

**ISLAM WETU TELU OR WETU TELU MUSLIMS?:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRACTITIONERS'  
PERSPECTIVE**

**BY**

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A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for  
the Master of Arts in Islamic Thought and Civilisation.

International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation  
(ISTAC)

**JULY 2024**

## ABSTRACT

The century-old polarisation of Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima appeared to be restricting the progress in the study of Sasak Muslims in Lombok. This divide-and-conquer framework from the Dutch Colonial era disregarded the indigenous' perspective, and the evolutions in their spiritual dimensions. Moreover, the Wetu Telu legacy was threatened by a growing trend to homogenise Muslims and eliminate their unique elements of identity and culture. Hence, this qualitative research undertook the descriptive phenomenology analysis to examine the adherents' viewpoint. It adopted a religio-cultural interdisciplinary approach, and analysed the findings within the combined fields of Islamic anthropology, cultural anthropology, phenomenology of religion, and Eurocentrism historiography. The present study unveiled a Tawhid-driven community with a deep-rooted relationship between religion and Adat. Some of the followers recognised Wetu Telu as a Muslim tradition, while others deemed it a variant of Islam. The term Wetu Telu emerged during the reign of Kekatutan Bayan from the 14th century and has endured misinterpretations for several centuries. The results also triggered an epistemological discord with the established body of knowledge. It revealed variations in the adherents' religious practices, and introduced Adat advocates who complied fully with the Five Pillars of Islam. This thesis generated an indigenous-inspired foundation, and aimed to pave the way towards providing a more balanced portrayal of faith for the community. It contributed to the on-going social science discourse on Muslim identity, heterogeneity, religious freedom, and religious literacy.



## ملخص البحث

تبدو الانقسام القديم الذي دام قرناً بين ويتو تيلو وواكتو ليما يقيّد التقدم في دراسة المسلمين الساساك في لومبوك. فإن هذه الميثاقية الفاصلة من عصر الاستعمار الهولندي تجاهلت منظور السكان الأصليين وتطوراتهم في الأبعاد الروحية. وعلاوة على ذلك، تهدد تراث ويتو تيلو بالخطر بسبب الاتجاه المتزايد نحو توحيد المسلمين والقضاء على عناصر هويتهم وثقافتهم الفريدة. لذلك، قامت هذه الدراسة النوعية بتنفيذ تحليل الظواهر الوصفية لفحص وجهة نظر المتبعين. واعتمدت منهجاً بين الديني والثقافي، وقامت بتحليل النتائج ضمن مجالات مشتركة تشمل علم الأنثروبولوجيا الإسلامية وعلم الأنثروبولوجيا الثقافية وظاهرة الدين وتاريخية الأوروسنترية. كشفت الدراسة عن مجتمع يدفعه التوحيد ويتمتع بعلاقة عميقة جذورها بين الدين والعادات. بعض المتبعين يعترفون بويتو تيلو كتقليد إسلامي، بينما يعتبره آخرون نوعاً من أنواع الإسلام. ظهرت مصطلح ويتو تيلو خلال عهد كداتوان بايان في القرن الرابع عشر وتحملت عدة قرون من التفسيرات الخاطئة. أثارت النتائج أيضاً خلافاً معرفياً مع الجسم المعرفي الموجود. كشفت عن اختلافات في ممارسات المتبعين الدينية، وقدمت مؤيدي العادات الذين يلتزمون بكامل الأركان الخمسة للإسلام. هذه الأطروحة أسهمت في وضع أساس مستلهم من الأصول لتمثيل أكثر توازناً للإيمان للمجتمع. وساهمت في الحوار العلمي الاجتماعي المستمر حول هوية المسلمين والتنوع والحرية الدينية والثقافة الدينية.

## ABSTRACT IN BAHASA MALAYSIA

Polarisasi ‘Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima’ yang sudah berabad lamanya kelihatan menyekat kemajuan dalam pengajian umat Islam Sasak di Lombok. Kerangka ‘pecah dan-perintah’ dari era Kolonial Belanda ini mengabaikan perspektif pribumi, serta evolusi dalam dimensi kerohanian mereka. Tambahan pula, warisan Wetu Telu diancam oleh kecenderungan untuk menyeragamkan umat Islam yang semakin meningkat, dan usaha menghapuskan unsur-unsur unik identiti dan budaya mereka. Oleh itu, kajian kualitatif ini melaksanakan analisis fenomenologi deskriptif untuk mengkaji pandangan para penganutnya. Ia menggunakan pendekatan antara disiplin agama-budaya, dan menganalisis penemuan di dalam kerangka gabungan bidang antropologi Islam, antropologi budaya, fenomenologi agama, dan historiografi Eurosentrisme. Kajian ini mendedahkan komuniti yang didorong oleh Tawhid dengan hubungan yang mendalam antara agama dan adat. Sebahagian dari para pengikut mengiktiraf Wetu Telu sebagai suatu tradisi Muslim, sementara yang lain menganggapnya sebagai satu varian Islam. Istilah Wetu Telu muncul semasa pemerintahan Kedaduan Bayan dari abad ke-14 dan telah melalui salah tafsiran selama beberapa abad. Hasil kajian juga mencetuskan perselisihan epistemologi dengan badan ilmu sedia ada. Ia mendedahkan variasi dalam amalan spiritual para penganut, dan memperkenalkan pejuang adat yang mematuhi kelima rukun Islam dengan sepenuhnya. Tesis ini menjana dasar yang diilhamkan dari pandangan pribumi, dan bertujuan untuk membuka jalan ke arah memberikan gambaran kepercayaan yang lebih seimbang untuk para penganut. Ia menyumbang kepada wacana sains sosial yang berterusan mengenai identiti Muslim, heterogeniti, kebebasan beragama, dan celik agama.

## APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts in Islamic Thought and Civilisation.

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## DECLARATION

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PRACTITIONERS' PERSPECTIVE  
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*This thesis is dedicated to the people of Bayan,  
who welcomed me to their Berugak, treated me like family,  
and went above and beyond to ease my path.*

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All glory is due to Allah, the Almighty, who has blessed me with His Grace and Mercy during my extended five-year plight. He accorded me with the strength to persevere, and endure the three-year hurdle due to the pandemic travel restrictions. These endless tests till the last moments made my journey all the more memorable. Alhamdulillah.

Pursuing my Master's degree at the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilisation (ISTAC) was a dream that took me more than a decade to realise. I have met many individuals who kindly contributed towards my success. I would like to express my gratitude to my initial supervisor, Associate Professor Dr Imtiyaz Yusuf, for his big-picture guidance and encouragement to pursue this challenging project in Northern Lombok. I would also like to thank my current supervisor, Assistant Professor Dr. Ahmad El-Muhammady bin Muhammad Uthman El-Muhammady, for his willingness to step in at a critical and late stage of my plight. My admiration goes to Professor Emeritus Dato' Dr. Osman Bakar for his tremendous patience in educating me on Islamic epistemology, and inspiring me to anchor my vocation on Tawhid during his Research Methodology classes. I am grateful to Yang Berhormat Senator Professor Datuk Seri Dr. Awang Seriyon for prompting this thesis idea over a discussion on Muslim traditions around the world during his Islam in Malay History and Culture lecture.

This endeavour would not have been possible without the substantial backing from my professional acquaintances in Indonesia. I would like to recognise Professor Dr I Made Suastra, from Universitas Udayana, for familiarising me with the Wetu Telu academic scene, and advising me on the knowledge gap in the field. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Professor Mahyuni and the late Drs Nur Ahmadi from Universitas Mataram in obtaining the fieldwork approval from Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Daerah, Nusa Tenggara Barat. I would like to relay my appreciation to the respective authority for giving me the permission to conduct my investigation in Kecamatan Bayan.

I hold high regard for the kindhearted Wetu Telu community for playing a significant role in my phenomenology research. I would like to convey my gratitude to Raden Gedarip, Pemangku Adat, Dusun Karang Salah, for opening the doorway to Adat Bayan, and being a constant pillar of support during tough times. My special appreciation goes to Raden Sawinggih and Misanem, as well as Raden Irawadi and Denda Ayu Kusuma, for graciously hosting me at their family homes during my fieldwork. I deeply cherish their warm hospitality, and their generous offers of resources to achieve my goal. I would also like to applaud Renadi, my Bahasa Bayan teacher and the go-to person whenever I needed help. My utmost recognition goes to the extraordinary informants who openly shared their personal spiritual experiences, and enthusiastically participated in discerning discourses on Adat and Agama with me.

Last but not least, I am most indebted to my parents, my late father, Dato' Mohd Abu Bakar bin Rautin Ibrahim, and my mother, Datin Badariah binti Saidin, for their prayers, understanding, unconditional love, and support.

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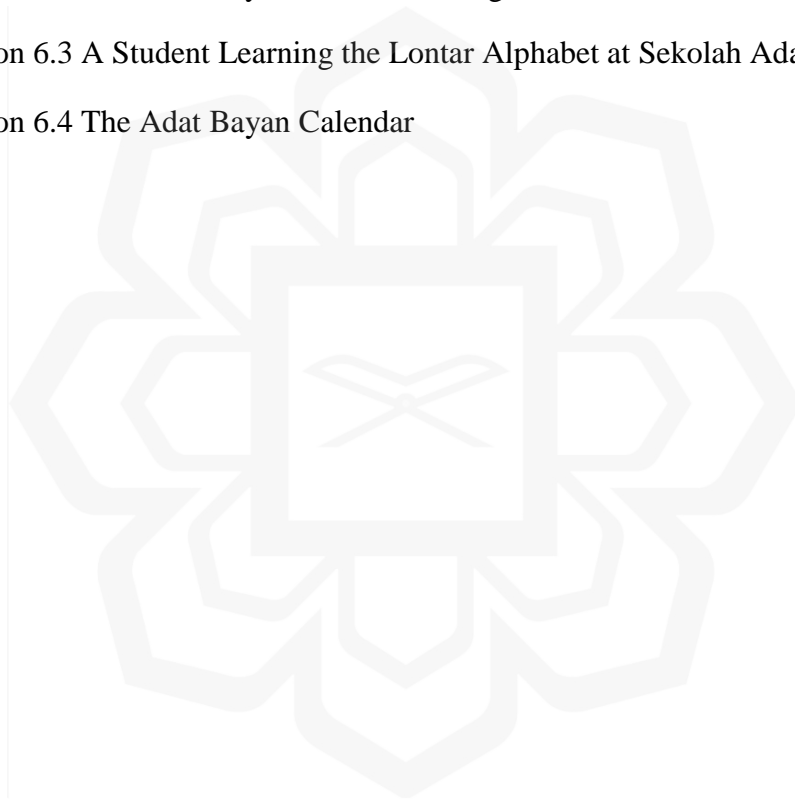
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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION TO WETU TELU

The teachings of Islam spread to Lombok in West Nusa Tenggara of Indonesia through traders and Mubalighs in several stages from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Basarudin, 2019; Sudirman, 2014; Jamaluddin, 2011; Adonis, 1989). The Sasak islanders had already established their own native code of conducts before the pioneer Muslim missionaries arrived on the island (Suhailid et al., 2014).

The locals embraced the religion of Islam and understood the world based on its normative basis (Mutawali and Zuhdi, 2019; Komarudin and Muliadi, 2019; Umam, 2016; Bruinessen, 1999). They applied their existing value system to adopt and execute the transcendental eternal messages of the new faith. Their Muslim character emerged from their own social, political and cultural understandings. Their rituals developed from the extensive integration of Islamic tenets and ethnic culture (Fitriani, 2015). They believed in Monotheism or the oneness of God, without the intention of shirk or deification.

Thus, this immersive interface between world religion and local Adat shaped the distinct Islamic identities of the Sasak ethnic sub-groups (Krulfeld, 1966). They accepted the new creed without completely letting go of the preceding belief traditions left by their ancestors. Their religion and Adat cannot be separated, but these two elements can be distinguished (Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014).

The Wetu Telu belief system in particular portrayed the indigenous elements that refused to bend according to the Islamic prototype (Suhailid et al., 2014). The adherents approached religion by upholding their parochial traditions (Zuhdi, 2014). They believed in the power of their ancestral spirits, which were demonstrated in their inherited tradition and series of rituals (Mansyur, 2019a).

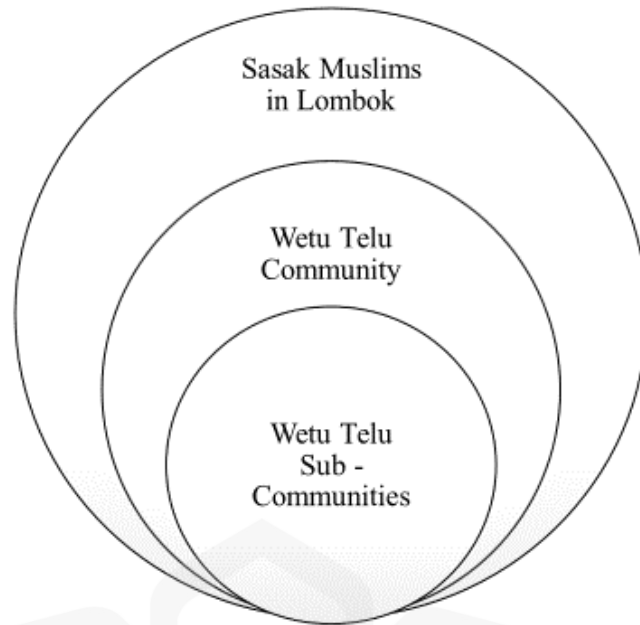


Figure 1.1 Muslims in Lombok

The Wetu Telu cosmology emphasises the number three or ‘telu’ in viewing and comprehending reality (Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014). Living things come from three reproductive systems, namely, giving birth, such as for humans or animals (*menganak*); laying eggs, such as for chickens and ducks (*menteluk*); and growing or seeding, such as for plants (*mentiuuk*) (Adonis, 1989). All beings would also go through three stages of life (Zuhdi, 2018), which consist of birth (*menganak*), living (*urip*), and death (*mate*). Similarly, the Wetu Telu’s social system incorporates three institutions harmoniously - religion, custom and government (Rasmianto, 2009).

The adherents allegedly followed only three out of the Five Pillars of Islam (Rasmianto, 2009). ‘Telu’ also triggered the most general misconception that the believers performed only three-daily prayers, which incorrectly defined their reputation (Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014). On the contrary, Wetu Telu refers to three types of prayers, namely Terawih in Ramadhan, Eid in Syawal, and Eid Adha in Dzulhijjah (Adonis, 1989).

The Wetu Telu community displays some similarities to the mainstream Muslims in their practices (Zuhdi, 2014). These include the adoption of Arabic verses

from the Qur'an in their supplications recited at their Adat ceremonies, the role of the imam in prayers which are performed by the Kiyai, and the recognition of the mosque, also known as Masjid Kuno, as a communal key symbol of faith.



Illustration 1.1 Qur'an Recital during a Post-Funeral Ritual Represents a Form of the Wetu Telu's Execution of the World Religion

Overall, the adherents identify as the followers of both Islam and Wetu Telu simultaneously (Maarif, 2017). They stress on their status as Muslims but realise the differences in their Islamic practice to mainstream Muslims. Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI), the country's Islamic government authority, has not issued any fatwa regarding the Wetu Telu faith (Matondang and Rangkuti, 2020). Nevertheless, its characteristics show that it is not a doctrine per se, but that it embraces the teachings of Islam which are understood in the traditional manner (Sawinggih, 2016). Perceptions of their belief vary, based on a blend of ancestral faith, animism, and Hinduism, which is barely concealed by Islamic elements (Wirata, 2018; Budiwanti, 2000; Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014) to a combination of local faith, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. In fact, its status vacillates between a controversial variant of Islam bordering on polytheism and an

acceptable identity of a Muslim community. Wetu Telu is considered to be *sesepe*, or knowledge that needs to be transferred completely (Yusrifa et al., 2016). Questions have thus arisen on whether Islam is separated from its framework, syncretised into its form, or incorporated within its foundation (Budiwanti, 2000; Yudhistira, 2013).

Consequentially, such confusions have tainted the image and understanding of Wetu Telu (Sawinggih, 2016). Outsiders consider the traditional inheritance to be a type of religious misguidance. This disdain is mainly a result of the biased misinterpretation of its name rather than from its existing belief system.

Its traditional leaders have risen before to combat the accusations. They reiterate that while Wetu Telu represents a customary belief system that they firmly adhere to, their religion remains Islam. In fact, various communities that formally adopted the essentials of the complete Islam also often have a belief system within it, including the Islam Waktu Lima group. This mainstream group of Muslims practice the Five Pillars of Islam fully as well as perform the five daily prayers (Adonis, 1989). While most of the Sasak population has already converted to the mainstream faith, the Wetu Telu belief system still maintains its strong footing in Northern Lombok (Aniq 2011).

## **1.2 THE ISLAMIC EPISTEMOLOGY OF WETU TELU**

The complex dynamics of Wetu Telu created the need for a multilayered and comprehensive epistemology base to analyse its intricate composition. Ideally, its religious and Adat dialogue should transpire within an established foundation of knowledge (Asad, 2009). The reproduction of knowledge should be relative and connected to the context of the believers. Heterogeneity arose from the different Islamic reasonings in different civilisations, and might not reflect the nonexistence of an Islamic tradition. Variations in belief patterns should not be reduced to a standard categorisation of heretical.

The Muhammad Abed Al-Jabiri model<sup>1</sup> of thinking systems (Khorri, 2014; War'i, 2020) is equipped to examine the intricate attributes of Wetu Telu. The Moroccan contemporary thinker propagated turning Islamic epistemology into a scientific study (Hasyim, 2018). He outlined three epistemological structures of the culture and tradition of Islamic thought in the golden age. These comprised Bayani (explanation), Burhani (demonstration) and Irfani (premonition). Bayani's epistemology began from religious texts using a conservative approach, Burhani's epistemology used a philosophical approach and Irfani's epistemology applied a mystical approach. Bayani produced knowledge by referring to the origin; Burhani produced knowledge through logical principles of previous knowledge which has been believed to be true; and Irfani produced knowledge through the process of spiritual union with God.

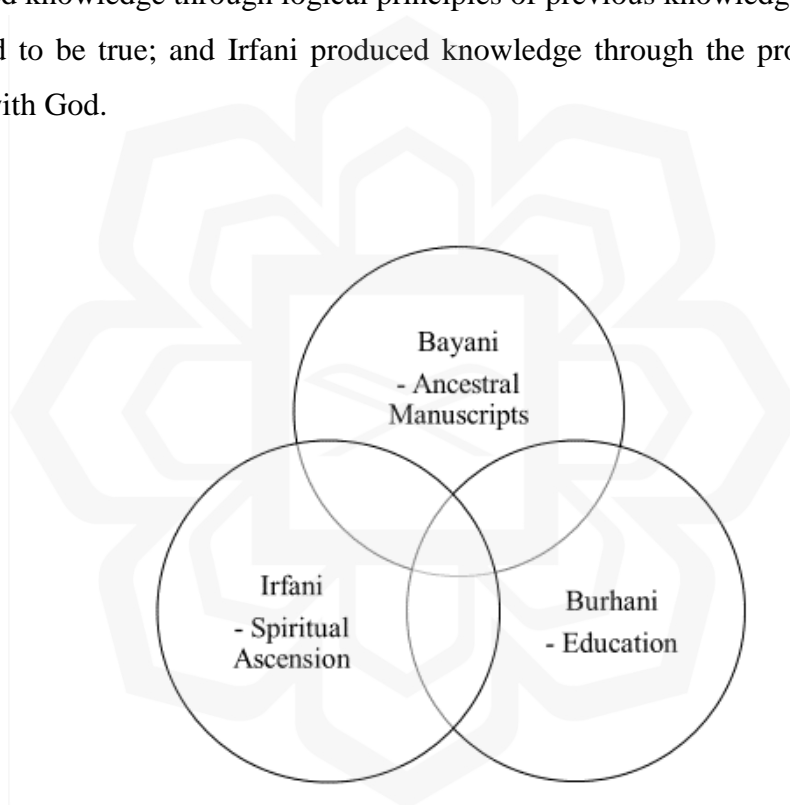


Figure 1.2 The Islamic Epistemology of Wetu Telu

The above structures resemble the disharmonious schools of Western epistemology (Hjørland, 2005). These consist of empiricism which utilises experience through observations and senses, and rationalism which recognises rational intuitions as the source of knowledge. On the contrary, its Islamic counterparts were

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Abed Al-Jabiri, an Islamic scientist from Morocco, derived this modern Islamic philosophical thought in his study of Arabic reasoning.

interconnected and complementary (War'i, 2020). Rationale knowledge, sensory knowledge, and physical knowledge through inspiration or intuition did not clash with each other (Hasyim, 2018,). The theory of knowledge also differed from its secular Western counterpart in the inclusion of religious normative teaching values as its principles. Revelations narrated in the Qur'an and Hadith have served a distinct role in propelling the Islamic science forward. The concept of Monotheism steers Islamic teaching values and its epistemological principles. It emphasises the oneness of Allah SWT, the absolute one God, the divine and the ultimate God.

The starting point was Bayani's approach, which formed the methodological model of thinking based on text (Khorī, 2014; War'i, 2020). This epistemology often emerged in a society of devotees. In indigenous communities, it was inherited from the ancestral manuscripts or the oral transfer of wisdom. Initially, the teachings were considered final and changes were not allowed. The Wetu Telu adherents often enlivened this tradition by reciting the text at their specific community rituals, which sustained the practice past this era of science and technology.

Subsequently, on-going developments reconstructed the understanding of their deep-rooted legacy, and new discoveries coloured their heritage (War'i, 2020). Intellectual adherents compared and assessed their ideological systems with those that they acquired from other sources. The demise of the community's elders or primary source of teaching could create doubts of their tradition. Furthermore, reasoning from traditional figures lent a logical touch and affected the originally textual paradigm. Adherents also actively adopted the values of their ancestral beliefs in a dynamic manner. All these combined factors resulted in rationalisation. Changing times had transformed the believers' epistemology.

Burhani relied on the power of reason (Khorī, 2014; Hasyim, 2018). Rationalism was carried out through logical arguments. Reason was the basis for the certainty and truth of knowledge. The source of knowledge was the mind. A person's strengths were drawn in the form of senses, experience, and logic, in order to attain wisdom and truthfulness. This epistemology was also called a scientific approach in understanding religion or religious phenomena. It could use historical, sociological, anthropological, psychological, philosophical and linguistic (hermeneutic) approaches.

Though the adherents had started to use their logical reasoning to orientate and construct their knowledge, the process of legitimacy was not implemented in a rushed and ungovernable manner (War'i, 2020). Traditional leaders meditated in seclusion and grappled with questionable ritual elements. Thus, intuition aspect became one of the visible components of their epistemological process of knowledge. The devotees established themselves in the revealed religion, and yet they were obliged to preserve the spiritual values passed down by their predecessors.

They upheld the foundation of the early custom while opening the avenues for new concepts to flourish. Irfani allowed humans to acquire knowledge quickly without going through a certain reasoning process (Khorri, 2014; Hasyim, 2018). It represented the result of the highest, but personal, evolution of thought. Irfani knowledge approached faith at the substantive level, and dealt with the essence of its spirituality. It created full awareness of the existence of other people's religious experiences with different reactions and expressions.

Hence, Al-Jabiri's model of Islamic epistemology offered multidimensional methods to analyse the diversity of Wetu Telu. Muslim societies remained plural and complex with their variations of Islamic practices, interpretations, and understandings (El-Zein, 1977). These differences should be embraced and celebrated, rather than allow to disharmonise and divide Muslims. Islam promoted peaceful coexistence and integration within a society, and emphasised the concept of unity and brotherhood.



Illustration 1.2 The Youths Inherit the Ancestral Wisdom from their Elders through their Participation in Adat Duties

### **1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

#### **1.3.1 Background and Problem**

The Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima framework has been extensively used to analyse this field (Suliadi and Mahyuni, 2022; Aniq, 2011). Its preset superior lens is inclined towards emphasising Wetu Telu's sub-standard in comparison with Islam. The pre-independence categorisation appeared to be restricting discourse in the field as it was addressed by the Dutch Colonials more than a century ago (Haar, 1925). These biased dual socio-religious categories seemed to have been created to divide and conquer the natives (Sawinggih, 2016, Yusrifa et al., 2016, Suhailid, 2014). Waktu Lima refers to the believers who perform the five daily prayers prescribed by the Qur'an, while Wetu Telu consists of those who execute the three types of prayers, namely Friday, Eid or Eid al-Adha, and funerals (Haar, 1925).

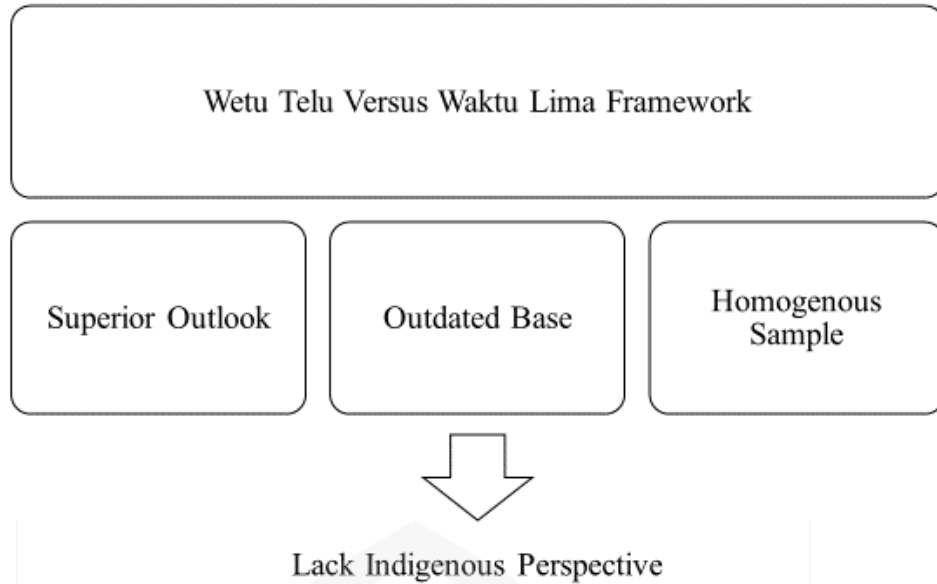


Figure 1.3 Issues in Wetu Telu Religio-Cultural Studies

Unfortunately, this prevailing reference in the field did not capture further evolutions and complexities of the community, nor did it represent the current scenario (Wirata, 2018). While the natives' understanding of the interactions between Islam and Adat continued to transform according to space and time (Mutawali and Zuhdi, 2019), no other specific theories seemed to have been applied to advance studies on this subject.

Moreover, informants in previous research mostly consisted of leading male veteran practitioners located in Bayan (Komarudin and Muliadi, 2019), such as Raden Gedarip, the Pemangku Adat, Dusun Karang Salah (Budiwanti, 2011). While this small pool of homogenous practitioners provided valuable insights on Wetu Telu, it resulted in a somewhat imbalanced internal standpoint. Thus, the above development revealed a knowledge gap in the representation of indigenous practitioners, thus providing the opportunity to incorporate a wider perspective from a diverse range of practitioners. The adverse effect of long-term judgmental research outcomes to the community's identity and reputation should therefore be addressed (Sawinggih, 2016).

This led us to the title and intention of this thesis, which was to determine the adherents' status of faith from their own viewpoint. The phrase 'Wetu Telu Muslims' encompasses believers who execute the fundamentals of the world religion against the tapestry of the Adat. This aligns with the 'one Islam, many Muslims' stance, which embraces cultural diversity among Muslims (Ahmed, 1986). On the other hand, the term 'Islam Wetu Telu' followers represent believers who adopt a variant of the Islamic doctrine. This fits the 'many Islams, many Muslims' position, which queries the existence of universal content in the religion (El-Zein, 1977). Nonetheless, both classifications contest the 'one Islam, one Muslim' proselytisation drive, which aims to transform and standardise the Muslim Ummah and eliminate heterogenous cultural traits (Ali, 2017).

### **1.3.2 Propositions**

This imbalanced perception issue could be solved by addressing interactions and association with other related fields to enrich these analyses (Bagir, 2023). A religious phenomenon is not faithfully righteous as it is not stand alone or independent. It is correlated with the human factor and connected to the related social, linguistic, political, legal, economic, and environmental grounds. The community, State, and nationwide dynamics are inseparable.

Furthermore, adopting an inclusive indigenous perspective could extend the evaluation beyond the orientalist framework, and review the subject from an impartial point of view. The route to solving this narrow outlook was to broaden the participants' demographics and extend the sample from the elderly leaders in the Bayan ritual centre to include the subdistrict's younger members and female practitioners, as well as traditional chiefs in the Wetu Telu peripheries in Kecamatan Bayan, Northern Lombok. This mixed representation of multiple geographical areas, generations, and genders generated additional insights from a landscape of diverse experiences

Hence, the researcher embarked upon a study on native faith that leveraged on the strengths of Religion, Anthropology, and History. It adopted an interdisciplinary approach that delved into religion in relation to other dimensions. The study

accommodated the critical factors that affected the lived experience of human faith, such as history and culture, and the depth they lent to such analyses.

## **1.4 RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS**

This study intended to answer the central guiding question of ‘What is Wetu Telu from its practitioners’ viewpoint?’

### **1.4.1 Research Objectives**

RO 1: To discover and explore the following:

1. The origins and evolutions of Wetu Telu
2. The forms and meanings of Wetu Telu
3. The spirituality of the Wetu Telu practitioners

RO2: To analyse Wetu Telu from a Religio-Cultural perspective

### **1.4.2 Research Questions**

1. RQ 1: How and why was Wetu Telu formed?
2. RQ 2: What is Wetu Telu?
3. RQ 3: How and why do the adherents practice Wetu Telu?

## **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This research urged for a reevaluation of the established and much applied framework of Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima in the study of the Sasak Muslims in Northern Lombok. The researcher called for Wetu Telu to be analysed on its own rather than in comparison with the Waktu Lima mainstream Muslims. This investigation addressed

the presence of varieties in the adherents' approach of Islam, incorporated the evolution in the community's spiritual expressions, and filled the indigenous discourse gap.



Illustration 1.3 The Wetu Telu Community Emerged from a Multilayered Past and Deserves to be Studied on Its Own

### **1.5.1 To contemporary research on Wetu Telu**

This research expanded the interviewees' profiles and introduced a dimension of heterogeneity in the adherents. Each person's spiritual experience was unique based on the transfer of knowledge from the elders, scope of responsibility, and tradition in his or her vicinity. There was no definite pattern observed among adherents from similar demographics (generation, geography and gender). Since this subject is a relatively new

area of research and still has a lot of opportunity, it was not necessary for the sampling to reach data saturation.

The deep-rooted relationship between religion and Adat enhanced the practitioners' Tawhid stance. In fact, the Wetu Telu's philosophy strongly emphasises Monotheism, and ingrained worshipping the Almighty in its code of conducts. Furthermore, its indigenous system had already incorporated the administration of Islamic matters in the adherents' daily lives and communal activities.

The diverse practitioners were unanimous on the official status of their religion being Islam, and not Wetu Telu. Nevertheless, some of the practitioners considered Wetu Telu to be a Muslim tradition, while others deemed it a variant of Islam. Hence, their status are divided between Wetu Telu Muslims and Islam Wetu Telu practitioners. These two main variations in the spiritual praxis reflect the complex religious expressions of the community.

This study applied the Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis and utilised the Religio-Cultural conceptual framework, which amplifies the individual practitioners' voices within the world that they reside in. The present study does not intend to generalise and conclude, but rather, to expand the field of Islamic studies to incorporate Religio-Cultural factors as they affect the worldview and ethics of the practitioners.

Nevertheless, the outcome of this research posed an epistemological conflict to the existing body of knowledge about the Wetu Telu group. Several of the Wetu Telu practitioners that were interviewed revealed their compliance with the Five Pillars of Islam as well as upholding their duty to sustain the Adat. This significant discovery negated some established generic findings in the field, such as that all adherents did not perform the five daily prayers or fast during the whole month of Ramadhan. The closest group revealed in previous research was the Waktu Lima practitioners, who practiced certain parts of the Wetu Telu Adat (Sirnopati, 2021), without completely assuming its identity. There was therefore a need to expand the spectrums and recognise the varying degrees or combinations of implementing religion and Adat by the adherents.

### **1.5.2 To the scientific discipline**

This empirical study represents the practitioners' worldview and forms a substantial base for basic and applied researches in Social Science and the Islamic fields. It endeavours to overcome some of the shortcomings in the discipline. The researcher applied a personalised approach to work with the formal and informal leaders of an indigenous community and narrate their perspectives and experiences. The newly generated, native-inspired foundation acts as an alternative to complement the existing orientalist-originated *Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima* and propel progress in the field. It also promotes the grand aspiration of uniting and placing multi-ethnic Muslim societies within the context of one universal Islam (Ahmed, 1986).

### **1.5.3 To the Islamic Thought and Civilisation field**

This Socio-Anthropological research viewed civilisations as the source of accumulated information, knowledge, and practices, as observed in this study. The researcher acknowledged the varied, converging, and changing Islamic thought and cultural practices in Indonesia and Lombok, and strove to capture the native traditions that conform to the principles of the religion. The thesis highlighted the multifaceted image of Islam in Southeast Asia. It grappled with the cultural praxes and addresses the tension between the Adat and the Shariah in a society governed by the Shafie jurisprudence and Ashari theology. It sought to explore the interplay between mainstream Islam and local practices, and observed how this exchange has produced a myriad of identity groups in different sub-localities (Eickelman and Salvatore, 2006). The external parties' pressure to convert and standardise the religious practice has affected these complex tribes' identity and reputation. The present study, therefore, urged to recognise and examine each of these communities, and dissuaded the restriction of Muslims to a set of static doctrines (Asad, 2009; Ali, 2017).



Illustration 1.4 The Wetu Telu Adherents Embrace Islam while Upholding their Tradition

This investigation has ventured beyond the orthodox to acknowledge the non-standard and contemporary practices, lived experiences and social structures. The adoption of an indigenous outlook has widened the scope and interpretation of Islam and its spiritual traditions (Smith, 2014). It emphasised the respect for cultural differences and harmony as the Muslims' code of behaviour and inherited knowledge strengthens the nation as a whole (The Qur'an, 13:49), Mamat et. All, 2020). Acknowledging these factors contributes towards reviving a more compassionate portrayal of Islam and softening its' current harsher representation worldwide.

#### 1.5.4 To the community

Firstly, presenting the practitioners' perspective will contribute to the formulation of policies, as well as the planning and management of indigenous and diverse Muslim communities (Wirata et al., 2010). The research insights will be beneficial to the national and state-level authorities and regulators in Lombok specifically and Indonesia generally.

Secondly, the generated results will support the religious bodies' efforts to customise their *dakwah* strategies and initiatives to better meet the needs of the community. It will help overcome the natives' fear of their *Adat* disappearing

Thirdly, the outcome facilitates a platform that could be utilised for more effective preservation and cultural training efforts by national and local cultural bodies. It provides in-depth knowledge on the foundation and essence of Wetu Telu from an internal viewpoint.

Fourthly, initiation of this neutral body of knowledge will enhance the tourism industry. The key players will be able to increase their appreciation and grasp the pure attributes of Wetu Telu, and showcase the old Sasak tradition in a more accurate and comprehensive way.

Fifthly, the insiders' voice might inspire writers and journalists to narrate the Wetu Telu story in a more representative manner. This will increase public awareness and understanding of the community's plight, as well as their belief and practice.

Last but not least, this research will contribute towards the internal preservation of heritage. It gives external validation and cause to the Wetu Telu leaders to convince their descendants of the value of their legacy. This will help facilitate a smoother transfer of local wisdom to their younger generations (R. Sawinggih, 2016).



Illustration 1.5 The Elaborate Circumcision Ritual Forms One of the Customary Practices that Sustain Wetu Telu

## CHAPTER TWO

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, LITERATURE REVIEW, AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### 2.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A comprehensive Religio-Cultural approach is ideal to address the deep-rooted phenomena of Wetu Telu. Thus, the researcher has developed this multidisciplinary conceptual framework, which combines the areas of Islamic Antropology, Religion as a Cultural System, The Sacred and the Profane, and Eurocentrism Historiography.



Figure 2.1 Integrated Religio-Cultural Conceptual Framework

The Wetu Telu community had continued to evolve against Lombok's complex historical background for over ten centuries. Nevertheless, its adherents were still being stereotyped according to the colonial-influenced Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima polarisation from the early 20th century. More current and relevant frameworks from the indigenous peoples' worldview would be crucial for the growth in this field. The natives should be treated as the subject, and not the object (Aniq, 2011; Alatas, 2004).

Hence, this study attempted to produce an indigenous-inspired foundation free from Eurocentrism and the restrictive coloniser's label of the past.

Religion was treated as a cultural system (Geertz, 1993) to depict the contextualisation of the Islamic doctrine in an ethnic setting. It allowed the recognition of the variations of Wetu Telu sub-communities in the different localities of Northern Lombok. The expressions of faith should relate to a place or group and explored in depth and detail. The practitioners observed the main Wetu Telu traits, and also applied the unique characteristics practised in their villages.

This investigation will unveil the spiritual dimensions of the Wetu Telu practitioners from the premises and according to the orientations of Islam (Davies, 1988). It intends to capture the ways adherents have embraced and managed matters of the faith. It will also explore the vertical relationship between humans and the Divine, as well as the horizontal relationships between humans and other creatures.

The researcher sought to understand the bond between the sacred and the profane domains in the Wetu Telu ecosystem (Eliade, 1959). The holy supernatural sphere has controlled and shaped multiple facets of the ordinary physical world. Religion has facilitated contacts with the sacred and transported believers into a transcendental realm. These two worlds represent the untainted Wetu Telu practitioners' exclusive worldview and embody their own experiences.

## **2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This two-part Literature Review investigates the existence of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima from the perspectives of the classic and contemporary scholars. The first part addresses the classic researchers' impressions and interpretations of the two categories. The second part analyses the modern writers take on Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima, and the middle ground between the two beliefs.

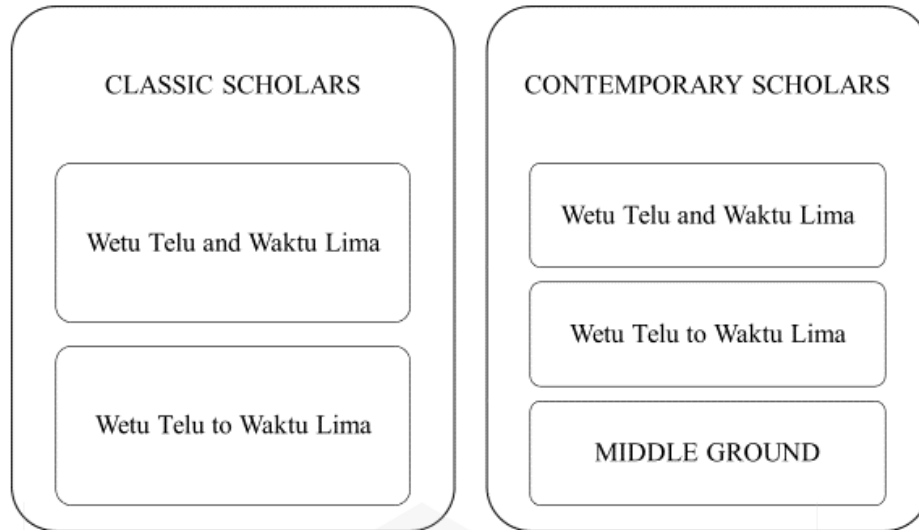


Figure 2.2 Literature Review

## 2.2.1 Part 1: Classic Scholars

### 2.2.1.1 J.C.C. Haar (1925)

The Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima orientations can be tracked back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Haar’s article, *De Heilige Weefsels Van De “Waktoe Teloe” Op Oost-Lombok*, or *The Sacred Fabric of Waktoe Teloe in East Lombok* (1924), did not specify whether the polarisation referred to two traditions or two variants of Islam, but the observations in his works detailed out the two groups’ religious doctrines from the perspectives of three successive Dutch Controllers of East Lombok. These observations were extracted from the Memorandums of Surrender by Controller Vogelesang, Controller Mann, and Controller Pauw from 1921 to 1923.

The native religion of Wetu Telu (written as Waktoe Teloe or Waktoe Tiga) carries the dominant trait of being part of the surrounding nature and having an intimate relationship with supernatural beings, such as spirits or demons. It also extends to the veneration of ancestors. The meaning of Wetu Telu is an indirect play with the number three. The practice of Wetu Telu comprises three prayers delegated to the Kiyai, which are performed at the traditional Masjid Kuno, such as the Friday prayers, jenazah or

prayers for the deceased, and Lebaran prayers on the first of Syawal. Fasting is also performed only by the Kiyai. Generally, matters of faith are left to the religious leaders.

On the other hand, the term Waktu Lima denotes the five daily prayers prescribed by the Qur'an as stated. The adherents portray an Arab influence in their overall dressing and mannerism, in line with their worship sheikh or Islamic leader. This category consisted mainly of new converts, and had only recently acquired a large number of followers. They were harshly treated given their previous religious beliefs embodied in Wetu Telu. They are taught and led by Tuan Guru, the disciples of the teachings of the Qur'an, and pray at mosques that are separate from the other group.

The claim that it was the Dutch colonials who revealed that the followers practised the three daily prayers ritual is incorrect (Seramasara, 2020). In fact, at the end of the annual Pepali custom observance in East Lombok, where all believers' work ceased for 24 hours, the Kiyai would perform the five daily prayers consecutively at the Masjid Kuno on a Thursday evening (malam Jumaat), starting with Asar.

The Wetu Telu adherents also celebrate important Islamic occasions three days after the generic Islamic calendar as they factor in the transition period of the moon. The time after the end of the month of fasting and when the moon on the first of Syawal is not yet visible was called Kudus. The time on the second day when the moon became visible but is hidden by the eastern mountains was called Arab. Finally, the celebration will take place on the third day when the moon rises above the top of the mountain, the time of which is called Djawa. Fasting month is also divided into three parts and performed by the Penghulu and Kiyai on behalf of the entire community. Fasting is observed according to the Islamic rulings from the first to the 15th of the month; broken at three o'clock in the afternoon (waktu asar) from the 15th to the 20<sup>th</sup> of the month, and broken at sunset again from the 20th to the end of the month.

#### ***2.2.1.2 Ruth Krulfeld (1966, 1974)***

Four decades after the above publication, Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima terminologies were used to describe the cultural models for the two types of Sasak villages with

contrasting sets of values and beliefs by Ruth Krulfeld in her writing, *Fatalism in Indonesia: A Comparison of Socio-Religious Types on Lombok* (Krulfeld, 1966), and *The Village Economies of the Sasak of Lombok: A Comparison of Three Indonesian Peasant Communities* (Krulfeld, 1974). A closer investigation indicated that the author's descriptions of the opposing cultures appeared to refer to two variants of Islam instead.

A Sasak gains the right to become a member of Wetu Telu through birth or marriage. They might convert to the Waktu Lima membership, but not vice versa (Krulfeld, 1974). Waktu Lima villagers adopt the Five Pillars of Islam, while their Wetu Telu counterparts subscribe only to the first pillar, namely the Syahadah (Krulfeld, 1966). Its adherents do not pray five times a day, fast, perform the Hajj, or pay Zakat (the religious tax). Waktu Lima highlights the followers' involvement in the world religion and submission to the Divine's will and fate, with specific areas of individual's choices and decisions. On the contrary, the Wetu Telu religious system is Adat centred, where the villagers' fate is socially determined and predestined by custom. Its organisation emphasised communal duties with three Adat portfolios, headed by the specialists of Kiyai, Pemangku, and Toaq Lokaq. The Penghulu or Kiyai is responsible for the post-funeral mourning ceremonies carried out at specific times after the demise, and performing other worshipping rituals to Allah SWT, including praying and fasting for all adherents. In contrast, the Waktu Lima foundation emphasises individual Muslim responsibilities in terms of mandatory rituals. The Waktu Lima's idea of heaven constitutes a final destination to reward the followers for their good deeds, while the Wetu Telu heaven revolves around the ancestors' involvements in the affairs of the livings and their continuous reciprocal relationships. In fact, a large part of the Wetu Telu belief centres on mystical powers and ancestral veneration, with a series of spiritual festivals.

A Waktu Lima adherent works for his own wealth, which is also determined by the will of Allah SWT. On the other hand, the Waktu Telu system places great social and Adat barriers on economic initiative, which almost prevents the generation of individual profit or raising a person's stature to be above his peers. While the community seems to have a disadvantage in terms of economics, Wetu Telu villages

also accord better women's rights, which is attributed to the rare occurrence of polygyny marriages.

The author foresaw the overall conversion from the Wetu Telu model to Waktu Lima in the long run. The Adat was seen as an obstacle against the strengthening of Islam; thus, the Waktu Lima group was seeking ways to demolish the custom in order to speed up the Islamisation process.

In a nutshell, the Dutch colonialists may have introduced the Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima dichotomy in the early 1900s, and associated Wetu Telu with the performance of the three different occasions or types of prayers. Consequently, contemporary scholars in the 21<sup>st</sup> century have continued the discourse on this subject based on this established premise. Some of these researchers, however, have instead linked the belief to the ritual of three daily prayers. This has been one of the most talked-about misconceptions of Wetu Telu (Sawinggih, 2016). The claim comes from external parties, rather than the practitioners themselves, as detailed in the second part of the literature review below.

## **2.2.2 Part 2: Contemporary Scholars**

The studies of six contemporary Indonesian researchers addressing different angles of the polarisation were chosen to discuss and analyse the relevance of the popular Eurocentrism approach. These publications are Erni Budiwanti (2021, 2000), M. Ardi Kusumawardana (2019), Retno Sironpati (2022, 2021), Zaenuddin Mansyur (2019), Suliadi and Mahyuni (2022), and Ahmad Fathan Aniq (2011).

### **2.2.2.1 Erni Budiwanti (2021, 2000)**

In her two books, 'Islam Sasak; Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima (2000) and When Local meets Global: Religion, Ritual and Contestation in Lombok (2021), Erni Budiwanti's extensive ethnographic study of the external-driven proselytisation strategy for the community leveraged on the contrived definitions of the two categories.

Wetu Telu was established as a syncretised version of Islam practiced by the natives of North Lombok, while the Qur'an-guided Waktu Lima was adopted by migrants who hailed from the other regions of the island (Budiwanti, 2000). The combination of safeguarding ancestral customary belief and the incomplete adoption of Islamic pillars resulted in this modification to the religion (Budiwanti, 2021). The natives accepted Islam by adding elements to and purifying their prevailing indigenous ideologies without considerably changing their animistic and deviant ways of devotion to the Islamic Monotheistic principle of Tawhid. The beginning of the use of the term Wetu Telu in daily life as well as the history of pitting the belief against Waktu Lima was yet to be unveiled.

An interview with a Waktu Lima follower (Budiwanti, 2000) revealed that Wetu Telu followers perform only three daily prayers, namely Subuh, Maghrib, and Isyak. They also adopt the first three out of five pillars of Islam and fast for only three days in Ramadhan, which takes place in the beginning, the middle and the end of the month. The adherents do not adopt the fourth and fifth pillars, namely Hajj and Zakat.

The Penghulu, the head of Islamic clerics of the Adat organisation, saw the need to strengthen the group of Kiyai's knowledge on the fundamentals of Islam (Budiwanti, 2000). He arranged for the Tuan Guru to teach them the Pillars of Islam, Pillars of Iman, wajib (compulsory) prayers, Sunnah prayers, and recitation of the Qur'an.

Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Majid, who led Nadhlatul Wathan (NW), the biggest Islamic organisation in Lombok, played a significant role in transforming the belief of the natives to that of the Waktu Lima (Budiwanti, 2021). His disciples embarked on an active proselytisation mission by building mosques and madrasah on the island to eliminate the alleged non-Islamic components of Wetu Telu. They struggled to penetrate the deep-rooted native community. In fact, the mosques were mostly utilised by migrants who relocated to North Lombok through the government's transmigration programme. The newcomers were also very receptive towards their teachings and became their followers.

These studies observed the categorisations strictly with the goal of transforming Wetu Telu adherents into Waktu Lima followers. The possibility of new categories, variations, or in-between grouping of the believers was not accommodated. Moreover, the data was based on the researcher's fieldwork performed in Bayan in 1993. It did not incorporate and might not reflect the continuous changes in the adherents in the last three decades, the results of more recent studies on the subject, or the current status of the community in Northern Lombok. Nevertheless, the anthropologist's much-cited publications seemed to have revived the dualism concept and influenced the direction for future research. This definite contestation between the two groups and the disregard for contextualisation of religious expression has cast a negative view over Wetu Telu, resulting in the isolation of the adherents.

#### ***2.2.2.2 M. Ardi Kusumawardana (2019)***

M. Ardi Kusumawardana (2019) also conducted studies on the suitability of Islamic education strategy and methods to reform the practitioners' faith. An essay on *Wetu Telu dalam Perspektif Ulama Lombok (Studi Pemahaman Salat dalam Al-Qur'an Surah Al-Isra' [17]:78)* based on the author's fieldwork in Bayan investigated the practice of prayers by the Wetu Telu adherents and attributed their non-compliance to the Shariah to the incomplete teaching by the missionaries who preached to the natives in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This differs to the content of the indigenous historical manuscript, *Babad Lombok* (Suparman, 1994). It narrates that Pangeran Parapen, a descendant of the Nine Saints of Java (Wali Songo), had taught the five pillars of Islam, including Syahadah, prayers, fasting, Zakat, and Hajj, to the Sasaks during his proselytisation mission.

The writer found the Kiyai to perform three daily prayers, namely Maghrib, Isyak and Subuh, based on his interviews with several Tuan Guru of the Waktu Lima belief. The adherents omitted the two day-time prayers, Zohor and Asar, throughout the Dutch occupational period out of fear of being seen and killed by the colonials. This habit was incorporated into their custom, and in fact, those who performed the five daily prayers faced accusations of ushering misfortune and death threats. Fasting was only implemented by the Kiyai as the rest were considered impure. Their Ramadhan started three days after the mainstream Muslims. They were not allowed to leave their house

or work during the act of worship. They fasted for a total of nine days, which was less than the Waktu Lima's practice of 30 days, but with more prohibitions.

The writer also highlighted the Nadhlatul Wathan's (NW) role in transforming the belief of the natives to that of the Waktu Lima. This was achieved by emancipating them from their ancestral inherited tradition, and purifying them from the Adat belief system and ritual practices which were against the teachings of Islam. NW managed to abolish the custom and Islamic values syncretism through their continuous awareness and educational initiatives.

#### ***2.2.2.3 Zaenuddin Mansyur (2019)***

Penerapan Islam Wetu Telu di Tengah Islam Waktu Lima by Zaenuddin Mansyur (2019) introduced the intersecting possibility between the two defined groups by assessing the Waktu Lima adherents who practiced the Wetu Telu Adat. His approach questioned the strict and clear division in the framework. It also did not dismiss the status of Wetu Telu as a variant of Islam to some of the followers. More importantly, the researcher's discovery allowed the possibility of changes in the practitioners' behaviours, without confining it to the polarisation. He acknowledged the existence of a third group, which consisted of the Waktu Lima adherents who practiced the Wetu Telu tradition, and looked at it as an Adat and not a religion.

There was a constraint posed, though, as this study assumed that all the Muslims who were in full compliance of the Shariah and participated in the Wetu Telu ritual activities identified themselves as Waktu Lima followers. To date, there does not seem to be any other evidence to substantiate this distinct labelling.

#### ***2.2.2.4 Retno Sinoparti (2022, 2021)***

Retro Sinoparti's articles, Agama Lokal Pribumi Sasak - Menelusuri Jejak Islam Wetu Telu di Lombok (2021) and Islamic Variant of Sasak: Transition and Dialectics in the Wetu Telu Community (2022) highlighted the adherents' variations of prayer rituals,

and identified Wetu Telu as a Sasak Islamic variant of Islam. His research divided the followers into five sub-groups according to their prayer rituals: i) Penghulu and Kiyai performed the five daily prayers; ii) Adherents performed Zohor prayers on Fridays, Eid prayers, Aidil Adha prayers, Terawih prayers, and Jenazah prayers; iii) Adherents performing Asar prayers on Thursday, Subuh prayers on Eid, and Zohor prayers on Fridays; iv) Adherents performed Subuh prayers on Eid, Zohor prayers on Fridays, Maghrib and Isyak prayers in Ramadhan, Eid prayers, and Jenazah prayers; and v) A Kiyai on duty performed the five daily prayers, but the ones off duty performed Friday prayers, Terawih prayers, Eid prayers, and Jenazah prayers.

In addition to gathering the external perceptions, he also expanded the possible definitions of the terminology and included the internal perspective through a phenomenological data collection. The results showed that while the normative outsiders interpreted the terminology literally as three-time daily prayers, the practitioners found the terminology to be more symbolic and comprehensive as a complete philosophy of faith. However, there was no other evidence to support that Wetu Telu was a variant of Islam other than grouping the adherents based on their prayer rituals.

#### ***2.2.2.5 Suliadi and Mahyuni (2022)***

Linguistic anthropologists, Suliadi and Mahyuni (2022), announced that Wetu Telu was not a religion in their book, *Mawlid Adat: Ekspresi Spiritual Masyarakat Sasak Bayan*. Their work represented the practitioners' viewpoint on the community's biggest annual Islamic celebration of the Prophet's Birthday, and recognised only one Islamic religion. They ruled out the categorisations of Islam Wetu Telu or Islam Waktu Lima as the Muslims in Northern Lombok did not consider themselves to be believers of Islam Wetu Telu. The results mentioned the possible existence of alternatives beyond the orientalist's narrow dichotomy. This fact was based on the adherents' different rituals of worship. However, the connection of this finding to the non-existence of the variants of Islam was not explained in the work.

#### **2.2.2.6 Ahmad Fathan Aniq (2011)**

Researcher Ahmad Fathan Aniq (2011) attributed the Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima polarisation to the two waves of Islamisation on the island. Initially, the Wali Songo or the Nine Saints of Java brought Sufistic Islam to Lombok in the early 16th century. They accommodated the local culture, and did not eliminate non-Shariah compliant elements of the Sasak custom. Subsequently, the Bugis Mubaligh from Makassar spread the orthodox Sunni Islam in Lombok at the end of the 16th century. They were strict about discarding the local culture. Those who subscribed to their teachings were known as the Waktu Lima adherents. Some Wetu Telu practitioners turned into the Waktu Lima believers. Others upheld the cultural Islam established by the earlier batch of missionaries and continued their ancestral custom. The Wetu Telu adherents used to represent the majority of the Sasak population. In 1930, the percentage of the believers decreased to half of the population, and almost three decades later, the figure plunged to a quarter. Hence, the adherents assumed the position of the minority.

#### **2.2.3 Conclusion**

Some contemporary scholars strongly subscribed to the dichotomy and commended the successful proselytisation drive for the major shift from the Wetu Telu to the Waktu Lima camp (Budiwanti, 2000; Kusumawardana, 2019). The total abolishment of Adat triumphed over the preservation of certain characters of the ancestral legacy. On the contrary, other modern writers undertook a broader view (Retno Sirnopati; 2022; Zaenuddin Mansyur, 2019; Suliadi and Mahyuni, 2022). They analysed and reviewed the suitability of the rigid labelling against the origin and evolution of the community, allowing some variations.

Furthermore, in most of the previous studies, critical data was sourced from external informants without consideration of the indigenous peoples' point of view. The natives should be engaged. This highlighted the existence of a research gap in the form of a scientific study from the native's perspective. Wetu Telu should be examined from the practitioners' standpoint in a neutral and objective manner. Comparisons and pre-judgment of it being sub-par to Waktu Lima or the mainstream Islam should be avoided.

On the contrary, more studies should be conducted on the conducive co-existence of the two different beliefs, and the middle ground between universal Islam and its local equivalence (Ahmed, 1986).

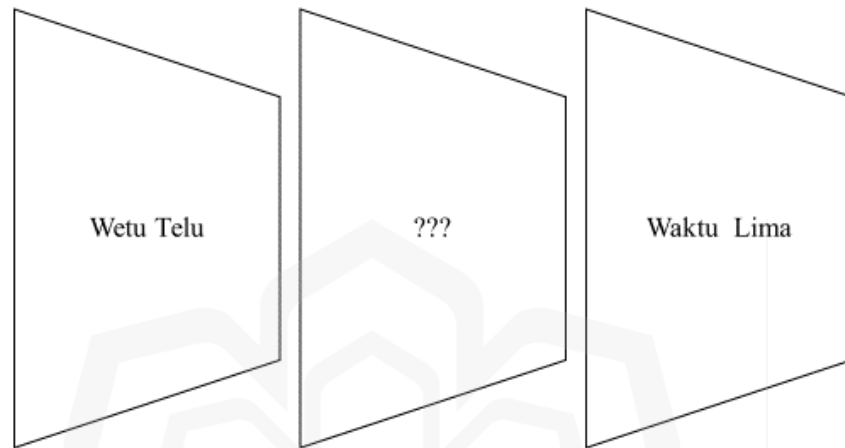


Figure 2.3 Gap in the Dichotomy

#### 2.2.4 Research Approach

A multidisciplinary approach was identified to execute the above propositions and expand the inadequate lens. A Religio-Cultural study was performed to capture the subjects' own accounts on how they embraced and practised religion within their environment. This outcome generated an indigenous-driven base to support the construction of more relevant theories grounded on local traditions (Alatas, 2004). It complemented Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima and enabled the exploration of the community's religious stance from its practitioners' own perspective.

An independent study on the essence and foundation of Wetu Telu from an internal standpoint enabled the researcher to present the community's much neglected view. A wider perspective from various demographics was significant to embody the community fairly (Korstjens and Moser, 2018). A more current and relevant model (Alatas, 2004) was crucial to overcome the rigidity of the ten-century old orientalist

Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima framework. Distinctions should therefore be observed from the belief and cultural dynamics and transformation (Mutawali, 2016).

The researcher aimed to understand the way of life and perception of these believers. She endeavoured to learn how they approach religion and execute their spiritual obligations as well as unveil how religion touches the multiple facets of their lives. Their local traditions should be acknowledged and recognised in their social contexts, and not treated as remnants from the pre-Islamic era or divergences from a theological or universal practice.

This brought us to the key idea in this paper which was to develop a native-inspired base to complement the Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima Framework and overcome the limited perspective.

The Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis captured and investigated the practitioners' own perspectives, interpretations and experiences of Wetu Telu exclusively (Kersten, 1983). The adherents' demographics were expanded to include traditional figures outside the ritual centre of Bayan as well as younger and female interviewees.

Identification and formulation of a more current and relevant framework or theory from the natives' worldview is crucial for progress in this field. Wetu Telu should be addressed independently, and should not be viewed through the combined interpretation of the Waktu Lima followers and the authority.

## **2.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **2.3.1 Research Design**

This section depicts the research design and methodology to collect data on the origin, forms and meanings, and the spiritual dimensions of Wetu Telu. It supports the investigation of this deep-rooted legacy and its evolutions from the perspective of its adherents. This approach attempts to reset and recreate the general perception of the adherents from the inside out. A culture should be independently ascertained from its practitioners, rather than in comparison with other cultural viewpoints (Boas, 1944).

This Religio-Cultural study undertook the methodology of Basic Qualitative Inductive Phenomenology. It utilised direct observation and semi-structured interview instruments through non-probable purposive samplings.

The Basic Qualitative research comprises the observations and interpretations of human's perception of various occurrences (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). It captures insights in a natural setting and utilises non-numerical data. The investigation seeks to facilitate understanding of social life through the study of targeted demographic or places (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Inductive scientific method allows research findings to materialise from the common, leading, or important themes essential in raw data, and not be limited by rigid methodologies. This offers a modest, forthright approach for tabulating findings linked to concentrated evaluation questions (Thomas, 2006).

This research took a constructivism paradigm, with the ontological stance of relativism. The believers constructed knowledge based on their interactions with each other and their environment (Palecek and Risjord, 2012). This shaped the native wisdom inherited by their descendants. Ontology equals to science or the doctrine of realities which translated into social reality. The belief of the presence of multiple social realities, accommodated various perceptions of the respondents. It adopted the epistemological position of emic, which was perceived from within the social group, rather than from an external viewpoint.

The philosophical foundations of Phenomenology aim to understand the meaning and significance of a phenomenon to its participants. A phenomenologist performs the pure study of religion and presents the phenomenal manifestations in human experience (Kersten, 1983). He/she enters into the world of the sacred, and discovers religion from the people who inherited and reconstructed it from their ancestors or predecessors. He/she elaborates the aspects of religion as perceived by the senses of the subjects.

According to the Phenomenology approach, the native participants were treated as subjects, rather than objects, within the Wetu Telu context. This bridged the knowledge gap in the practitioners' worldview and facilitates the construction of a new framework in the field.

Researchers from the Islamic field have conducted studies on awareness and education drives to reform the practitioners' faith. Yet, there seemed to be little attempt to understand Wetu Telu in-depth from the perspective of the practitioners' themselves, and include their thoughts in the proposed initiatives.

A pure Phenomenological research should aim to describe, rather than explain. Furthermore, the Phenomenology of Religion intends to examine the religious phenomenon and does not, however, aspire to discuss matters of the truth (Zarkasi, 2020). Thus, this empirical study adopted the Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis to capture Wetu Telu in its natural state as opposed to the Interpretive Phenomenology Analysis method, which extended the description of the phenomenon to include its interpretation (Neubauer et al., 2019).

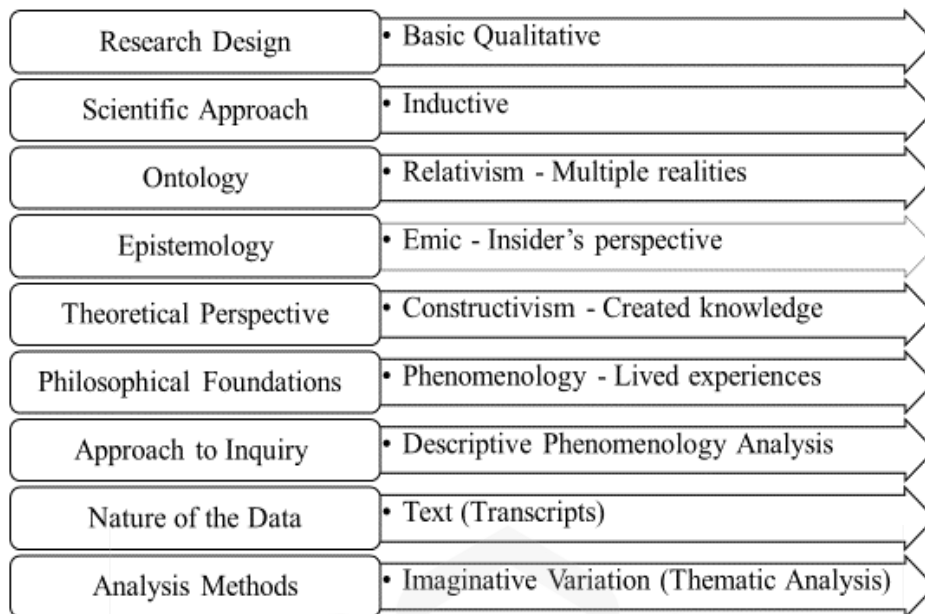


Figure 2.4 Research Overview

### 2.3.2 Scope of Study - North Lombok Regency

This study covers the Wetu Telu adherents in Kecamatan Bayan, one of the five districts which occupies 32,785 km<sup>2</sup> or 40.65% of the North Lombok Regency (Kabupaten Lombok Utara dalam Angka 2022). North Lombok is one of the eight regencies of the West Nusa Tenggara province in Indonesia. It is part of Lombok, a circular-shaped island that forms a part of the Lesser Sunda Islands. The Lombok Strait separates Bali to the west, and Sumbawa to the east.

During the division of the administrative regions in 2017, the Regency was divided into five Kecamatan or subdistricts, namely Bayan, Kayangan, Gangga, Tanjung and Pemenang (North Lombok Regency in Figures 2018; Citizenship and Civil Registration 2018). Its population was 256,438 in 2022 (North Lombok Regency in Figures 2023). The main ethnicity is Suku Sasak, and 92 percent of its population is Muslim. These demographics are similar to the rest of the island, which generated the slogan 'Island of a thousand mosques' (Busyairi, 2016). Mosques can be found every three to seven kilometres across the island.

The Zainuddin Abdul Majid International Airport, which is the island's sole airport, is located over a hundred kilometres away in Selaparang, Central Lombok (North Lombok Regency in Figures 2018). Ferries from the subdistrict of Tanjung sail to the neighbouring Bali and Sumbawa islands. North Lombok Regency houses one of the two access points to the second tallest volcano in Indonesia, Gunung Rijani, which reaches 3.726 metres. The mountain forms the main tourist' attraction in the north.

Bayan served as the *Kecamatan*, or subdistrict, for the scope of this study. It occupies 252.62 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 56,845 (Kecamatan Bayan dalam Angka, 2023) and has 12 villages. This subdistrict has the highest concentration of Wetu Telu practitioners. Nine samples were purposively extracted from five villages with active Wetu Telu community. Two of the selected villages had a Masjid Kuno, or the ancient mosque (Agusman and Martayadi, 2023). These bamboo mosques were built by the Mubaligh during the early Islamisation period, and housed prayers and rituals performed by a team of Kiyai during special Islamic occasions (Adonis, 1989).

The details of each village are elaborated as follows (Kecamatan Bayan dalam Angka, 2023).

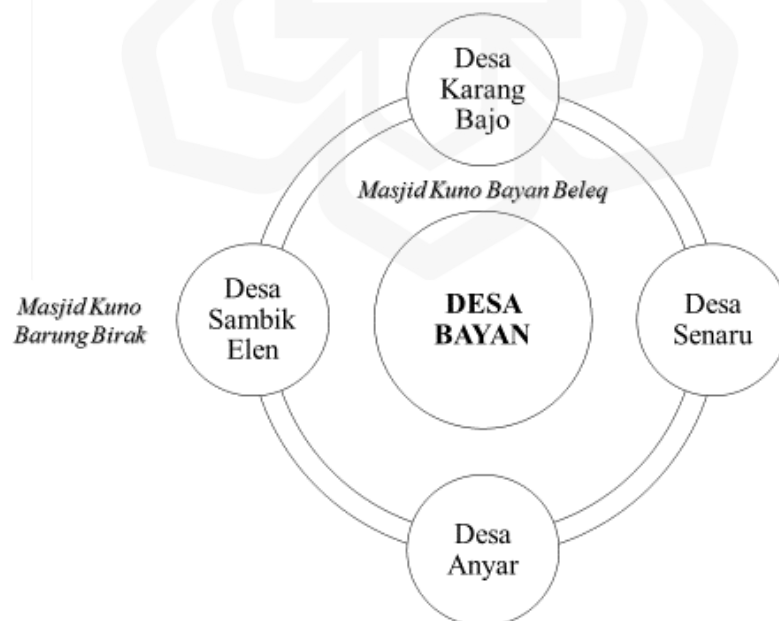


Figure 2.5 Purposive Samplings of Wetu Telu Adherents in Kecamatan Bayan

### ***2.3.2.1 Desa Bayan with a population of 5,321***

Desa Bayan serves as the Wetu Telu compass or ritual centre and is known as Bayan Besar, or the Greater Bayan. There are two informal geographical sub-segregations. Bayan Bawah, or Lower Bayan, is the town centre that housed the residences of the *bangsawan* or royal members of the community. Bayan Atas or Higher Bayan is located on the hills, and mostly accommodates the commoners. The Bayan Beleq mosque, which is the flagship Masjid Kuno, sits on the intersection of Desa Bayan and Desa Karang Bajo.

### ***2.3.2.2 Desa Karang Bajo with a population of 4,245***

The village forms one of the sub-districts informally known as Bayan Kecil or Lesser Bayan. It is one of the Wetu Telu peripheries of Bayan Besar. It holds a more prominent position than the other peripheries due to the official location of Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq, which is within its vicinity.

### ***2.3.2.3 Desa Sambik Elen with a population of 3,957***

The Wetu Telu adherents in this village are mostly in Dusun Barung Birak, which is part of Bayan Kecil, and has its own Masjid Kuno.



Illustration 2.1 The Kiyai Gathered Before the Terawih Prayers  
at Masjid Kuno Barung Birak

#### ***2.3.2.4 Desa Anyar with a population of 8,344***

The village is part of Bayan Kecil. It has its own Adat clerics but not its own Masjid Kuno. It also houses the Sekolah Adat Bayan, an informal school co-founded by the community's young leaders to educate the younger generation on the Wetu Telu custom.



Illustration 2.2 Gundem, a Meeting of the Elders in Desa Anyar

#### ***2.3.2.5 Desa Senaru with a population of 8,686***

The village is part of Bayan Kecil. It has its own Adat clerics but not its own Masjid Kuno. It is also known as a tourist area due to its proximity to the trekking entrance of Mount Rinjani.

#### **2.3.3 Data Sampling**

The sample population consisted of Nine Wetu Telu figures with general or specific roles in the community from the Bayan district. This was within the number of interviewees recommended by Creswell and Creswell (2018), i.e. from three to ten, for a phenomenology study. The data collection responded to the three research questions, which are RQ 1: How and why was Wetu Telu formed?; RQ 2: What is Wetu Telu?; and RQ 3: How and why do the adherents practice Wetu Telu?

The selection of subjects was made using non-probable purposive sampling techniques. Purposive sampling enables the engagement of highly informative sources who deliver the maximum educational capacity on the focal issues of the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018).

Non-randomised methods were used to identify the interviewees based on their roles in various geographical locations; the practitioners' recommendations; initial interviews; and references from previous studies.

The exact criteria of selection were:

1. An active Wetu Telu practitioner in a Wetu Telu-concentrated village in Lombok Utara
2. A formal/informal leader in a Wetu Telu-concentrated village in Lombok Utara.

The selected subjects are reputable practitioners who provided a strong representation of Wetu Telu. They have significant and meaningful experiences of the phenomenon to contribute to the study (Creswell and Creswell, 2018). Samples had been extended from the usual veteran leaders in Bayan ritual centre to include the specific leaders in four of its peripheries. Subjects also included younger and female practitioners from the first generation after the State Religious Department's Agamatisation Islamic reform effort in the 1970s (Cederroth, 1996). The initiative aimed to fully convert the adherents to mainstream Muslim ways after a generation. Data saturation was not necessary as this area has not been extensively researched before, thus presenting a wide range of possible discoveries.

The researcher had visited Desa Sambik Elen three times and Desa Bayan once prior to the study in her capacity as a travel writer. She had interacted with members of the community and formed a relationship with two of the interviewees, Raden Gedarip, Pemangku Adat, Dusun Karang Salah, and Diring, a Kiyai in Dusun Barung Birak. She discovered three other male interviewees through purposive technique during the initial studies in August 2019 and November 2019 to prepare the thesis proposal.

Unfortunately, the recent pandemic's international travel restrictions delayed the researcher's main fieldwork for almost three years. She only got to return to Lombok in October 2022, and had to condense her trip into a period of one month due to financial and time constraints. She met the other four interviewees during this last visit. Five respondents were approached face to face, while the other four were first contacted through the Whatsapp application before proceeding with in-person interviews. The researcher was not able to get a suitable female subject from the older generation due to their limited Bahasa Indonesia proficiency and their reservations of being interviewed. Female respondents were also rarely involved in previous studies. Nevertheless, the researcher managed to secure two suitable female interviewees. These consisted of the founder of the Rinjani Women Adventure Guides Association in Desa Senaru and the Adat coordinator for Wetu Telu in Desa Anyar.

#### **2.3.4 Data Collection and Analysis**

The data collection and analysis process for a Phenomenology study is specified in four steps (Yuksel and Yildirim, 2015; Kersten, 1983).

##### **2.3.4.1 'Bracketing'**

'Bracketing', 'epoche', or suspension of judgment was performed at the first step of data collection and analysis. This delivered the research objective of discovering Wetu Telu solely from the practitioners themselves. The researcher separated her personal belief, knowledge, and experience as well as awareness outside the phenomenal attitude (Neubauer et al., 2019). The researcher sought to see the phenomenon newly as if it was her first exposure and allowed an open mind to its entirety (Moustakas, 1994). The Phenomenology approach described the relationship experienced between the interviewees and the phenomenon (Kersten, 1983).

#### ***2.3.4.2 Phenomena Reduction***

The second step of data collection and analysis was phenomena reduction. The first person's narration and reflection of their experiences of the phenomena was captured in their own words without external influences (Moustakas, 1994). The subjects analysed their experiences independently in the world they functioned.

#### ***2.3.4.3 Imaginative Variation***

The third step of data collection and analysis was imaginative variation. The researcher identified patterns from the different perspectives. Experiences were categorised and coded for the purpose of investigation (Giorgio et. all, 2017). This process removed unnecessary features by finding a possible meaning of the phenomenon and asking question about the phenomenon (Cilesiz, 2010).

#### ***2.3.4.4 Synthesis***

The fourth step of data collection and analysis was the synthesis of texture and structure into an expression (Yuksel and Yildirim, 2015). The outcome was treated as the final truth (Giorgio et. all, 2017). The purpose of the process was to reach the essence of the experience of the phenomenon (Cilesiz, 2010). It involved clustering units of meaning as a technique to form central themes (Creswell and Creswell, 2018; Moustakas, 1994).

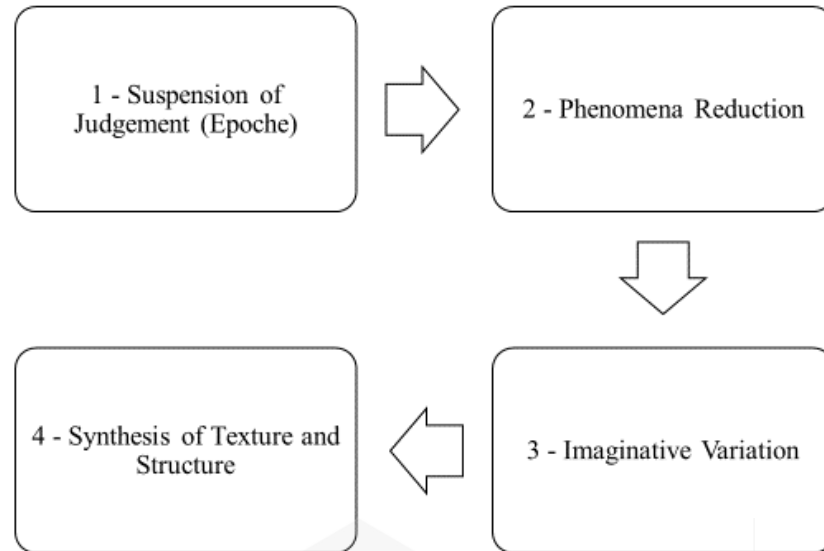


Figure 2.6 Transcendental Phenomenology Approach

#### ***2.3.4.5 Fieldwork Essentials***

The researcher used audio recording for the interviews as well as video recording and photography for the customary ceremonies. She also made field notes before, during and after the interviews. Research protocols and ethics comprised briefing the interviewees on the initiative; sharing the summaries of the transcripts with the interviewees, and incorporating their feedback, if any. The researcher evaluated the interview transcripts manually due to the small number of samples. All the participants completed the interviews.

#### ***2.3.4.6 Codes, Structural Themes, and Chapters***

From the literature review and initial interviews, the researcher had identified relevant codes for each Research Question. These codes generated four structural themes, namely Emergence and Evolution, Monotheism, Foundation, and Adat and Religion. These native-inspired categories safeguarded the objective of the study, and centred it upon the practitioners' worldview.

The codes for Research Question 1 flowed into the structural themes of Emergence and Evolution, and Adat and Religion. The codes for Research Question 2 fit into the structural themes of Foundation, and Adat and Religion. The codes for Research Question 3 contributed to the structural theme of Monotheism. A total of 12 data codes were applied.

The codes for Research Question 1 (How and why was Wetu Telu formed?) were as follows.

- Early Islamisation
- Kedatuan Bayan
- Balinese Occupation
- Dutch Colonisation
- Pre-Independence Era
- Inter-Generational Changes

The codes for Research Question 2 (What is Wetu Telu?) were as follows.

- Cosmology
- Indigenous Social System
- Relationship between religion and Adat

The codes for Research Question 3 (How and why do the adherents practice Wetu Telu?) were as follows.

- Acts of Worship: God
- Acts of Respect: the Prophets
- Acts of Veneration: Ancestors

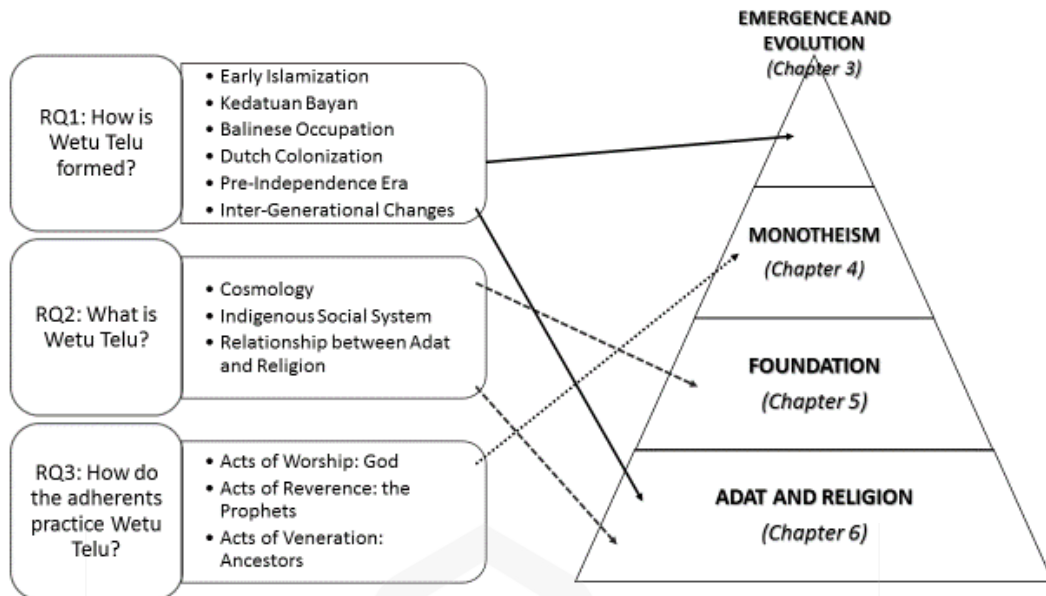


Figure 2.7 Codes and Structural Themes

#### 2.3.4.7 Research Execution

Every participant went through two to five semi-structured interviews. The questions posed were in-depth and open ended. Most sessions were conducted outdoor at their Beruqaq, the Bayanese traditional wooden pavilion that accompanied almost every practitioner's house. A few interviews with Raden Apriadi and Risdiani took place at Sekolah Adat Bayan, as the researcher attended a few classes to learn the alphabets used in the community's ancient manuscripts. Most subjects were interviewed alone most of the time. However, Diring and Risdiani were with their family members during some of their interviews. These informal arrangements facilitated the ideal ambiance for a slow-paced and natural conversation. It was conducive for them to become at ease, open up, and narrate their personal experiences.

Interview questions were developed according to the three Research Questions in order to fulfil the two Research Objectives. The researcher posed all the questions to each subject in Bahasa Indonesia. During the exercise, she made the necessary modifications on an ad-hoc basis to suit the subject's role, background, response and level of education in order to facilitate his/her understanding. The gaps, if any, were

filled through casual conversations and observations during ceremonies and day to day activities.



Illustration 2.3 Most Interviews with the Informants were Conducted at the Berugak of their Residences

#### ***2.3.4.8 Organisation of Results***

The fieldwork findings will be presented and discussed in the next four chapters. Chapter Three on Emergence and Evolution elaborates the history and development of the community. Chapter Four on Monotheism captures the believers' spiritual orientation. Chapter Five on Foundation unveils the cosmology and system of the ancestral wisdom. Chapter Six on Adat and Religion depicts the marriage of Islam and custom.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF WETU TELU**

#### **3.1 EARLY ISLAMISATION**

The significant proselytisation effort in Lombok from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century was attributed to the Wali Songo or the Nine Saints of Java (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). Sunan Kalijaga brought the teaching of Islam to the natives. The religion entered the island from the north through the Labuan Carik harbour in Kecamatan Bayan. Representatives were invited from the central, east, west, and north of Lombok (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). They gathered in Bayan to accept the Shariah collectively. Sunan Kalijaga allowed Adat to be practised alongside Islam. Adat was not pitted against the religion, which made Islam better received. The custom continued to adapt, and did not remain orthodox.

The Saints were accorded the title Raden, which means holy blood, to the descendants of the first king, Datu Bayan, in recognition of their ancestors' role to spread the message of Islam on the island (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). The female descendants were known as Denda. The main head of religion in the Wetu Telu social system was accorded the hereditary rights of Kiyai Penghulu, a role that had been handed down for seven generations (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The final missionary, Sheikh Ghauz Abdul Razak came from Makkah (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022) to show the Qiblat, the direction of prayers towards Saudi Arabia.

However, there was also the theory that Sheikh Ghauz Abdul Razak and the team of Mubaligh from Saudi Arabia had arrived as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Adonis, 1989). Hence, the natives might have desperately fought to uphold Islam even before the arrival of the Wali Songo (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). The Bayan elders' proof of advice from the 14<sup>th</sup> century indicated that they were already Muslims (Adonis, 1989). People still did not dare preach openly about the religion then (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). Dakwah was still conducted discreetly or to the extent of in hiding. The Wali Songo only started their proselytisation mission in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. An alternate

version of history stated that by the time the Saints arrived, specific places such as the Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq already existed, and it was safe to preach the religion. The Saints were also said to have studied Islam in Bayan. Sunan Kalijaga came to Bayan three times, and resided for three years before the conquest of Anak Agung of Karangasem, Bali. At the time, Wetu Telu already existed. The saints later returned to Bayan to preach Islam. They used arts to appeal to the natives, such as wayang, and gamelan gong. The wayang was utilised as a visual aid to reach out to the people.

## **3.2 KEDATUAN BAYAN**

### **3.2.1 The Territory of Kedatuan Bayan**

The beginning of Wetu Telu can be traced to the reign of Datu Bayan. Before the arrival of Islam, Bayan was known as Negareng Suwung, which was seen as a lonely, deserted, and uneducated region (R. Gedarip, interview, 15 October 2022). Bayan became a Kedatuan, or Kingdom, when Islam formed a new order in the 14th century, which occurred after the eruption of Mount Rinjani or the Samalas volcano in 1257 (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). The royal power of Datu Bayan, the King, stretched along the North Coast of Lombok Island, with its Eastern boundary residing in the current Sambelia subdistrict of the East Lombok Regency, and its Western boundary set in the present Pemenang subdistrict of the Northern Lombok Regency. The missionaries proposed to the leader and crowned him as the first King (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). He accepted Islam with sincerity and pleasure. Both the Adat and the religion could continue to run as the Datu had converted and submitted.

During the pre-Islamic era, the society was governed by Adat (R. Gedarip, interview, 15 October 2022). The custom, Adat Bayan, had already existed, but it was only known as Wetu Telu after Bayan became an Islamic Kingdom, and the custom continued. Wetu Telu was created by the government, and administered by Datu Bayan. Followers of Wetu Telu were the Adat followers of the Kingdom. Wetu Telu has existed since then, and its teachings have been passed down for centuries. Its ideology was, therefore, not new (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022).

Datu Bayan led the efforts to spread the religion during his tenure (R. Gedarip, interview, 15 October 2022). The adherents were tasked with carrying out dakwah in ancient mosques and developing Islam. The community joined the Datu's leadership to build mosques and memorial monuments throughout the island of Lombok, including the first Jamii Mosque, and musolla, or smaller prayer spaces.

The incorporation of Islamic teachings in Adat regulated life and morals in the society. Fines were imposed if there was a violation of the law. The tribe was Sasak, the Adat and language were Bayanese, and the religion was Islam. Islam came and modernised their thinking and behaviour. Though Adat existed before the arrival of Islam, it has changed over time. The original version is no longer fully implemented. Some elements were adjusted according to modern practice, while others remained timeless. Adat did not conflict with the religion and progress, such as the regulations from the government. The capacity of the community was not strong enough to protest some of the regulations against Adat. Nevertheless, they only asked the government to respect their sacred heritage, and suggested other options.

### **3.2.2 The Modern Demarcation of Bayan**

Unfortunately, the territory shrunk after the chiefdom ended in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). This border reassignment caused some awkwardness to the usage of the name Bayan among the later generations (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). The community often used it to refer to the geographical scope of Desa Bayan (Bayan village) specifically or Kecamatan Bayan (Bayan subdistrict) generally. They also used the term to refer to the tradition of the communities which practiced the Bayan or the Wetu Telu custom who might or might not live specifically within Desa Bayan.

An uncertainty existed in the sense that the adherents' understanding of Bayan shifted between the name of a place and the name of a community. Bayan actually represents the name of a place, a village, and its Kampu (sacred hamlet). Several dusun or sub-villages in the Bayan village are more directly associated with Bayan due to the interpretations of their names, such as Bayan Barat (West Bayan), or Bayan Timur (East

Bayan). However, certain communities outside Desa Bayan also admitted that they were strong holders of Adat Bayan. This indicates that Bayan is the name of a community. Adat organisation in the modern day brought more clarity to the term. Believers of the Adat Bayan may not believe in the specific Wetu Telu custom of Desa Bayan. In fact, many practitioners reside outside Desa Bayan. Each village has its own rendition of custom associated with Wetu Telu. Adat Bayan is synonymous with Wetu Telu, and it is important for them to be recognised as its adherents.

### **3.3 BALINESE OCCUPATION**

The Balinese Hindu occupation of Lombok in the 19<sup>th</sup> century cast doubt on the natives' faith, and associated them with Hinduism (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). King Gelgel from Karangasem, Bali sent a missionary by the name of Dyang Hyang Nirartha to spread the Hindu religion to Lombok. He apparently developed and taught Wetu Telu, which was then described as the syncretised version of Islam and Hinduism (Wirata, 2018). This claim contradicted the island's history of civilisation in the sense that the Balinese Hindu dominance in Lombok was due to colonialism (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). There was no war to spread teachings of the religion. Islam itself developed from the roots, and not from a state of conquest or seize of power.

### **3.4 DUTCH COLONISATION**

The Dutch colonialists' tactic to facilitate their conquest of the natives divided the Muslim into two distinct groups (R. Gedarip, interview 19 October 2022; R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). These consisted of the traditional Islam adherents and the modern Islam adherents. These categorisations led to the judgement that the Bayan people belonged to a sect of Islam that was out of the mainstream, heretical or deviating. The Dutch also considered the Wetu Telu community to be part of the Karangasem-Bali kingdom, and used the orthodox Muslims to battle against the Adat leaders, and weaken the Karangasem-Bali power (Baihaqi, 2020). The Dutch intelligence sharpened the propaganda between the orthodox Muslim cluster and the Adat cluster, and turned

them into opponents. After the defeat of the Karangasem-Bali reign, the Dutch turned to destroy the influence of the orthodox Muslims cluster.

### 3.5 PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA

Initially, the traditional Muslims and modern Muslims lived complementarily in peace, and not in dispute with one another (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). The approach to separate Adat from religion started during the Islamic development stream before the pre-independence of the Republic of Indonesia. After the country gained independence, many traditional Islam practitioners were intimidated and forced to follow the developing stream called modern or mainstream Islam, which was one of the five and then six religions recognised by the State. The Islamic purification movement strengthened the Arab influence, and added pressure on the interaction point between Adat and religion (Budiwanti, 2021). The adherents were pulled in two directions, namely Arab Muslim or Balinese Hindu (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). They retained their stance and strove to protect their values and counter the hearsay accusations.

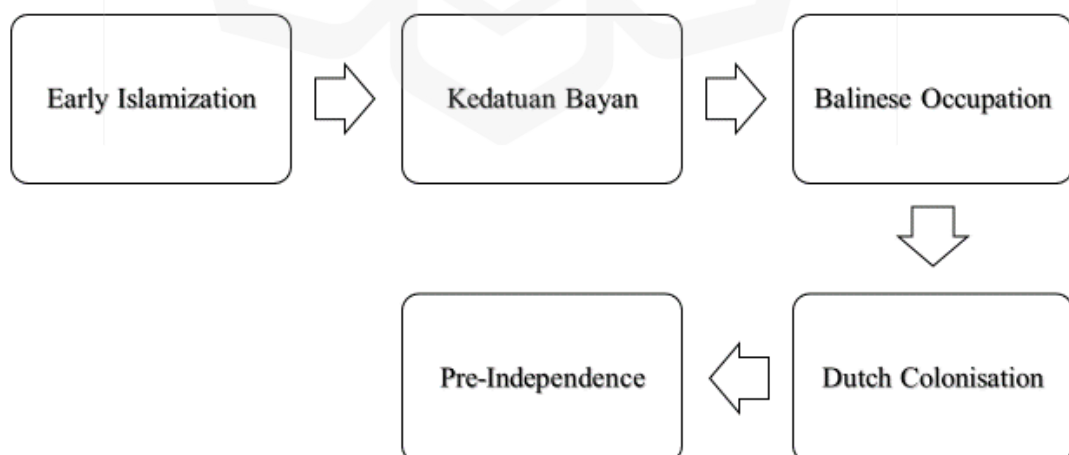


Figure 3.1 Emergence and Evolution of Wetu Telu

### 3.6 EVIDENCES OF ISLAM IN BAYAN

#### 3.6.1 Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq

The earliest ancient mosque, Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq, was recognised as the main artefact proof or icon of the arrival of Islam. The existence of the Mesigid Lokaq, or local mosque, dated back to the 16th century (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). Its architecture consisted of bamboo walls and earthen floor (Adonis, 1989). Animal-themed and plant-themed carvings inside the structure symbolise the three kinds of lives on earth. These include a deer representing mammals; birds embodying creatures that laid eggs; and coconut denoting agriculture.



Illustration 3.1 Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq

Ancient mosques were later built in other locations in the Bayan subdistrict, such as Barung Birak, Semokan, Sukadana, and Batu Gembong (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). These villages form part of the Bayan and Wetu Telu community. However, the other heritage buildings are not as complete as Bayan Beleq as they do not accommodate the tombs of the Ulamak (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022).



Illustration 3.2 Makam Pelawangan, One of the Ulamak's Tombs

The grand tombs surrounding Bayan Beleq house nine key figures who first taught the Islamic Shariah to the natives and founded the mosque (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The higher grounds house the tombs of Meriak, Pelawangan, Titimas Penghulu, Sesait, Karang Salah, and Anyar. The lower ground hold another three tombs, namely Sukadana, Bayan Timur, and Langgar. Makam

Meriak is believed to accommodate the remains of Sheikh Ghauz Abdul Razak, and two prominent Mubalighs, whose names remained a secret (R. Palasari, personal communications, 7 October 2022). Meriak and Titimas Penghulu led others to build the mosque. The graves of these Mubalighs are located within the mosque compound even though they represent far away adherents' villages, such as Sesait, Sukadana and Anyar.

### **3.6.2 Origin of the Name Bayan**

The Arabic meaning of 'Bayan' itself also proves the arrival of Islam in Bayan and the status of faith of the community (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022; R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022; R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). The name Bayan is inaugurated after the Masjid Kuno was established (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). 'Bayan' means the light that strengthened the existence of Islam as a religion that was accepted and practiced at the time (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022). Hence, the life of the Bayan people cannot be separated from its Islamic history due to its name. It is impossible for it to be of any other faiths. Bayan is also stated in the Qur'an (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; Ar-Rahman, 55:4; Budiwanti, 2011). The variations of the name include Bayanuddin, Bayanullah, Nurul Bayan (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022).

### **3.6.3 Ancestral Islamic Manuscripts in Bayan**

Evidence of Islam is seen in the community's lontar, or inherited collection of ancient scriptures and manuscripts. The Bayani sources of knowledge (Khoru, 2014; War'i, 2020) are well-kept and preserved by the designated Adat custodians. The collection serves as a medium to convey Islamic teachings and values to the community.

Their efforts to ensure the Islamic faith of their descendants is reflected through their upholding and honouring the scriptures at various customary occasions (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Appointed readers would recite the entire Babad Petung Bayan chronicles during the reparation or renovation of the Ulamak's tombs or ancient mosques. This act will take place for days at Berugak Agung of Bayan

Timur, the grand wooden pavilion in the holy hamlet, which is often utilised for gundam or deliberations about the challenges in carrying out the Shariah. The historic chapters of Islam would be read and explained to all the adherents in order to pass it on to the next generation. The recital is conducted in Bahasa Kejawen (Kawi), and then translated into Bahasa Indonesia or Bahasa Bayan. The translator must have a role or belong to a certain ancestry, and it does not necessarily have to be the Penghulu, or the head of Islam in Wetu Telu. Nevertheless, the manuscript consists of one secret, which is the real name of the Ulamak who carried the Shariah from Baghdad to Pulmonoyu, and died on the island. This fact should not be disclosed. So, the pseudonym Seri Mas Kulumbung is used instead.

The source of the content of the lontar, the sacred ancient palm-leaf manuscripts, was believed to come from the holy Qur'an (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). The first book is Babad Petung Bayan, which represents the only lontar written in Bahasa Bayan. It comprises the journey of the preachers to Lombok to spread the verse of Islam from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. This book is kept at the Rumah Adat of Bayan Timur.

The second book is Tapel Adam, which contains the explanation on the origin of human and records his/her development from this world until the Afterlife. It is recited to the attendees during ceremonies in Sanskrit and then translated by customary interpreters into the local language. The book is kept in the hamlet of the Penghulu.

The third manuscript, Jati Suara, features Sunan Kalijaga and Sunan Ampel's series of Islamic journeys to Indonesia and Lombok. Chapters of the book were separated into booklets, and each kept by the group of Kiyai (the Penghulu's direct reports), and the Pemangku, the chief of Adat within the Wetu Telu social system.

Last but not least is the book of Kawetan kept in Sukadana. It presents the Islamic religious advice written by the Wali Songo. The appointed readers from the chosen lineage would recite the content during specific events, and the customary interpreters would translate the recital into Bahasa Indonesia or Bahasa Bayan so it could be understood by the adherents.



Illustration 3.3 The Lontar Ancestral Manuscript at Desa Sambik Elen

### 3.7 Discussion

The findings of this research supported the less popular claim that Sheikh Ghauz Abdul Razak from Saudi Arabia was among the first to spread Islam on the island in the 13th century (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022; Adonis, 1989) as well as validated the

popular opinions of placing him as the final Mubaligh (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). His role in teaching the religion and setting the Qiblat was evidenced in the significant presence of his grand tomb, which stood among the distinguished Mubaligh graves in the compound of Masjid Kuno Bayan Beleq. Nevertheless, the real name of the Ulamak who brought the Shariah from Baghdad has been kept a secret in the Babad Petung Bayan manuscript, and disguised using the pseudonym of Seri Mas Kulumbung (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022; Ratmanom, 8 October 2022).

The results also revealed that Adat Bayan only became known as Wetu Telu after Bayan assumed the status of an Islamic Kingdom in the 14th century (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). The custom was created by the government, and administered by Datu Bayan. Followers of Wetu Telu were the Adat followers of the Kingdom. The Javanese missionaries proposed to the native leader and crowned him as the first King. Nevertheless, he shifted his stance due to the instigation from the other key figures of the palace (Suparman, 1994). The King's army battled with the missionaries at the port. The King and his followers fled to the mountains and forests, but they were caught and pardoned by the Wali Songo, Sunan Prapen. The King recited the declaration of the Syahadah and was circumcised according to the Islamic way. There appeared to be an element of coercion to pressure the King into conversion, but somehow, he later rose to lead the effort to spread Islam on the island.

Some informants credited the Wali Songo or the Nine Saints of Java for the main Islamisation drive in Lombok from the 15th to the 16th century to (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). Others delayed the impact of their proselytisation effort to the period following the construction of the ancient flagship mosque, and the formation of Wetu Telu (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022).

Subsequently, this investigation tracked the evolution of the term Adat Bayan after the Bayan territory reduced in size and power in the 17th century (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). The followers of Adat Bayan inhabit several villages beyond the locality of Desa Bayan. This cast some doubt to the usage of the name Bayan and the meaning of Adat Bayan among the later generations. Adat Bayan existence is widely recognised. The term has then been generally used to refer to the Wetu Telu model of Islamic tradition in several communities with special shared characteristics.

The discoveries from this research also reset the history of the traditional Islam and modern Islam dualism formed during the pre-independence era (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). Both groups used to complement each other and live in peace. After the country gained independence, many traditional practitioners were pressured to join one of the five, and then six religions recognised by the State, which included the mainstream Islam.

To sum up, the above findings did not necessarily match the established version of Lombok Islamic history. The oral history narrated might face the limitations of poor chronological order, lack of a scientific structure, a mixture of reality and myths, and regiocentrism, as they were heavily influenced by the cultural factors in the area (Rochmiatun, 2016). Nonetheless, this account unveiled the natives' insights, which shaped their perspectives, and highlighted the significance of their presence. These subjects' explanations embodied the actual knowledge and experiences of the micro players of history. Most importantly, these narratives filled some of the historiography gaps on the emergence of Wetu Telu, and set a stage to determine the spiritual orientation of the believers in the following Chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **MONOTHEISM IN THE WETU TELU PHILOSOPHY**

#### **4.1 THE ACTS OF WORSHIP: GOD**

The principle of Divine Unity, al-Tawhid, encapsulates the belief in one God (Bakar, 2011), and defines the Islamic worldview. The Divine embodies the focal point and essence of the religion. His Prophets were appointed to the different civilisations on earth to deliver the consistent message of Tawhid in their teachings (Nasr, 2000; Bakar, 2011). The essential truth was delivered through various ways of communications. The message of Islam reached the Wetu Telu community through a Tawhid-oriented approach, and is still applicable till present (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022).

##### **4.1.1 The Concept of Monotheism in Wetu Telu**

The history of Monotheism in Bayan started before the arrival of Islam (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The Bayan natives already believed in the Divine and His power. At the time, their ancestors had started to think about a substance that regulated the order of life in the universe. Subsequently, it was ascertained that they were created as servants. This bordered into Monotheism, and it was generally understood that there was a Creator. The belief was cemented by the existing rules and regulations in society itself. Their past efforts to know God was visible in their inherited cultural symbols in the form of linguistic, objects of heirlooms, performances, and Adat ceremonies (Nasihin, 2018).

In ancient times, they used the Bayanese terms Nenek Kaji, Nenek Moyang, Petang Benah, Epen Montong, and Epen Por, among others to acknowledge the existence of God (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). The Nenek Kaji, Allah Taala, was glorious. If they fell, the elders would say, ‘Aruh Inak’. In the Bayanese dialect, the direct translation was ‘Yes, mother’. Indirectly, they wanted to say ‘Astaghfirullah, Oh Allah’, but they could not say it yet. So, spontaneously, they called Him ‘Aruh Inak’.

Hence, the phrase signified that they had addressed it to the Divine Ruler during the earlier period. These were the terms they used before they knew the name of God, which was Allah in Arabic or Tuhan in Indonesian. When the Bayan people said Nenek, it did not refer to their mother's mother. During the present era, the teachings were clear, and they could say Allah Taala, God, and refer to Prophets in the new language. Along with the spread of Islam, the Qur'an explained about Allah in Arabic, with the Bahasa Indonesia translation. God is the Creator.

The Wetu Telu philosophy concentrates on Tawhid and the relationship with the Divine (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022). Monotheism was incorporated in their overall ethics and code of conducts due to the way the natives were introduced to Islam. When the Mubaligh first spread Islam in Lombok, they taught the message of Monotheism to the Bayan people. The natives accepted Tawhid and got to know God first, rather than the principles of the Shariah. After knowing the existence of Allah, they deemed whoever worshipped other than Allah SWT was committing shirk (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Humans are seated in this world to worship Allah, and nothing else. Human lives without Allah are not possible. Belief in the Almighty is symbolised in the double knot in the menfolk's Sapuk, or traditional headgear. The top knot resembles the Arabic alphabets of Alif Lam Ha, which signifies Allah, or Tawhid. It is straight and facing upwards (Risidiani, interview, 17 October 2022). This customary item of clothing proves the century-old testament of the adherents' Islamic faith.



Illustration 4.1 The Sapuk Traditional Headband for Men

#### **4.1.2 Humans' Role as Vicegerent on Earth**

The element of Tawhid is evidenced in the intended relationships amongst all living beings within the Islamic concept of *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, blessings to all (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). All living beings are servant-creatures to the Creator, and as fellow servants, they must live in harmony. Humans hold a high degree among all of God's creatures and shoulder the role of *Khalifah* or custodian of this planet (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 14 October 2022). As God's representatives, they are responsible to care and provide for both the physical and unseen residents. Hence, the *Khalifah's* vocation comprises leading and forming partnerships with other humans as well as with plants, animals, and spirits. A wise and

just leader should ensure the protection of all creatures, whether they are tangible or invisible.

This was where the foundation of Wetu Telu was born with the interest to sort out the lives that exist in this world. Adat emphasises the social practices of the community, where the adherents highlight *hablulminalnas*, or the relationship between humans (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). This is in line with the Islamic concept of living harmoniously in a society. Wetu Telu adherents try to maintain the balance of nature and develop good communications with others (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). Their indigenous rituals involve giving to spirits, and they give their best efforts to appreciate and respect these invisible beings.

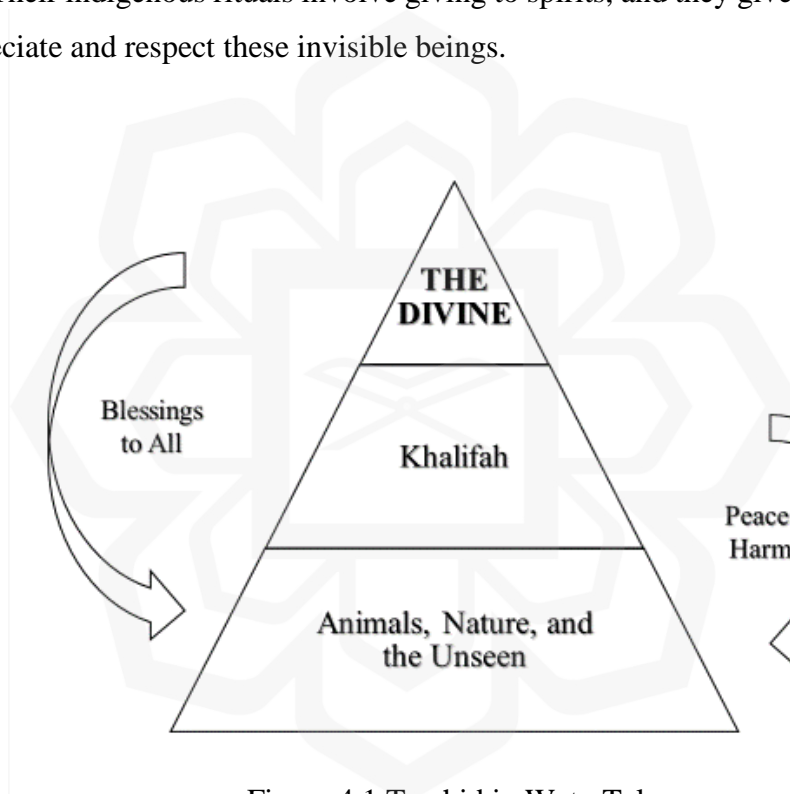


Figure 4.1 Tawhid in Wetu Telu

The concept of *Rahmatan Lil Alamin* also extends to fellow humans of different beliefs, such as Hindu, Christian, or Buddhist (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The Wetu Telu adherents have a very high level of tolerance towards the practices of other faiths. They do not interfere with other's beliefs. They emphasise on performing good deeds to God's creatures and not kill one another, which is part of practicing the teachings of Islam. Hence, Wetu Telu not only focuses on rituals, such as the daily

prayers to the Creator, but emphasises on living side by side with fellow creatures created by God. That is their true understanding of the Islamic faith.

#### **4.1.3 The Knowledge of Tawhid in Wetu Telu**

The Wetu Telu faith-driven society conforms to the belief that truly knowing God would only be possible after knowing oneself (R. Sawingih, interview, 16 October 2022). This mandate is sustained through humans' strategic position as a vicegerent on earth. Seeking this most essential knowledge is obligatory so that believers can remain on track on their path of returning to Him.

The adherents believe in bringing their faith with them (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). If an adherent's Tawhid is intact, his Divine orientation would be unmovable. Remembering the One when facing difficulties or danger would ensure his safety. Humans are safe when they are with the One who controls them. Remembering Him means being with Him. This goes beyond any location, whether he is at the forest, graveyard, or other faiths' places of worship. This was the method used by the elders, and is among the early proofs that Islam existed, even though it was still in the traditional form.

The community emphasises on the complete method of seeking knowledge as a person's humanity depends on whether or not a person would be useful to others. The nobility of this value would not be achieved by those who learned Islam half-heartedly (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022; Nasihin, 2018). The methods are elaborated as follows.

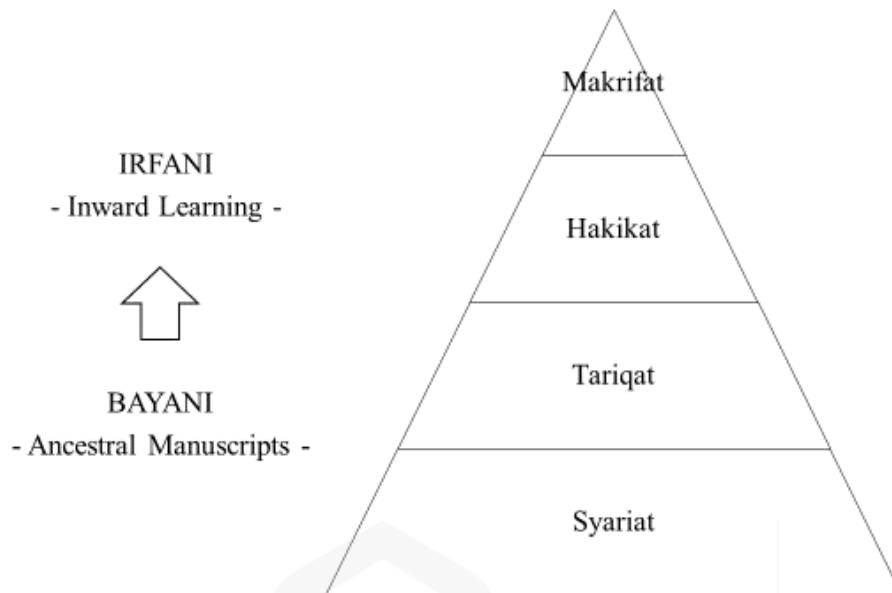


Figure 4.2 Tawhidic Knowledge in Wetu Telu

#### **4.1.3.1 Bayani**

In terms of the Bayani source of knowledge, the Wetu Telu belief system relays the need to get closer to God in its scriptures and ancestral manuscripts. The teachings in the local sacred book of Bayan Nur Alif illustrate the oneness of Allah, Muhammad, and Adam (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The three names come from one point, and they return to the same point. God was in existence first, and then Adam and Muhammad. Allah SWT is unseen (al-ghaib). Muhammad represents the human presence in this world, while Adam represents the human's departure and burial state.

The main asset in the religion, as written in the community's ancient manuscript, is for a Muslim to know and see himself, as this leads to knowing the true God (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022; Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). This comprehension contributes to his truly pious status and enables him to shine. The manifestation of humans from their parental and divine elements forms the adherents' Jati Diri (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). The search for one's jati diri or identity should be incorporated into his everyday life (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022).

A metaphor for the need to get close to God is to compare Wetu Telu to human eyes (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). The three parts, namely the tiny centre, pupil, and white area symbolise Allah, Muhammad, and Adam. God the Almighty specifically shaped these three elements. He confirmed His power through Adam and Muhammad. Adam was the instigating factor that created arguments amongst people, even though His instructions were clear that Muhammad was the one. In terms of connection between Adam and Muhammad, Adam is the body, and Muhammad is the feeling or the Messenger of Allah.

#### ***4.1.3.2 Irfani***

The collective identity of the Bayan people is prominent in their spiritual approach of Tassawuf (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The Science of Tassawuf represents an inward facet of the Islamic revelation, and involves purifying the heart as well as getting to know God.

Truly understanding Tassawuf requires one to go beneath the surface and understand that life only serves the purpose of the Afterlife (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). This world serves as a doorway to Barzakh, and Barzakh also serves as the doorway to the Afterlife and beyond (Nasihin, 2018). Luxury or pleasure in the world should not be the main principle (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). Muslims should view the world as just a place to collect as much good deeds as possible, and not the final destination. Life should have an actual meaning. In the end, humans must know their way home. The weight of their good deeds would surpass their bad deeds, and they would walk straight on the bridge of Siratulmustakim.

In line with this ultimate goal, Irfani (Khorl, 2014), the highest plane of inspirational knowledge to obtain the recognition of the Almighty, comes directly from Him (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022; Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). It is a gift to His chosen servants who truly knew God and took the path to get close to Him (Nasihin, 2018).

The believers aim to purify their souls by combating the desires of the body (Rasmuin, 2019). One should advance from the fundamentals of the Shariah, and climb the stages of Tariqat, Hakikat, and Makrifat to deepen their faith to the Almighty (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). They believe in learning inwardly on their own, and deem the spiritual ascension to the pinnacle of Makrifat as a lesson that could not be directly taught to others. The approach differs from teaching the content of the Shariah. Emphasis includes understanding the thirteen pillars of prayers, exploring its contents, and knowing the source of the intention so they could return to Allah SWT with a clean slate.

Certain Adat rituals focus on the way the adherents surrender themselves to God (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). For example, the Teklauk Tekdaya sacred ceremony requires khusyuk or full concentration on the Almighty throughout their ritual trials. During the long walk in the jungle in the middle of the night, the pilgrims are not allowed to wear sandals or chat with each other. They cannot clear the forest path in front of them in advance. They could bump into anything or anyone. Nevertheless, throughout the history of the ritual, there has never been an incident such as stepping on thorns, or chancing upon a beast or wild animal. The process of such rituals draws them closer to God, and hones their belief that they have nothing and do not need to be afraid of anyone other than the Almighty. That is the power of God. Fearing God should translate into approaching Him, which is different from fearing His creatures. God is their saviour. Being khusyuk with good intentions and goals contributed to their safety. It is part of the fulfillment of God's promises.

Ibadah is also deemed a private matter between a believer and the Creator (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022; R. Apriadi interview, 9 October 2022). Worship is similar to talking to God and should not be displayed to others. It should be a personal practice kept to oneself.

#### **4.1.4 Prayers in Wetu Telu**

Tawhid instills submission and subservience through the direct act of worship to the One God (Qur'an, 16:36, 21:25; Bakar, 2011). The Arabic word 'Ibadah' means to

enslave oneself (to God), and stands for the laws of divine worship (Muhaimin, 2006). In terms of fiqh, Ibadah mainly consists of the enactment of the Five Pillars of Islam. Muslims should follow the Pillars which were implemented according to the Adat under the categories of Prayer, Shariah, and Knowledge (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022).

Some Wetu Telu followers deem the execution of the five daily prayers, which forms the second Pillar of Islam, compulsory. However, they do not identify as Waktu Lima followers, even though the nature of their act of worship resembles mainstream Muslims (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022; R. Gedarip, interview, 13 October 2022; P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022; R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022).

They were taught that prayers were important and could not be separated from the teachings of Tawhid (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). Prayer was the way to get closer to Allah SWT (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Some of them were educated on the compulsory five daily prayers from childhood (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). They also learned to recite the Qur'an when they were children, and would join the recitation of the holy book together with the group of Kiyai at the Berugak, the wooden Adat pavilion at a time when the Qur'an was recited mostly by the Kiyai. The trend had changed where the Qur'an is learned and recited by a wider group of devotees.



Illustration 4.2 The Group of Kiyai Performing their Ablution at the Berugak

On the other hand, some Wetu Telu followers perform their daily prayers in different ways from mainstream Muslims (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). The physical form of the first daily prayers, Subuh, is obligatory as dawn is the time for them to interact directly with the Almighty. It instills discipline and builds the habit of waking up early. On the other hand, the later prayers of the day are observed mentally or inwardly. Zohor prayers do not require direct interactions. They can tend to the paddy fields. If the plants are dry, they will water them. The Asar prayers are also similar. They will rush to the fields and ensure that the plants are doing well. This is the same for the Maghrib and Isyak prayers. They consider this action as part of their deeds to humanise plants. If they have the time to pray five times a day, they will do it. Nevertheless, performing the later prayers are considered Sunnah by this cluster of adherents.

Prayers could be simply interpreted as a way of relating to God and incorporating all good actions (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). Some adherents perform the standardised form of the five daily prayers with different intentions. They might carry

out the physical acts to maintain their overall health and prevent diseases as it was perceived as a good workout. They might also see it as a good way to practice self-discipline and observe the habit of punctuality (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022).

Variations in the nature of prayers might have occurred because some Bayan people still followed the Shariah of Prophet Abraham (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). Their teachings of Islam originated from the era before Prophet Muhammad embarked on the Israk Mikraj journey, and received the command to perform the five daily prayers. Some adherents also believe they are following the unspecified earlier form of prayers performed by Prophet Muhammad PBUH (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022). This practice has been passed down from their ancestors on the land, and some people still held on to this belief. When the teachings of Prophet Muhammad came from the Wali Songo and other Mubalighs, they were still unwilling to change their methods of worship and remained loyal to their ancestral ways. This practice led to outsiders thinking that the Wetu Telu people did not pray because the form of their daily prayers was not visible.

The adherents generally possess a high level of tolerance, though, and did not forbid members of the Wetu Telu community who wanted to observe the ritual of the five daily prayers (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022). They promote respect and non-interference with each other's beliefs.

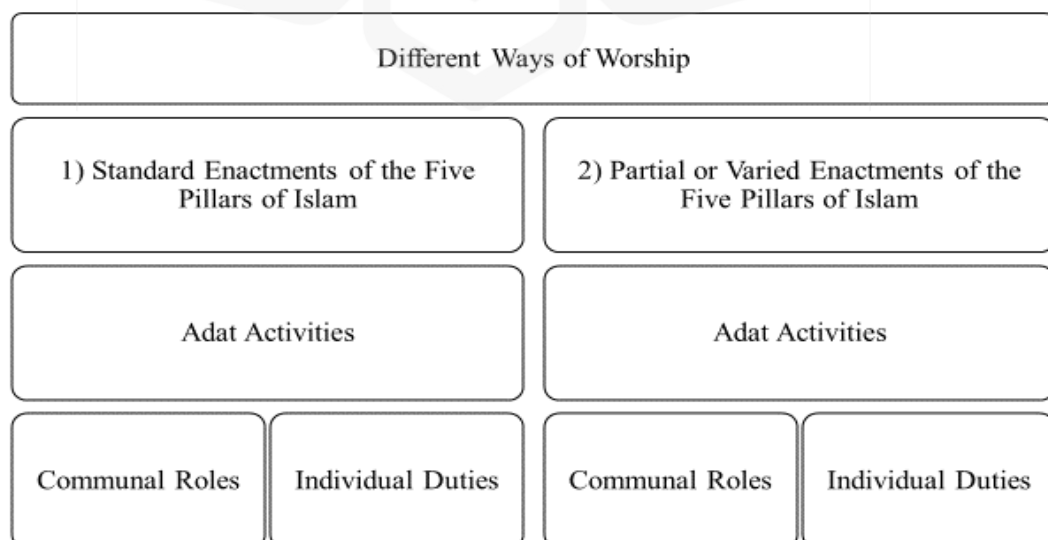


Figure 4.3 The Acts of Worship in Wetu Telu

#### **4.1.5 Fasting in Wetu Telu**

Some adherents deem fasting in the entire month of Ramadhan as compulsory, in line with the third pillar of Islam. On the other hand, others opt for their ancestral definition of fasting, which was taken beyond enduring hunger and thirst (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022; Diring, interview, 18 October 2022).

According to the ancestral method, each part of a person's body needs to observe the fast, in addition to the stomach or digestive system (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022; Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). These included the eyes, ears, mouth, and limbs, among others. For example, if a man saw a beautiful woman, and his eyes had already seen her, then he could not continue the fast. The fast would be invalidated. If a person was fasting and he said something wrong or not true, that would invalidate the fast. If he was moved to do an unacceptable action, such as walking to the beach, or his hands were to do an immoral act, such as stealing a ripe mango, his fast would become invalidated. Fasting also requires the practitioners to be indoors. They should not sweat or sleep. All worldly affairs are forbidden to them. Their fast is reduced to only three days in the month of Ramadhan as they consider the number 'one' and 'zero' together to mean 'one', rather than 'ten' (Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). Hence, 30 days equal to three days, namely the first, the middle, and the last day of the Ramadhan. This severe manner of fasting is only mandatory to the group of Kiyai, and not to the ordinary believers (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October).

Some of the adherents observe the 30-day Ramadhan fasting similar to general Muslims. However, this full-month fast was more to the order of health. Only the stomach would fast as they avoided eating and drinking till sunset.

#### **4.1.6 Other Forms of Worship in Wetu Telu**

The Wetu Telu's scope of worship extends beyond the enactment of the Five Pillars of Islam and the main forms of Ibadah (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022;

Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022; D.K. Wati, interview, 24 October 2022). Their belief system covers individual duties, in addition to general ethics and rules of interpersonal relationship. The Wetu Telu adherents also execute Ibadah-gearred activities in the forms of their Adat rituals (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). These consist of traditional rituals for Islamic holidays, such as the first of Syawal, the tenth of Dhulhijjah, among others. They would occupy the Masjid Kuno during these customary observations, where only the Kiyai would pray.

Upholding the Adat contributes towards safeguarding the Islamic faith in the Wetu Telu future generations (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The Wetu Telu adherents practice Islamic values and the contents of the Qur'an in their everyday lives. They might not know specific contents from the holy book or the hadiths, but they implement its' teachings. For example, in the spirits of giving, the believers are obliged to share their food with their neighbours when they cooked. Another example is they could leave their motorbikes on the side of the road and it would still be in the same spot the next day. This is due to the prohibition of theft in the holy book. During the old days, the act of lying indicated that a person was not yet Muslim. This is due to the practice being not allowed in the teaching of Islam. The adherents bring the religion into their daily acts and make it their habit.



Illustration 4.3 The Menfolk Collaborate for a Gawe

The Wetu Telu adherents believe that their form of worship need not be rigid (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). It encapsulates a wide range of activities aimed to seek redha from the Almighty. To the Wetu Telu people, the concept of worship does not necessarily manifest in the daily prayer rituals. Prayers are equivalent to work, and whoever works acquire the outcome. So, all kinds of worships are accepted as an Ibadah. In fact, some adherents deemed rituals that directly drew the practitioners closer to God similar to the ritual of daily and Sunnah prayers.

They are dedicated to build good relations with each other, plants, animals, and God's creatures in general, both physical and invisible beings. To them, worship refers to performing any good act. For example, providing food and nutrition every day through watering plants and feeding chickens. The concept of bergawe or Adat ceremonies is also similar. They would cook in abundance as the rest of the food would be given to the other creatures of God, namely animals and the unseen.

Wetu Telu's intricate rituals and other forms of worships demonstrate an integration of Tawhid into their daily lives (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). It remains relevant and should be implemented and maintained as long as humans want to see the earth safe. As the natives went through the era of modernisation, they needed the Wetu Telu teachings to preserve their environment, such as the forests on Mount Rinjani, and faced calamities such as fire and earthquakes. Without the guidance of their ancestral wisdom, there would be continuous destruction on earth.

A way for the adherents to express their respect for the unseen is through their traditional ritual called Membangar. They would ask for their permission when they first wanted to use a land for agricultural purposes as well as to build houses or make new settlements. Spirits exist on empty land before humans inhabit it. Hence, they would try to establish communications, so they would not interfere with the unseen creatures' activities at the site. Though they could not see the spirits, these creatures could see them. They need to be able to convey their intentions through speech in order to avoid hurting the other creatures.

## **4.2 ACT OF REVERENCE: THE PROPHETS**

### **4.2.1 Syahadah**

Syahadah, the declaration of faith, reinforces and forms the base of Al-Tawhid (Bakar, 2011), and the Muslims' testimony for the unity of Allah SWT in their path of life. It represents the first of the Five Pillars of Islam. It attests that there is no God except Allah SWT and the Prophet Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. The Wetu Telu devotees pledged the two verses of the Syahadah to the Almighty and His Rasul to indicate their commitment to execute the order of Allah SWT which was carried out by Prophet Muhammad (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). After the vow is undertaken by speech, it is manifested and carried out directly in their actions. This is symbolised in the double knot in the menfolk's Sapuk, or traditional headgear.

The Syahadah also forms an essential element in the Wetu Telu Adat wedding reception officiated by the Kiyai, the religious clerics in their social system (R. Apriadi,

interview, 9 October 2022; Syukran, 2015). The Syahadah is recited by the Kiyai and then repeated by the prospective bridegroom. In this procession, both parties pronounce the Syahadah in Javanese as a statement of faith in Islam, namely admitting that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.



Illustration 4.4 The Bridegroom Recited the Syahadah Adat Bayan during his Wedding Reception

#### **4.2.2 The Prophet's Birthday (Mawlid) Related Rituals**

The Wetu Telu adherents showcase a strong devotion to Prophet Muhammad (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). They commemorate his life-long milestones in their series of intricate annual rituals and prayers performed by the congregation of Kiyai throughout the year. Their love for the Prophet is most vividly showcased in the annual highlight of the traditional Prophet's Birthday commemoration.

Mawlid Adat Bayan takes place around three days after the national event rituals, and the generic Islamic calendar on the 12th of Rabiul Awal (P. Anom, interview, 28

October 2022). The entire community would gather at the Kampu, the sacred hamlets within their vicinities, and the adherents with specific roles would perform their Adat duties. The Bayanese use an independent calendar utilising the old, independent calculation method by reading the rotation of the moon, or Candra Sengkala (in Javanese).

The event commemorates the time the Prophet started growing in his mother's womb (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The Praja Mawlid parade symbolises the journey of growth from the meeting of red blood and white blood. Two young men from the rightful descendants' lineage are made up and dressed up in the customary attire as a couple at Kampu Bat Orong or the sacred hamlet in West Bayan. They parade with a group of adherents from this significant site of Mawlid to the Masjid Kuno. The entire ritual depicts that the white blood from the father, which carries the white light, signifies the essence of the four rakaat of Zohor prayer. The red blood from the mother, which carries the yellow light, signifies the essence of the four rakaat of Asar prayer. So, the white blood from the father is received with the red blood from the mother and mixed, which forms Ujud or life. Hence, the Praja showcases Prophet Muhammad's growth in the womb or unseen realm. He was guarded and escorted by angels so that he would not be tarnished by the existing demons.



Illustration 4.5 The Praja Mawlid Procession in Desa Bayan

Certain elements of the Mawlid customary rituals were designed to emphasise the Islamic faith and Aqidah among the Wetu Telu descendants. This is demonstrated in the Peresean, a traditional stick fighting match, which concludes the Mawlid observance (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Opponents consist of barefooted

young male believers in traditional attires, who take turns to enter the arena in a pair, and compete with each other. The battle incorporates both bad and good elements. It reflects that practices contrary to Islamic law would be discarded, while the ones in relation to the Shariah would be adopted and retained.

The history of the competition goes back to the entry of Islam in Bayan in the month of Rabiul Awal (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). An arena is formed in the compound of the Masjid Kuno following the adoption of the Shariah. Two gongs, the traditional music instruments, are placed on the left and right sides of the entrance. The right side indicates Tawhid while the left signifies Rasulullah. The entry ticket is represented by the recitation of the two verses of the Syahadah by the adherents to show that Islam had already entered the vicinity. Following that, the incantations, formulated by the group of legendary Ulamak buried around the Masjid Kuno, are recited over a bowl of clear water by the Adat leaders. Everyone is enchanted, to reflect that Islam was embedded within them to the depths of their hearts, and would remain strong in the descendants. The match commemorates the inclusion of the Islamic Shariah in Bayan.

Each locality has its own customisation of the Mawlid celebration to honour Prophet Muhammad. The Desa Sambik Elen group of Kiyai performs a series of annual prayers at the Masjid Kuno in Dusun Barung Birak (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). This starts with the Lohor prayers (Zohor) performed on three consecutive Fridays to remember the birth of Prophet Adam. Secondly, the Beraat prayers are performed on the 15th of the month of Rejab and symbolises Prophet Adam's beginning in the womb and journeying to the world. These consist of Maghrib prayers of three rakaat, and Ishak prayers of four rakaat. The Topat or rice cake arrangements are raised at the ancient mosque after the prayers are completed. Thirdly, Sampat Jumat prayers are performed on the last Friday in the month of Ramadan to depict the presence of the Prophet Muhammad SAW when he was in the womb, and emphasise on his protection till he arrived in the world.



Illustration 4.6 Meals were Brought to Masjid Kuno Barung Birak after the Sempat Jumat Kiyai Prayers

Fourth, the Terawih prayers are performed on specific days in the month of Ramadan. Fifth, the Lebaran Tinggi prayers of two rakaat are performed on the traditional Eid day, a few days after the generic Islamic calendar. This is followed by the Buang Au ritual held to symbolise Prophet Muhammad's name-giving occasion. Adherents who made a vow sacrifice goats, buffaloes or chickens, other than cows, as this animal is forbidden for this occasion. Sixth, the Lebaran Pendek prayers of two rakaat are performed on the customary Eid al-Adha day, which falls a few days after the generic Islamic calendar. This occasion commemorates the Prophet's first hair cutting ritual. Animals are sacrificed by those who made a vow.

Seventh, prayers are performed at the beginning of Muharram for two rakaat, which signifies that the Prophet has reached puberty or the baligh state. The Slametan Bubur Putih served symbolises male semen. Eighth, prayers of two rakaat are performed in the month of Safar. The Slametan Bubur Merah served symbolises the female menses. The combination of this and the previous rituals signify the union between man and woman and the process of procreation. Ninth, Mawlid Prayers of two rakaat performed on the customary Prophet's birthday marked the biggest event and highlight

of the Wetu Telu calendar. It honours the marriage of the Prophet Muhammad and Khadijah. The adherents take turns to play the Gamelan continuously for two days as an expression of gratitude to the Almighty.



Illustration 4.7 Gamelan Musical Instrument and its Custodians at Mawlid

#### **4.2.3 The Prophet's Emulation in Daily Life**

The Wetu Telu believers strive to emulate Prophet Muhammad, and practice his teachings in their daily conducts and relationship with others (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The inherited guidance from their ancestors is inseparable from the teaching of the Prophet. Their way of understanding might differ to the general public, though, and hence, they carry it out accordingly. The Wetu Telu community interacts and communicates well with everyone. They believe in treating others courteously and welcome them warmly to the village, even when their faith and practice were ridiculed and criticised. They take the lessons from the story of the Prophet's experience of

blasphemy and humiliation when he preached Islam to spread the religion in this world, where he often had dirt thrown on him or was challenged with a sword. Nevertheless, he never responded with cruelty, but rather faced it with a smile. The Bayan people emulated this manner when facing blasphemy, ridicules or gossips. When they were accused of praying three times a day, and of never praying, they did not react. It was not their nature to respond harshly when others insulted their beliefs. They do not show that they were offended or hurt. It is a part of worship or following the Prophet's way.

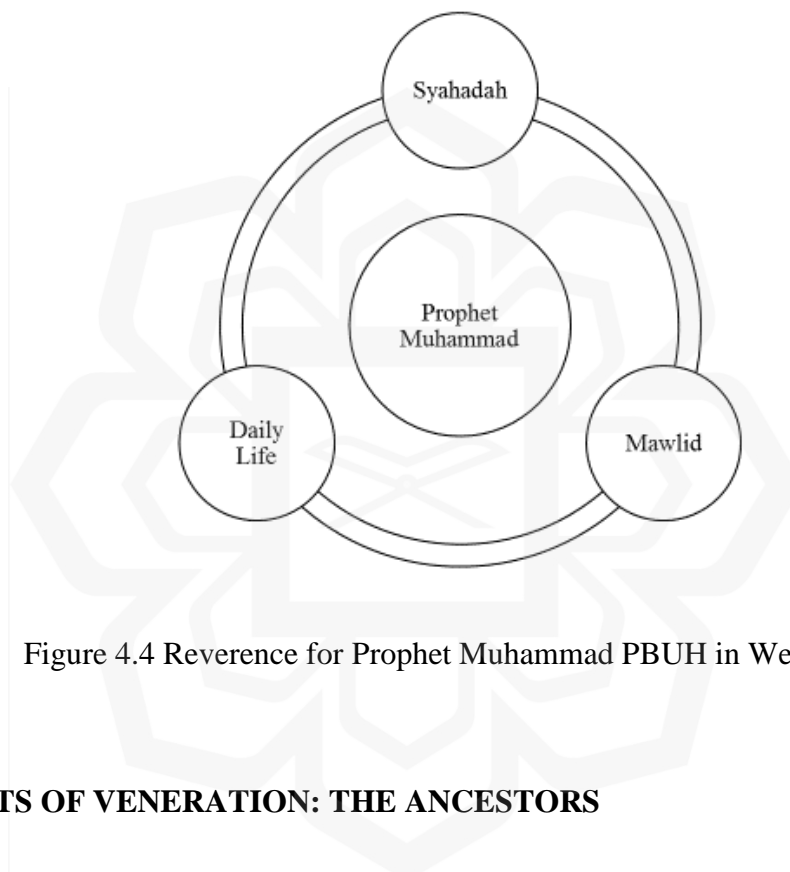


Figure 4.4 Reverence for Prophet Muhammad PBUH in Wetu Telu

### **4.3 ACTS OF VENERATION: THE ANCESTORS**

#### **4.3.1 Ancestors**

The adherents observe the concept of venerating their ancestors to express their love for the deceased (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). They do not worship their ancestors, but rather express their respect and remembered their contributions.

The term ancestors encapsulates the key figures whom they honoured. They hold a range of annual and specific rituals to remember and communicate with them (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). They consider their ancestors to be among the

supernatural beings, in line with their belief in the unseen. Ancestors cover the successions of Ulamak who spread and taught Islam in Lombok from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). These consist of the notable group of Mubalighs buried in the grand tombs in the Masjid Kuno compound. Wali Songo, the Nine Saints of Java, are also considered their ancestors. Another interpretation of ancestors consists of the Prophets, and extends to their respective tombs as well as related historical mosques in the holy city of Makkah (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). These consist of Prophet Muhammad and Prophet Adam's tombs. They revive their love for the Prophets by remembering Makkah, and the mystical things about their ancestors. Deceased parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and other predecessors are also recognised and remembered as their ancestors.

Furthermore, the term Muhammad, metaphorically rather than literally, also refers to the ancestors before them, the ones who were above, and those who are deceased (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). They have never seen the Prophet, so their concentration is on the 'Muhammad' that they could see, namely their ancestors. This was inspired by the classic proverb 'Tak kenal, tak cinta' or translated as 'Not knowing leads to not loving'. They did not know the Prophet in person, hence, to love the Prophet, it would be better for them to love their immediate ancestors first. The ancestors were in a closer position to them than the Prophet, and it would be part of loving the Prophet. If they were devoted to both parents, this meant that they were also devoted to God. They need to remember their ancestors first, such as their mother and father, grandfather and grandmother, before knowing the Prophet and God. God's presence is felt in their ancestors. If they forget their ancestors, they would not be able to remember or talk to God.

The Bayan people believe in their ancestors, similar to Prophet Muhammad PBUH who also believed in his ancestors (Risidiani, interview, 17 October 2022). The scope of ancestors extends to the Prophet's Companions, the four prominent Caliphs in the history of Islam. The natives used familiar local names to address these key figures in the narratives of their ancient manuscripts. These names included Petrok for Sayidina Abu Bakar, and Umar Maya for Sayidina Ali. The ancestors of the Prophet Muhammad are recognised as their ancestors.

### **4.3.2 Gawe Pati Rituals**

The Wetu Telu people emphasise on a continuous relationship between the world of the living and the realm of the ancestral spirits (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). The adherents emphasise on death and hold the Gawe Pati to send off the deceased to the next world (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They also express their respect for those who had departed earlier during the occasions. These series of post-funeral rituals consist of Nelung on the third day after the demise, Mituq on the seventh day, Nyiwak on the ninth day, Matang Puluh on the fortieth day, Nyatus on the one hundredth day, and Nyiu as the finale on the one thousandth day (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022; Hidayanti and Sudiarna, 2018). The rituals reflect their remembrance and gratefulness to their ancestors who have safeguarded and prospered their lives.

### **4.3.3 Grave Visits**

The Wetu Telu believers' relationship with their ancestors is demonstrated through the implementation of rituals (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022; Diring, interview, October 2022; R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). These consist of traditional celebrations of the annual Islamic occasions, such as Lebaran Tinggi and Lebaran Pendek, as well as other rituals, such as circumcision, and marriage (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022).

They would visit their ancestral graves to inform the deceased about the upcoming event, and convey their intention to hold the particular ritual (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). They would ask for the blessings from the spirits who preceded them, and seek the deceased persons' supplications to ensure that their act of worship was in accordance with the existing Islamic law.

They would perform the Menyapu ritual at their ancestors' graves. They would bring 'air wangi,' rice, snacks, cigarettes, and their deceased family members' other favourite items. The atmosphere is very lively. They pour 'air wangi' onto the grave with the recitation of the Fatihah verse, and recite the doa to summon their ancestors.

(Air wangi consisted of a handful of rice, uang bolong or ancient coin, and betel nut put into an earthen pot, followed by the recitation of doa by the Kiyai, and the burning of an incense). They invite their ancestors to their houses to celebrate the occasion together. They spread the herbal paste on their foreheads in the Menyembeq ritual and announce at their ancestors' graves, "Let us go home." Food would also be served at their homes. They would recite the prayers so that it would be good in the Afterlife. The ritual is performed out of respect for their ancestors.



Illustration 4.8 Menyapu Ritual at the Ancestors' Graves

The Wetu Telu adherents have a strong relationship with their ancestors, but they do not worship them. Instead, they appeal through their ancestors, so that what they want would be conveyed to the Almighty (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). They

do not request to God directly because in their understanding, no human being was pure. They need to seek the assistance of the holy ones, such as their ancestral spirits, whom they believed were in a better place. The connection would be faster and the request would be granted when the holy meets the Holy. They pray for help from their ancestors who had preceded them because the deceased had entered the sacred realm. They feel that they would not get what they wanted right away if they asked the Creator directly, since they were impure. This is in line with the adherents' belief that humans did not die. They just moved location to the Barzakh realm. They then used their spiritual bodies, and no longer occupied their physical figures.

They believed that if they did not continue this tradition, for example, if they did not look for their ancestors to celebrate Lebaran, they would get the repercussions later. They might be stricken with all sort of diseases, such as headaches, where the culprit would feel cold and hot. He might feel his hair being pulled. The reason a person was sick in such a way was usually because he forgot his ancestors. Even if the ancestors were far away, they would still look for them.

#### **4.3.4 Nenok Routine**

Some adherents communicated with their ancestors beyond the major occasions to seek their advice and blessings on a regular basis. These included performing the weekly routine of the Nenok ritual to communicate with their ancestors who preceded them (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022). Each believer usually holds the ritual on his own on the evening of Monday, Thursday, or Friday. Nenok is usually conducted at the Inan Bale, which resembles a small Rumah Panggung or stage house raised in the middle of the main house or at the Rumah Adat. The place is suitable because it is not touched by anything or anyone else at other times, and remains clean.

They start by preparing the sari makanan or food essence, which is presented through their typical physical meals. These consist of rice and side dishes. They add fruits, cigarettes, and other preferred items of their ancestors while living in this world. They also make the Pemamaan, sirih pinang or betel leaf and areca nut, and add lime to form the Lekok Buah. This contribution signifies the most important element of the

ritual. All these items were used as a medium for them to communicate with their ancestors. They add fragrances or light up incense (kemenyan) to accompany them in order to speed up the communications process. Nenok might seem similar to the presentation of offerings in other indigenous faiths, but it differs as ‘Nenok’ is related to the word ‘Tok’, which translates into to place or to prepare, rather than to offer.

After they prepare the necessary items, they convey the manifestations of their intentions, their problems, and their wishes to their ancestors. They would usually pray for safety in the world as well. They might continue conversing, similar to talking to their parents. They believe that their ancestors would convey their requests to the Creator. The morning after the ritual, when the food essence has been extracted from the physical food, they take the food out of the container and consume it. They might offer it to their family members or neighbours too.

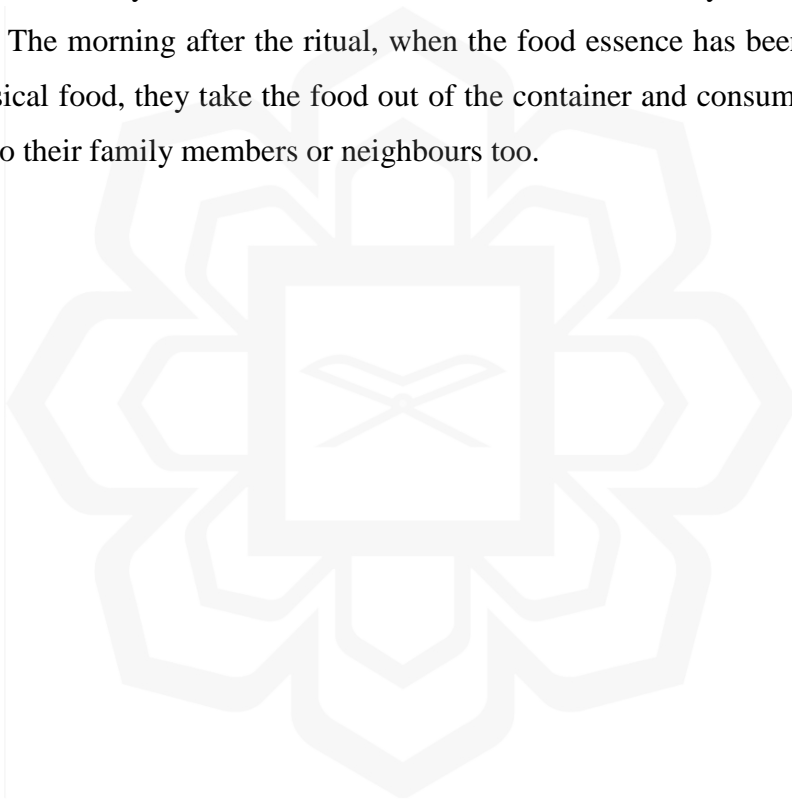




Illustration 4.9 The Pemangku Entering the Inan Bale for the Nenok Ritual

#### **4.3.5 Post-Demise Disconnected Adherents**

Some practitioners terminated the link with their ancestors once a person departed this world (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They still participated in ancestral-related activities such as Gawe Pati and Ziarah Makam, but with the intention to remember the deceased and express their respect.

They saw the need to reinterpret the meaning of certain ancestral-related rituals (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022; R. Pinadi interview, 8 October 2022). These included using the ancestors as an intermediary to relay one's wishes to the Almighty, or to prevent calamities. They believed that communications with the deceased would be impossible following their demise (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They deemed the dependency on the spirits of deceased ancestors as a breach to the concept of Monotheism, and emphasised the need to straighten the adherents' collective Aqidah.

#### **4.4 DISCUSSION**

The Qur'anic Tawhid serves as the first fundamental identifying component of the Muslim Ummatic identity (Bakar, 2011). Belief in God forms the first article of faith and covers the other pillars of faith. This principle is also incorporated in the Muslim testimony of faith (Syahadah).

The second identifying component is compliance to the Shariah of Prophet Muhammad, which covers the five Pillars of Islam (Bakar, 2012). Islam serves as the final religion that concludes the Prophetic series with Prophet Muhammad as the 'Seal of Prophets (Nasr, 2000). The Tawhid of Prophet Muhammad mirrored his outstanding position as the best role model to Muslims, which was narrated through his exemplary life or Sunnah.

The Wetu Telu practitioners recognised these two sentences of the Syahadah, just like their Waktu Lima counterparts (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). They recited 'There is no God but Allah; and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah'. Based on this rationale, they met the criteria of being Muslims as they subscribed to the principles of Tawhid and fulfill the first of the five Pillars of Islam. However, the findings revealed a variation where some adherents did not subscribe to all of the five pillars, or they rendered their own interpretations of some of the pillars (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022; R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). This is in line with keeping their ancestral tradition, and represents the inheritance of the Shariah of Prophet Abraham before the spread of Prophet

Muhammad's teaching following his Isra Mikraj journey (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022).

Nevertheless, they demonstrate their love for Prophet Muhammad and glorify him throughout the year during the Mawlid celebration and other related rituals (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). The procession also relives history from the first human existence, while the Peresean stick fighting competition symbolised the entry of Islam into Bayan (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). This contrasts with previous research which attributed the focus of the celebration on Adam and Hawa as the first ancestors (Budiwanti, 2021).

The study showed that the adherents identified as Muslims and believers of Wetu Telu simultaneously. Some interviewees subscribed to the generic Five Pillars of Islam (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022; R. Gedarip, interview, 13 October 2022; P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022; R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). Others established alternate comprehension of the pillars, or implemented only some of the Islamic principles (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022; Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). Nonetheless, both groups were strong proponents of the Adat, and were actively involved in the Adat rituals and Gawe or ceremonies. Thus, this revealed other categories between the rigid classifications of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima, which was much employed in previous studies (Budiwanti, 2000; Komarudin and Muliadi, 2020; Kusumawardana, 2019). It was inaccurate to generalise that Wetu Telu adherents consisted only of those who did not implement the Shariah fully. Believers who complied with the pillars of Islam and yet participated in Adat events still identified themselves as Wetu Telu adherents. They did not identify as Waktu Lima Muslims, as mentioned by Mansyur (2019b). The informants also did not feel any pressure to convert to what was mostly categorised as the Waktu Lima ways.

Some informants performed the five daily prayers. Nevertheless, the variations in their prayers extended beyond the five groups discovered by Sironpati (2022), with some believers executing part of the five daily prayers inwardly. This discovery contradicted the statement that its adherents had transitioned to the mainstream Muslims ways, with full compliance to the Islamic Shariah and five-daily prayers, following their

discrimination during the New Order regime (Yusrifa et al., 2016). This finding also ruled out the claim that all cultural Islam followers executed their religious duty and acts of worship similar to the mainstream Muslims, with the only difference being their determination to sustain their Wetu Telu tradition against the Arabism drive (Seramasara, 2020).

In addition, the informants of this research expanded the scope of stewardship from humans, animals and nature to also include caring for the invisible beings (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). They believe that all co-servants of the Creator should live in harmony within the concept of *Rahmatan Lil Alamin*, blessings to all. These essentials cement the foundation of Wetu Telu. Tawhid is evidenced in the role of humans as the Khalifah of God on earth (The Qur'an, 33:72; Davies, 1988; Hasyim, 2018; Zakaria, 2021). Mankind is entrusted with the duty to care for all creations. When humans return to the Maker, they would be assessed on the execution of their vicegerent status on the use of available resources to devote themselves to the Din of submission (Davies, 1988). Their custodian role would continue with the next generations.

Unfortunately, the adherents' caretaker duty for the invisible beings was often mistaken as spirits' worship (Budiwanti, 2021; Mansyur, 2019a). The roots of animism and Hinduism were allegedly deeply engraved into the adherents' belief system (Kusumawardana, 2019). They were said to maintain their misguided practices without fully committing to Tawhid (Budiwanti, 2021). The features of Islam were apparently just inserted into their indigenous philosophies after their conversion to the doctrine, which created a religious syncretism. Furthermore, there was supposedly no clear line between the ideas of Tawhid and the animism instilled through the Adat (Kusumawardana, 2019). This restricted their acceptance of the teaching of the religion.

The findings showed that the practitioners expressed their respect for their ancestors, and invited them to participate in their momentous ceremonies (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022; R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022). They were devoted to the deceased and treated them as if they were still amongst the living. They also considered their ancestors to be in a holy realm, and were in a better position to intercept their requests to God. The deceased were responsible to care of the environment for the wellbeing of their living family members (Zakaria, 2021).

However, the adherents completely dismissed the allegation of ancestors or spirits' worship mentioned in previous studies (Mansyur, 2019b), and stressed their submission to the one God (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). Furthermore, the belief in the existence of spiritual beings was not exclusive to certain tradition such as animism, but it was a common feature of many other traditions, including Islam and Christianity (Muhaimin, 2006). The pious believed in unseen things (al-ghaib), which included spirits and spiritual beings (Qur'an, Al-Baqarah, 2:2 - 3). It was therefore incorrect to label the Wetu Telu adherents as animist.

The informants of this research widened the definition of ancestors. They understood the term to cover the Mubaligh who brought and spread Islam in Lombok from the 14th to the 16th century (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022); the Prophets, their respective tombs and historical mosques in the holy city of Makkah (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022); the Prophet's Companions (Risidiani, interview, October 2022); and finally, deceased parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and other esteemed predecessors.

On the other hand, this study also unveiled the existence of believers who terminated the link with their ancestors once the person departed this world (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). This group of adherents saw the need to reinterpret the meaning of such rituals to align their collective Aqidah (R. Sawinggih, interview, 6 October 2022). These include using the ancestors as an intermediary to relay one's wishes to the Almighty as they believe that communications with the deceased is impossible following their demise (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They deem the dependency on the spirits of deceased ancestors as a breach to the concept of Monotheism. This is attributed to the fact that God has no partners, affiliations, or assistants (The Qur'an, 112: 1 - 4). This practised of Tawassul or placing an intermediary between a believer and the Divine breaches into Shirk (Nasr, 2008). This comprises executing an act with absolute acknowledgment of a power besides the Almighty, which they believe would provide good fortune and health.

In addition to upholding the Five Pillars of Islam, the informants also executed Ibadah-gearred activities in the forms of their Adat rituals (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Such obligations take place during the Islamic occasions such as Eid,

Eid Adha and Mawlid, and during specific cycles of life. The Wetu Telu adherents believe that their forms of worship need not be rigid (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). It encapsulates a wide range of activities aimed to seek redha from the Almighty. They emphasise contributing to the welfare of other humans, plants, and animals, and to God's physical and unseen creatures in general. They live the contents of the Qur'an and execute its teaching. These include the spirits of sharing and giving, trusting, nurturing, and helping one another. The adherents make Islamic values their habits.

The findings revealed the informants' quest to understand themselves before acquiring the wisdom to know God (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). Achieving such elevation in worship leads to attaining real happiness as there will be a heightened sense of love, hope and fear on the acts of worship to the Almighty (Nasihin, 2018). This key teaching is delivered in their Bayani source of wisdom, which consists of their lontar manuscripts. The adherents believe in wearing their faith wherever they go (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022), and having full trust in God. They strive to attain the profound Irfani knowledge inwardly, increase their piety, and reach the spiritual peak of Makrifat (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The Burhani reasoning and learning process also occurs through their commitment to comprehend and interpret elements of their belief system (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022). They desire to create awareness and interest among the younger generation to sustain their ancestral legacy.

Still, the Tawhidic wisdom of Wetu Telu did not seem to be taken into account in the overall Tuan Guru's proselytisation strategy to adjust the adherents' Aqidah and Shariah (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; Kusumawardana 2019; Budiwanti, 2000). Recommended Islamic education activities did not appear to be tailored to their Monotheistic core. Ideally, dakwah methods should be customised according to the various ethnic groups as the existence of diverse kinships was part of the order of the creation (Davies, 1988).

The Wetu Telu adherents' Monotheistic spiritual orientation helms their conducts, which is executed within the tapestry of their Adat and religion. The forms and meanings of their legacy, which empowers their orientation to the One God, will be elaborated in the next Chapter.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **THE FOUNDATION OF THE WETU TELU LEGACY**

#### **5.1 COSMOLOGY**

##### **5.1.1 The Creator and His Creations**

Wetu Telu epitomises the Creator of this world and his Creations that appeared from the three sources that inhabit the planet (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). The foundation of Wetu Telu developed from the compatible and peaceful relationships among all co-servants of the Almighty (R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). This was in line with the vertical and horizontal connections covered in Islamic cosmology (Nasr, 1987).

Wetu originated from the Javanese word, *Metu*, and had a shift in pronunciation when it reached Lombok (Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). *Wetu* is interpreted as to own, appear, or produce. *Telu* means three. Thus, *Wetu Telu* signifies the three processes of procreating on land and in the sea. Through *Menganak* or giving birth, *Menteluk* or laying eggs, and *Mentiuk* or planting seeds, they flourish and liven up this world (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). These three elements that shine and fill the universe are bound within a beautiful container, which is known as *Adat* (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022).

##### **5.1.2 Tawhid**

The *Wetu Telu* cosmology revolves around *Tawhid*, and the purpose of humans' presence on earth. *Wetu* from the word 'Wet' also translates into territory (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). A more comprehensive meaning of *Wetu Telu* consists of He who owns this world and fills it with the three sources of elements that populate the planet. Consecutively, living things continue to grow in order for the world to become complete. The presence of these beings promotes spiritual developments.

Otherwise, the world is merely an inanimate object. In line with the concept of Tawhid Rububiyah, Allah SWT created these three elements according to His ability in line with His destiny, which are related to Him and human beliefs. Humans can only execute what was created by the Almighty and what is already in existence.

### **5.1.3 Nina, Pina, and Dina**

The three elements in Wetu Telu are inter-related and interdependent on each other to complete the humans' acts of worship and series of rituals (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). The concept of Wetu Telu was further expanded by the elders in Desa Anyar under the terminologies of Nina, Pina, and Dina.

Nina signifies the female. The three elements of Wetu Telu that fill the universe originated from a female parent. Every being that fills this earth came from women or females. The tagline Bayan, Gumi Nina represents the land of females. Any creature that gave birth or could breed was a female. The Bayan people honour women because everything that fulfills the concept of Wetu Telu, namely Mentiuk, Menteluk, Menganak, comes from women. There are specific roles in the Wetu Telu rituals for women. For example, Inan Tembresan is the one in charge of the place to hold rice after cleaning, and before cooking for rituals or ceremonies. Inan Mojeng is the woman in charge inside of the traditional house.



Illustration 5.1 Inan Mangku Prepares ‘Bebenang Beras’ for a Ritual

Pina is related to Nina. Pina represents the introduction point of every living being in the universe. It represents the mother, the female parent, as the mother of living creation is a female. Everything that gives birth, lays eggs and grows comes from a female. The Bayan people call this Inayan Kemetuan. This signifies a woman who conceives and gives birth, or a female plant that mates with the male plant and grows, such as pare bulu or the local paddy. Female paddy yields good outcome, unlike the male. Inan or Inak means mother. The mother is a wise and softhearted person who protects. She would not show favouritism towards her children.

Dina signifies a series of events or cultural rituals from the beginning to end in Bayan. According to the cosmos, the human life from birth to death has a series of rituals. For example, Buang Au refers to giving the newborn baby a name, and Ngurisang means to get rid of the ‘hot hair’ on the child when he or she is born. Then, the ritual continues with Sunatan or circumcision. The series carries on. When he or she grows up, there will be marriage celebrations, including marriage proposals such as Saji Kerama, and Tampah Wirang. The cycle continues to rotate according to the period of

time, with Gawe Urip representing rituals for the living, and Gawe Pati representing the rituals for the deceased. For example, Neluk, Ngitu, Nyiwak, and Nyatus consist of the scheduled tahlil held after a certain number of days after the deceased departs this realm. The purpose is to ensure that he would be well cared for in the Afterlife.



Illustration 5.2 Womenfolk Collaborate to Make Wool from Cotton

Nina, Pina and Dina are connected to enlivening everything that exist with a series of rituals. For example, naming a newborn baby during the Buang Au ritual would require creatures that lay eggs, rice that strengthens and grows from its origin, and others that can be cultivated to be able to provide for the event.

In the Menyembeq ritual held towards the end of the sacred ceremonies, the expert in charge uses his or her first finger and third finger to apply charmed herbal paste on the adherents' foreheads. This first finger signifies the mother. There is always the mother. There is a saying in Bayan, returning to Gumi Nina, or Nina's land. The Bayan people always glorify women. The third finger, the longest, indicate Makrifat, the highest level of Tawhid of the Bayan people.

#### 5.1.4 Waktu Telu

Wetu Telu carries a different meaning from Waktu Telu. The adherents do not recognise the term 'die', but instead refer to it as moving Wet or territory (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). Waktu means a period of time (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). Thus, Waktu Telu encapsulates the existence of human beings in the three realms. The cycle launches in the unseen sphere, continues in the physical world, and is concluded in the Hereafter. In the womb, the human's name is Nur Muhammad. After nine months and ten days, humans are born and live in the physical world. They are referred to as insan kamil, or the universal or perfect man. After the humans are old enough, they return to the Afterlife to live eternity. They become eternal and do not change anymore. The lives in this world are based on Waktu Telu. Plants and seeds come from their conception process, bore fruits, and entered the Afterlife. The people who think of Waktu Telu as performing only three daily prayers are discussing it outside of this meaning.

Furthermore, Waktu Telu also indicates three time zones of prayers (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). 'Sembahyang tiga waktu' does not mean that one only prays three times a day. It stands for performing the five daily prayers within the three time zones. The prayer time was measured by the movement of the sun in the Jahiliyyah era, before the invention of the clock. Subuh prayers are performed in the morning; Zohor and Asar prayers are performed in the afternoon; and Maghrib and Isyak prayers are performed in the evening. Morning, afternoon and evening form three periods of time.

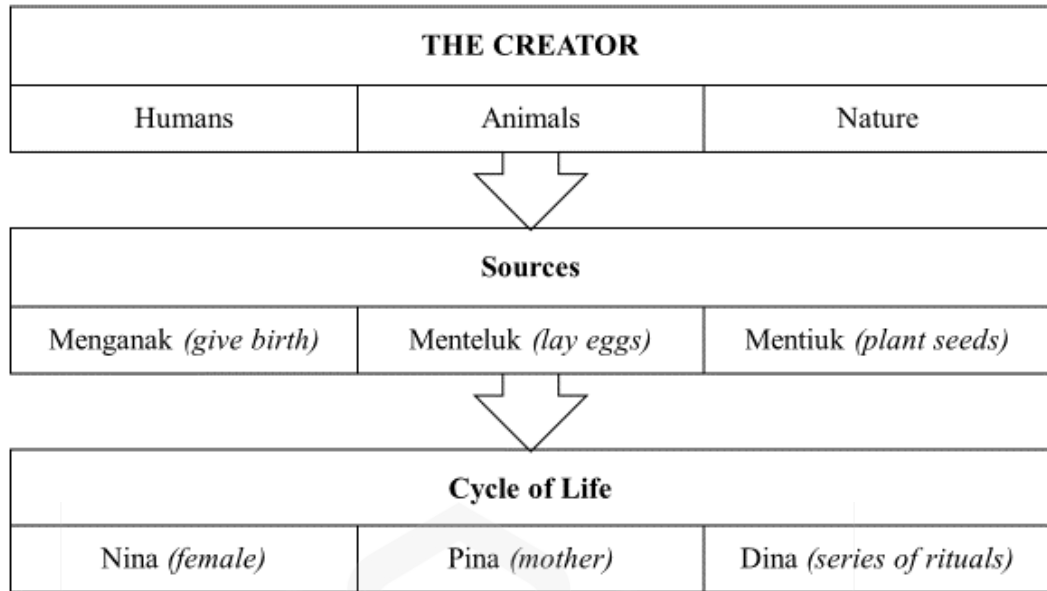


Figure 5.1 The Cosmology of Wetu Telu

## 5.2 INDIGENOUS SOCIAL SYSTEM

### 5.2.1 General Portfolios

Wetu Telu social system consists of three complementary components which govern the adherents' lives in a holistic manner. This is achieved through distribution of portfolios (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022) and upholding the ancestral legacy. The emphasis on the number three is also reflected in the components of its detailed social system. The distribution of 'social invitations' to manage the human life structure are divided into religion, custom, and natural resources. In Bayan and each of its peripheries, every one of these three areas is run independently by a designated leader, without the overall supervision of one main head. Nevertheless, they share a close relationship and display seamless teamwork.

The religion portfolio is led by the Penghulu as the main head of Islam in the indigenous social system. He is joined by a team of Kiyai Keagungan, or religious clerics. Their role is wider than the general designated Ustaz in Indonesia as it covers the traditional Bayan religious life. Around 40 students were based in the subdistrict of Bayan. Next is the team of Pemangku, who acts as the custom leader of their

specific environments (Zuhdi, 2021). They also manage communications with creatures from the supernatural realm. Last but not least is the Toaq Lokak, the council of elders, who oversee the area of customs and natural resources management (R. Sawinggih, interview, 16 October 2022). Their specific responsibilities include the management of the sacred mountains, land, and forests in Bayan.

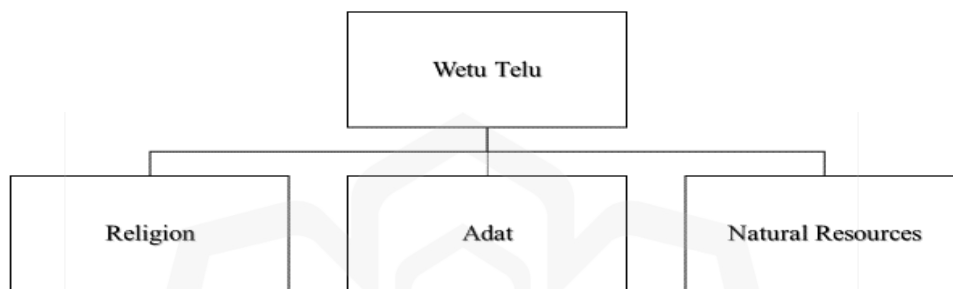


Figure 5.2 Wetu Telu Social System



Illustration 5.3 Pemangku Adat, Kiyai, and Toaq Lokaq Hold Specific Roles at Adat Events

### 5.2.2 Women's Roles

Women are recognised and hold specific positions in Wetu Telu. These designated complementary roles for women are essential to fulfil the requirements of the Adat (R. Gedarip, interview, 20 October 2022). For example, Inan Menik manages the rice stock in the Rumah Adat during ceremonies. The role is inherited by a succession of female family members, from mother to daughter. There is one such designated woman in charge in each of the sacred hamlets. In fact, customary rituals could not begin without the active participation of the indigenous women. The women in charge need to be able to estimate the amount of food so there will be enough for all attendees, as well as plan for the meals to be ready in time. The women would work in the Kampu or sacred hamlet, and complete the process in the Rumah Adat or sacred traditional houses (D. K. Wati, interview, 22 October 2022). Those involved should not be in a state of menstruation, puerperium, or unpurified. Those who serve the food should be clean and perform ablution first. The others are allowed to carry out the supporting tasks, such as washing the dishes or cleaning the place.



Illustration 5.4 Women Carrying the Washed Rice from the River in Desa Anyar

### 5.3 DISCUSSION

The outcome of this research anchored the Wetu Telu cosmology to the Creator of this world, and the connection to His creations (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). It then elaborated the three processes of humans, animals, and plants' procreations on land and in sea; namely Menganak or giving birth, Menteluk or laying eggs, and Mentiuk or planting seeds (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). The foundation of Wetu Telu developed from the harmonious relationships among all co-servants of the Almighty

(R. Apriadi, interview, 9 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). This differed to the existing studies which focused more on the creations and their positions with each other (Adonis, 1989; Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014).

The informants expanded the concept further in Desa Anyar to include three essentials, namely Nina, Pina, and Dina (Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). The first component, Nina, embodies Bayan as Gumi Nina, or the land of women. Women represent mother earth (Sawingih, 2016). The spirit of Gumi Nina inspires motherly traits filled with love and gentleness, both in speech and gesture. The Adat Bayan community prioritises peaceful resolutions in decision-making. They would protect one another as fiercely as a mother protecting her children when they were threatened. The second component, Pina, depicts females or mothers as the source of all living creatures in the world (Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). Dina represents the rituals for the cycles of life. These three terminologies have to come together to complete the concept. The Anyar chapter depicts an entire chain of living beings and their connections to each other. This ecosystem has not been explored in previous researches.

Wetu Telu's subdistrict social system separates the structure of the human life into three units, namely religion, custom, and natural resources. Each area is led separately by a portfolio expert, who joins forces during rituals and ceremonies. This detailed division of portfolios in the Wetu Telu social system has evolved (R. Sawingih, interview, 20 October 2022). In fact, this study revealed that what is known as 'Adat' in the present day was actually the management of religion by the designated leaders in the past. Adat embodied the portrait of Islam during the pre-independence era, which was inherited and trusted by the community. This change ultimately positioned and polarised Adat and religion in Bayan.

Religious roles are gender segregated as encapsulated in the Adat (Budiwanti, 2021). Male adherents control the religious domain, where most ceremonial deeds are performed in the holy space such as the Masjid Kuno, and the females are forbidden. Though the main roles are held by men, this investigation disclosed that women also inherit and assume special and significant positions in the Adat (R. Gedarip, interview, 20 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 22 October 2022). In fact, certain tasks cannot be carried out without the involvement of women. Specific customary roles, such as

Inan Menik, are essential and continuously passed down from mother to daughter. Another example is the promotional condition to become Pengemban Adat Bayan. A man needs to have a wife to prepare for the Adat rituals. When he no longer has a wife, he loses his position at the Adat administration. Furthermore, during the Membuang Au or name giving tradition for a newborn baby, the midwife has to be present. The baby's godmother also needs to receive the baby after the Kiyai has completed the name giving ritual. This contrasts the current portrayal of women being victimised or discriminated and powerless in Wetu Telu.

Additionally, the Bayanese follow their independent Candra Sengkala calendar, where their Adat events take place a few days after the Islamic events dates established by the government (R. Sawinggih, interview, 20 October 2022). Subsequently, this specific system appears to demarcate the boundary or separation line between the practitioners and other Muslims (Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014). Nevertheless, the adherents do not force other communities to follow their schedule.

The practitioners' insights on the forms and meanings of Wetu Telu establish a base to explore the interplay between Adat and Islam in the subsequent Chapter.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ADAT AND ISLAM UNITY IN WETU TELU

#### 6.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ADAT AND RELIGION

##### 6.1.1 Adat and Akhlak

Adat and akhlak share a strong bond in the Wetu Telu belief system. Adat formed part of akhlak. (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). In the context of the religion, the term ‘Adat’ is comparable to ethics, and the Islamic concept of ethics is connected to akhlak. In addition, Adat stands for adab, which also corresponds with akhlak (Risdiyani, interview, 17 October 2022). Therefore, this relationship shows that Adat resembles akhlaq. Moreover, Adat forms orderliness, which also serves as the last and most important pillar of prayers. Akhlak, on the other hand, plays an important role in refining the Adat (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). Islamic morality represents the behaviour that regulates relationships between people. Hence, the Wetu Telu adherents place a strong emphasis on akhlak (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022).

##### 6.1.2 Akhlak and Tawhid

Akhlak originated from the Aqidah revealed by Allah SWT to His Prophets, and delivered to mankind (Zulkifli and Jamaluddin, 2018). This system of morals was sourced from the Qur’an and Hadith, and cemented by Tawhid and the principles of Islam. The concept was connected to ‘khalqun’ or event, ‘khaliq’ or creator, and ‘makhluqun’ or created.

The Bayan people were instilled with Tawhid and taught to improve their akhlaq before they were introduced to the Shariah (R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022). This was similar to teaching morality before the five daily prayers in the Prophet’s approach when he started to spread Islam in Arabia. Akhlaq continued to grow in the community. The adherents view Islamic morality hand in hand with good deeds, which

share the same goal of seeking redha from the Creator. They believe that akhlak eventually determines whether an adherent would enter heaven or hell in the Hereafter (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). A person is guaranteed to go to the former if his morals are truly noble. A good leader, especially, should have good akhlak so that he would be widely accepted by the people. Upholding their akhlak ensure that their knowledge is useful for themselves, their families and for the general public (P. Anom, interview, 10 October 2022). This ranges from the economic-generating capacity to the daily forms of greeting people.

### **6.1.3 Adat and Tawhid**

Adat, in its correlations with akhlak, strengthens the practitioners' Tawhid and devotion to the One God. The Wetu Telu followers practice their tradition parallel to the religion. They are guided by the Qur'an in their faith, and their ancestral wisdom in their Adat (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They view two elements as one unit and belonging together (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022; P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). Tradition and the religion should not be separated (D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). The religious rules should not be disconnected from the Adat.

They carry the old teachings of the elders while also exploring the teachings of the religion. Believers should be able to rely upon themselves and differentiate between the good and bad (D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). A demarcation lies between what is allowed and what is forbidden. They must fear and submit to Allah SWT, the one and only God. They understand that they should not have double or triple Gods.

The Bayan people implement the religion according to the Adat ways. Certain religious rules are also customary (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 28 October 2022). They abide by the wisdom left by their elders, and consider everything in Wetu Telu to be Islamic. Therefore, Adat is not orthodox or static (R. Gedarip, interview 19 October 2022), but rather, it continues to evolve and eliminate components contradicting the foundation of Tawhid and submission to the One God. The position of religion should not be bypassed (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022;

D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). The creed definitely takes precedence, which is followed by the practice of Adat. For example, the obligatory akad or solemnisation of marriage occurs before the customary wedding reception (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). Adat accompanies the Shariah. When the Pemangku Adat organises an event, the Kiyai Agama would come to recite the supplements. This validates the event.

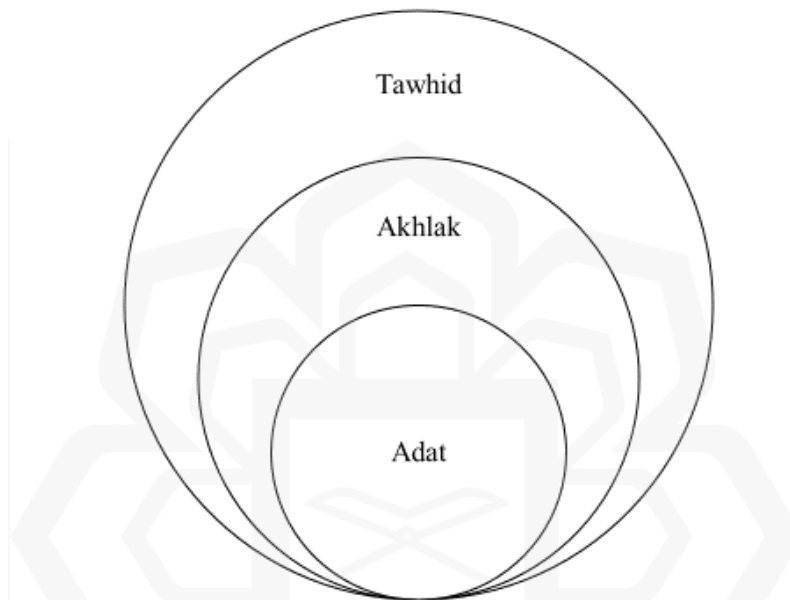


Figure 6.1 Adat, Akhlak, and Tawhid in Wetu Telu

#### **6.1.4 Adat in Bayan**

Adat in Bayan is not detached from the context of the Islamic Shariah (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). It has scriptural origins and relies on the content of the Qur'an, the Hadith and the work of the Ulamak (Muhaimin, 2006). A seamless execution of religion and Adat is portrayed in the generic Prophet's Birthday celebration before organising the traditional Mawlid Adat, and observing the generic Eid or Eid al-Adha before the Lebaran Adat or Lebaran Pendek (D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). These practices are inseparable from the teachings of the religion of Islam. Adherents would pray at the modern mosque during the national celebration. They would perform ablution, proceed to pray, and seek forgiveness from each other. Women are allowed to pray at the place of worship under the condition that they must wear the

hijab, and avoid uncleanness. Believers would bring all kinds of food to the mosque to celebrate.

After three days, they commemorate Mawlid Adat, Lebaran Adat or Lebaran Pendek in the Kampu, or sacred hamlet. They would cook and bring the food to the Masjid Kuno in Ancak or traditional bamboo-woven trays. The fulfilment of Nazar during the Lebaran Adat or Mawlid Adat showed the harmony between religion and Adat. The adherents would show their gratitude to the Almighty for granting their doas by fulfilling their vows. These could consist of the sacrifices of cows, buffaloes or chickens. The Islamic act of worship and custom are carried out simultaneously.



Illustration 6.1 The Preparation of Ancak for a Ritual

The adherents consider Islam and Wetu Telu to be aligned and the same (D. K. Wati, interview, 21 October 2022). The difference lies in the presentation, such as the

clothes worn for religious and customary events. When they go to the modern mosque, the women would wear the hijab, and changed into a mukhena or telekung to pray. On the other hand, the women in charge would use a kemben, the traditional wrapping cloth, and the bongot headgear to perform the customary rituals in the Rumah Adat, or the ceremonial house. They change into their everyday clothes after the completion of their roles in Adat during specific events.



Illustration 6.2 The Adat Bayan Costume during the Mawlid Adat Celebration

The adherents' traditional costumes allegedly carry Hindu-Buddhist influences, which was attributed to the preaching of the Hindu missionaries, following the conquest of the troops of Anak Agung, the King of Karangasem in Lombok in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). However, the Bayan people never felt as if they were copying or imitating Balinese clothes (P. Anom, interview, 28 October 2022). They believe they were dressed in their own Bayanese attires. They understood that the hijab, for example, was a common item of clothing for women and was worn everywhere. On the contrary, the jong is not worn at random. It is only donned by women with specific roles during the special Adat rituals.

Moreover, they acknowledged the compulsory requirement of wearing the hijab, and the fact that it would be better for a woman to don the Islamic headgear (D. K. Wati, interview, October 2022). Hijab means that they must be truly holy and fear Allah. People who have already cloaked themselves would be really clean because they would have had submitted to and feared Allah, the Lord. So, they appreciate it too. Nevertheless, some of them would try to wear the hijab when they are travelling outside the Bayan vicinity. They believed in covering up because of their faith as a Muslim. They need to learn to be better Muslims. In general, they try to do good, speak well, be polite, and improve their overall morals. They understand better and try to be careful with their words and actions. If their morals are good, they could all wear the hijab. However, there is no element of coercion. They are free to make their own decision. They believed that if one is not yet ready to don the headgear, they should keep trying and keep learning to get better. The community would not pressure a person to cover up.

Nevertheless, according to the elders, they should ‘hijab’ their hearts first and do better. They should avoid what was prohibited. Many people don the hijab, but they sometimes gossip, badmouth or say bad things about others. Slandering a person is considered to be crueller than murder. Their actions or behaviour indicate that they could not wear the hijab yet. It is as if they are abusing their God. It makes others question their morality and faith. They learn how to be a better Muslim through good deeds first. That is what people prioritise in Bayan.

### **6.1.5 Adat and Islam**

Adat does not assume a higher position than Islam in Wetu Telu. Quite contrarily, the detailed Adat execution actually elevates the followers’ faith. The goal is one but the implementation is different (R. Gedarip, interview, 9 October 2022). The teaching of Adat and the religion do not clash.

The Wetu Telu wisdom teaches the adherents to be grateful for God’s gifts (D. K. Wati, interview, 28 October 2022). According to their custom, if they want to take or cut even one tree in the Hutan Adat or designated customary forest, they would need

to ask the Creator and recite Bismillahirrahmannirahim followed by the necessary supplications. This was a way to excuse themselves by saying the name of Allah because the tree is also God's creation. It had a life given by Allah SWT. There could also be other creatures living in that spot, such as Djinnns, which is mentioned in the Qur'an. Human should not bother them and need to safely move them to another location. If they simply take it without any permission or notification, the other creatures would surely be angry. They would recite a prayer to ask for safety, so that it would not be cut down carelessly or fall down onto humans. Nevertheless, they do not worship the wood or the tree, contrary to the common misconceptions among the outsiders.

An annual ritual, 'Roah Mata Air', is observed to give thanks to Allah SWT for providing humans with water for living. Chickens would be slaughtered during the spring water ceremony after reciting Bismillahirrahmanirahim, by also asking Allah SWT. Before eating, they would make doa to Allah SWT. Every act would be directed towards God. "Thanks be to Allah. Thank you, Allah. You have given us our spring of life. We are here to thank you." Similar to trees, the adherents do not worship water. The supplications would be recited in Arabic, and then translated into the Sasak language. The meaning is the same because Allah understands their good intentions regardless of the language used. Another ceremony is 'Roah Buan Pare', where the indigenous people express their gratitude for their success in harvesting rice. The Kiyai would recite doa to thank the Almighty for the rezeki or sustenance. Hence, they give thanks to Allah SWT.

Similarly, the Mawlid activities or other Islamic events in the other religious procession outside the Wetu Telu practice are also customary (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). They might organise an art event, race, climbing competitions and religious-based itineraries such as Qur'an recitation contest, reading Iqra, and prayers demonstration, among others. The practice is similar to the Bayan people celebrating the Prophet's birthday through their traditional rituals. For example, performing the art of Peresean or the customary stick fighting.

Custom is carried out within its vicinity (Ratmanom, interviews, 8 October 2022; R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). The religion is one, but the customs vary (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022). There are many kinds of Adat in Islam. Hence,

the adherents' identity cards maintain Islam as their religion in their Agama column. They did not replace it with 'Wetu Telu' after the Constitutional Court made a decision to allow indigenous faith to be stated as a religion in 2017. This is due to them not considering Wetu Telu to be their religion.

## 6.2 INTER-GENERATIONAL CHANGES

The younger Wetu Telu practitioners are dedicated to improve their understanding and practice of their ancestral wisdom as well as create awareness among their peers (R. Apriadi, interview, 21 October 2022). The local wisdom in Wetu Telu has been diligently passed down from one generation to another. The Adat advocates continuously seek additional knowledge from the elders and other indigenous experts to improve their understandings and interpretations. They strive to comprehend the meanings of each act of worship and ritual.

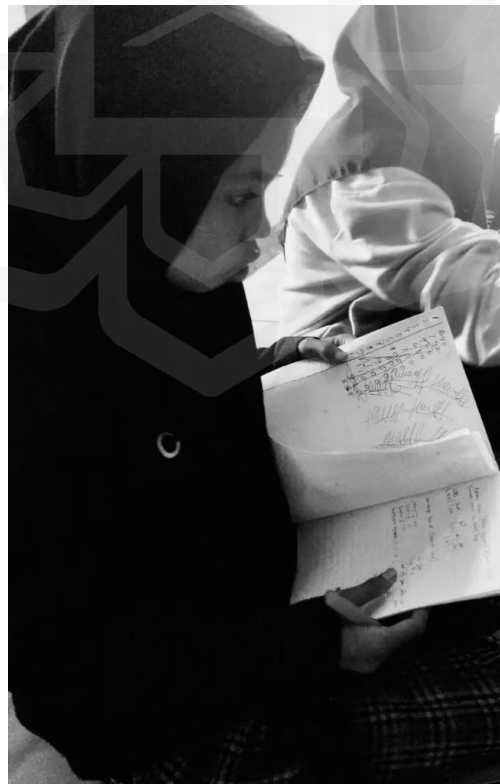


Illustration 6.3 A Student Learning the Lontar Alphabet at Sekolah Adat Bayan

Moreover, the younger Wetu Telu generation has shown a strong interest in studying the religion. Some of them pursue official Islamic education at the level of Pesantren as well as Bachelor or Master's degree (R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022). Hence, more reasoning and exploration on the bridge between Adat and religion is befitted than before to fulfil their increasing curiosity. They seek detailed explanation and need to delve into the Burhani knowledge or the logic of certain practices.

To respond to the current era of modernisation, it is important to educate them so the community as a whole will not gradually lose its grasps of Wetu Telu (R. Apriadi, interview, 21 October 2022). The youths formed Sekolah Adat Bayan, the Adat education and outreach centre, to safeguard the dignity of Wetu Telu and sustain its relevance to the community. In 2019, Renadi and Raden Apriadi, co-founders of the centre, embarked on an initiative to develop Kalender Sereat Adat Bayan. It took the duo three years to identify the accurate dates of the Adat occasions according to the Islamic months, hold meticulous and repeated discussions with various members of the elders, and produce the customised calendar. It functions as a tool to educate both the adherents and outsiders as well as enables them to keep track of their customary observances on an annual basis.



Illustration 6.4 The Adat Bayan Calendar

### 6.3 DISCUSSION

Previous studies have discoursed the close interactions between Adat and religion in Wetu Telu. Wetu Telu represents a philosophy of human lives that combined religious teaching with beliefs in tradition, ways of behaving, and cultural custom (Seramasara, 2020). It is no longer a religious teaching doctrine, but is considered a culture that

supports the identity of the Sasak Muslims. Islamic principles should not just be injected into the ancestral wisdom, but rather, should be supported with the procedures of applying the doctrine.

Religion represents a teaching that should be upheld and placed above others (Nasihin, 2018). Budiwanti (2021) stated that the religion embodies the Adat in Wetu Telu, and the two areas are not clearly demarcated. Custom does not belong in the faith arena, and should not be attached to Islam. The believers positioning the customary laws over the Shariah, and practising veneration to the unworldly creatures show that Adat, at times, has a higher stature than the religion.

In contrast to the above study, the subjects in this investigation depicted the position of Islam to be above or at the same level of Adat in Wetu Telu (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022; D. K. Wati, interview, 28 October 2022). The two fundamentals interweave in every aspect of their daily lives. Tradition is present in the faith, and the Bayan people execute the religion according to the customary way. Principles of the religion are realised through specific rituals and relevant everyday conducts. Adat operates as a value system that became the common reference. The custom works together with the religion to encourage good relationships among mankind, and to build a harmonious society. The two fundamentals do not clash. Islam does not prohibit the Adat (R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022). Thus, the results disclosed that Adat does not surpass the religion, and quite the reverse, it actually supports and uplifts the faith.

Nevertheless, this study validated the allegations that the adherents deem the implementation of Adat as part of the practice of the religion itself (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). This was due to Adat and faith being a union that could not be separated. The adherents learned, believed in, and implemented the world religion within the context of Adat (Maarif, 2017). Likewise, some of them might also comprehend and practise Adat within the pillars of Islam. This combined mode of re-contextualisation balanced off both elements and treated them as equals. It eased the continuity of their inherited legacy.

Moreover, Adat and religion in Bayan were governed by the same indigenous council as the two essentials began as one (Jahroni and Darmadi, 2014). The Pemangku Adat started off overseeing the custom. The role of Kiyai followed during the intensive Islamisation drive to lead in the religious practice. Belief and custom originated from the same source and were only differentiated by their functions.

Most importantly, the outcome of this research bridged Adat and Tawhid (D. K. Wati, interview, 28 October 2022; R. Pinadi, interview, 8 October 2022; R. Apriadi, interview, 16 October 2022; R. Gedarip, interview, 19 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022). The Wetu Telu philosophy links Adat to the concept of adab, which is connected to akhlak. Akhlak or Islamic morality supports the pillars of Tawhid. Akhlak originated from the Aqidah revealed by Allah SWT to His Prophets, and delivered to mankind (Zulkifli and Jamaluddin, 2018). It was established from the Islamic revelation and focused on the Tawhidic worldview (Kazeem, 2022). Hence, the indigenous community's Adat actually rides on the principles of Islamic Monotheism. The community believes that it is Akhlak that determined whether a practitioner would enter heaven or hell in the Hereafter (Ratmanom, interview, 8 October 2022; Risdiani, interview, 17 October 2022).

In a nutshell, Adat is equal to religion and vice versa (Diring, interview, 18 October 2022). The spiritual conducts of an indigenous community emerge through the interface between custom and religion. Globalisation and modernisation should provide a base to enhance the transformation of an indigenous group without destroying its core (Maarif, 2012).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

This brings us back to the question posed in the title of the thesis, which was ‘Islam Wetu Telu or Wetu Telu Muslims? : An Analysis of the Practitioners’ Perspective’.

This Descriptive Phenomenology Analysis unveiled two main religious approaches among the informants. The first consisted of full compliance with the Five Pillars of Islam and relevant activities of worship executed within the fabric of the Adat. These adherents used the terms ‘Wetu Telu’ and ‘Islam’ respectively in narrating their principles. The second comprised reinterpretation and adoption of the Five Pillars of Islam and related rituals in a different way from the mainstream Muslims, or obeying to only several of the pillars. Some of these believers applied the complete phrase of ‘Islam Wetu Telu’ to describe their faith.

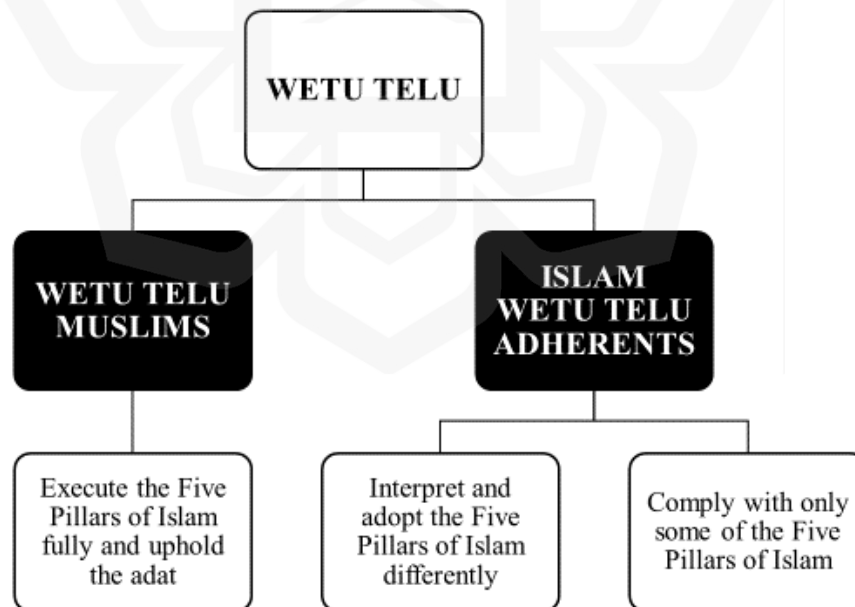


Figure 7.1 The Dual Dimensions of Wetu Telu

There were also two distinct variations in the adherents' relationship with their ancestors. The first group maintained communications and treated their deceased ancestors as intermediaries with the Almighty. On the other hand, the second group discontinued the link with their ancestors following the person's demise. They performed certain ancestral-related rituals out of respect and to remember those who had preceded them. However, they did not treat them as intermediaries and ceased communications after they moved to the other realm. Neither group identified as animists. They did not worship their ancestors or spirits.

Despite their dissimilarities, these villagers lived together as one community and functioned in the same Religio-Cultural circle. These discoveries shaped the new indigenous-inspired dual dimensions of Wetu Telu Muslims and Islam Wetu Telu practitioners. Nevertheless, these definitions solely intended to facilitate the understanding of the spectrum, and did not represent the actual physical divisions of the adherents. In fact, all informants truly identified as Muslims.

This research sought to advance beyond the stereotypical Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima polarisation. It captured on-going evolutions in the followers' characteristics and implementations, and accorded the informants with the opportunity to reverse the inaccurate external perception. Expanding the sample selection to include leaders outside the main ritual centre, youths, and women disclosed a heterogeneous facet on the subject. Each interviewee's lived experience was unique based on the transfer of knowledge from the elders, his or her scope of responsibility and involvement, and the tradition in his or her vicinity. It was revealed that adherents' conversion could also occur from Waktu Lima to Wetu Telu after they deepened their understanding of their ancestral wisdom, and not necessarily vice versa.

Furthermore, the adherents embraced and executed the world religion within the context of Adat. On the other hand, they could also construe and carry out the Adat within the framework of Islam. These combinations reconciled both elements and considered custom and religion to be the same. It enabled the sustainability of their ancestral wisdom.

Another main outcome of this investigation was the central presence of Tawhid in the entire Wetu Telu's ecosystem, incorporating both the sacred and the profane domains. Monotheism was first conveyed in the teaching of its earliest Islamic missionaries. Its philosophy positioned human as God's custodian of the Planet Earth as well as its physical and unseen creatures. Bayan gained the reputation as the place to discover 'Islam Tawhid', which was expressed in the form of their cultural or traditional Islam.

Likewise, its Adat connected back to Akhlak, or Islamic morality, and served as a component of Tawhid. Akhlak emerged from the Aqidah revealed by Allah SWT to His Prophets, and relayed to their followers. Thus, Adat did not necessarily collide with the principles of Islam, but instead, it played a key role in elevating the religion. The adherents might not have mastered the theory or the recitation of the Qur'an and Hadith, but these teachings were deeply embedded in their daily lives and demonstrated in their actions. The Wetu Telu indigenous system also incorporated a section on the implementation of religion within their customary practice, in addition to the management of Adat and natural resources.

The teaching of Wetu Telu might have emerged during the Kedaduan Bayan era in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The King and his people strove to spread Islam and build mosques and musolla around the island. Reduction in the size of the territory after the end of the King's reign caused confusion whether Bayan was a geographical area or a tradition shared by a group of people in numerous villages. Hence, the term Adat Bayan was also used to refer to the variations of the custom. The present day Adat actually referred to the management of the religion in the past. In fact, the indigenous administrative system incorporated the portfolio of Islam to safeguard the Wetu Telu followers' faith as Muslims, along with the preservation of their legacy.

The adherents emphasised the Tasawuf of understanding themselves before knowing the Almighty. The metaphoric roles of Prophet Muhammad and Prophet Adam were depicted in their Islam-oriented Jati Diri or group identity. Muhammad represented the human life, while Adam portrayed the human's departure from the present world. Alternatively, God confirmed His power through the two Prophets, where Adam was the body, and Muhammad was the feeling. Nevertheless, the

community specifically honoured Prophet Muhammad PBUH all-year round and celebrated their love for him through a series of annual rituals which peaked on Mawlid, his birthday.

The Wetu Telu cosmology focused on the number three, or 'telu' in the native language. The Adat functioned as the packaging to present the fine philosophy of Wetu Telu. It encapsulated the Maker of this world and his Creations from the three sources which inhabit the planet. These comprised Menganak or giving birth, Menteluk or laying eggs, and Mentiuk or planting seeds. This notion was based on safeguarding the sustainability of lives on earth through three essentials. Nina represented Bayan as Gumi Nina, or the land of females; Pina honoured females as the source of lives; and Dina epitomised the cycles of life through rituals. Living things continued to flourish physically and spiritually in harmony, which formed the foundation of Wetu Telu.

The Bayani, or the textual form of knowledge, was preserved in the Wetu Telu collection of ancestral scriptures and manuscripts, and handed down to the designated hereditary custodians. Its content was recited and interpreted at specific customary events to sustain the knowledge. Dedicated adherents strove to increase their rank of spirituality to reach the desired stage of Makrifat or Irfani, where knowledge would come directly from the Divine without a medium or intermediary. Modernisation and formal Islamic education have also propelled the community to advance their Burhani knowledge, or the logic and interpretations of their ancestral teaching, in order to meet the curiosity of the younger generation and remain relevant in the future.

In closing, the researcher had evaluated, deconstructed and re-classified the century-old, orientalist Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima dichotomy in an attempt to further expand studies in the field. The adherents' different individual stands and methods of preserving their heritage will sustain the non-uniformity of Wetu Telu. Future study would be necessary to examine and track these dynamics and the continuous evolutions of this indigenous legacy. The results also open up windows of opportunities for comparative investigations amongst the sub-communities.

Suggestions for future research areas are as follows:

1. Study on comparisons between the customs in the Wetu Telu peripheries, rather than with external communities
2. Evaluations based on the community's own identity and system, rather than adopting an external measurement or benchmark
3. The past, present and future roles of women in the Wetu Telu community
4. On-going and future evolutions of the Wetu Telu practice and practitioners



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## APPENDIX I

### DETAILS OF INFORMANTS

Name / Sampling Type	Designation	Scope of Responsibilities and Influences	Year of Birth / Age
<b>Veteran Figures in Bayan Besar</b>			
1) Ratmanom @ Amaq Riajim	Penghulu <i>Adat</i> , Desa Bayan (sub-district Islamic head within the Wetu Telu administrative structure) - Education: Lower secondary school	Desa Bayan	83
2) Raden Gedarip	Pemangku <i>Adat</i> , Dusun Karang Salah - Key overall <i>Adat</i> advisor in Desa Baysan - Most interviewed and quoted by researchers for over 20 years - Education: Elementary school	Desa Bayan	80
<b>Younger Figures in Bayan Besar</b>			
3) Raden Sawinggih	- Kepala Desa Sesait 2018- 2019 (sub-district government head) - Pejabat Kecamatan Kayangan (district government civil servant) - 2022 onward - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Bachelor's Degree	Desa Bayan	42
4) Ustaz Raden Pinadi	Wetu Telu leader's heir and religious school teacher - Graduate of Nurul Hakim Islamic School - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Bachelor's Degree in Islamic Education	Desa Bayan	33

Name / Sampling Type	Designation	Scope of Responsibilities and Influences	Year of Birth / Age
<b>Younger Figures in Bayan Kecil</b>			
5) Putra Anom	Entrepreneur and head of the farmers' cooperation, descendent of the Penghulu clan - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Elementary school	Desa Karang Bajo	42
6) Raden Apriadi  Purposive	- Adat Coordinator, Desa Anyar, and chemistry school teacher - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Master's Degree in Chemistry	Desa Anyar	35
<b>Specific Leader in Bayan Kecil</b>			
7) Diring  - Purposive	Kiyai, <i>Masjid Kuno</i> , Dusun Barung Birak (village <i>Adat</i> head within the Wetu Telu administrative structure) - Education: Elementary school	Desa Sambik Elen	75
<b>Female Figures in Bayan Kecil</b>			
8) Denda Katni Wati	- Rinajani Women Adventure Guide Association head and founder - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Secondary school	Desa Senaru	44
9) Risdiani	Adat Coordinator - One generation since the beginning of Agamacization in the 1970s. - Education: Bachelor's Degree in National Administration	Desa Anyar	35

## **APPENDIX II**

### **INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

#### **Research Question 1: How and why was Wetu Telu formed?**

##### **Arrival of Islam**

- How did Islam first arrive in Lombok/Bayan?
- Who brought the teachings of the religion?
- How was Islam practised in the early days

##### **Emergence of Wetu Telu**

- Where did Wetu Telu come from?
  - How did Wetu Telu appear in Bayan? / Who created it?
  - When was the Wetu Telu brought to Bayan?
  - Why does Wetu Telu exist? How was it formed? How did it emerge?
  - How did Wetu Telu grow/spread/evolve? Was it acculturation or syncretism or neither?
- Where did the term Wetu Telu come from?
- Who are the followers of Wetu Telu?
  - What are the connections or similarities between Wetu Telu and Balinese Hinduism?
  - What is the connection between Wetu Telu and Boddha people?

##### **Evolution / Inter-Generational Changes**

- Where and how did you learn the philosophy and practice of Wetu Telu?
  - Do you follow the teachings taught by your father/mother/teacher exactly?

- Do you make any adjustments/adaptations in your personal practice of Wetu Telu? What and why?
- What is your motivation to learn and practice?

### **Research Question 2: What is Wetu Telu?**

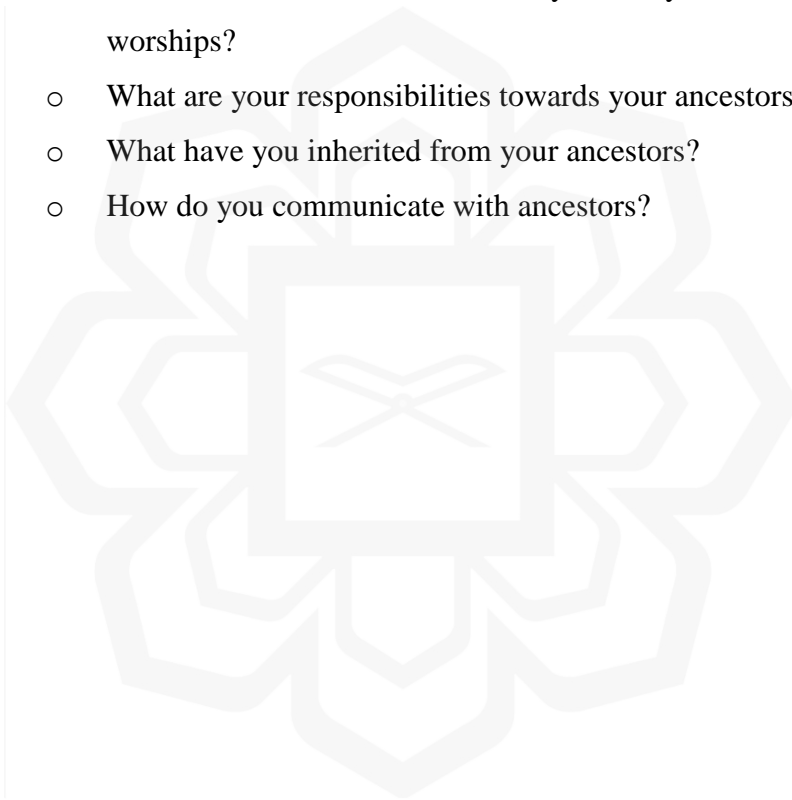
- **What is Wetu Telu?**
  - What does Wetu Telu mean?
  - What is the purpose/principle of Wetu Telu?
  - What are the teachings of Wetu Telu?
  - What are the values contained in Wetu Telu?
  - What are the benefits of Wetu Telu?
  - What are the symbols/icons/signs/elements that represent Wetu Telu or the ancestors?
  - Is there a holy book, scripture, ancient manuscript, sacred item, old *Adat* book, etc. for Wetu Telu?
  - How is Wetu Telu managed or governed?
  - What are the main positions and roles in Wetu Telu? Are the responsibilities assigned or inherited?
  - How did the traditional administration system start?
- **Where is Islam in Wetu Telu?**
  - What or where is the position of Islam in Wetu Telu?
  - Is there a correlation or association between Wetu Telu and the religion?

### **Research Question 3: How and why do the adherents practice Wetu Telu?**

- **God**
  - How do you apply/ practice the teachings of Wetu Telu in your life?
    - Do you have any daily/weekly/annual duties, responsibilities, rituals, or routines?
    - How you do worship? To whom, when and in what forms?

- Observation: *wuduk* ritual and prayer methods
  - How do you pray? When, to whom and where?
  - How and when do you fast? Do you follow the national calendar or the traditional calendar?
  - Do you adhere to the Five Pillars of Islam?
  - How does your acts of worship compare to the mainstream Muslims?
  - Are there specific sites or buildings where you perform various acts of worship, e.g. mosque, ancient mosque, tombs, etc.?
  - Are there any special places, locations or buildings for ancestors or are associated with the ancestors?
- What and how is your relationship or experience with God/the one you worship?
  - How do you familiarize yourself and get close to God? (prompt: Sufism)
  - How you communicate or connect with God/the one you worship?
  - What is your role or responsibility towards God?
- Do you face any conflict between Islam and Wetu Telu?
  - How do you handle these conflicts, if any? (prompt - hybrid/syncretism, religion-Adat ratio/prioritization)
  - Would you state Islam or Wetu Telu as your religion on your identity card?
- How did you learn the principles and practice of Islam?
  - How do you learn the responsibilities of being a Muslim?
  - Have you been reached or educated by any preachers (internal or external)?
  - Do their teachings have any conflict with Wetu Telu?
  - Have they asked you to make any specific changes in your practice? What and why?

- **The Prophets**
  - How do you celebrate the Prophet's Birthday, if any?
  - Why is the Prophet and the celebration important/relevant?
  - What is your relationship with the Prophets? How are you connected to the Prophets?
  
- **The Ancestors**
  - What are the roles of ancestors in Wetu Telu?
  - What is the position of ancestors in Wetu Telu?
  - How are the ancestors involved in your daily life, rituals and worships?
  - What are your responsibilities towards your ancestors?
  - What have you inherited from your ancestors?
  - How do you communicate with ancestors?



## APPENDIX III

### SAMPLE SUMMARY OF A TRANSCRIPT

Narasumber: Pak Putra Anom

Ketua Koperasi Petani , Usahawan, dan Pejuang Adat

Tanggal: 10 Oktober 2022

#### I) BAGAIMANA WETU TELU TERBENTUK?

##### 1a) Sejarah Islam di Bayan

Tapi saya bisa simpulkan karna berdirinya kuatnya di Bayan itu juga muncul dari tiga pejuang. Itu ada tiga pengembara yang mengembangkan bagaimana membangun Bayan. Sebelum terbangun Bayan, bagaimana mereka membuat kerajaan yang ada di Sembalun, itu Kerajaan Majapahit. Setelah berkembang Kerajaan itu baru dia kembali ke Bayan menyari Mamiqnya yang namanya Penghulu Alim. Makanya banyak teman-teman mengatakan bahawa Bayan itu mengerjakan Islam kayak orang Hindu. Kayak orang Hindu kayak gimananya?

Sebelum ada kerajaan yang ada di Lombok ini, sudah ada Penghulunya. Sudah ada level Penghulu Alimnya. Berarti kalau Penghulu, berarti sudah Islam. Artinya sebelum datang penyebaran Islam secara besar-besaran melalui para wali itu, di Bayan itu sudah ada tanda-tanda Islam. Jadi cara saling menghargai, cara apa, bahawa ghaib itu ada. Yang menciptakan itu sehingga orang Bayan pada zaman dahulu itu menyebutnya Petang Benah Antara malam dan gelap, ada yang menciptakan malam dan gelap ini. Ada yang menciptakan tapi belum bisa mengucapkan siapa yang menciptakan. Sekarang bisa kita bilang Tuhan, Allah segala macam.

Pada zaman dulu, nenek kaji, nenek moyang, Petang Benah, Epen Montong, Epen Por. Itu bahasanya teman-teman di Bayan mengakui bahawa Tuhan itu ada. Dia nenek kaji, Allah Taala. Diagungkan. Jatuh sedikit pasti kita ingatin kesan/pesan itu. Aruh Inak, Bahasa Bayan. Ya ibu. Secara tidak langsung, mereka ingin istighfar mengatakan Astaghfirullah, Ya Allah. Belum bisa mengucapkan dulu. Jadi seponan, aruh Inak. Jadi

kalimah itu menandakan bahwa dia sudah mengucapkan pada Sang Penguasa. Dulu sebelum kita mengenal Tuhan, Allah dalam Bahasa Arab, Tuhan dalam Bahasa Indonesianya, apa yang kita panggil, ibu atau nenek. Jadi kalau sudah orang Bayan mengatakan nenek, bukan nenek ibunya ibu. Bukan. Tapi itu sebelum mereka tahu yang namanya Tuhan. Sekarang ajaran yang sudah jelas, kita bisa bilang Allah Taala, Tuhan, nabi segala macam. Sekarang sudah ada penyebaran Agama Islam, di Qur'an dijelaskan tentang Allah dengan Bahasa Arabnya, dengan versi Bahasa Indonesianya. Tuhan yang menciptakan. Itu sekilas saya bisa pahami tentang Bayan.

Pada zaman dulu itu, kita belum berani terang-terangan berdakwah tentang Islam. Dulu ngeri sekali waktu itu. Jadi orang-orang yang betul-betul, mereka faham tentang itu. Karna belum ada pendakwaan. Masih sembunyi-sembunyi. Maka teman-teman kita yang umumnya Indonesia ini bertanya itu orang Bayan. Tidak tau kita ini mati-matian perjuangkan Islam itu. Sebelum datangnya Wali Songo.

Kalau sudah masuk Wali Songo sudah aman. Itu sudah terbangun Masjid Kunonya. Makanya adanya tempat-tempat khusus. Tapi sebelum masuk kesini juga, para wali itu bergurunya di Bayan juga. Sunan Kalijaga itu sudah datang tiga kali ke Bayan. Tiga tahun di Bayan. Tiga kali. Sebelum waktu Anak Agung. Waktu itu Wetu Telu sudah ada. Wayang itu adalah Bayangan, itu gambaran bagaimana para wali dulu berdakwah melalui pewayangan dan melalui kesenian-kesenian yang kayak gong gamelan itu.

### **1b) Asal Kata dan Filosofi Wetu Telu**

Lahirnya Agama tiga ini dari Bayan. Baik itu Budha, baik itu Hindu, baik itu Islam. Jadi peradaban Budha itu adanya dari Bayan. Islam pun ada dari Bayan. Dan Budha, Hindu dari Bayan.

Kenapa kita katakan begini. Dulu Presiden pertama RI, Sukarno, pernah menyatakan, kalau mahu jadi orang Islam, jadilah orang Islam Indonesia. Bukan Islam Arab. Kalau mahu jadi orang Hindu, jadilah orang Hindu Indonesia, bukan orang Hindu luar atau kayak India. Yang terkenal dengan Budhanya. Jadilah orang Budha Indonesia. Jadi ini ada pengakuan dalam Bayan itu sendiri, mengakui tentang pertama kita di Bayan ini,

Budha, tidak bisa dihindari. Dari lahir saja dipanggil Budha. Sebelum kita ada acara ritual Buang Au, penamaan anak, kita dipanggil Budha. Setelah ritual, baru kita dipanggil Islam.

Sampai saat ini saja, Islam masih pengakuannya, di KTPnya. Maksud pengakuan artinya oh kamu Agama Islam? Oh ya, kita tentunya Islam. Tapi sebenar-benarnya Islam itu perbuatan, perbuatannya Islam. Orang Budha juga bisa berbuat Islam. Orang Hindu juga bisa berbuat. Kalau Agama memang satu, Islam, hanya satu yang diridhai. Tetapi bukan berarti orang yang tidak menganut Agama Islam itu tidak bisa mendekati diri pada Tuhan kita. Orang Budha juga punya jalan tersendiri untuk menghadap Tuhan. Sehingga di kisahnya si Budha itu, dia butuh waktu lapan tahun sehingga menjadi Budha suci. Baru bisa mendekati diri pada Tuhan.

Itu namanya kalau di kitab tahun delapan, tahun Aliph. Di mana kita di masyarakat Bayan Gawe Alip lapan tahun sekali. Orang Budha dengan versinya lapan tahun sekali dengan disebutkan roda damai. Jadi saya, bukan orang akademis, juga tidak pernah sekolah, saya bisa menyimpulkan adalah Agama Wetu Telu yang dimaksud itu adalah muncul Agama Budha, Hindu dan Islam itu dari Bayan. Itu yang bisa saya simpulkan. Yang bisa lihat saya lihat di sini.

Peradaban Budha terbesar Indonesia itu memang adanya dari Bayan. Munculnya dari Bayan. Sama dengan Hindu yang terbesar dari Bayan. Tahun kelmarin sejarah membuktikan kalau tidak salah 2016 ada kejadian di Bogontor, tepatnya di Desa Senaru, ada seorang petani yang lagi mencangkul, tiba-tiba menemukan patung Budha. Itu dari batu, bukan dari simen. Jadi itu menandakan bahawa peradaban Budha itu memang ada.

Itukan Waktu Telu namanya, telu itu tiga. Banyak yang mengatakan yang apa namanya, banyak di kamuflose. Kenapa Bayan berpakaian kayak orang Bali? Itu muncul pertanyaan. Kalau ditanya khususnya ke saya, pribadi saya, saya juga pingin bertanya kenapa orang Bali berpakaian kayak orang Bayan. Karna kita tidak pernah merasakan kami meng-copy paste pakaian Bali. Kita tidak pernah meniru pakaian siapa pun karna kita berpakaian pakaian Bayan. Kita tidak tahu juga pakaian Islam itu kayak gi mana.

Bisa ditanyakan dari atas dan bawah yang kami pakai punya filosofinya dan makna tertentu. Mulai dari pemasangan kutangnya. Jadi ini saudara kita Hindu, Budha, Islam itu disimbolkan ada tiga di sini (Sapuk). Piramida tiga. Ada Budha, Hindu, Islam.

Yang tiga ini, Islam yang di atas itu, Budha di kiri. Budha, Hindu, Islam. Islamnya di sini dia. Diikatlah ada ikatan. Alif, Lam, Min. Manusia. Yang diikat itu Islam. Budha dan Hindu di pengikatnya, diikat bersama dan itu Islam. Seperti kombinasi begitu, gabungannya.

Sekarang sudah ada pedoman tahu Qur'an. Itu yang penyempurnanya. Waktu alam kita dijelaskan di sana. Tetapi beratnya pejuangnya Bayan dulu gimana waktu penjajahannya Anak Agung dulu, bagaimana Datu Bayan yang pertahankan Islam. Kalau Mawlid Nabi itu kita digempur dulu. Diserang. Ternyata orang Bayan masih dia ritual Mawlid Nabi. Tapi karna ada inisiatifnya Datu Bayan sehingga masyarakat Bayan berpakaianlah pakaian Bayan. Tetapi teman-teman kita di Bali, oh, dia berpakaian kayak kita. Padahal kita Mawlid Adat.

Kenapa ada penjor di Masjid Kuno. Ada tetapi bukan penjor Balinya. Itu untuk mengelabui agar Mawlid Nabi terselanggara. Bisa dikerjakan. Bentuk penjor ini kayak umbul-umbul. Di setiap sudut Masjid Kuno. Itu nanti malam dipasang. Waktu Isha. Terus, apa artinya peresean yang ada di depan Masjid Kuno karang nanti malam diselanggara? Kenapa di Anyar diadakan peresean, di Barung Birak diadakan peresean, dan kenapa ambil waktunya tengah malam? Kenapa tidak jam lapan, jam sembilan. Tetapi di Barung Birak, di Anyar itu lebih cepat mulai. Saya masih kecil tapi bertanya. Kenapa kita di Bayan pusatnya Adat Bayan tidak menyelenggarakan lebih cepat. Pernah saya tanya dulu. Kitakan Mawlid Nabi. Bukan hiburan.

Muncul pertanyaan jadi ketika tengah malam anak-anak ini dah tidur atau remaja-remaja ini tidur. Jadi di sana mereka membuka pengajian khusus dibahas tentang Mawlid Nabi. Membuka pengajian. Jadi orang-orang tertentu yang bisa masuk tentang bagaimana kita bicarakan Islam itu baru boleh mendengar. Konsentrasinya. Itu namanya pengajian yang bisa kita kaji, biar bisa kita implementasikan, bisa kita kerjakan dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Maksudnya ada orang dari timur mau datang ke

Bayan terhalanglah di Barung Birak. Oh, ternyata ini Bayan. Belok ke sana. Datang dari Barat terhadang di sana. Belok ke sana. Jadi di Bayan tidak terganggu.

Maksudnya yang, yang benar-benar kental saja yang sampai di sini. Jadi ada strategi dalam perbahasan Islam itu pada zaman dulu. Dulu, waktu Mawlid Adat diserang terus sama Anak Agung. Mereka masih Islam. Karna Lombok sudah kalah dalam penjajahan Anak Agung. Waktu itu Mawlid. Hari Mawlid. Jadi ritual-ritualnya terganggu sehingga makanya ada di timur dan di barat terus kita berpakaian mirip kayak mereka padahal itu pakaian kita. Begitu kelik sandinya datang oh tidak mereka bukan Mawlid Nabi karna yang ditau yang Mawlid-Mawlid Nabi itu kayak-kayak doa. Anak Agung, pasukan Anak Agung berpikir ini orang Bali, pakaiannya. Begitu orang Bayan menghadapi penaklukan dari Bali itu. Waktu itu, orang Bayan ini sudah solat, sudah lima waktu.

Sehingga sudah terkonsentrasi beberapa kali menjalankan Mawlid Nabi di saat apa namanya musyawarah atau gundem para Toaq Lokaq, para tokoh menyampaikan betapa pentingnya tanamkan Islam pada diri kita agar bisa menghargai satu sama lain. Bahkan yang non-Muslim adalah saudara kita. Jadi terbangunnya dari sana jadi bisa diterimalah sama saudara-saudara kita di Bali. Bahkan sampai saat ini, kalau datang orang Bali, orang Budha main ke Bayan, disatukan oleh Waktu Telu. Disatukan oleh Bayan ini.

### **1c) Evolusi / Perubahan Antar Generasi**

Saya mendidik anak untuk kenali Agama dulu, baru kenali budaya. Contoh kalau kita mendidik anak dengan Adat sebagai budayanya kita, nanti ketika besar akan mundur dengan pelajaran Agama. Tapi saya sebaliknya, kalau dia menguasai tentang Agamanya, sudah faham Agama, baru kita kenali tentang Adat. Pasti besok muncul pertanyaan, sering dia bertanya ke saya. Begini cara kita, kalau saya di sekolah gini gini. Tapi bapak dulu sebelum sekolah, gini caranya. Jadi Adat dan Agama tidak bisa terpisahkan. Ada jaman, kita apa, pendidikan kita serahkan ke pondok. Pondok ketat, dia memakai cadar sekarang. Dia pakai cadar tapi saya bilang sekarang kamu pulang Mawlid Adat. Saya suruh bukak. Karna cadar ini, memang itu anjuran tapi nanti salah diartikan dikirain Wahabi, segala macam. Itu yang tidak saya mahu. Dia pesantren di Lombok (bukan yang ada dana dari Arab Saudi.) Pondoknya kecil, tetapi di sana yang

saya lihat interaksi dengan teman-teman pondok walau mereka fokus pada belajar tetapi ada interaksi sosialnya. Diajari tentang memasak. Diajari tentang berkehidupan bermasyarakat di sekitaran tempat. Jadi itu yang buat nyaman dan pas mereka pulang dari sekolah, bisa dia bergaul di masyarakat.

Waktu bernazar di Mawlid Adat, tetap berpakaian Adat. Tidak pakai jilbab. Kita menghadap Tuhan itu adalah solat. Setelah solat tentu mukhena telah kita lepas. Sama tadi dia masuk ke Kampu, anak saya, dia pakaian Adat. Setelah keluar, pakai pakaian biasa. Karna dia sudah faham. Tadi itu sama Adat. Sekarang dia interaksi biasa. Inilah Adat, kita sudah masuk ini, sudah menyembek artinya menyatakan saya pulang. Artinya pulang ke gubuknya. Dia ingat pada leluhurnya. Dia ingat kalau bahasa sekarang cinta pada Nabi. Kalau kita Mawlid Adat itu, ada yang tukang sembek. Artinya kita sudah pulang. Sudah pulang, maka keluar dari Kampu tetap pakaian biasa. Tidak ada yang menegur kok kok anakmu begini, langgar Adat. Tadi saya maklum dia dari pondok, tidak terbiasa. Ayo dong duduk, kita ngobrol. Jadi ya kita ini hanya menghargai teman sudah sekarang.

Memang kehendak apa. Dulu memang tidak ada di Bayan. Pakai jilbab. Sekarang karna terbukanya teman-teman yang dari Lombok Timur, Jogja, anak-anak pondok datang, pengunjung-pengunjung Indonesia pakai jilbab. Dengan adanya banyak pondok sekarang di Bayan, jadi anaknya terbiasa dengan jilbab itu. Makanya teman-teman perempuan Bayan itu sekarang memakai jilbab. Mereka tahu. Tapi karna sudah terbiasa sekarang semua pakai jilbab. Satu, perintah Agamakah sehingga mereka pakai jilbab, atau ingin fesyen kah?

Kalau kita bertanya kenapa perempuan Bayan menggunakan jilbab, paling ya, pada zaman. Tapi kalau orang perempuan Bayan itu tidak ada konsep jilbab itu. Tidak ada. Yang pingin kita ini terkait jong saja. Kalau jilbab umum, dipakai di mana-mana, yang perempuan. Tapi jong, jong itu tidak sembarangan. Ada ritual khusus baru menggunakan jong.

Saya juga bingung, dari tahun ke tahun, cara kita mengadakan ritual Adat kayak Mawlid sekarang ada perbedaan-perbedaan yang dulunya kita masih kerap dengan saudara-saudara kita, masyarakat biasa. Tetapi sekarang beda jauh. Ada panitia segala macam.

Sekarang tidak ada yang terfokus pada nilai ritualnya. Hanya terfokus pada update status. Sesungguhnya Mawlid Nabi itu seperti apa. Kenapa ritual Mawlid di Masjid Kuno tiap tahun terganggu?

Itu dari Bayan menyiapkan pakaian Adat. Satu sisi bagus. Karang Bajo menyiapkan pakaian Adat. Ketika masuknya, tidak ada yang mengarahkan bahawa di depan Masjid Kuno itu tidak boleh full. Karna ada ritual Praja di sana yang tidak boleh diganggu. Kalau kita masa kecil dulu dipukul sama orang tua, jangan dekat-dekat. Sekarang bebas. Kalau ada suatu hal yang terjadi, contohnya Amaq Pengoban, kalau payung yang dipegang itu jatuh, itu berat pada penalti ritual. Harus keluar duit. Di depan Masjid Kuno itu kecil di sana. Jadi khususlah para tokoh-tokoh kita yang sedang turun Praja itu nyaman. Kita tidak membatasi orang datang ke Bayan, tetapi diatur. Silalah dokumentasi, tapi ada jaraknya. Walaupun diatur, harus kita bisa membaca kapasitas di depan Masjid Kuno.

Kalau di Mawlid yang sebenarnya tidak boleh ada tamu. Kenapa harus ada tamu. Contoh saja kita mau solat Jumat, perlu gak ada tamu. Perlu tidak kita buat panitia? Tidak. Atau perlu gak kita nunggu Bupati? Tidak juga kok. Kita gi ritual. Beda kalau bergawe. Silakan. Karna satu orang yang punya bergawe acaranya. Kalau Mawlid Nabi, kesemua. Yang ini tamunya tidak ada fungsi.

Mawlid Adat Bayan itu kalau kita kaji nilai sakralnya, ibarat kita sedang solat. Ketika kita sedang solat, kita tidak butuh dokumentasi. Cukup kita dengan Tuhan, sudah. Beda kalau Mawlid secara umumnya. Banyaklah dokumentasinya, banyaklah tamunya. Jadi tamu itu disusun sedemikian rupa tempat duduknya. Sampai jamuan yang akan disiapkan. Sama ini juga, yang media ini. Kadang-kadang media ini yang ada di tempat-tempat ritual. Jadi ketika para tokoh sedang ritual itu, tidak bisa fokus. Bagaimana berbicara khusyuk karna di depan banyak kamera.

Di Karang Bajo itu ada ritual menutu. Kita dulu tu jaraknya lima meter dari lokasi menutu itu. Sekarang media bebas dia. Begitu ritual Adat diatur sama kamera. Tidak boleh sepertinya. Karna kita jamnya kita ritual, ritual sudah. Tidak boleh kita dekat karna mereka lagi menjalankan peran. Tamu datang sekadar berliburan atau ingin

mengetahui jati diri tentang keIslaman Bayan. Mawlid Adat ini tanpa ada kunjungan, tanpa ada bantuan dana dari pihak mana-mana, tetap terselenggara.

Yang khususnya saya peribadi, saya khawatir banyak tamu. Tanpa diberikan arahan. Nanti mereka posting di media dengan gambar dan narasi yang berbeda. Ini yang membuat stigma negatif tentang Bayan. Tapi yang terjadi kan, untuk Praja Mawlid. Mawlid Adat Bayan yang unik. Hati-hati kalimat unik ini. Spesifik itu. Bisa dikatakannya nyabit. Mawlid Adat yang unik. Berpakaian yang unik. Jadi kalau tidak diberikan pengarahan tamu itu, susah.

Sisi positifnya ada, perkembangan zaman yang dulunya hanya masyarakat-masyarakat tertentu yang berpakaian Adat karna ekonomi. Sekarang hampir semua berpakaian Adat. Hanya masyarakat golongan ekonomi mampu lah pakai kain poleng. Sama dengan pemakaian jong tidak sembarangan Jong itu pakaian masyarakat atau tokoh yang sedang menjalankan ritual. Sekarang bebas.

Walaupun, apa, kita orang asli di Bayan, bingung. Dulu orang Bayan tidak seperti itu. Kembali lagi Agama yang Bayan ini Islam ini kan bukan seperti di Arab. Sebegitu ketat. Tetapi begitu, penyelenggaraan Adat pun tidak bebas. Apa lagi penyelenggaraan Agama. Dia ngomong sebarangan tidak bisa.

Karna pada yang struktur yang seharusnya ketika kita jadi tokoh Agama, kita tidak menyinggung siapa-siapa. Tokoh Agama dan tokoh Adat. Ketika berbicara struktur, di lembaga Adat ada strukturnya. Baik dari Penghulu dengan pengikutnya, Pembekal dengan para pengikutnya, dan di Agama juga, ada Tuan Guru, Kiyai, Ustaz, mereka punya santri-santri. Saya berbicara ke diri saya sendiri. Kenapa di Adat begini, kenapa di Agama begini? Padahal sudah terstruktur. Kalau struktur atau organisasi itu bagus, kenapa ada perbedaan? Kenapa muncul perdebatan? Jelas kita di Agama berpanduan pada Al-Qur'an. Sama juga dengan di Adat. Adat ini adalah kepercayaan, kepercayaan yang telah ditinggalkan oleh leluhur kita. Sejak itu ada Bayan yang notabnya tidak terkeluar dari konteks Syariah Islam. Apakah karna perbedaan pada jaman yang sekarang 2022, ada gadget semua, tidak.

Kalau memang struktur itu kuat, maka terangkanlah pada regenerasi kita. Karna kelmarin kita sebagai tokoh ikutin anak muda. Adakah sekarang upaya dari pemerintah,

sekolah edukasi tentang Bayan, bukan sekadar pengalaman sastra sahaja. Contoh kecil dulu, pakai jong bukan pada tempatnya. Ada orang-orang khusus yang memakai jong. Sekarang tidak. Pakain semua pakaian, pakai jong. Jadi, ada orang-orang tertentu yang memakai jong. Jong itu pembukaan piramida. Segitiga yang di depan. Sama kayak di sini, di Karang Bajao, menutu itu wajib pakai jong. Mungkin jong ini baru jalan tiga atau empat tahunan. Sudah diambil sebagai pakaian Adat. Sebelum itu tidak pakai jong. Jadi jong itu digunakan oleh orang-orang khusus ketika ritual Adat. Pakai jong itu ketika dia melakukan ritual. Beda mukhena dengan jilbab, beda. Jadi jilbab itu bisa dipakai secara umum kapan-kapan pun, tapi mukhena, waktu kita solat. Mungkin kurang lebih seperti itu jong nya. Itu yang saya maksud ketika adanya struktur, kenapa tidak edukasi kepada regenerasi. Anak-anak, adik-adik semua, begini caranya memakai jong. Saya kira begini sampai sesuatu masa itu, kenapa dibilang, mana Bayan sebenarnya. Biar kita tidak copy paste kayak orang luar. Terapkanlah mana Sapuk Bayan yang sebenarnya.

Tetapi Adat ini juga dia punya tempat Berugak tentang tempat menghadapi mengadili orang yang melanggar Adat. Jadi kehidupan bahkan pemerintahan pada jaman dulu itu sudah ada di Adat itu sendiri. Adat itu punya, tentang Agama punya. Jadi di satu sisi kita bangga tetapi yang mungkin kita sakit hati atau kecewa itu ketika jaman-jaman ini yang merubah semuanya.

Kalau ingin budaya kita kita lestari, tolonglak berikan pemaknaan. Contohnya dengan adanya Sekolah Adat Bayan, apakah tujuan sekolah ini hanya untuk orang luar, atau untuk generasi muda Bayan?

## APPENDIX IV

### APPROVAL LETTER FROM BAPPEDA



**PEMERINTAH PROVINSI NUSA TENGGARA BARAT  
BADAN PERENCANAAN PEMBANGUNAN,  
PENELITIAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN DAERAH  
( B A P P E D A )**

Jl. Flamboyan No. 2 Mataram Telp 0370-622779 Fax 0370-631581 Kode Pos 83126

**SURAT IZIN**

Nomor : 070 / 776 / 02 - BAPPEDA  
TENTANG  
PENELITIAN

- Dasar :
- Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat Nomor 11 Tahun 2016 Tentang Pembentukan Dan Susunan Perangkat Daerah.
  - Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 83 Tahun 2020 Perubahan Ketiga Atas Peraturan Gubernur Nomor 51 Tahun 2016 tentang Kedudukan, Susunan Organisasi, Tugas dan Fungsi serta Tata Kerja Badan-Badan Daerah Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat.
  - Surat Internasional Institute Of Islamic Thought and Civilisation ( ISTAC ) IIUM Kualalumpur - Campus, Nomor : No. 24/50480 Kualalumpur Malaysia Perihal Permohonan Izin Penelitian.

**MEMBERI IZIN**

Kepada :  
Nama : Rumaizah Binti Mohammad Abu Bakar  
NIP/NIM : G1822466  
Instansi : Institute Of Islamic Thought Civilisation (ISTAC) Kualalumpur-Campus  
Alamat/HP : Kualalumpur Malaysia/64211200  
Untuk : Melakukan Penelitian dengan Judul  
"ISLAM WETU TELUATAU MUSLIM WETU TELU?: ANALISIS PERSPEKTIP  
PARA PENGANUT"  
Lokasi : Bayan Lombok Utara  
Waktu : 06-10-2022 s/d 04-01-2023

Dengan ketentuan agar yang bersangkutan menyerahkan hasil penelitian selambat lambatnya 1 (satu) bulan setelah selesai melakukan penelitian melalui email: litbang.bappedantb@gmail.com

Demikian surat Izin Penelitian ini dibuat untuk dapat dipergunakan sebagaimana mestinya.

Dikeluarkan di Mataram  
Pada tanggal, 08 November 2021  
a.n. KEPALA BAPPEDA PROV. NTB  
KEPALA BIDANG LITBANG



Tembusan : disampaikan kepada Yth:

- Gubernur NTB (Sebagai Laporan);
- Camat Bayan Kab. Lombok Utara;
- Kepala Desa Bayan Kab. Lombok Utara;
- Ketua Adat Bayan Kab. Lombok Utara;
- Internasional Institute Of Islamic Thought and Civilisation ( ISTAC ) IIUM Kualalumpur - Campus;
- Yang Bersangkutan;
- Arsip;

## GLOSSARY

Adat. Values in society arise from habits carried out continuously over a long period of time. It is also referred to as customs, customary practice, tradition, customary law. This generic term derived from Arabic describes a variety of local customary practices and traditions deemed compatible with Islam as observed by Muslim communities. Adat can also be a tool to convey religious teachings

Agama. A system that regulates belief and worship of God (or the like) as well as rules related to customs, and a worldview that connects humans with the order of life. The implementation of religion can be influenced by local and regional customs.

Bayan. The name of a village or a district in Northern Lombok. It also refers to the historical demarcation of the Kedatuan Bayan administrative territory from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Berugak. An open stage, or pavilion, with a thatched roof and a timber floor. It has four poles (sekepat) or six poles (sekenem). Berugak accompanies a traditional Sasak house and stands parallel in its compound. It is used as a family living room, a hall to receive guests, or a customary place to hold cultural events and traditional rituals.

Denda. Title of the female member of the Sasak aristocracy, who are the descendants of Datu Bayan, or the ruler of the Bayan Chiefdom.

Desa. The administrative area in Indonesia under the district and headed by the Village Head. It can also be defined as a body which has authority over the local people in accordance with acknowledged local traditions or wisdom of the area.

Datu. Sasak term for a ruler.

Gawe. Gawe is used to describe a series of Adat thanksgiving events. It is a tradition for the community to build and maintain social relationships as well as increase mutual

cooperation and respect. It is usually held to celebrate weddings, circumcisions, funerals, and other important occasions.

**Kampu.** A sacred hamlet utilised for specific Wetu Telu rituals. In Bayan, there are four designated sacred hamlets, namely Kampu Timuq Orong, Kampu Bat Orong, Kampu Karang Bajo, and Kampu Loloan

**Kecamatan.** The district administrative area in Indonesia which is headed by the District Head. It holds several desa or villages under its purview.

**Kedatuan.** Chiefdom. Historical semi-free city-states or sovereign governments throughout the ancient Maritime of Southeast Asia. It can be described as a royal government or a political entity.

**Kiyai.** The Islamic leader in the Wetu Telu social system. They hold specific Adat roles and pray in the Masjid Kuno during annual Islamic occasions, recite doa during Adat ceremonies, and work together with the Pemangku or Toaq Lokaq to complete customary events. The head of Kiyai is called the Penghulu.

**Masjid Kuno.** Ancient mosque built by the early Mubaligh of Islam, and served as the historical proof of the arrival of the religion to Lombok. It has thatched roof, low woven-bamboo walls, and clay floor. It is used for the Kyai prayers during major Islamic celebrations such as Eid Al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, the Prophet's birthday, Islamic New Year.

**Mawlid.** The observance of the day of the birth of Prophet Muhammad PBUH. This annual celebration occurs on the twelfth day of the Islamic month of Rabiul Awwal. Muslims worldwide organised gatherings to remember and express their love for Prophet Muhammad according to their respective tradition.

**Pemangku.** An elder from the noble class or aristocrats. They oversee and lead ceremonies related to Adat, and work along the Kiyai who is in charge of religious matters.

Raden. Title of the male member of the Sasak aristocracy, who are the descendents of Datu Bayan, or the ruler of the Bayan Chiefdom.

Rumah Adat. A traditional house with thatched roof and woven bamboo walls. It has special characteristics and is used for customary events and sacred rituals. Some Rumah Adat is used as a place to live. It is one of the highest cultural representations in a tribal community or society, inherited from the ancestors.

Sapuk. Sapuk is a traditional male headband for the Sasak natives from the island of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia. Its double knot symbolises the Belief in the Almighty. The top knot resembles the Arabic alphabets of Alif Lam Ha, which signifies Allah, or Tawhid. It is straight and facing upwards.

Toaq Lokaq. The council of elders, who oversaw the area of customs and natural resources management. These responsibilities cover the sacred sites such as mountains and forests.

Wetu Telu. A mystical Muslim community in North Lombok that adheres to the traditional rules, values, and wisdom inherited from their ancestors.

Waktu Lima. Waktu Lima is defined as the Sasak Muslim group who follow the teachings of the Shariah strictly, as taught by the Qur'an and Hadith. The adherents also have a high commitment to the standard Islamic teachings. They represent the mainstream Muslims in Lombok.

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