Tahuri: Symbol of the Christian-Muslim Community Peace in Tehoru and Telutih, Central Maluku, Indonesia

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Abstract: This study departs from the social conflict in Maluku in 1999. The conflict separated the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts, Central Maluku, Indonesia. Then, the Regional Government of Central Maluku Regency reconciled by returning the Christian community to both Districts. However, the Christian community still felt anxious and insecure because peace is only carried out by the Government Agency. Both communities created *Tahuri* symbol as a peace symbol between them. In 2014, they made *Tahuri* monument, and it was inaugurated on December 7, 2016. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to find the meaning of *Tahuri* symbol as peace of Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. The focus of this study the peace symbol created by both communities of Tehoru and Telutih. This study employs Symbolic Anthropology to find the meaning of symbols accepted by humans through relations with others and their natural world. Data gathered through observation and interviews in both districts and presented using a descriptive analysis model. The result shows that *Tahuri* symbol has two important principles: the inclusive principle and mutual trust principle. Besides, for the Christian and Muslim communities, the *Tahuri* symbol means collective identity and social cohesion. Both communities contextualized these two principles and meanings in their social and religious life so that social and religious dynamics cannot reduce them. They live in harmony. The peace through the *Tahuri* symbol is maintained to this day.

Keywords: Christian community; collective identity; Muslim community; social cohesion; Tahuri symbol.

Abstrak: Kajian ini berawal dari konflik sosial di Maluku pada tahun 1999 yang berdampak pada keterpisahan komunitas Kristiani dan Muslim di Kecamatan Tehoru dan Telutih, Maluku Tengah, Indonesia. Keterpisahan tersebut didamaikan oleh Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Maluku Tengah, dengan mengembalikan komunitas Kristen ke kedua kecamatan tersebut. Akan tetapi, kecemasan dan ketidakamanan masih dirasakan oleh komunitas Kristen, karena perdamaian tersebut hanya dilakukan oleh pihak pemerintah. Karena itu, simbol *Tahuri* dijadikan sebagai simbol perdamaian bagi kedua komunitas tersebut dan dibuatkan tugu *Tahuri* pada tahun 2014, kemudian diresmikan tanggal 07 Desember 2016. Karena itu, tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk menemukan makna yang terkandung dalam simbol *Tahuri* sebagai perdamaian komunitas Kristiani dan Muslim di Kecamatan Tehoru dan Telutih. Simbol menjadi point penting dalam kajian ini, sehingga Antropologi Simbolik dijadikan sebagai pendekatannya, karena berusaha menemukan makna dari simbol yang diterima oleh manusia melalui relasi dengan sesama dan dunia alaminya. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode observasi/pengamatan dan wawancara, yang berlokasi di Kecamatan Tehoru dan Telutih. Data dianalisis dengan model deskripsi analisis. Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa simbol *Tahuri* memiliki dua prinsip penting, yaitu prinsip inklusif dan prinsip saling percaya. Selain itu, simbol *Tahuri* dimaknai oleh komunitas Kristiani dan Muslim sebagai identitas kolektif dan kohesi sosial. Kedua prinsip dan makna tersebut, dikontekstualisasikan dalam kehidupan sosial dan keagamaan mereka,

sehingga dinamika sosial dan keagamaan tidak bisa mereduksinya. Perdamaian yang dirajut melalui simbol *Tahuri* tetap berlangsung dan terbina hingga saat ini.

Kata Kunci: identitas kolektif; kohesi sosial; komunitas kristiani; komunitas muslim; simbol Tahuri.

1.   Introduction

The social conflict in Maluku in January 1999 has destroyed the social traditions of society as joint institutions such as *pela, gandong, masohi, makan patita, ai ni ain*, without limitation of religious differences among them (Iwamony, 2019). Previously, if the Christian community is building a church, the Muslim community will take part in the building process, and vice versa (Dandirwalu, 2014). Besides, territorial disintegration between the Christian and Muslim communities ensued. They live in harmony before but separated now as happened in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. The Christian community must evacuate to the Districts of North Seram, Amahai, and Waipia.

The Government carried out peace efforts to solve the conflict in Maluku so that the Christian and Muslim communities can return to their villages (Ernas, 2016). In March 2000, the Government invited 1,500 representatives from the Christian and Muslim communities to discuss the conflict resolution process that resulted in a statement to reestablish traditional leadership (Frost, 2014). In February 2002, the Government conducted a reconciliation process known as the Malino II agreement to solve the conflict by inviting religious leaders from various communities, traditional leaders, and community leaders in Malino.

The Central Maluku Government carried out a peace effort to get Tehoru and Telutih Districts safe. Finally, in 2008, the Christian community could return from refugee camps in North Seram, Amahai, and Waipia Districts to their countries such as Salamahu, Saunulu, Hatumeten, Lafa, Maneoratu, Yamalatu, Laha, and Ulahahan.

As their return, the engagement between the Muslim and Christian communities ensued even though the Christian community was still living in anxiety. The anxiety arose because of several experiences in 2011 and 2012. Several incidents happened on September 11, 2011, a conflict in Ambon City due to a motorcycle taxi accident; on May 15, 2012, social strife in Ambon City, namely in Negeri Batu Merah and Mardika Village. These incidents influenced their safety. If there is a fight between the Christian and Muslim youth, the Christian village would be attacked. They had to return to the refugee camps. The incomplete peace process between both communities has resulted in uncertainty among both groups in terms of their safety. The initiative of peace is not be built based on cultural values but from the Government agency.

Real peace between the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts continues by religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the Government so that both communities can create mutual harmony to eliminate the anxiety caused by the conflicts. They need local cultural symbols to eradicate the political exclusivity understanding of their identity (Jati, 2013). Therefore, in 2014, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the Government agreed to use *Tahuri* symbol as a symbol of peace for the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. Through this symbol, both communities could build mutual respect toward each other differences. Symbols in human communication are the basis of action or behavior. These symbols are used as collective identities and social cohesion between them and serve as social capital for relations and ethics. They even build *Tahuri* Monument in Lafa. It was inaugurated on December 7, 2016.

Tahuri is a cultural symbol of *Souupa Maraina - Nunu Saku*, which means the assignment to deliver news to others. *Tahuri* is a traditional Maluku musical instrument made from seashells (*kuli bia*) in the form of lemon thorn shells, capeu shells, and *Tahuri* shells. *Tahuri* is usually sounded three times at the beginning of a custom event. It signals the start of the customary rituals (Muskita, 2015).

The symbol becomes an important point. According to Victor Turner, the symbol is something that is considered sacred by mutual agreement (Dillistone, 2002). It binds the community collectively (Wildana, 2015), then they actualized it in social actions (Gising, 2012). It is in line with Purwadi Soeriadiredja, who said that symbols are born from human experience and learning processes from

events or material objects in their environment so that through them, humans have an abstract understanding and are expressed and manifested in the form of symbols (Soeriadiredja, 2016). In this case, Symbolic Anthropology was born. Symbolic Anthropology studies about humans as both creators and results of symbols. It seeks to find the meaning of symbols received by humans through relations with others and their natural world (Wildana, 2015) because humans give the meaning of symbols form objects, events, sounds, speech, and written (Pranata & Ikhsan, 2018).

After the existence of *Tahuri* monument, the Christian community still felt anxious and insecure. When there was a conflict between Christian and Muslim youth, the Christian Community often fled to the forest. Besides, the nearest Muslim community countries usually take agricultural land and agricultural products of the Christian community such as cloves, nutmeg, and cocoa. However, this problem did not last long because the Christian and Muslim religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the Government of the country (the King), always solved it by putting forward *Tahuri* symbol as a symbol of mutual peace between them.

This reality illustrated that the existence of *Tahuri* symbol continues to be tested for its meaning by the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. The question is whether *Tahuri* symbol still served as a symbol of peace in the dynamics of today's context or not? *Tahuri* symbol, nowadays, is still interpreted as a symbol of collective identity and social cohesion in the process of creating peace between both communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. Therefore, a further question is the meaning of the *Tahuri* symbol for both communities to maintain harmony between them.

This study interview several key informants like religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the Kings from both sides: the Christian and Muslims, to understand the meaning of the *Tahuri* symbol. The data then analyzed using the Symbolic Anthropology paradigm to find the meaning of symbols received by humans through relations with others and their natural world (Wildana, 2015). So, it can reveal the value or meaning of *Tahuri* symbol as the atonement of the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts.

The study of peace due to social conflict in 1999 in Maluku between the Christian and Muslim communities became a serious concern of researchers. It resulted in various works as an alternative or solution in creating peace between these communities. Dandirwalu researched the Maluku conflict that occurred on January 19, 1999. It had an impact on the creation of territorial segregation based on religion in Ambon City. The research used Emile Durkheim's approach. He offered Totem Ambon Manise to dismantle the segregation (Dandirwalu, 2014). Nicola Frost examined the existence of tradition in general as local wisdom in Maluku to prevent social conflict in Maluku (Frost, 2014). Wasisto Raharjo Jati analyzed *pela-gandong* as local wisdom to resolve religious conflicts in Maluku (Jati, 2013). Yunus Rahawarin studied on religious conflicts in Maluku and Tual. According to him, conflict resolution could occur through fostered cooperation between religious communities (Rahawarin, 2017). Dewi Tika Lestari studied Maluku peace through *Gandong* song with a music perspective. The result showed that *gandong* song has the meaning of *bakubae* in Maluku (Lestari, 2019). Jumidi, et al., studied reconciliation in Maluku through Malino Agreement. According to them, the agreement was more than just a declaration, but a product that has meaning for reconciliation between the Christian and Muslim communities in Maluku (Serena, 2019).

There are many other researchers related to solutions to create peace due to conflict in the community. They are Moh. Nutfa and Sakaria Anwar, Tirsa Budiarti, Nurul Azizah, and Taat Wulandari. Moh. Nutfa and Sakaria Anwar reported that trust is a medium for the reconciliation of communal conflicts (Anwar, 2015). Tirsa Budiarti examined models of peace education for children in the context of the Church because through these peace models, children can become agents of peace in the future (Budiarti, 2018). Nurul Azizah studied the role of Islamic education in realizing justice and peace in Indonesia because followers of Islam can live directed, orderly, and harmonious through it (Aziza, 2013). Taat Wulandari researched peace education in Indonesia. The conflicts that often occur in Indonesia are caused by weak peace education in Indonesia. So, intensive peace education in Indonesia can create an attitude of peace in society (Wulandari, 2010).

This research differs significantly from the studies mentioned above for several reasons. *First*, this research focuses on the *Tahuri* symbol of peace for the Christian-Muslim community in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. *Second*, this study employs the Symbolic Anthropology approach to reveal the *Tahuri* symbol meaning for the Christian and the Muslim groups. This research contributes to the understanding of the *Tahuri* symbol and its meaning for Christians and Muslim communities in the changing dynamics of society.

2.   *Tahuri* Principles for the Christian-Muslim Community

This study interviewed several Kings that still established in Central Maluku to understand the meaning of *Tahuri* and its principles. These Kings were established long before the Dutch colonialization, which is known as *latu* (Frank L. Cooley, 1987). A King is the one who ruled a specific area based on customary law, and in Central Maluku, its establishment is maintained to this day (Maruapey & Rusli, 2018; Surbakti, 2014). These Kings are the King of Negeri Saunulu (Christian), the King of Negeri Laha (Christian), the King of Negeri Lahakaba (Islam), the King of Negeri Yaputih (Islam), the King of Negeri Yamalatu (Christian), the King of Negeri Tehoru (Islam), the King of Negeri Haya (Islam), the King of Negeri Wolu (Islam), the King of Negeri Tehua (Islam), the King of Negeri Lafa (Christian), the King of Negeri Laimu (Islam), and the King of Negeri Ulahahan (Christian). The majority of the Kings stated that "*Tahuri* is chosen because there is a good principle in it, namely the openness to accept each other's differences between Christian and Muslim communities and the existence of mutual trust between us even though we have a different faith"(All the Kings, Personal Communication, March 25, 2019).

Based on the Kings' statement above, it illustrates that the important principle in *Tahuri* is the existence of mutual openness (inclusive) to accept differences and mutual trust. The first, the inclusive policy, shows that the Christian-Muslim community has a harmonious life that they accept differences between them, although they have different religious backgrounds. It illustrates that the Christian-Muslim groups have an attitude to recognize, accept, and appreciate the existence of other communities that have various religious teachings. They do not have a priori attitude. According to Normuslim, an inclusive manner can create harmony between them. For him, an inclusive mindset is an attitude that recognizes and respects the beliefs, teachings, and truths of others, and creates harmony. Thus, harmony is plural or different situation intertwined with one another (Normuslim, 2018). They actualized general principles through cooperation between them. If the Christian community is building a Church, the Muslim community takes part in it. The involvement is in the form of donating labor and food. When the inauguration ceremony of the King in Muslim countries take place, the community of the Christian country also helps in the form of energy and food. If there are family members from Muslim countries who take education outside their area, families from Christian countries will help to ease the burden by assisting in the form of land so that they can make money. The collaboration shows that all religious adherents in Indonesia must cooperate to build a commitment to a high appreciation for life.

The meaning of inclusive principle allows tolerance fostered by the Christian-Muslim community. Talking about tolerance means talking about an open attitude, not looking for one's benefit by oppressing other groups/people, and willingness to work together for the common good. Tolerance implies the view of letting the opportunity for others to move and worship in a safe and comfortable atmosphere without being hindered (Jamrah, 2017). According to Normuslim, it does not mean that there is no dislike for communities of different religions. It does not have the effect of creating conflict because there is an element of mutual acceptance between them (Normuslim, 2018). So, the communities create harmony in diversity (Affandi, 2012). The relationship of tolerance with harmony in diversity is very causal.

The principle of mutual trust shows that the Christian and Muslim communities have a positive attitude toward life between both, thereby eliminating any suspicion between them. Therefore, the Christian-Muslim community uses the principle of mutual trust as social capital to interact with each other. Djamaludin Ancok stated that attitude is a binder of the group for the creation of the quality of

life of the community (Ancok, 2015). Meanwhile, Umi Sumbulah stated that trust is one of the determinants of achieving religious tolerance (Sumbulah, 2015).

The Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts reflected their trust in many activities such as eating together at one dining table *(eating patita)* without any suspicion towards each type of food served by both communities. They are also working together in building a church or mosque without a doubt relating to blasphemy. They are even resolving the problem process together without any suspicion between them related to injustice in deciding the problem. Indigenous Figure of Maneoratu (Christian), Indigenous Figure of Hunisi (Christian), Indigenous Figure of Haya (Islam), Indigenous Figure of Tehua (Islam), Indigenous Figure of Lafa (Christian), Indigenous Figure of Wolu (Islam), Christian Religious Leaders, Islamic Religious Figures, and Community Leaders confirmed. This fact proves that mutual trust produces harmonious and togetherness between the Christian and Muslim communities as a familistic (Anwar, 2015). The concept is valid because there is an inscription in *Tahuri* monument. The inscription stated "seng ada tumpah darah karena katong basudara, katong satu dara. Seng ada perpecahan karena katong satu gandong. Ale salam beta Sarani tapi katong satu gandong" (there is no conflict because we are brothers, we are one blood. There is no division because we are one *gandong*. You are Muslim, I am Christian, but we are one *gandong*).

3.   *Tahuri*: A Symbol of Peace

The Meaning of Collective Identity

The social conflict in Maluku in 1999 was a dark history that had been experienced by the people there. No one thought that the event would occur that the Christian community would kill the Muslim community and vice versa. It caused the death tolls and damaged the properties. Both the Christian community in Tehoru and Telutih Districts also experienced such tragic conflict. The year 2000 was the starting point for the separation of relations between the Christian and Muslim communities. The minority Christian communities in Tehoru and Tehua Districts had to flee to Christian-majority areas such as North Seram District, Amahai District, and Waipia District. The Christian Kings (Negeri Saunulu, Negeri Laha, Negeri Yamalatu Negeri Lafa, Negeri Ulahahan), the Christian Religious Leaders or Priests, and a community leader informed that "in 2000, when the social conflict in Maluku (Ambon City and surrounding areas) occurred, we were attacked by the Muslim Community. Finally, we fled to the forest and arrived in North Seram District, Amahai District, and Waipia District" (Christian Kings, Priests, Personal Communication, March 25, 2019).

According to Yunus Rahawarin, the Maluku conflict is the biggest human tragedy in the history of relations between religious communities in Indonesia, especially in Maluku (Rahawarin, 2017). This tragedy was unpredicted because tolerance in Maluku is very strong and well-known for a long time (Dandirwalu, 2014). In addition, the social conflict has destroyed the customs and traditions of the people that have been made as a conventional institution, such as *pela, gandong*, and *masohi* (mutual cooperation), without limitation of religious differences between them. To preserve it, every year or five years, the countries of Pela or Gandong always conduct Pela Hot and Hot Gandong (Dandirwalu, 2014).

The reality above raises the question, "do traditions still have the power to reconcile the conflicting communities, Christians and Muslims?" This research shows that customs still have the power to reconcile conflicts between both communities. It is based on the existence of *Tahuri* as a symbol of peace for both communities. The majority of the Kings from both countries stated that "we still believe that *Tahuri* can be used to reunite our Christian-Muslim relationships." This statement is in line with the account mentioned by customary leaders in both sides namely of Maneoratu (Christian), of Hunisi (Christian), of Haya (Islam), of Tehua (Islam), of Lafa (Christian), Wolu (Islam), Christian Religious Leaders, Islamic Religious Leaders, and Community Leaders. They (Personal Communication, March 25, 2019) noticed that "*Tahuri* can still be used to reconcile the current conflict between the Christian and Muslim community."

This information refutes the notion of an intellectual from Maluku who doubts the power of tradition as a reconciliation of social conflict in Maluku. For him, traditional leaders are not able to gather the complexity and heterogeneity of people's lives in Maluku today (Frost, 2014). The weakness of the thought is that each region in Maluku has its uniqueness so that it cannot do generalization one area to the others in Maluku. As a comparison, during Dedy Mulyadi's leadership in Purwakarta, he used Sundanese custom as his government strategy to counter the Fundamentalism movement, which began to threaten his region and Indonesia (Susanti, 2017). It proves that tradition has the power of reconciliation of social conflict in a community.

All the Kings in Central Maluku, both Christian and Muslim, said, "*Tahuri* is chosen as a symbol because we all know and understand since a long time ago that it is used at every traditional event. " The data shows that public knowledge about symbols is derived from experience and learning processes because symbols are the result of the abstraction of human thought and learning processes. Humans can function in all aspects of their lives (Soeriadiredja, 2016). Therefore, based on the results of the interview, there are two important aspects related to *Tahuri*: *first*, the people of the Christian and Muslim communities have known *Tahuri* symbol for a long time, so it is not strange for them. Their knowledge becomes their identity. The identity is rooted in their self-understanding of each person (self) and others that are communicated through social interaction. So, other identities become part of self-identity, then become a collective identity (Aiqani, 2018).

In other words, identity is the source of human meaning and experience to construct cultural attributes so that cultural traits get higher priority than other purposes (Susanti, 2017). In this case, *Tahuri* symbol is no longer a personal and someone else's symbol but rather a part of the collective identity symbol of the Christian and Muslim communities or *Souupa Maraina-Nunu Saku* cultural symbol in custom. Thus, religious ideologies, Christian, and Islam are not highlighted among them but rather the group's moral values as one brother in the collective identity of *Tahuri* symbol. It does not mean they eliminate their religious differences because collective identity depends on the awareness of differences in a community (Frost, 2014).

Second, *Tahuri* is considered a sacred symbol, and thus, its role is binding. It discovered from a shared consensus since its ancestors in Nunu Saku. *Tahuri* is signaled by a long blow three times. Based on interviews with all Indigenous Figures in Central Maluku, reported that three times is related to three worlds: the upper world, the middle world, and the underworld. They believe that every world has powers that affect human life. They call the highest God Lahatala.

Meanwhile, the sound of Tahuri means to proclaim that the Gods and ancestors have been present and blessed the ritual. The community believes that the existence of the highest God and ancestor in each traditional ritual is part of the promise to his generation (Pranata & Ikhsan, 2018). It shows the admiration to create love and rejection of danger, as conceptualized by Nurdinah Muhammad that sacredness is closely related to a glorifying and frightening mystery. It produces a mental attitude that is supported by feelings of awe and fear (Muhammad, 2013). In symbolic Anthropology, the sound is one of the symbols since humans give sound meaning (Pranata & Ikhsan, 2018). In this case, *Tahuri* is a symbol because both the Christian and Muslim communities give it meaning.

Tahuri symbol as collective identity is used to create peace between the Christian-Muslim community due to social conflict in 1999, to eliminate the anxiety experienced by the Christian community after returning from refugee camps. Collective identity might change based on situations in society. This report is in line with the research conducted by Ziyad Falahi, who stated that it is challenging to unify and organize the Arab League due to its dynamics. It experiences ambivalence in collective identity to solve the economic problems (Falahi, 2012). The dynamic in the Arab League differs from the momentum of the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. The 1999 social conflict did not make both communities experience ambivalence in understanding collective identity. If the youth are fighting, the customary kings and elders of each country will resolve the fighting by using *Tahuri* as a symbol of peace for them. It does not have an impact on social conflict between the two communities.

Thus, *Tahuri* symbol as a collective identity has a positive impact on the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. Both communities can foster unity for the sake of creating peace in the differences between them.

The Meaning of Social Cohesion

As explained before about mutual trust principle and social capital of the Christian-Muslim community, through eating together in one table, cooperating in building Chruch and Mosque and resolving problems together, they re-knit social cohesion, which was interrupted due to social conflict in Maluku in 1999. According to Previari, the community can create social cohesion if there is a feeling of togetherness, trust, and cooperation. The concept was based on conducted research in Taman Setiabudi Banyumaik Sunday Market (Pramesti et al., 2019). In contrast, according to Mahli Zainudin Tago on Clifford Geertz's thesis, social cohesion can occur only through religion because one of the functions of religion is social cohesion (Tago, 2017). This article argues that the difference of both opinions is legitimate because the context of the religious community in Modjokuto East Java is different from the socio-religious situation of the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts.

The social situation in Tehoru and Telutih Districts was the 1999 social conflict between the Christian and Muslim communities. Although the dispute is not a religious conflict, the rioters of the 1999 social conflict used religious symbols such as the cross of the Christian and the Qur'an of the Muslim. Most of the Kings and the Indigenous Figures in Central Maluku, from both religious affiliations, stated that "in our area, the conflict occurred because we were very affected by religious issues such as that the mosque and the Qur'an were burned; or the Church and the Bible were burned" (Manase Tamala on March 25, 2019, Personal Communication, March 25, 2019). This statement is in line with the research reported by Dandirwalu about the causes of social conflict in Maluku are 1. Religion was used as a powerful and useful justification tool; 2. There was the politicization of religious symbols such as Church, Bible, Mosque, and the Qur'an (Dandirwalu, 2014).

Social cohesion is hard to exist in this such social conflict if using the religious approach. Thus, the Christian and Muslim communities choose *Tahuri* as a symbol of peace because it has social cohesion meaning between them. The strength of this symbol lies in the shared historical story that they came from the same family in Nunu Saku. This statement is repeated by all the religious and cultural leaders in Central Maluku that they are all came from the same origin, namely Nunu Saku that believe in Lahalata. This information shows that they had historical and religious similarities in the past, so they were interdependent with each other. They created a social mechanism to help and need each other for the sake of survival together. Then, they created social cohesion. According to Previari et al., social cohesion means talking about similar feelings, challenges, and opportunities and starting with expectations and beliefs (Pramesti et al., 2019). It is no wonder that before the 1999 social conflict, the life of the Christian and Muslim communities was full of tolerance, mutual assistance, and mutual cooperation.

Based on the above concept, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and the Government agreed to use *Tahuri* as a symbol of peace for the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts.

Tahuri symbol influences the social life of the Christian-Muslim community

The presence of *Tahuri* symbols in Tehoru and Telutih Districts has a positive impact on their social lives. There are four positive impacts. *First*, the Christian community can live together in a country with a Muslim community and vice versa. Negara Wolu and Negara Yaputih, with the Muslim majority, are not only inhabited by the Muslim community but also the Christian community. Likewise, Negeri Saunulu and Negeri Maneoratu with Christian majority are not only inhabited by the Christian community but also the Muslim community. The King of Negeri Wolu (Islam), the King of Negeri Yaputih (Islam), the King of Negeri Saunulu (Christian), and the King of Negeri Maneoratu (Personal Communication, March 25, 2019) said, "now we live together despite different religions. It is

not a problem for us." It makes the Muslim community not to take agricultural lands such as cloves, nutmeg, and chocolate of the Christian community. Instead, they help each other to clear the land, to help the harvest, and to take care. Both the Christian and Muslim communities do not take the yield from another property.

Second, the Village Fund from the Government is always distributed to both communities. The Christian and Islamic Religious Leaders said, "we feel peaceful because of the Government of Negeri (King). There is no discrimination of any religion-related to financing religious activities and community empowerment from the Government through Anggaran Dana Desa (ADD or Village Fund Budget. Third, the inauguration ceremony of King in Muslim countries, the Christian community always helps by giving *natura*, and vice versa. The Kings and the indigenous leaders in Central Maluku (Personal Communication, March 25, 2019) said, "we are very happy because we feel the impact of helping each, especially in King's inauguration. We give mutual help in the form of food ingredients." Fourth, if there is a fight between Christian and Muslim youth, the Kings, Religious Leader, and Youth Leaders will resolve it together. It does not impact on conflicts between Christian and Islamic countries.

Based on these positive effects, it proves that *Tahuri* symbol is still functioning well and influences the social life of the Christian-Muslim community in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. It indicates that two communities still hold the traditional custom, both collective identity and social cohesion. So, they always prioritize the conventional aspects of various interactions amid their lives. As conceptualized by Suryo Adi Sahfutra, through the results of his research in Turgo Hamlet, that inner cultural strength plays a vital role in generating harmony in the lives of a community that has religious differences (Christianity, Catholicism, and Islam) (Sahfutra, 2019).

4.　Conclusion

Based on the above explanation, this research concludes that the social conflict in Maluku in 1999 affected the fracture of relations between the Christian and Muslim communities in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. Previously, they live in harmony. They help each other during the building of the Church or mosque and King's inauguration.

Central Maluku Government carried out the peace process through the return of the Christian community to their origin countries in Tehoru and Telutih Districts. Nevertheless, it was not successful enough because the Christian and Muslim communities still felt anxious and insecure during their interactions. Responded to this matter, the Religious Leaders, Indigenous Leaders, Government of the country, or King agreed to make *Tahuri* symbol as peace between both communities.

The selection of *Tahuri* symbol contains two principles: the principle of mutual openness (inclusive) to accept differences and the law of mutual trust. The inclusive principle is an attitude to recognize and respect the beliefs, teachings, and truths of others. Thus, both communities live in harmony. They actualize its principle through cooperation. While the principle of mutual trust, they reflected in a positive thinking attitude. Thus, its policy eliminates any suspicion among them. Therefore, both communities regard mutual trust principles as social capital to interact.

Besides, *Tahuri* symbol is also interpreted as collective identity and social cohesion. Collective identity means that Christian and Muslim communities know *Tahuri* well as their identity. It is sacred. Therefore, religious ideologies, in this case, Christian and Islam, are not highlighted among them, but the group's moral values as one brother (*gandong*). They implement it in their social life and traditional rituals. Whereas, social cohesion derives from the history that both Christian and Muslim communities come from one family in *Nunu Saku*. Thus, they need and help each other for the sake of mutual survival.

The principles and meanings of *Tahuri* symbol are contextualized in their social and religious life. Any social and religious dynamics cannot reduce it. So the peace through *Tahuri* symbol keeps going to this day.

Acknowledgments

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