalam Angka 2018* (Sumenep: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumenep, 2018), p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Mirjam Lucking, “‘Arabness’ as Social Capital in Madura”, *Islamika Indonesiana*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2014), pp. 37–46.

<sup>3</sup> Yanwar Pribadi, “Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture”, *Al-Jami’ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1 (2013), pp. 1–32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

on how Madurese Muslim interact with Christian but also on how Madurese Christian interact with their Muslim counterpart.

According to Husein, Muslim-Christian relation in Indonesia has been influenced by unfinished debates on religious exclusiveness and inclusiveness. Focusing on Muslim's understanding and interpretation on Christian-Muslim relation during New Order Indonesia, Husein states that inter-religious discourse raised as highly-attractive tension: exclusivist Muslims criticized inclusivists for being linked with Christians (and Jews), weakening Islamic faith with secular-liberal interpretation, and fostering Christianization.<sup>5</sup> In Madura, discourse on inter-religious relation involves within social activities and internal-external identification which could create cultural distance between Christian and Muslim society. On the one hand Madurese people preserve Islam as a main part of their multiple identities, on the other hand they tend to exclude Christianity out of from social concern. In this context, social encounters are needed to create mutual understanding and good communication between religious communities, as it is supposed by Fahardian that identities are reflective depending on the contexts of social encounters.<sup>6</sup>

Renowned as religious people, Madurese Muslim tend to associate their ethnicity with Islam as unseparated entities. Being Madurese for them is being Muslim: converting to another religion outside Islam means to be detached from the ethnicity of Madurese people. When Kusumah states that Islam has become an innate character of Madurese people,<sup>7</sup> it means that Madurese people are identical with Muslim identity. In other word, to be Madurese is culturally to be a Muslim. In this regard, it is interesting to look at Kipp's description that religiosity (Christianity) has become a unifying factor which was culturally indebted in the social identity of Karo People. He concluded that at one point in the past religious conversion from Christianity to Islam has been perceived by

<sup>5</sup> Fatimah Husein, "Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims' Perspectives", Ph.D. Dissertation (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2003).

<sup>6</sup> Charles E. Farhadian, *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Maulana Surya Kusumah, "Sopan, Hormat dan Islam: Ciri-Ciri Orang Madura", in *Kepercayaan, Magi, dan Tradisi dalam Masyarakat Madura*, ed. by Soegianto (Jember: Tapal Kuda, 2003), pp. 1-29.

Karo people as a crossing turn of the ethnic boundary. By becoming a Muslim, an individual in Karo society was recognized as non-Karo and became a Malay.<sup>8</sup>

Another interesting research is Kahn's anthropological finding of other Malays. Kahn presumes that within the history of Malay nationalism in which popular narrative of national ethnicity and social identity implanted there occur a suppressed racial exclusion to other ethnic identities, such as Chinese and Indian. Attempts to build more or less a fixed and stable modern identity of Malay to some extent blocked the possibility of making alternative narratives.<sup>9</sup> Malay people acknowledged what so-called orang asli to identify themselves and discount another ethnic group. Kahn criticized this myth of originality by exploring that ethnicity of Malay was extended across the peninsular area of island Southeast Asia and the islands of Indonesia, including Sumatra.<sup>10</sup> The reality exemplifies racial or ethnic propensity to fortify imagined identities by the majority.

In this regard, it is understood that Madurese Christian, as the religious minority living in Muslim Madurese society, was challenged by social resistances through a manner of religious instrument: that Islam is a common narrative of Madurese people. Social resistance occurs especially from people with whom they interact and communicate with each other. A Madurese Catholic in Sumenep said that his decision of being Catholic must be paid by having cracked friendship and excluded by his family. Many friends and relatives avoided to meet and interact with him after his conversion to Catholic.<sup>11</sup> For them, Christianity is a "mistake" and to be Christian is to be "opponent" of Islam. When he grew up, he decided to move from his former neighborhood to a new neighborhood which are fairly disconnected with his past. Some of the Madurese Christians tend to conceal their new-faith at the beginning until they felt well prepared to face any social challenges. This condition

---

<sup>8</sup> Rita Smith Kipp, *Dissociated Identities: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in an Indonesian Society* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Joel Kahn, *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006), p. xxiii.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29–70.

<sup>11</sup> ED, interview (20 Oct 2017).

emerges as a public inhibitor to social identity integration where the feelings of threat not only impede Madurese Christian's adjustment to the change but also decrease their identification with the new religious community.<sup>12</sup> Catherine E. Amiot points out that adaptation and social support can inherit a developmental mechanism toward social identity integration.<sup>13</sup>

When I aimed to interview Madurese Christians in a certain church in Madura, they preferred not to talk about their Christianity with "non-Christian" person. They kept a distance to expose their identity as Madurese Christians. Romo Fajar reminded me about a traumatic condition and Rev. Samuel mentioned historical worriers they might face during the interview.<sup>14</sup> It could, according to them, raise personal wounds of the past.

At the first time I embraced Christianity, my friends kept a distance from me. Some of them threatened me by giving Islamic books, directing me to come back to Islam, and even intimidating me physically... I have ever got an attack in front of the church from an unknown person trying to kill me by motorcycle assault. And thanks to God I was saved.<sup>15</sup>

Frankly speaking, I am not strong enough to talk about it... At the first time I embraced Christianity, I was expelled from my village. My family and my neighbor did not accept my existence as a Christian. I was tried by the people. I was really weakened. I wanted to go away from this city. The torture was very tough for me. But here now I can still live in this city... Thanks to God.<sup>16</sup>

Different experience acknowledged by Madurese Christian who stay outside the island. HRS, a Madurese Christian in Surabaya, states that his life in Surabaya—far away from home in Sumenep—was a gift of God where he can delightfully practice Christianity without any social worries and fears. He remembered his Christian-childhood in Madura

---

<sup>12</sup> Catherine E. Amiot et al., "Integration of Social Identities in the Self: Toward a Cognitive-Developmental Model", *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 11, no. 4 (2007), pp. 364–88. social identity theory, self-categorization theory

<sup>13</sup> Amiot et al., "Integration of Social Identities in the Self".

<sup>14</sup> Romo Fajar, interview (6 Nov 2017); Rev. Samuel, interview (30 Oct 2017).

<sup>15</sup> AD, interview (31 Oct 2017).

<sup>16</sup> MA, interview (9 Nov 2017).

which was full of social threats from his friends, relatives, and neighbors.<sup>17</sup> WK, another Madurese Christian living in Surabaya said that her faith has not been suspected by her friends, families, or colleagues both in Pamekasan or Surabaya. She asserted that she still communicates with her schoolmates in Pamekasan regardless of their religious disparities.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, Madurese Christians living inside or outside the island share similarities of their closeness with Islamic tradition beyond their Christian faith. As Madurese people, Islam (as cultural practice) has been ingrained within Madurese cultural expressions, such as conducting tahlilan (Islamic ritual after death) and yasinan (reciting a certain version of the Qur'an). BD, a Madurese Christian living in Bondowoso, notified that he still attends Islamic ritual in his village when he was invited to come. Moreover, he was a santri (Muslim student) before his conversion to Christianity.<sup>19</sup>

Visiting a house of the Madurese Christian in Surabaya, East Java, I have seen the transcript of Doa Bapa Kami (the Lord Prayer) hang up in the wall, written in Arabic and drew with beautiful Arabic calligraphy. Many Muslim guests supposed that the picture is Ayat Kursi (a verse of the Quran). The host said that the picture was sketched by his brother, who was grown up within Islamic society. I suggest that the culture of pandalungan, hybrid identity of social acculturation between Madurese and Javanese, has created an inclusive school of thought among Madurese living outside the Island, where religion and ethnicity could be equally positioned within traditional activities.

In his article, “Religion and Ethnicity: Theoretical Connections,” Rebecca Kim points out that ethnicity and religion have been rooted in long-lasting relation, in spite of assimilation and secularization theory that questioned the existence of ethnic in the first and religion in the second. Exploring and criticizing these two major theories, he argues that there was a deep connection between social transformation and revitalization of Christianity in America.<sup>20</sup> In term of Madurese Christianity, it was

---

<sup>17</sup> HRS, interview (14 Aug 2017).

<sup>18</sup> WK, interview (17 Nov 2017).

<sup>19</sup> BD, interview (13 Aug 2017).

<sup>20</sup> Rebecca Y. Kim, “Religion and Ethnicity: Theoretical Connections”, *Religions*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2011), p. 323.

witnessed that migration and social transformation had influenced the wave of Christianity in Madura or Madurese Christians life. In what follows I will explain two significant entry points to describe social and cultural life of Madurese Christians: Madurese Christian community in Sumber Pakem and Alketab (the Madurese version of Christian scripture).

## B. Madurese Christian Community in Sumberpakem

Among—to avoid saying the only—Madurese community that practice Christianity along with Madurese tradition is Madurese Christians living in Sumber Pakem, Jember. They represented the fourth or fifth generation of Rev. Ebing (Bing) who fostered Christianity among the Madurese in the district for the first time. He is the first person of the Madurese in the district who embraced Christianity in 1882 and spread out Christian doctrine among his family and companions.<sup>21</sup> After being baptized, he called ten of his families to Christianity and become his former congregation. There were at least five persons who had a role in spreading Christianity in Sumber Pakem: Rev. Ebing, Yapet, Sampun, Maria, and Juman.<sup>22</sup> Almost all Madurese Christians in Sumber Pakem today are descendant of these people. About 7 kilometers from Sumber Pakem, there is a little church of District Paleran which also involves Madurese Christian community. This community has been circled within small area maintaining not more than 109 persons. According to Asmawi, a Christian leader in Paleran, all Madurese Christians in the district are descendant of Bhuju' Satima. For Madurese people, bhuju' is a great-grandfather, a term that is used to signify certain ancestor representing historical fame of a family lineage. Along with the population growth of Bhuju' Satima, Madurese Christian at the area established Paleran Church in 1958. Before this time, Madurese Christian in the district came to Slateng to perform church service and liturgy.

Sumber Pakem represents a central church for three other Christian churches in its surrounding areas: Paleran, Slateng, and Kalisat. In Fajar's term, Sumber Pakem is a masjid (great mosque) which manages three

---

<sup>21</sup> Edy Sumartono, *Kidung di Kaki Gunung Raung: Sebuah Potret Komunitas Madura Kristen* (Bandung: Bina Media Informasi, 2009), pp. 47–50.

<sup>22</sup> Pak Win, interview (12 Aug 2017).

musalla (little mosque) under its supervision.<sup>23</sup> In the beginning, Sumber Pakem was known as one of the most dynamic areas of the Christian missionary. It was I. J. Esser from Java Committee<sup>24</sup> who initiated to spread Christianity for Madurese people, both inside Madura or outside the island. He established an elementary school in Sumber Pakem as his first missionary action where Ebing, one of his pupils and successors, grew and became Madurese Christian proselytizer.

Compared to Christian missionary for Javanese people managed by NZG (Nederlandse Zendelings Genootschap), the mission initiated by Java Committee for Madurese people was more challenging and puzzling. Social and technical difficulties occurred within that mission relating to its method and approach. There was no meeting point between Christianity and Madurese ethnicity that could energize promising result of the mission as well as no comprehensive knowledge of Madurese life and culture.<sup>25</sup> However, the growth of Christianity in Sumber Pakem and its surrounding areas has successfully produced several Madurese evangelists such as Ebing, Guru Soleiman, Guru Injil Amin, Nugroho, Guru Injil Bogi, Pilipoes, Alpejoes, and Tartib Eprojim.<sup>26</sup> To maintain social encounter between Madurese locality and Christian theology, they nurtured their Madurese Christianity under official support of GKJW (East Java Christian Church).

Madurese Christian community in Sumber Pakem symbolizes lived and practiced Christianity in the midst of Muslim majority neighborhood. Madurese Christian and Muslim share the same tradition regardless of their different faith. Anyone can find cross-cultural and cross-religious family in Sumber Pakem where the husband is a Christian and the wife is a Muslim or vice versa. The family of ML is an example: he is a Christian, fifth generation of Madurese Christian ancestry in the district, while his wife is a Javanese Muslim. Their children are educated within Christian

<sup>23</sup> Fajar (Christian priest Sumber Pakem), interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Java Committee was Board of Christian missionary organized in 1855 and had three branch offices: 1 in Java and 2 in Sumatra.

<sup>25</sup> Lembaga Penelitian dan Studi Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia, *Benih yang Tumbuh: Suatu Survey Mengenai ....* (Bandung: Badan Pekerja Sinode Gereja Kristen Pasundan, 1975), p. 94.

<sup>26</sup> Lembaga Penelitian dan Studi Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia, *Benih yang Tumbuh*.

theology but not avoided to learn Islam. ML insisted that he will allow his children to choose to be a Christian or a Muslim, sometime in the future, when they were grown up.<sup>27</sup> Similar to ML, EK lives with his Muslim family in one house. He shared rooms with his Muslim uncle and auntie. He said that to live in an inter-religious family is to mutually respect each other and not to impose certain belief to another.<sup>28</sup> In his official house of GKJW Sumber Pakem, Fajar accommodated several Muslim children to play and learn traditional music with him. He has also involved in social activities and ceremonies, such as bersih desa (cleaning feast of the village) and maulid (birthday festival of the Prophet Muhammad).

Muslim and Christian in this area shared a similar story of migration and faced the same weakness or happiness of life. They are brothers and sisters connected not only by kinship but also history, culture, and ethnicity.<sup>29</sup> The tension commonly based on mutual suspicion between Christian and Muslim as elaborated in Mujiburrahman's *Feeling Threatened* has not been reflected and exacerbated among people of the area.<sup>30</sup> Their ethnicity and religion have been smelted equitably through open public communication and affinitive interaction. Social interaction in the district reflects what Menchik called as "communal tolerance" which stems from group rights and separation between religious and social affairs.<sup>31</sup>

Madurese Christianity in the district symbolizes Madurese ethnicity which is entangled with Christian theology: it is kind of distinctive acculturation where Madurese (commonly identified as one-hundred-percent Muslim society) assimilated with Christianity. Living outside the island of Madura, Madurese Christians in Sumber Pakem practiced Madurese tradition in their daily activities and conduct social interaction with Muslim society based on shared identity and engagement. They encountered mutual and equal practice based on cultural origins.

---

<sup>27</sup> ML and his wife, interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>28</sup> Eko (Madurese Christian in Sumber Pakem), interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>29</sup> Pak Win, interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>30</sup> Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia's New Order* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), pp. 299–300.

<sup>31</sup> Jeremy Menchik, *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 124–5.2016

Madurese people in Sumber Pakem transcend beyond Noha Nasser's description that some prominent narratives explore dichotomic mythology between "self" and "other", "control" and "oppression", "educated" and "barbaric". Nasser emphasizes that the need for mutual understanding and communication between two cultures is currently eager.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, Madurese Christian in Sumber Pakem used Madurese language in the sermon and liturgy, specifically in the second week every month, while Churches in Madura use Indonesia language as their lingua franca. The church also utilized Kejungan Pojian Rohani Untuk Jemaat Berbahasa Madura (Madurese liturgical songs) as liturgical songs for Madurese community.<sup>33</sup>

### *C. Alketab*

Alketab is a Madurese version of Christian scripture. Alketab is part of a long-lasting process of Biblical translation into local languages among Malay and Indonesian nations. This process started from Ruyl's initiation when he translated the Bible of Matthew into Bahasa Melayu (Malay language). He needed 12 years for this effort and finished his project in 1612. In 1629, this Malay version was published by Jan Jacobsz Palenstein, Nederland. Ruyl was a pioneer for Malay translation of the Bible. In 1668, Daniel Brouwerius published his full translation of the New Testament into the Malay language. Among the first generation of Biblical translators into the Malay language was Melchior Leijdecker who translated a full version of the Holy Book in a very thoughtful and academic method. Before finishing his translation, which reached almost 90 percent of completion, Leijdecker died. His translation was continued eventually by Pieter van der Vorm. In 1733, the translation was published in Amsterdam in Latin text while the Arabic text (pegon) was published in Batavia in 1758.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Noha Nasser, "Muslim-British Architectural Exchanges in Britain: Dispelling Myths, Rewriting History, and Creating Shared Identity", *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, vol. 24, no. 1 (2012), p. 6.

<sup>33</sup> *Kejungan Pojian Rohani Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan Untuk Jemaat Berbahasa Madura* (Sumber Pakem: Majelis Agung GKJW, 2011).

<sup>34</sup> Daud Hadi Soesilo, *Mengenal Alkitab Anda* (Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 2014), pp. 54–60.

Before the 19th century, the Biblical translation was generally done as personal or unorganized initiation. The Biblical translation is latterly conducted by a team which involves at least three groups: translators, researchers, and consultants. Translators are selected from local churches who represent various intellectual background (such as theology, linguistic, and social science) and different ages. All translation documents must be discussed and criticized before they are published.<sup>35</sup> In the 19th century, all Biblical translation activities into Malay or Indonesian language was controlled by Nederlands Bijbelgenootschap (NBG, Biblical Society of Nederland) members who live in Amsterdam. This condition remained until World War II. In February 1954, initiation and need to have an independent board for Biblical Society of Indonesia (LAI) was certified. In the same year, LAI was recognized by UBS (United Bible Society).<sup>36</sup> Initiatives for biblical translation are based on needs and proposals from Christian local congregation.

At the beginning, it was only the Gospel of Mark which was translated into Madurese language and published limitedly in 1971, although the process of translation began from 1967. In October 1971, the whole pieces of the New Testament were translated into the Madurese language, but only in 1972 the Gospel of Luke was published while the Gospel of Matthew was published in 1974. In 1981, the project of Biblical translation into Madurese entered a new phase when Hasaniah Waluyo, a Madurese Catholic from Pamekasan, was honored to be a translator. She was a teacher in the Catholic Secondary School of Pamekasan and mastered in the English language. Consultants of this project were P.G. Katoppo and H. Ugang. The team was involved in Protestant and Catholic congregations. The project was finished later than it was estimated and just published in 1994. From this year, the whole chapters of the Holy Book were translated into Madurese language.<sup>37</sup>

Before this full version of the Holy Book, Madurese Christians in GKJW Sumber Pakem had used several books such as Ketab Injil

---

<sup>35</sup> Lady Mandalika, email interview (27 Mar 2018).

<sup>36</sup> J.L. Swellengrebel, *Mengikuti Jejak Leijdecker: Satu Setengah Abad Penerjemahan Alkitab dan Penelitian Bahasa dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Nusantara*, vol. 1 (Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 2006), pp. 9–20.

<sup>37</sup> Swellengrebel, *Mengikuti jejak Leijdecker*.

Sotceh Se Etoles Yohanes (the Gospel of John), Kejungan Pojian Rohani (Spiritual Songs and Prayers), and Tjareta Saratos Empa' (One Hundred and Four Stories) written by van der Spiegel in 1929.<sup>38</sup> These books are well conserved in the local church in Paleran and Sumber Pakem. When I visited the local church of Paleran, Asmawi said that they still keep the Madurese language as a liturgical language used within church service twice in a month: in the first and the third week.<sup>39</sup> Fajar strengthened Asmawi's statement and intended to preserve the Madurese language as an "official and local" language of Christian liturgy among Madurese people.<sup>40</sup> Interestingly, East Java Christian Church in Bangkalan Madura does not use the Madurese language within its ceremony because the Christian congregation in the church are mostly non-Madurese.

Alketab represents a deep-rooted connection between Madurese culture and Christianity where the local language of the people implants within religious texts of Christianity. The Biblical society supposes that Biblical translation into local languages in Indonesia could be a theological pledge which links local people to the essence of Christian values and doctrines. Having understood as a basic element of cultural expressions, language can explain many aspects of cultural representation within society. in this context Alketab has strengthened the cultural position of Madurese Christian within other Christian ethnic groups in Indonesia.

#### **D. Religious Life of Madurese Christian**

During my research in Madura and beyond, I found various responses from Madurese Christians as informers. The first Madurese Christian I met in Sumber Pakem accepted me very well, told me stories he knew about Madurese Christian and explained Muslim-Christian relationship in the region. Another Madurese Christian in Bondowoso shared his story of being Madurese Christian while giving me more stories about his close friendship with his Muslim friends and colleagues in the past. Some only told me their stories very concisely while others avoid

---

<sup>38</sup> Tjiptowardono, "Buku Kristen Kuno Bahasa Madura Perlu Perhatian Serius", *ICW* (2005), [https://sejarah.co/artikel/buku\\_kristen\\_kuno\\_madura.htm](https://sejarah.co/artikel/buku_kristen_kuno_madura.htm), accessed 28 Mar 2018.

<sup>39</sup> Asmawi, interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>40</sup> Fajar (Christian priest Sumber Pakem), interview (12 Aug 2017).

to meet and talk to about their Christianity. Through an encounter with some of Madurese Christians, I could feel worries and fears to discover their existence and identity of being Madurese Christian. This kind of suspicious feeling was especially given by Madurese Christian living inside Madura island, yet who living outside the island, such as Sumber Pakem, tend to be more inclusive.

At one point when I met a Madurese Christian woman in Pamekasan, her husband asked me about my intention on interviewing Madurese Christian. He asked me not to reveal “the Islamic past” of his wife and her religious turn to be Christian. He reminded me that the story might contain traumatic feelings. I appreciated this family because they could overtake some social problems in their past concerning their choice of being Christian. In another case, I met someone who told me his historical past and his conversion into Christianity without any fears. He said that all religious experiences he faced were a blessing. A Madurese Christian living in Surabaya told to me that being a Christian does not mean to break the cultural connection with Madurese tradition and her Madurese friends. Based on this reality I suppose that connectivity with Islam and social fears had culturally entangled within Madurese Christian life.

### *1. Connectivity with Islam*

Some of the Madurese persons converted to Christianity by his personal choice while others were born within an inter-religious family, where the father is Christian and the mother is Muslim or vice versa. In regard to this situation, both are familiar with Islam and have cultural knowledge relating to Islamic tradition. The condition gives them comparable knowledge and experience between their past and present: between Islam and Christianity. This reality allows them to be culturally connected with Islamic knowledge and tradition practiced by Madurese Muslim around them. Such connectivity to some extent influences cultural and religious approach how Madurese Christian builds inter-religious relation with Madurese Muslim.

When I met BD in Bondowoso he told me a story of his Muslim childhood and its connectivity with his today’s Christianity. He lived as a Muslim child in Madura where all children in the village came to

musalla or mosque to learn the Qur'an and Islamic doctrine. Like other children in his village, BD studied Islam in pesantren to improve his knowledge of Islam. He confessed that he has a deep relationship with his Muslim friends until today though he became a Christian. "When I moved to this settlement and held slametan rumah as welcoming party, my Muslim friends come and helped me to organize the party," he said. He kept his connectivity with Islam and Muslim friends because it was a part of his life.<sup>41</sup> BD live with his Chinese wife and their children in the Muslim majority area. In several attendances, many Muslims supposed him as a Muslim because of his awareness and connectivity with Islam. Connectivity with Islam and Muslim tradition might influence Madurese Christian to deal with and respond to inter-religious relation.

RN, a Madurese Christian woman living in Surabaya, told me that when she was a child she used to play with other Muslim children in her village in Pamekasan. She remembered that her Muslim neighbor often called her to learn and recite al-Qur'an and other Islamic praises. She felt no objection although she was a Christian. She perceived that being Christian girl did not limit her to interact and interplay with her Muslim friends. This experience created intimate connectivity inside her retention with Islam. Moreover, her mother was an English teacher that conducted a private course for students in her house. When she moved and lived in Surabaya, her son was also familiarized with Islamic praises and recitations because her house was located near to a mosque. Interestingly, her son could memorize some of those recitations.<sup>42</sup> In line with RN, WK affirmed that she recites Islamic praises called ayat seribu dinar (the verse of one thousand dinar) as a daily prayer because she believes that this Islamic prayer is efficacious and powerful.<sup>43</sup>

Islamic past within Christian life can also represent a religious turn. HRS told me about his childhood experience when he studied al-Quran in his village in Sumenep. He studied at the Catholic Elementary School (SDK: Sekolah Dasar Katolik) in the morning and learned Quranic recitation in musalla in the afternoon. According to him, the kyai in the musalla often warned him to be careful of being a student at Catholic

---

<sup>41</sup> BD, interview (13 Aug 2017).

<sup>42</sup> RN, interview (17 Nov 2017).

<sup>43</sup> WK, interview (17 Nov 2017).

School. The kyai advised him not to pay attention to Christian teaching or follow Christian ritual. During this time, he heard theological terms such as *kafir* (infidel) to identify Catholics and Christians.

Based on this experience, he grew as a Muslim bad-boy who intensely made troubles in the Catholics School and Church. He remembered what it was said in the musalla: *tak arapah, arowah oreng kaper, be'na olle genjheren mon elasalaeh* (it is no problem to make troubles to them because they are infidels, you will take merit on it).<sup>44</sup> What surprised him is a response from a Christian leader. The priest always answered his disobedience with a calm and peaceful response. This response generated questions on his mind concerning Islam and Christian values. When he was baptized at his fourth year in the Catholic school, he has learned both Islamic and Christian basic knowledge to believe and practice.

The Muslim childhood provided HRS to understand Islam and Muslim culture through many pressures and threats had been directed to him because of his religious conversion. Currently, HRS is taking a part in inter-religious activism along with the Muslim community in Surabaya. He realized that being Madurese Christian does not mean to be exclusive.

Some of Madurese Christians were descendants of an intellectual Muslim family. Hasaniah Waluyo, for instance, was a daughter of Abdurachman Sastrasubrata, Muslim intellectual from Sumenep. Hasaniah was an English teacher in SMPK (Catholic Secondary School) in Pamekasan who converted into Catholics in 1955. She was a prolific writer who wrote essays and many books, such as: *Surat Ibunda buat Dian*<sup>45</sup>, *Sebening Air Matanya*,<sup>46</sup> *Selembar Benang Sutera*<sup>47</sup>. She also translated many books such as *Kasihnya Seputih Salju*<sup>48</sup>, *Pelangi di Kabut Senja*<sup>49</sup>, *Kita*

---

<sup>44</sup> HRS, interview (14 Aug 2017).

<sup>45</sup> C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, *Surat Ibunda buat Dian* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994).

<sup>46</sup> C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, *Sebening Air Matanya* (S.l.: Bina Karya, 1980).

<sup>47</sup> C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, *Selembar Benang Sutera* (Ende: Nusa Indah, 1989).

<sup>48</sup> Denise Robins, *Kasihnya Seputih Salju*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978).

<sup>49</sup> Elizabeth Ashton, *Pelangi di Kabut Senja*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978).

*Anak Allah*<sup>50</sup>, *Kisah Lama dari Rantau Jauh*<sup>51</sup>, and *Kasih Bersemini di Kabut Badai*.<sup>52</sup> As mentioned before, she also translated the Bible into Madurese language published in 1994.<sup>53</sup> Connectivity with Islam and Muslim society was represented in Hasaniah's life through her social connection, daily activities, and her active silaturahmi (visit) to her Muslim families and companions. She always had time to visit, pay a call, help, and take care with others, including her Muslim family and neighbors.<sup>54</sup>

Connectivity with Islam is a culturally taken-for-granted fact of Madurese Christian since Islam has been rooted within Madurese tradition and culture. Islam in this context deals with Madurese Christian not as a piece of religious doctrines but as a part of cultural means. Entailing with Madurese identity, Madurese Christians are difficult to evade Islamic traces from their social identity. Describing relatedness between Madurese Christian and Muslim in Sumber Pakem, Fajar expresses this connectivity with term *kekeluargaan* (kinship)<sup>55</sup> while Asmawi calls it as *settong bhuju'* (one ancestor).<sup>56</sup> The two terms signify cultural similarities of genetic lineage and implicitly denote into cultural connectivity with Muslim society as the same clan.

However, in some cases, this connectivity was perceived as a cultural restraint that could produce social worries. A small amount of Madurese Christians, for instance, decided to live in Java because they felt uncomfortable with being Christian in the midst of Madurese Muslim majority in Madura.<sup>57</sup> It was also expressed by HRS who preferred to live in Surabaya than in Sumenep, based on the historical past of his Muslim childhood.

<sup>50</sup> F.H. Drinkwater, *Kita Anak Allah (Kumpulan Cerita untuk Bina Iman)*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo (Ende: Nusa Indah, 2004).

<sup>51</sup> M.G. van Neck, *Kisah Lama dari Rantau Jauh*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1975).

<sup>52</sup> Roumelia Lane, *Kasih Bersemini dikabut Badai*, trans. by Hasaniyah Waluyo (Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia, 1978).

<sup>53</sup> Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, *Alketab: e dhalem basa Madura.*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo (Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 1994).

<sup>54</sup> WK, interview (17 Nov 2017).

<sup>55</sup> Fajar (Christian priest Sumber Pakem), interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>56</sup> Asmawi, interview (12 Aug 2017).

<sup>57</sup> Sumardi, interview (25 Jan 2017).

The religious experience of SRY, a Madurese Christian in GKJW Bangkalan, also represents a deep connection between Madurese Christian and Islam as her religion of the past. She was baptized ten years ago but until today she recognized Islam as an inseparable feature of her life. She learned and understood the Qur'an and Islamic doctrine because she studied Islam in pesantren from her childhood. She is now a teacher and a good reader of the Holy Book. When I came to her house she put the Bible and the Qur'an, which are full of underlined remarks, in the table in front of us. During our conversation, she easily said Nabi Isa (the Prophet Isa) as a term to identify Jesus. She pronounced the word Allah in the same way the Madurese Muslim articulated it.<sup>58</sup> She believes that Christianity and Islam could not be divided into two different pieces. Both are originated in the same foundation of Millah Ibrahim (Abrahamic religion).<sup>59</sup>

## 2. *Social Threats and Common Fears*

Among the stories of Madurese Christian who were challenged by social threats is ED's story in Sumenep and MA's story in Pamekasan. These two stories may elucidate how Madurese Christians maintain religious effort to preserve Christian belief in the midst of Muslim society. Besides these two stories, there are other similar stories of social threat and resistance which will be placed as supporting facts. I will focus on the life of Madurese Christian in Madura since as long as I observed the resistance commonly appeared within Madurese Christian inside the island. There are at least two reasons in term of this phenomenon: first, there is no strong community of Madurese Christian in Madura (they

---

<sup>58</sup> In general, there is different pronunciation between Indonesian Muslim and Christian on pronouncing the word Allah. The first will say Awwoh and the latter commonly say Alah. This difference was being problematized in Malaysia where many Muslim attempted to claim that Allah is the only godly word for Muslim. Christians have to look for another word to articulate their God. Read Peter Kien-Hong Yu, *One-Dot Theory Described, Explained, Inferred, Justified, and Applied* (London: Springer, 2012), 10-11. Peter Kien-hong Yu, *One-dot Theory Described, Explained, Inferred, Justified, and Applied* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 2012), pp. 10-1; Masgono, "Masalah Kata 'Allah' di Malaysia dan Indonesia", *Insists* (5 Apr 2010), <https://insists.id/masalah-kata-allah-di-malaysia-dan-indonesia/>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

<sup>59</sup> SRY, interview (18 Mar 2018).

are Madurese individuals separated by distances among four cities) and second is Muslim perception toward religious conversion. In Islamic jurisprudence, some traditional religious texts allow the court and the government to accuse and sentence to a Muslim because of religious conversion.

The first person embraced Christianity in ED's family was his father. In 1970s he was an urban labor working for Chinese Christian in Sumenep. During his work, ED's father was anxious to know what kind of religion embraced by his employer and what kind of ritual he practices. Eventually, he followed the employer's religion, converted to Christianity, and married with a Chinese Christian woman. This marriage did not stand for a long time. He married a Muslim woman and have two children: ED and HRS. This family faced social resistance not in case of the father's conversion but after ED and HRS conversion to Christianity.

ED's father was a gambler and strongman. People were reluctant to deal with or have a relationship with him. Social threat and resistance appear when ED and HRS were baptized in the Catholic Church. They became a target of bullying and physical mistreatment. HRS said:

When I was going to the church, children of the village stopped me behind the ditch. They gang up on me. Going to the church for me was like going to fight on a battlefield. I was a little boy and the children who persecuted me were teenagers. They threw stones on me and soused me into a river. When I told that accident to my father, he looked after the children and protested their parent. He carried his *sadhe'* (machete) and warned everyone not to disturb his sons. He alerted to kill everyone who bothers me and my brother. In this point, I won and felt safe because of my father's power.

Social challenges faced by ED and HRS, as the religious story of the past, produced notions of self-defence and self-commitment to preserve their faith. Because of his illness, HRS had to be healed in Surabaya and until now stay in there, while ED continued his life in Sumenep. He is now working at the Catholic Elementary School and married with Christian woman from Banyuwangi who works at the same school with him. ED and HRS have different choices of facing social threats in the past. However, ED said that their Muslim family from their mother always kept in touch and built good relation with them. Their existence

of being Christian did not reduce their family relation because religion-based challenges were attacked by their Muslim neighbors. Both ED and HRS realized that social threat and pressure during their childhood emerged from religious misunderstanding and Muslim ignorance toward Christianity.

A different response was taken by MA when she got social threat from her family. MA was born as a Muslim girl in a Muslim family within Muslim society. She was, according to her, a Muslim girl who intensely dedicated herself to practice Islamic teaching in her life. When she had a close relationship with Chinese Christian boy she asked him to embrace Islam if he wanted to marry her. "For me and my Muslim family, he must be a Muslim first before we were going to get married," she said.<sup>60</sup> Her husband converted to Islam, and they got married through Islamic tradition. But in reality, her husband could not ignore his Christianity and she understood him with one condition: no Christian sign or symbol inside their home.

When they have two daughters, MA saw a vision of Jesus. She was shocked by the vision and covered by religious worries for several moments. When she decided to be a Christian, she found her family was annoyed because of her conversion. They forced her to run away from the village and did not recognize her as part of the family anymore.

We were threatened for more than three years. Our children were also warned of killing and torturing. In every morning when we opened our shop, we found feces in front of it. We also found some writings and graffiti which condemned our faith and our God... We are besieged and they almost burned our home. My father, because of his anger have ever ordered people to punish us. They said, better to not having children than to have them as infidels.<sup>61</sup>

ED, HRS and MA overtook that period of social pressure and live today with their Christian family in good relation with Madurese Muslim society. ED moved from his former village and stay in a new settlement

---

<sup>60</sup> MA, interview (9 Nov 2017).

<sup>61</sup> Kesaksian Segala Bangsa, "Muslimah Pamekasan ikut Yesus Dikalungi Clurit: Nur Emmah", *Islam to Jesus* (5 Jul 2015), <https://kesaksiansegalabangsa.wordpress.com/2015/07/05/nur-emmah-muslimah-pamekasan-ikut-yesus/>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

with a new neighbor and a new environment as well as MA who did the same thing by living in a new environment away from her previous village, family, and neighbor. Meanwhile, HRS stays with his Catholic new family in Surabaya and involves in his inter-religious activism. In this context, social distance to some degree has a significant role to influence social relation: social knowledge creates social identification and social identification constructs social interaction.

From this reality, I expect that religion-based differences could create social threats and worries among religious people. In MA's case, the role of her family on hardening religious tension has successfully strengthened people's resistance based on religious argument. Infidelity becomes a keyword to exclude the existence of MA and her family from kinship, relativity, ethnicity, and Islam. Religious conversion from Islam to Christian was perceived as a milestone to identify in-group and out-group recognition. It is logical that many Madurese Christian kept their official identity in their personal identity card (KTP) as Muslim. SRY, a converted Muslim, said that replacing process of religious identity in KTP from Islam to Christianity will not have easily ensued.<sup>62</sup> In another case, the problem of KTP issuance could also be observed within Kaharingan people (and other local belief) who attempt to have their own right on pinning Kaharingan as an officially recognized religion.<sup>63</sup> They are struggling to get social recognition as a basic element in multicultural society.<sup>64</sup>

AD has another story. Born within an inter-religious family (his mother is Madurese Muslim and his father is Chinese Christian), he grew up as Muslim until he decided to be a Christian in his seventeenth. When he was ten-year-old his father passed away. He realized at the moment that his father was Christian because he was buried through Christian ritual. His decision to be Christian emerged after his intensive dialogue and conversation with his father family. His friends, classmates, and several

---

<sup>62</sup> SRY, interview (18 Mar 2018).

<sup>63</sup> Denny S, "Masyarakat Dayak Sambut Gembira Putusan MK Soal Agama", *Nusantara* (7 Nov 2017), <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/130929-masyarakat-dayak-sambut-gembira-putusan-mk-soal-agama>., accessed 19 Feb 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. by Amy Gutmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 25–73.

teachers condemned his conversion. They all were dissatisfied because of his conversion, but his mother gave him the freedom to decide. His mother has involved intensely in majelis pengajian (Muslim learning group) of Nahdlatul Ulama in his village, and he maintains his life as Christian. He respectfully lives and interacts with his Muslim mother in their house within Muslim Madurese society. However, AD said that in his earliest period of conversion he also faced many social threats.

Social resistance emerges as a problematic matter for Madurese Christians living in a “frontier” between (majority) of Madurese Muslim society and (mostly) Chinese Christian in Madura. They could not involve deeply in Chinese life and tradition on the one hand and were not entirely accepted within Muslim society on the other. As HRS said:

I was expelled. Muslim children were not allowed to play with me on the one hand, and the children of the Chinese family did not want to play with me on the other. I had no place over there and not be accepted in there. I could only play around Catholic school and the church area. Day by day, I felt at home, playing and being in that area. No more other places to play. Again, it was impossible to play with Muslim children in the village while I was not quite equal to play with the Chinese.<sup>65</sup>

Many Muslim identified conversion to Christianity as a theological defeat that can reduce Islam and Muslim society. The phenomenon of inter-religious debate to some extent explains that reality which publicly attempts to show a dominating and dominated side of religion.<sup>66</sup> This kind of perception has also embedded within Madurese Muslim that influences their paradigm of inter-religious interaction. Social threats and fears experienced by several Madurese Christian signified social worries toward the progress of Christianity in the island. Furthermore, some Madurese Christians prefer to cover their religious identity of being Christian.

---

<sup>65</sup> HRS, interview (14 Aug 2017).

<sup>66</sup> SRY, interview (18 Mar 2018). In addition, several inter-religious debates in the past were ended by conversion from the defeated person into the religion of the winner. Among these is an inter-religious debate between KH Bahaudin Mudhary with Christian priest or between Kiai Sadrach and Javanese Muslims. Read Bahauddin Mudhary, *Dialog Masalah Ketuhanan Jesus* (Jakarta: Kiblat Centre, 1981); Sutarman Soediman Partonadi, *Sadrach's Community and Its Contextual Roots: A Nineteenth Century Javanese Expression of Christianity* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990).

## E. Concluding Remarks

Charles Taylor and Alfred Stepan started their book, *Boundaries of Toleration*, with a very basic but essential question: how can people of diverse religious, historical, ethnic, and linguistic allegiances and identities live together? Many essays in the book tried to answer this question through exploring issues and forms of toleration in different contexts, examining problem within society on how to perceive and respond to diversity, and understanding that the reasons beyond toleration are multi-layered.<sup>67</sup> According to Ira Katznelson, there is not only one reason to like or dislike anyone or anything since diversity was always based on heterogeneous sources. In this regard, toleration belongs to varied content, degree, intensity, and scale of interaction. He compelled five different categories that must be constituted in the toleration or management of intergroup dislike: physical presence, physical security, acquisition of means to a livelihood, cultural expression, and civic membership.<sup>68</sup>

Imagining Madurese Christians living in the island of Madura among the majority of Madurese Muslims as “disliked” community, I suppose to examine the five categories of Katznelson within Christian-Muslim relation in Madura as social categories. Referring to stories of Madurese Christian mentioned in this chapter we could see that some of these categories have been protected. Physical threat experienced by AD, HRS and MA, for instance, is an example of how physical presence and security for a different person need to be more granted. It is quite different from the fact of public life where Christians and Madurese Muslims share the same place to build their own social, political and economic market to maintain and keep availability of means to livelihood. Especially within areas of economic activities, Madurese people do not interfere with other’s faith as long as they can share economic benefit or political interest. Many Madurese Muslims work for Chinese Christian in many sectors such as building construction, market labor, hotel, and

---

<sup>67</sup> Alfred C. Stepan and Charles Taylor, *Boundaries of Toleration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 1–6.

<sup>68</sup> Ira Katznelson, “A Form of Liberty and Indulgence: Toleration as Layered Institution”, in *Boundaries of Toleration*, ed. by Alfred C. Stepan and Charles G. Taylor (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), pp. 51–2.

restaurants. The economic necessity in some degree disowned religious or ethnic differences which were theologically admitted by Madurese Muslim as a basic reason to attack religiously or an ethnically different person.

In the past traditional pesantren, many santri kept their own imagination of *kāfir harbī* (non-Muslims who are involved in a battle with Muslim) and *kāfir dhimmī* (non-Muslims who live under Muslim government). Such divisive thought has been historically embedded within Muslim-Christian relation in the past, especially in the era of crusades. Madurese traditional santri perceived Chinese Christians living in Madura as *kāfir harbī* whose property could be stolen or robbed: some of them have ever tried to steal from the Chinese market. According to them, Christian properties are rightful for Muslim because they are economically involved in a battle with Muslim.<sup>69</sup> This kind of perception, even not a mainstream, shows that there was in-between frontier imagined by Madurese Muslim to put Christians in one spot and Muslims in another spot. This division created less opportunity for Christian in Madura to express their cultural identity. Chinese Christians have been restricted by double limitations of religious and ethnic markers, while Madurese Christian have been remarked as non-Muslim gentile of being converted to Christianity. This religion-and-ethnicity-based identification has often reached bureaucratic matters such as personal identity card (KTP) issuance. It is logical that Madurese Christians tend to keep their identity as Muslim in their identity card to facilitate their civic accounts.

However, in general, Christians living in Madura have an optimistic perception concerning with Christian-Muslim relation. They respected how Madurese Muslim build inter-religious relationship with Christian, socially and officially. Socially means personal and cultural initiatives of making harmonious interrelation and officially means structural and organizational efforts to keep cordial interaction between Christian and Muslim group, e.g. through FKUB and MUI channel. Compared to internal conflict appeared between Muslim group and another which was escalated at any time, such as Sunni-Shiite conflict in Sampang, there was no significant conflict happened between Christian and Muslim. The

---

<sup>69</sup> Read Akhmad Siddiq, “Berawal dari Cina Berakhir di Tionghoa”, in *Ada Aku di antara Tionghoa dan Indonesia*, ed. by Aan Anshori (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ananda Srva, 2018), pp. 317–21.

latter was often triggered in political moments and the main issue which was brought was a church: social resistance of building permit.

Madurese Muslim historically accepted ethnic and religious migration as long as it can adjust and adapt with local and traditional custom. Arab community and Chinese community which could be found in each city in Madura are social evident for Madurese's reception to other ethnic groups. Churches and several viharas could be identified as symbolic acceptance to religious movement out of Islam in Madura. Madurese tend to keep their local wisdom to respect "guest society" and "guest culture" as long as they respect Madurese society and culture. Madurese proverb said, kor jhe' lanyala (as long as they do not disturb us, they will be respected). In this context, the personal or social disturbance could happen regardless ethnic and religious consideration. Latief Wiyata explains in his book, *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura* (*Carok: Conflict of Violence and Madurese Prestige*), that the basic reason behind carok (Madurese traditional fight) is family problem and social prestige, not religion or ethnicity.<sup>70</sup>

The Madurese are tolerant people to deal and live with different sects, beliefs or religions which are perceived as heretical as long as they belong to others or another group. Madurese proverb kor benni sengko' insisted that the important thing is the thing does not happen not me. The case of AD and MA, for instance, where the main opponents of their conversion to Christianity are their own family and friend justified this reality. They will easily accept the presence of the Christians among them, but not if they were their own family. When it happened to their close relative or friend, they tend to confine and make a social demarcation with those "disliked" converted persons. In some cases, people tend to act extremely by doing physical attack and threat.

From this basis, Madurese Muslim have a different approach toward Madurese Christian and non-Madurese Christian living in Madura. The first was not only perceived as religiously different but also an extreme exception that breaks the Madurese culture of being truly Muslim. In this regard, Madurese Christian was excluded from the Muslim community as well as Madurese society. In Javanese Christian tradition, there was a

---

<sup>70</sup> A. Latief Wiyata, *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura* (Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2002).

saying londo durung jowo tanggung (not-yet Dutch not-quite Javanese) that shows in-between transition and frontier position of (Europeanized) Javanese Christian within Javanese society.<sup>71</sup>

This different acceptance created a different embodiment of religious acculturation among Madurese Christian. In Sumber Pakem, Madurese Christian community reserved to experience both Christian values and Madurese tradition through their daily life and activities. “We are here totally Madurese: we use the Madurese language in our everyday life and religious service, we also celebrate tellasan (Islamic festival), we conduct ter ater (Madurese tradition of sharing food among neighbors), and other Madurese tradition.”<sup>72</sup> The settlement of Madurese Christian in Sumber Pakem has also illustrated taneyan lanjeng model as traditional architecture for Madurese kinship in the island. In contrary, Madurese Christian on the island tends to exclude Madurese fixtures from their religious activities and their daily life because of critical perspective they have addressed. They have more intensive relation with other Christian members which are mostly non-Madurese than with Madurese friend and relative which are mostly Muslims.

Social resistance for Christianity in Madura, to some extent, has also influenced by the Dutch and European traces behind the spread of Christianity. For many Madurese in the past, pants and suits were identified as *klambhinah reng kafir* (clothes of the infidels). This perception has been constructed based on their imagination of the Dutch, Christianity, and colonialism. In the late 1990s, when I was a santri in traditional Islamic boarding school in Madura, wearing pants was still perceived as a strange. Sarong and kopiah became everyday clothes for santri which are attired commonly at any moment, even in the moment of playing football. Today, Madurese Muslim perception on the (European) clothes was changing. Santri in Islamic boarding school was familiar with pants and suits. It signifies that there was a changing paradigm of santri on perceiving Christian-European symbols.

---

<sup>71</sup> In another version, it was said: *Cino wurung, Jowo tanggung, Londo pun durung* (no-longer Chinese, not-quite Javanese, and not-yet Dutch). Read Nissim Otmazgin and Eyal Ben-Ari (eds.), *Popular Culture: Co-Productions and Collaborations in East and Southeast Asia* (Singapore; Kyoto: Nus Press ; Kyoto University Press, 2013), p. 204.

<sup>72</sup> Asmawi, interview (12 Aug 2017).

This changing paradigm has influenced the way how Madurese Muslim interact and deal with Christians in Madura. Madurese Muslims have no longer perceived Christians as “enemy” that must be attacked. They realize that non-Muslim citizen has the same right to live on the island,<sup>73</sup> although some social restraints could limit the cultural expression of Christians in the public sphere. Until today, there is no open social-resistance which publicly attack Christianity in Madura, while another social rejection was announced by some Madurese ulama to free Madura from Shia for instance.<sup>74</sup> Referring to James Scott, resistance to Christians if any within Madurese society is a “practical failure to comply”, while rejection for Shiite is a “declared refusal to comply”.<sup>75</sup> The former does not breach social order while the latter has its significant influence to reconstruct intra-religious relation among Madurese Muslims. Even though, in many cases, Madurese Christians have been perceived as a parasite that could spoil the Islamic world and Muslim society in Madura. It seems that Muslim Madurese have always enclosed their identity with Islam and present themselves as truly Muslim. In this regard, the existence of Madurese Christian community in Sumber Pakem and Madurese Christian individuals in Madura is important to show that ethnicity and religion could be acculturated within Madurese identity.

---

<sup>73</sup> Daeng Taufiq (head of Muhammadiyah Pamekasan), interview (15 Apr 2017).

<sup>74</sup> Read Samsul Bahri, “Ulama Madura Bentuk FAAS antisipasi Aliran Sesat”, *Hidayatullah.com* (30 Sep 2013), URL, accessed 19 Feb 2017; Muchsin, “Ulama Sosialisasi FAAS di Madura”, *Surya* (29 Sep 2013), <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2013/09/29/ulama-sosialisasi-faas-di-madura>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

<sup>75</sup> James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), p. 203.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amiot, Catherine E. et al., “Integration of Social Identities in the Self: Toward a Cognitive-Developmental Model”, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, vol. 11, no. 4, 2007, pp. 364–88 [<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1088868307304091>].

Ashton, Elizabeth, *Pelangi di Kabut Senja*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978.

Bahri, Samsul, “Ulama Madura Bentuk FAAS antisipasi Aliran Sesat”, *Hidayatullah.com*, 30 Sep 2013, URL, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

BPS Kab. Pamekasan, *Kabupaten Pamekasan dalam Angka 2016*, Pamekasan: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Pamekasan, 2016.

BPS Kab. Sumenep, *Sumenep dalam Angka 2018*, Sumenep: Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Sumenep, 2018.

Denny S, “Masyarakat Dayak Sambut Gembira Putusan MK Soal Agama”, *Nusantara*, 7 Nov 2017, <https://mediaindonesia.com/read/detail/130929-masyarakat-dayak-sambut-gembira-putusan-mk-soal-agama..>, accessed 19 Feb 2018.

Drinkwater, F.H., *Kita Anak Allah (Kumpulan Cerita untuk Bina Iman)*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, Ende: Nusa Indah, 2004.

Farhadian, Charles E., *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia*, New York: Routledge, 2005.

Husein, Fatimah, “Muslim-Christian Relations in the New Order Indonesia: The Exclusivist and Inclusivist Muslims’ Perspectives”, Ph.D. Dissertation, Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2003.

Kahn, Joel, *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006.

Katznelson, Ira, “A Form of Liberty and Indulgence: Toleration as Layered Institution”, in *Boundaries of Toleration*, ed. by Alfred C. Stepan and Charles G. Taylor, New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

*Kejungan Pojian Robani Greja Kristen Jawi Wetan Untuk Jemaat Berbahasa Madura*, Sumber Pakem: Majelis Agung GKJW, 2011.

Kesaksian Segala Bangsa, “Muslimah Pamekasan ikut Yesus

Dikalungi Clurit: Nur Emmah”, *Islam to Jesus*, 5 Jul 2015, <https://kesaksiansegalabangsa.wordpress.com/2015/07/05/nur-emmah-muslimah-pamekasaran-ikut-jesus/>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

Kim, Rebecca Y., “Religion and Ethnicity: Theoretical Connections”, *Religions*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2011, pp. 312–29 [<http://dx.doi.org/10.3390/rel2030312>].

Kipp, Rita Smith, *Dissociated Identities: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in an Indonesian Society*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

Kusumah, Maulana Surya, “Sopan, Hormat dan Islam: Ciri-Ciri Orang Madura”, in *Kepercayaan, Magi, dan Tradisi dalam Masyarakat Madura*, ed. by Soegianto, Jember: Tapal Kuda, 2003.

Lane, Roumelia, *Kasih Bersemi dikabut Badai*, trans. by Hasaniyah Waluyo, Jakarta: Penerbit PT Gramedia, 1978.

Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, *Alketab: e dhalem basa Madura.*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 1994.

Lembaga Penelitian dan Studi Dewan Gereja-Gereja di Indonesia, *Benih yang Tumbuh: Suatu Survey Mengenai....*, Bandung: Badan Pekerja Sinode Gereja Kristen Pasundan, 1975.

Lucking, Mirjam, “‘Arabness’ as Social Capital in Madura”, *Islamika Indonesiana*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2014, pp. 37–46 [<http://dx.doi.org/10.15575/isin.v1i2.1132>].

Masgono, “Masalah Kata ‘Allah’ di Malaysia dan Indonesia”, *Insists*, 5 Apr 2010, <https://insists.id/masalah-kata-allah-di-malaysia-dan-indonesia/>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

Menchik, Jeremy, *Islam and Democracy in Indonesia: Tolerance without Liberalism*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Muchsin, “Ulama Sosialisasi FAAS di Madura”, *Surya*, 29 Sep 2013, <https://surabaya.tribunnews.com/2013/09/29/ulama-sosialisasi-faas-di-madura>, accessed 19 Feb 2017.

Mudhary, Bahauddin, *Dialog Masalah Ketuhanan Jesus*, Jakarta: Kiblat Centre, 1981.

Mujiburrahman, *Feeling Threatened: Muslim-Christian Relations in Indonesia’s New Order*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006.

Nasser, Noha, “Muslim-British Architectural Exchanges in Britain:

Dispelling Myths, Rewriting History, and Creating Shared Identity”, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2012, pp. 16–16.

Neck, M.G. van, *Kisah Lama dari Rantau Jauh*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1975.

Otmazgin, Nissim and Eyal Ben-Ari (eds.), *Popular Culture: Co-Productions and Collaborations in East and Southeast Asia*, Singapore; Kyoto: Nus Press ; Kyoto University Press, 2013.

Partonadi, Sutarman Soediman, *Sadrach's Community and Its Contextual Roots: A Nineteenth Century Javanese Expression of Christianity*, Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990.

Pribadi, Yanwar, “Religious Networks in Madura: Pesantren, Nahdlatul Ulama, and Kiai as the Core of Santri Culture”, *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 51, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1–32 [<http://dx.doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2013.511.1-32>].

Robins, Denise, *Kasihnya Seputih Salju*, trans. by C. Hasaniyah Waluyo, Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978.

Scott, James C., *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009.

Siddiq, Akhmad, “Berawal dari Cina Berakhir di Tionghoa”, in *Ada Aku di antara Tionghoa dan Indonesia*, ed. by Aan Anshori, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Ananda Srva, 2018.

Soesilo, Daud Hadi, *Mengenal Alkitab Anda*, Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 2014.

SRY, interview, 18 Mar 2018.

Stepan, Alfred C. and Charles Taylor, *Boundaries of Toleration*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Sumartono, Edy, *Kidung di Kaki Gunung Raung: Sebuah Potret Komunitas Madura Kristen*, Bandung: Bina Media Informasi, 2009.

Swellengrebel, J.L., *Mengikuti Jejak Leijdecker: Satu Setengah Abad Penerjemahan Alkitab dan Penelitian Bahasa dalam Bahasa-Bahasa Nusantara*, vol. 1, Jakarta: Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia, 2006.

Taylor, Charles, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, ed. by Amy Gutmann, Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Tjiptowardono, “Buku Kristen Kuno Bahasa Madura Perlu Perhatian Serius”, *ICW*, 2005, [https://sejarah.co/artikel/buku\\_kristen\\_kuno\\_madura.htm](https://sejarah.co/artikel/buku_kristen_kuno_madura.htm), accessed 28 Mar 2018.

Waluyo, C. Hasaniyah, *Sebening Air Matanya*, S.l.: Bina Karya, 1980.

----, *Selembang Benang Sutera*, Ende: Nusa Indah, 1989.

----, *Surat Ibunda buat Dian*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1994.

Wiyata, A. Latief, *Carok: Konflik Kekerasan dan Harga Diri Orang Madura*, Yogyakarta: LKiS Yogyakarta, 2002.

Yu, Peter Kien-hong, *One-dot Theory Described, Explained, Inferred, Justified, and Applied*, New York: Springer-Verlag, 2012.