

REISLAMIZING LOMBOK: CONTESTING THE BAYANESE ADAT

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ABSTRAK

Masyarakat Bayan di Lombok Utara dikenal sebagai kelompok yang masih mempertahankan tradisi dan kebudayaan setempat yang bersumber pada nilai-nilai adat leluhur. Meski secara nominal mengaku Islam, namun kenyataan hidup mereka sangat kental diwarnai oleh praktik-praktik adat yang tidak senantiasa selaras dengan monoteisme Islam. Secara kuantitatif, masyarakat Bayan bisa dikategorikan sebagai kelompok minoritas Sasak Muslim sinkretik yang masih bertahan sampai saat ini. Dalam adat-istiadat mereka, terdapat figur pondok pesantren dari Lombok Barat dan Lombok Timur yang dipimpin oleh Tuan Guru dan didukung oleh pengikut-pengikut setianya yang sekaligus merupakan *arbituren* (alumnus) pondok pesantren. Tuan Guru dan para da'i merupakan agen-agen perubahan yang menjalankan misi untuk mentransformasikan adat-istiadat Bayan yang dinilai tidak relevan dengan Islam. Misi dakwah ini memiliki dua sisi yang dilematik bagi masyarakat Bayan. Di satu pihak mereka menyentuh wilayah sakral keagamaan dan kebudayaan yang dinilai sangat sensitif, namun di lain pihak mereka juga membantu komunitas Bayan mengentaskan persoalan lingkungan hidup dan kemiskinan melalui pendidikan. Infiltrasi gerakan mereka merupakan fenomena religius-kultural yang tidak bisa dihindari oleh masyarakat Bayan. Para agen perubahan tersebut sangat diperlukan untuk memperbaiki kualitas hidup, namun sekaligus juga dikhawatirkan mengancam kelangsungan identitas kultural-keagamaan masyarakat Bayan.

Key words: adat, Islam, *dakwah*, pondok pesantren, Tuan Guru, da'i

INTRODUCTION

Bayan is one out of 10 villages of Bayan sub-district located on the north of Mataram-the capital city of West Nusa Tenggara Province. Since 2008 North Lombok has been separated from West Lombok to form an autonomous regency government, and Bayan together with Tanjung, Gangga, Gondang, and Kahyangan sub-districts are included into this new regency. Bayan refers to both sub-district (*kecamatan*) and

village (*desa*) areas. This village consists of around 4,452 people and is divided further into 10 *dusun* (sub-villages).

Bayan is also called *Bayan Beleq* or Great Bayan, referring to its position as the centre of Susuhunan Bayan realm whose territory previously included Pemenang sub-district of West Lombok, and Menange Baris of Eastern Lombok. It was where the royal palace (*dalem kampu*) of Susuhunan Bayan was situated, and the hub of important activities ranging from politics, economic, to religion and culture. A long asphalt road divides Bayan Barat and Bayan Timur - the two sub-villages of Bayan Beleq, where most of the Bayanese nobles live.

The Grandeur of Bayan Beleq is also marked by its sanctuary complex where the old adat mosque (*masjid adat*) and the ancestral funerary sheltered (*makam keramat*) are located, symbolizing early Islamisation in Bayan. Local narratives explained that the Javanese *Wali* (saint) brought Islam and built the mosque here. The *makam keramat* are named after the places comprise of *makam Sukadana*, *makam Anyar*, *makam Karang Salah*, *makam Karang Bajo*, *makam Sesaid*, *makam Loloan*,¹ and after the figures are *makam Titi Mas Penghulu* and *makam Lebai Antasalam* were key persons helping the *Wali* to spread further Islam in the areas mentioned above.

Though modern bureaucracy has replaced Bayanese aristocratic rule, traditional *adat* functionaries represented by figures like *Pemangku*, *Pembekel*, *Kiai*, and *Toak Lokaq* continues. They are the key players whose role is vital for the sustainability of Bayanese *adat*. Bayanese *adat* is unique and often withdraws outside attention. It is rare to find such a unique *adat* of Bayan in other places of Lombok. Some people even value it as *sisa peradaban sebelum Islam* (the remnants of pre-Islamic civilization) for it contains certain elements which are not prescribed in Islam. This paper attempts to discuss adat practices which have motivated others to conduct missionary activities.

¹ Sukadana, Anyar, Karangbajo, Loloan are among the villages of Bayan sub-district. Sesaid is the sub-village of Sukadana, and Karang Salah is the sub-village of Bayan Beleq.

BAYANESE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Adat in general can be understood as the embodiment of the local culture and tradition. Various forms and displays of local adat highlight the diversity of Indonesian culture. From one region to another adat contains its own, specific meaning and is expressed in different accentuation. The particularism of adat is aptly cited by Hefner: “the term adat has itself acquired a variety of regional usage” (1985: 38). Bayanese idiom marking varied performances of adat is “*Len jajak len setug, len gubug len adat*” (different weaving different tool and technique; different village different adat). Varied meanings embedded in adat ranges from *makanan adat* (traditional food), *pakaian adat* (traditional dress code), *perkawinan adat* (customary wedding), and *bale adat* (traditional house), to *upacara adat* (traditional ceremonies).

Adat also refers to “*care*” like in the phrase of “*care Bayan*”, meaning specific method or style typically belong to and used among the Bayanese only. It also refers to the old way (*care laeq*) i.e. the ancestral way (*cara orangtua dulu*). It was the ancestors who laid down the way and is maintained to the present. Adat thus takes the root from the past when the ancestors established the rules, norms, ways regarding to day to day activities as well as ritual habits - from managing water in rice irrigation, method of growing, fertilizing, harvesting rice, all ritual details related to rice cycle (*adat bonga padi*), to weaving technique and design (*nyesek*), and *begundem*.² It permeates into nearly every aspect of community’s life, with the result that almost all behaviour is overwhelmingly circumscribed and codified by adat (Alisyahbana: 1966).

Similarly to other ethnics, the Bayanese often emphasize *adat* as their basic identity. Adat reflects to the community strong bond which expresses the unity and harmony. It binds the whole community members with certain rule of conducts prescribed by adat. It is a binding force, representing social expectation and contentment. A Bayanese will easily be blamed as *endik tawang kon adat* (ignoring adat) when his attitude does not comply with the standardized rules of adat.

² Begundem is a customary public discussion among the village council of elders i.e. toaq lokaq, and adat functionaries i.e. Pembekel adat, Pemangku adat, Kiai adat, Klian dusun to solve the community’s problems.

The codification of adat to some extent gives one a limited space to detach oneself either partially or completely from its regulations. An individual freedom to transform or reform adat is very much restricted. Embodied in adat is, therefore, its characteristic as unalterable, stable, fixed, and sacred (*keramat*) to some extent. It cannot be substituted nor modified with something else. The unchangeable trait of adat is aptly expressed in Minangkabau aphorism: “*tak lapuk dimakan panas, tak lekang dimakan hujan* (it does not crack on the heat nor rots in the rain).

The Bayanese create adat as the main base of their social, economic, and religious organizations. The adat was formulated and maintained through a close kinship ties. The shared ancestral lineage based on the patrilineal descent is the foundation of their kinship network. Bayanese people share *tanah adat* (communal land) for residential space and agricultural plot. Embedded in a unified living territory is the value of *tanah adat* as *tanah leluhur* (customary land is the ancestral legacy) that they should preserve. Patrilineal kins and the shared land (*tanah leluhur*) are among the community binders.

In Bayanese adat terminology, members of patrilineal descent are called the *pekadangan* or *kadang waris*. They control the family and the community as a whole who consist of son, father, fathers’ brothers, father’s father, father’s uncles, father’s grandfather, and so on. The patrilineal rule places the men in a decisive position in almost every aspect of life ranging from being the *Wali* (representative of the bride who acknowledge the marriage summon uttered by the bridegroom), taking bigger share in material inheritance, to leadership and power.

Embodied in adat is certain manner considered to be recognized and unrecognized, acceptable and unacceptable, obligatory and unobligatory, recommended and unrecommended. Adat that involves moral values, eschatological, cosmological beliefs, and the spirit cult can be equated to (traditional) religion. For examples manners concerning ethical conducts or etiquette upon entering and treating the sanctuary complex i.e. *masjid adat* and *makam keramat* are considered to be parts of *adat beragama* (customary religion). In this regard, Karin admitted that “adat embraces the whole framework of ideas and influences about moral, ethics, order, right, and justice” (1992: 15).

'BAYANESE' WORLD OF SPIRIT

The contextual aspect of the Bayanese belief includes faith and behaviour strongly related to their natural surroundings and the deceased kins. The contextual manifestation of religion in specific cultural setting of Bayan is important to discuss here. Though confessing themselves as Muslims, observance of five daily prayers, fasting, paying alms and pilgrimage are mostly absent. The Bayanese are overwhelmingly engrossed in their adat, rather than upholding the above practices. Their main concern is maintaining propitiation of the ancestors imbued with the belief in animatism or spirit beings occupied animate (forests, stone, valley, mountain, river, sea, land) and inanimate objects (village, kampong, hamlet, house, kampu) called the *roh penunggu* (guardian spirits). All of them possess supernatural power subordinated to God. They trace their ancestral origin from Adam and Eve, and acknowledged them as the eldest ancestors of all human beings. Moreover the Bayanese spirits of great-grand parents who may have died over a hundred years ago as their own lineal ancestors (*leluhur*).

Bayanese believe that the ancestors live in the world of spirit which is sacred, contrasted to the world of living descendants which is profane. Upon one's death, his/her soul moves to higher stage dwelling in a spirit world (*alam halus*) which is purified and eternal. Subsequent post mortuary rituals (*gawe pati*) conducted on the 3rd, 7th, 9th, 40th, 100th and 1000th day after burial held by the living descendants is to secure the purified position of the deceased kins. The belief in mortality of the body and the immortality (eternity) of the spirit has tied the livings with their ancestors and later deceased kins. These ties persist for one's life span and permeate into every aspect on an individual and his community activities.

The Bayanese perceive that the ancestors possess supernatural power enabling them to mediate with God. They are seen as intermediaries who are able to intercede with God and thus function to bring further the needs and goals of the livings. Ignoring the ancestors is a big taboo (*kemaliq beleq*), and this belief is strengthened by supernatural sanction (*tulah manuh* or *kebendon*) experienced by the taboo violators. Like other spirits guarding certain objects and places, ancestral spirits can be malicious and very harmful. They will send their wrath even to their own descendants if they are neglected.

The obligations of the livings to the deceased relatives and the ancestors are transcendental and immanent that includes simultaneously the past, the present, and future as linear and concurrent, as Nanda describes it:

The supernatural can be seen as part of the natural and as intervening in all aspects of life. The kin group includes both living relatives and dead ancestors. The success of ordinary undertakings in the physical world is ensured by enlisting the help of supernatural powers. Natural disasters, illness, and misfortune are believed to be caused by extra human or supernatural spirits. Natural and supernatural, human and natural, past, present, and future may be perceived as a unity in a way that violates the logic of western thought (1991: 362).

Adat in Bayan controls behaviour in relation to the spirit beings since, like human beings; they can be benevolent or malevolent, depending on how the livings treat them. Due to this belief, the Bayanese perform certain rituals to pacify them to maintain harmony and a balancing cohabitation with them. Consequently whenever they observe important days of Islam, individual rites of passage, rice production cycle, the above spirits are incorporated and invoked. Nanda aptly writes this situation as follows:

Religious practices are aimed at ensuring success out a wide variety of human activities. Rituals are performed to call on supernatural beings in the hope that they will aid particular individual or community, such as to control forces that appear to be unpredictable, such as those in the natural environment upon which human depends on survival (1991: 79).

A few days before the ceremony was taking place, the family would contact the spirit guarding the house (*epen bale*) and the kampong or village (*epen gubug*) marked symbolically by putting chewing items in the upper corner side of the house . They would also paid homage to the deceased relative, cleansing and leaving the chewing betel stuff on each of their graves (*menyapuk*), announcing their intention and inviting them to go home to join ceremonies with the livings. On the next day, they would perform the *mengolam*, where they collected the betel set on each of the grave. The *menyapuk* and *mengolam* marked the preliminary of actual ceremonies held around an individual as well as rice cycles. At the end of ceremony the Kiai rubs the forehead of every

participant with the betel juice using his right thumb symbolizing that the living participants received the blessings from the spirit beings from where the betel was collected.

The Bayanese also held the above ceremonies for the spirits of ancestral lineage resided in *makam keramat*. *Mengosap* and *Mas Do'a* are more refined formal language than *menyapu* and *mengolam* as they are directed to ancient ancestors buried in funerary sheltered complex, and are held prior to big ceremonies involving the whole community members, such as in important days of Islam (Iedul Fitri, Iedul Adha, and Maulud Nabi).³

The Bayanese have taken up Islamic practices such as circumcision, the Maulud and Ied, imbued with ancestors and guardian spirit worships, critically seen by Islamic missionaries as contravening *tauhid* (absolute monotheism).

To conclude this session I will refer to Hefner's (1985) work on the Hindu Tenggerese where he distinguishes between adat and religion. He notifies that the variety of adat in Indonesia proves that it is only a human creation. Due to this course adat cannot surpass religion. The latter has much higher position since it is descended to man through divine revelation. In his words: "because religion is God-given while adat is a man-made, religion thus must stand above the vagaries of regional custom and diverse local ways. He continued with the idea that "if there are opposing views between the two, adat must be transformed in a way that accommodates Islamic values". Similar to Hefner who put religion (Islam) above the adat, Hamka also stated that adat is ruled by religion, whereas religion (Islam) is based on *syari'ah* (Islamic jurisprudence), *syariah* takes the root from Al-Qur'an and hadith (*Adat bersendikan agama, agama bersendikan syara', syara' bersendikan Al Quran and hadith*).

If Hefner affirms adat has lower position than religion since human creation cannot surpass God's creation, Bayanese apply no clear boundary between adat and religion. Religion is seen as integral part of adat. Bayanese view religion is an embodied part of adat. *Adat istiadat*

³ Iedul Fitri is communal prayer marking the end of fasting month. Iedul Adha is communal prayer held to mark the day of sacrifice. Maulud Nabi is celebration of Prophet's birthday.

beragama is a phrase to include religion and adat as intertwining. Adat and religion is two sides picture of the same coin. In most cases, Adat is preferred and more widely practiced than Islam. The absence of nearly all obligatory practices in Islam and the veneration of spirit beings prove further that adat is sometimes placed above the syari'ah.

The confession of Islam does not necessarily mean that it diminishes adat. It makes adat even stronger and the two are cohabiting. The cohabitation of adat and Islam is obvious when Arabic prayer is uttered to carry out rituals which are not prescribed in Islam, such as *Alip*- a ritual to renovate the ancestor funerary shelters when the bamboo walls and thatch roof sheltering the masjid adat and makam keramat are faded, highly imbued with ancestral worship. *Adat* remains to be outstanding and popular apart from the admittance of Islam. Embodied in *adat* is the creation of particular (localized) ceremonial details which are not recognized in universal Islam.

Though the Pemangku of Karang Salah sub-village stated that *adat ngiring syariat* (adat follows syariah), in fact some of adat functions sustain without necessarily follow the *Syari'at*, in some instances they even contradicts such as in *mengosap*, *mas do'a*, and *Alip* or ritual of rejuvenating sacred buildings in sanctuary complex held for every 8 years. Instead of reforming the whole adat belief, Islam came to give more accentuation of adat in the use of the Arabic payer in any adat function. For the adat community in Bayan, implementation of Syari'ah, the most observable ones such as five daily prayers, fasting, paying alms, pilgrimage are almost absence. The involvement of spirit beings placed subservient to God exhibits the position of adat above the Syari'at. Instead of reforming the whole adat belief, Islam came to give more accentuation on adat in the use of Arabic prayers following adat ceremonies

Life in Bayan is highly ritualized. Ritual is ubiquitous and permeates into a single aspect or individual and community lives. Each individual life cycle is ceremonialised to mark the subsequent stages of development. – from being born, married, till died and post-death. It is also the case for the rice cycle, each of its successive stages of planting, fertilizing, insecticizing, and harvesting is always ceremonialised. Each rite of the passage is carried out to ensure the well being of a particular person,

family, and the sustainability of food stock. Arabic prayers, taken from certain verses of the Qur'an, are utilized to Islamize the customary rituals.

CONTROVERSIAL ROLE OF MISSIONARY

Ingrained in the missionary is effort of introducing and transforming indigenous people into a new set of belief and conduct. This movement, to some extent, is controversial, and invites pros and cons. In the beginning, some anthropologists disagree with missionaries who engage themselves in an activity that attempts to subvert the indigenous belief of the locals. They are often accused of destroying native culture, violating religious right and freedom. Missionaries, along with other foreign agents are often attributed as intruders bringing along with them new policies, rules, ideas which are destructive to the locals.

The hostile attitude of earlier anthropologist against the missionary role was strongly influenced by cultural relativism and functionalism (Stipe 1980). The change that the external agents brought is intrusive and disrupts the harmony of the society. The functionalist anthropologists conceived their transformative role would break the equilibrium of the society. The hostile attitude toward transformative change brought along with missionary activity, implies values that indigenous people are merely a passive recipient in the process of acculturation and modernization, as Colsons pin points:

Missionisation was a force impinged on passive recipients; functionalist anthropologists speak in degrading term about missionaries and judge them as destroyers of indigenous culture. However, they might not realize that what they see as an ideal (functional) situation may be viewed by the people as an unsatisfactory compromise (1976: 264).

Although most people value their customary ways highly, there are some among them who do not feel hesitate to change customs partly and gradually when they see that the changes would improve their living quality, as Salmon expressed: "individuals will become converts to those religious systems which enable them to better adapt to their ecological niches" (1976:62).

With the growing constructive and optimistic attitude on the missionaries' role, some anthropologists begin to value missionaries as playing the role of agents of development, cultural brokers, transformers or catalysts facilitating the locals with modernization and acculturation provided by the outer world. In short, missionary movement is viewed significantly contributing to the study on cross-cultural contacts, socio-cultural transformation, acculturation, and the dynamics of inter-cultural group dialogue and clash.

With the limitation of functionalism and cultural relativism, my study sees missionary activities not merely as the main cause of the cultural demise, but rather tries to evaluate them along the process of acculturation. It will hopefully provide new perspective on the study of cross cultural interaction between missionaries and those targeted in this mission as suggested by Mandelbaum (1989) that missiology or missionary activities have contributed to the knowledge about other culture and how acculturation takes place. In this relation Oosterwal (1978: 93) defines acculturation as "a process whereby alternative systems have inevitably replaced the old cultures and societies.

EARLY MISSIONARY MOVEMENT: LOCALISED ISLAM

In Islam missionary activity aiming at spreading and cultivating the message of Qur'an and hadith is named *dakwah*, while person carrying this mission is called *da'i*. *Dakwah* means to "invite" (in Arabic, literally "calling") to Islam. Islam teaches that every Muslim is obliged to spread what has been taught by the prophet as much as they know, as a hadith suggests: "*baligu 'ani walau ayatan*, convey everything you have got from me (Muhammad saw), even if it is only one verse".

Before Islam came, the Bayanese were pagan believing in ancestral deities and other spirit beings. A Javanese *Wali* (saint), Sunan Ampel, landed his vessel in 16th century at Labuhan Carik (Carik port) which is now part of the Anyar's village territory.⁴ From Labuan Carik, the *Wali* and his convoy continued travelling to Bayan Beleq where he finally Islamized the native king, Susuhunan Bayan, and his people peacefully. Taufik Abdullah (1991) writes that Islamisation throughout

⁴ The distance from Anyar to Bayan beleq is only around 3 kilometres.

the island of Java was conducted by conquering the local Kings as the epicentre of power, such when the Majaphait- a Hindu kingdom of East Java - was conquered by Sultan Agung, a Central Javanese Kingdom of Demak. Apart from conquering the local authority, Islam was also brought throughout trading activity in which traders were also the proselytizers. The way Islam is proliferated in Bayan, exactly reflects the very basic meaning of Islam i.e peace. Islam was spread peacefully throughout Sunan Ampel's personal approach toward Susuhunan Bayan. Islamisation in Lombok was not the result of external conquest, neither it was spread through out trading activities. Though there is sea port in Anyar it was never developed into trading port.

The fact that the Bayanese accept Islam from the Javanese saint, Sunan Ampel, is evidence from the spring water associated with his name and the place he comes from: Lokok Jawa, Ampel Duri, and Ampel Gading. Furthermore the sacred palm leaves manuscript (*Lontar*) written in old Javanese script, telling history of Islam and Islamisation, give further proof that Bayanese accepted Islam from Java. *Lontar* "Kawitan" and "Layang Ambia"⁵ are some of the manuscripts read in special occasions, such as circumcision and hair-shaving ceremonies. *Layang* in Javanese means *surat* or *surah*. It is an Arabic word, meaning a chapter of the Quran. *Ambia'* is also an Arabic word, meaning the messenger. *Surat Ambia'* is actually the 21st chapter of the Qur'an depicting the story of God's messengers bringing salvation for the life here and the hereafter.

Sunan Giri was another Javanese saint after Sunan Ampel involved in disseminating Islam in Lombok. Giri Menang (meaning the victory of Giri) is an area where the administrative office of West Lombok regency (*Kabupaten Lombok Barat*) is located. The name of Giri Menang symbolizes his successful mission in propagating Islam throughout the island. Sunan Giri's mission was later continued by his grandson, Sunan Prapen, known also as Pangeran Senopati.

⁵ *Lontar Kawitan* describes the story of Prophet Muhammad's early childhood until his prophecy. According to one of the Pemangkus: included in this *Lontar* is a prayer of remembrance about the origin of human beings and the creation of the universe. This prayer states that God had created the Nur Rahmat before the universe was created. Nur Rahmat is believed to be the soul of prophet Muhammad.

The Bayanese conversion to Islam is also evidence from the word Bayan itself. The Karang Salah Pemangku explains that “*Negareng Suwung*”⁶ was the original name of Bayan. Bayan is an Arabic word literally means bright light, symbolically connotes to clear explanation. The name of Bayan is given after the King and his subjects became Muslims. The Karang Salah Pemangku illuminates further that the word Bayan is associated with: i) *Bayanudin*, taking the root from the words *Bayan* (explanation) and *din* (religion), meaning clear explanation of religion i.e. Islam, ii) *Bayanullah* stemming from the words *Bayan* and *Allah*, meaning the explanation coming from God i.e. *firman* (God’s words) or *wahyu* (divine revelation descended down to Muhammad saw) i.e. the Qur’an, iii) *Nurul Bayan* that derives from the word *nur* (the light) and *Bayan* (explanation), meaning the enlightenment i.e. the Qur’an.

TGH-Tuan Guru Haji Abdul Karim stated that Bayan marks Islamisation. He admitted that “Bayan” is the only place in West Nusa Tenggara province taking its name from the holy Quran. There are 3 Surah (Chapters) of the Qur’an, as he continued, mentioning the word “Bayan” i.e. Surah Ali Imran: 138, Surah Ar-Rahman: 4, Surah Al Qiyamah: 19. He concluded that by bearing the name “Bayan”, “the Wali expected this area can be the centre of Islam followed by other parts of Lombok.

Different degrees or qualities in the ways Islam is absorbed, accommodated and domesticated in the local cultural context have created two religious groupings i.e. Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima (see Albert Freeman 1983, Albert Polak 1978). Freeman describes Wetu Telu as a community that does not regard the five pillars of Islam as binding and continue to acknowledge the *adat* as the guiding principle for action. To him, this shows that the process of conversion to Islam has not yet progressed greatly. Moreover, he adds an interesting notion that their *adat* and their faith are closer to those of the Sasak Boda and of Hinduistic Balinese, than to those of Waktu Lima. Wetu Telu only differs in the obligation of circumcision or *khitan* which is not obligated to the Sasak Boda and the Hinduistic Balinese. Leeman characterises Waktu Lima as Muslims who have abandoned their faith of everything

⁶ Negareng is negara or state. Suwung means silent. Negareng Suwung refers to a silent state since the population growth was still very limited, not so many people were around.

pre-Islamic and orientate themselves conscientiously towards the doctrine of the prophet. As is expressed through the number five (*lima*), they observe the five pillars of Islam.

Apart from the above classification, the Bayanese do not really recognize themselves as Wetu Telu though their religious belief and practices are closer to this group. And so for those embarking on missionary, they do not explicitly claim themselves as Waktu Lima though their religious traits resemble to this group. It is likely that this dichotomy is used by observers to differentiate the two religious groupings.

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF DAKWAH: EXPANDING PESANTREN CIRCLE

Nowadays Tuan Guru and his loyal disciples continue the Wali's mission of propagating Islam. If the Wali worked to lay the foundation of Islam, Tuan Guru's mission is oriented to purify elements of adat which are irrelevant to Islam. The latter is driven by the fact that adat has gained greater popularity and been more widely practiced than *Syari'ah*. The propitiation of ancestors and other spirit beings, virtual absence of the obligatory practices (praying, fasting, paying alms, pilgrimage) and ignorance of Islam's abhorrence of alcohol are some of the reasons for Tuan Guru to embark on missionary (*dakwah*) activities

Tuan Guru leads *dakwah* within the Wetu Telu stronghold by building pondok pesantren and *madrrasah* to raise the true Muslim doctrine. Among them, discussed below, are TGH (Tuan Guru Haji) Safwan heading the Nurul Hakim Pesantren in Kediri of West Lombok, TGH Abdul Karim founder of Nurul Bayan Pesantren in Anyar, North Lombok, the delete TGH Zainuddin Abdul Majid leading the Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) of East Lombok, and the delete TGH Zainuddin Arsyad leading the Marakitta'limat in Lendang Mamben of East Lombok

Tuan Guru who, after the pilgrimage and undertaking intensive study at Mecca, attempted to impart true knowledge of Islam in his home village. The growth of their Islamic class, marked by pupils (*santri*) throughout and outside the island of Lombok, representing their increasing influence. Activity of Tuan Gurus is not limited within the boundary of their pesantren. They develop branches of their pondok pesantren in other areas of Lombok. Though NW has been divided into

two pesantren,⁷ the delete TGH Zainudin Abdul Majid has significant number of followers in the sub-district of Bayan, mainly in the villages of Bayan, Anyar, Loloan, Sambu Elen, and Senaru.

The main headquarter of the delete TGH Zainuddin Arsyad's pondok pesantren, Marakitta'limat is in Mamben Lauq of Wanasaba sub-district, East Lombok. In Bayan his followers and the branches of his religious education spread mainly in Lokok Aur and Ancak sub-villages of Karangbajo, as well as in villages of Anyar and Sambu Elen. He is succeeded by his third son, TGH Hazmi Azhar. Both TGH Zainudin Abdul Majid and TGH Hazmi Azhar trusted the operation of the branches of their pondok pesantren and madrasah to their disciples

TGH Abdul Karim runs the biggest Pondok Pesantren i.e. Nurul Bayan in the sub-district of Bayan and in North Lombok in general. It is located in *dusun* Telaga Bagik, *desa* Anyar accomodating 270 pupils. Unlike the other Tuan Guru who develops branches of madrasah and pondok pesantren, he focuses his learning and teaching activities in Nurul Bayan only. All of his pupils live in the dormitory of the pesantren (*mondok*) while undertaking their study.

TGH Safwan, founder of pondok pesantren Nurul Hakim, Kediri, does not establish branches of madrasah and ponpes in other areas of Lombok. Instead, he assigns the alumni (*arbituren*) of Nurul Hakim as missionaries working on the grass root level of the community (*da'i lapangan*). Wherever he places his da'i, he builds mosques and madrasah for the locals targeted in the missionary. Table 1 displays number of da'i with his missionary area. There are 32 da'is working in various villages of Bayan and Kahyangan sub-districts. In 1970s TGH Safwan also disseminated his da'is as far as Sumbawa, Dompu, and Buru island with the financial aid from the Department of Religious Affairs and Rabita'al Islami based in Saudi. Since 1980 he has been concentrating his dakwah in North Lombok, especially among villagers living in critical areas marked with poor sanitation, low living standard and education. He wants to prove that his mission is not merely directed to increase their religious commitment, but also to improve the quality

⁷ NW Pancor is led by Umi Rahun and NW Anjani by Umi Rahunun. They are both daughters of the delete TGH Zainuddin Abdul Majid.

of their livelihood, to achieve economic prosperity and well-being. For this reason I will look particularly at dakwah activity of TGH Safwan's da'i.

TGH Safwan Hakim is also the head of MUI-Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian Ulama Council) of West Lombok, and Ketua Forum Kerjasama Pondok Pesantren (Pondok Pesantren Cooperation) of NTB. He has developed wide networking, making cooperation with several other institutions in accelerating his missions, such as with the provincial and regency governments, DDI (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah), MDI (Majelis Dakwah Islamiyah) in Jakarta. The former Head of West Lombok regency (*Bupati Lombok Barat*), Lalu Mujtahid,⁸ had permitted him to build mosques, madrasah, and assigned da'i within the sub-district area of Bayan, whereas DDI and MDI provided free training for newly appointed da'is before embarking their mission.

In Bayan the da'is assigned by TGH Safwan live among the villagers while educating their children to become loyal disciples expected to take upon themselves the missionary in the future. Ustadz Awiz was the first da'i working in Bayan in 1984 around a year before being replaced by Ustadz Zam in 1985. The latter was assisted by Ustadz Fitrah a year after his assignment, and both of them taught in the madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahiddin, besides alternately leading the congregational prayers and giving sermons in the two mosques. TGH Safwan built the "Albayani" mosque in 1984 in Karang Bajo, and the "Alfaruq" in 1993 in Bayan Barat. The Al-Bayani mosque was located a few kilometres away from the Sanctuary complex. The Alfaruk, the pondok Pesantren and Madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahidin, and the da'i houses are situated in one compound.

It was Ustadz Zam and Fitrah who used to activate both the Al-Bayani and the Al-Faruq mosques alternately, allowing people of different sub-villages to conduct Friday prayer at the nearest mosque. The Albayani mosque is for people living in Karang Bajo, while the Alfaruk mosque is for those living in Bayan Barat and Bayan Timur. However, when

⁸ Bayan was under the administrative control of West Lombok regency (Kabupaten Lombok Barat) when TGH Safwan built mosques, madrasah, and assigned his da'is here. TGH Safwan had a strong, personal relationship with the ex Bupati Lombok Barat, Lalu Mujtahid, who had become the Bupati (head) of West Lombok since 1985. He was elected to take the second term of his office as Bupati Lombok Barat. TGH Safwan and his followers were among his strong political supporters for his second appointment.

Karangbajo became an autonomous village, separated from Bayan Beleq in 2008, Ustadz Ambal and Zani, replacing Ustadz Zam and Fitrah,⁹ left the management of the Al-Bayani mosque to the Karangbajo people, and they concentrate more on the Al Faruq mosque and Madrasah. Since then it was left abandoned for the Karang Bajos like the Bayanese were not regular prayer attendants of the mosque.

Rather than the locals, the Al-Bayani and the Al-Faruq absorb attendants more among the local migrants. Regular Friday prayer congregation was participated by less than 40 people. Regarding to the limited observers, the da'i referred to Hanbali madzab¹⁰ allowing less than 40 people to conduct this obligatory communal prayer. He said that it would be impossible to follow the Syafi'ite madzab strictly, defining at least 40 men to hold Friday prayer. In his religious understanding one is not supposed to rigidly commit to one *madzab* only, and is thus allowed to swing flexibly from one *madzab* to the other depending on the circumstances. In his words: "The Friday prayer would never be conducted if the da'i attach to the Syafi'ite. In his opinion it is better to have a limited number of Friday attendants, rather than not having it at all".

Besides as a place of worshipping, mosque was also an informal class for children, kids, and teen agers to learn the Qur'an, held after the dawn and evening prayers. This helps them to recognize Islam in their very early age as da'i Zam clarified:

The earlier they recognize rules and obligations established in the Qur'an, the better it will be. Their parents are lacking knowledge about the Qur'an, due to this respect they cannot be expected as the transferor of Islamic knowledge. Their limited understanding on Islamic rules and practices are apparent from the vacuous observance of Islamic pillars in their daily lives. By allowing children into this class, parents have let them to learn new thing that their parents might not know about it. When they are grown up all of these rules might have taken a deep root in their mind set and manifested in their everyday life.

⁹ Except for the Tuan Guru, all of the names of the Ustadz are not their real names.

¹⁰ Madzab is school of law. In Sunnite Islam there are four schools: Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, Syafiite. Muslim refers to one of this thought.

The adat mosque in Bayan usually opens and used upon the celebrations of important events, such as *Maulud*, *Maleman Likuran*, *Maleman Pitrah*, *Sembahyang Lohor Jum'at*¹¹ and *Ied* where the Kiai perform communal prayers. Commoners are not allowed to enter the old adat mosque as rituals and prayers held here are performed by the Kiai only. It is an exclusive worshipping place of the Kiai adat. Having learnt that the adat mosque of Bayanese is mostly close and locked and exempted from the public, the *da'i* feels obliged to teach the local Bayanese about how a mosque should ideally function. Part of the *dakwah* activity is to introduce mosque as a place for worshipping, learning, preaching, and public meeting for discussion and commemorating important Islamic events, such as *Isra' Mi'raj*, *Maulud*, *Nuzulul Qur'an*. Tuan Gurus are usually invited to deliver sermons in these commemorations. The *da'i* also teaches the value that mosque should be accessible for everybody, regardless of their age, gender, occupation, social status and rank.

The *da'is* focus their activity more on the behavioural change of the young generation. However, since most kids stop learning Qur'an when they finish primary (grade 1 to 6) and junior (grade 7, 8, 9) schools, it cannot be guaranteed whether they would keep practicing what the *da'is* had been taught to them. Those coming from the better off parents continue to Senior High School (grade 10, 11, 12) at Mataram and Anyar - capital city of Bayan sub-district, while those quit from school for economic reason remain at home helping parents with their household or work in the farm. Qur'anic study at the *da'is* mosque seem to produce temporal change since when they quit, they will be under the parental control and guidance. When they are among family and neighbours they will back into the adat style.

The Madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahidin was a formal religious school at junior level, starting its classes after *Dzuhur* prayer and before *Maghrib* or around 12 until 4 pm. Free admission at Madrasah Sanawiyah is intended to give an opportunity for the poor Bayanese families to achieve higher education. When they finished at this school, again they are offered to take the *Aliyah* (grade 10, 11, 12) and STAI-Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam (Islamic College) for free in the Pondok Pesantren of Nurul Hakim.

¹¹ Instead of weekly Friday sermon, the Bayanese recognize *Lohor Jum'at* – communal prayer held by the Kiai adat when catastrophes occurred, such as flood, earth quake, eruption, epidemy. The *Lohor Jum'at* is observed to drive them away.

Despite of the exemption from tuition fee, most Bayanese' parents show lack interest in continuing their children education at the above institutions. In 2011 the Madrasah Sanawiyah (grade 7, 8, 9) Babul Mujahidin Bayan had only around 38 children. They are mostly the migrants 'children living in the near hamlets of Ancak and Lokok Aur which are around 2 kilometres away from the Madrasah. Parents who are conservative and highly respect their adat are reluctant to let their children entering Islamic school offering curriculum that does not meet with the terms of adat. The better off family prefers to send their children in Anyar or Mataram for higher learning.

MISSIONARY TARGET: TOUCHING THE CULTURALLY SENSITIVE ISSUE

In the last two years, there seems to be a slight change in the way dakwah is carried out in Bayan. It is not only dominated by the TG with the da'i graduated from his pesantren. It begins to involve the locals. Since 2010 the Headmaster of Madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahiddin is a native Bayanese residing in Bayan Barat. There are also three other Bayanese engaging themselves in teaching activity in Madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahiddin. They are Raden Pina SPdI,¹² Denda Ifa SPdI, Talib SPdI, and Bisri. SPdI is an academic title given to those graduated from STAI- Sekolah Tinggi Agama Islam Nurul Hakim, Kediri. Hasan Basri is still completing his study on this institution. TGH Safwan mentioned the reason for recruiting the locals in missionary as follows:

Madrasah Sanawiyah Babul Mujahidin does not belong to Nurul Hakim (NH), neither a branch of NH. Formerly both the school headmaster and teachers were mostly the da'i since the locals were not yet ready nor having adequate capability to take care of madrasah professionally. However, when they finished study here (pondok pesantren Nurul Hakim) and are qualified to teach, we pass it on them. The da'is of NH now plays supporting role, and no longer act as school head master

His statement shows that TG has been strategically preparing the locals to participate in the process of dakwah, enabling them to continue

¹² SPdI-Sarjana Pendidikan Islam - is the title for those taking Islamic education which is equal to BA (Bachelor degree).

or take upon themselves the missionary in the long run. TG has also been selectively chosen them among the family of leading adat figures. Raden Pinadi is son of the delete Kiai Raden Salivate of *dusun* Sembilan, Hasan Basri is son of Amaq Itramaya- Kiai santri living in *dusun* Padamangko, and Sumawi is son of Kiai Ketib living in Bayan Timur, Abdul Mutholib is son of Amaq Itralip- the Kiai adat of *dusun* Barong Birak, Sambu Elen¹³ village).

The story below tells the experience of Ustadz Talib, before being assigned as a da'i at Barong Birak:

I was only about 12 years old, and still on the grade 6 of Barong Birak elementary school. I was very close to Ustadz Adnan, assigned by TGH Safwan since 1998. He taught me a lot of things about Islam, something that I never learnt before from my parents, such as how to take ablution, to read the Qur'an, to pray, and even fasting though doing it on and off (one day praying and fasting and the other day not). I was having a very good time, because the learning situation was relaxed and casual, allowing me to play with other kids after school time. Ustadz Adnan accompanied me home after finishing *pengajian* and the Isya prayer, and became regular visitor of my family. After quite some time he asked something that stunned my parents. He wanted to take me away for further study at Nurul Hakim in Kediri, West Lombok. It never crossed into my parents' minds that his regular visit would end up with a difficult choice for us to make. He had to assure my parents for around three months: "*Amaq dendek tepikerang biaye, pokok terimaq wah jari doang*" (you do not need to worry about the cost), before he could get their approval and finally brought me to Tuan Guru. When I was living in pondok to do my secondary and tertiary education, Tuan Guru Safwan had generously supplied my daily expenses.

After being graduated from STIA, Tuan Guru then enrolled him in Lembaga Ilmu Pendidikan Bahasa Arab in Jakarta to learn Arabic for 6 months prior to his assignment as da'i in his home village.

¹³ Sambu Elen revisly was the *dusun* or sub-village of desa Loloan. Since 2008 it has become an autonomous village, separated from Loloan.

As far as adat is concerned, even the locally-assigned da'i (*da'i asli Bayan*)¹⁴ found that it was not easy to teach something against adat. Ustadz Talib told his story below:

I was not yet assigned as a da'i, but was given a good chance to practice dakwah whenever I went back home for school holidays. Most villagers are either my distant or close relatives from both my father and mother sides. Since I knew nearly every one personally, I thought I could talk more freely and frankly. I was young, ambitious, and idealistic who was not only eager to learn but also to tell everybody things that they should know to be a good Muslim. I was sad to find that nearly all villagers were unable to read the Qur'an. Even some Kiais, who know how to read it, did not teach others. Most Kiai treated the Qur'an, the *Lontar* merely as ceremonial tool, reading it as part of the required ritual details, without a need to understand the meaning. When the ceremony was over, the Qur'an would never been touched until the next ceremony comes. For this reason, I was suggesting them to read the Qur'an more frequently including its meaning, rather than reading it on certain occasions only, such as on "nelung" (on the 3rd) "nyiwak (9th day) after burial. After that, some villagers hesitated to come for my next sermons. They were reluctant to remind me instantly because of the kinship ties although they viewed that I was undermining their adat.

Ustadz Talib faced challenges from his own kins for introducing new value contravening the adat. His relatives conceived him as "strange man" trying to undermine adat. Though Ustadz Talib was not very successful in bringing his mission among the elderly people, he was given a chance to teach the children in the mosque built by Tuan Guru Safwan. It was much easier for him to instil Islam among the young than the older generation since the latter has strongly attached to the codified system of adat.

Ustadz Talib was not the only da'i touching sensitive issue when bringing the message of Islam causing collective denial among those

¹⁴ *Da'i asli Bayan* is natively born in desa Bayan or other villages within Kecamatan (sub-district) of Bayan, distinguishing them from other da'i coming from outside Bayan (*Da'i luar Bayan*).

venerating adat. He told another incident when the locals stood up and left the mosque, before the preacher- the Ketua KUA Kantor Urusan Agama (Head of Religious Affair Office) finished his preach. He asserted on the necessity of presenting *Wali*¹⁵ during the marriage oath. The importance of conveying true message of Islam has, to some extent, devalued the practicality of adat, and this eventually leads to social discontent. The da'is see that Bayanese' value preference on adat has prevented them from practising Syari'at. On the other hand, the locals viewed that the da'is, throughout their sermon and preaching, attempt to weaken the role of adat.

Narratives on Ustadz Pina's father mortuary, depicted by Ustadz Ambal, display further the uneasy cohabitation of adat and Syari'at. It was told that Raden Pina wanted to bring his father body to the nearest mosque so that he and his friends could perform prayer (*sholat jenazah*) showing their last respect. This idea was considered "unusual", "uncommon"¹⁶, and was refused by his close and distant relatives. Bayanese adat defines only the Kiai adat who can lead the *gawe pati*¹⁷ (a series of

¹⁵ In Islam the presence of *wali* is compulsory to legitimise the marriage. *Wali*, literally means the representative, is the patrilineal kins of the bride. He can be her own father, her father's brother, her brother. The presence of *wali* is among one of the prerequisites of a legal marriage in Islam. In Bayan, *merarik* (eloping the girl) is a preliminary process of the adat metikah (marriage customary) in which the girl is kidnapped and hidden in one of patrilineal kins' home of the future groom. Though the patrilineal kin of the groom conducts *nyelabar* (reporting the girl's parents after the elopement), the marriage solemnation can be done only a few days after the elopment. The marriage oath usually takes place in the groom's patrilineal family by inviting a kiai without necessarily presenting the *Wali*.

¹⁶ The Kiai adat performed ritual prayer for the death in the house of the deceased family. Usually the dead body is laid on the *berugak* where the death body is laid, bathed, and wrapped with white cotton. A *berugak* is a wooden structure which is composed of a raised floor about two metres high above the ground with a roof supported by four or eight posts. The *berugak* is used for the reception of guests, social gathering, meeting and discussion (*begundem*), lying down and bathing the corpse, sleeping. Individual ceremonies are usually celebrated in the *berugak* where the Kiai, toak Loakak, pemangku perform communal eating.

¹⁷ *Gawe Pati* (death and post-death rituals) ranging from the day of burial (*nusur tanah*), to the third (*nelung*), the seventh (*mituq*), the ninth (*nyiwak*), the fortieth (*matang puluh*), the hundredth (*nyatus*), and one thousandth (*nyiu*) day after one's demise.

¹⁸ *Gawe urip* consists of i) buang au (birth ceremony), ii) ngurisang (hair-cutting), iii) ngitanang (circumcision), iv) merosok (tooth filling), merarik (elopment) and metikah (wedding). Buang au literally means throwing the charcoal ashes, previously laid under the bed of the new born baby to warm up its room. It is a ritual to declare the baby's name, besides a cleansing ritual for the baby marked with throwing the charcoal ashes and performance of bedak keramas. In bedak keramas the Kiai rubbed the foreheads' of the baby and its parents with ramuan (ingredients) of bedak keramas that consists of a mixture of coconut juice, chicken blood, and betel juice placed in coconut shell.

ceremonial conducts performed for the deceased) *gawe urip*¹⁸, (a set of ritual activities held within one's life), and *ngaji makam*¹⁹.

Included in the dakwah is the use of mosque apparatus for preaching, such as the loud speaker, and the amplifier magnifying the da'i's voices to reach bigger audience inside and outside the mosque. On the beginning of missionary activity, the locals were not used to hear the *adzan* (a call to prayer) throughout the loud speaker and amplifier of the mosque at the down time. Those living close to the mosque were getting annoyed with the "adzan noise", and for being intentionally wakened up "too early" in the morning, while doing the down prayer is not their habit. They stoned the mosque as a sign of disagreement.

Another example was when a da'i brought the message on the necessity of maintaining cleanliness (*thoharoh*) on his Friday sermon, suggesting parents not to let their children to urinate wherever they played around, and teach them to wash up afterwards. At night some people stoned his house damaging his roof and window glasses. The locals were embarrassed by the way the da'i conveyed his dakwah, since he had touched personal matter i.e parents' failure on children's toilet training, and magnified this problem publicly to audience inside and outside the mosque through the mosque's loudspeaker. This way was considered as *endiq tawang kon adat*. Mentioning private matters and voicing them in public sphere are strongly sensitive. However, this incident taught a lesson on cultural sensitivity, and making him and other da'i to be more careful in delivering sermon.

The da'i' were seemingly lacking of experience and social skill to persuade the locals. Instead of making a personal approach, they tend to depend on the mosque and madrasah as the centre of their dakwah activities. In spite of working outside the mosque and madrasah, the da'i expects the locals to come to them and follow their activities held in these institutions. The activity of dakwah is mostly confined within this vicinity.

¹⁹Ngaji makam is ceremonies connected with the rice growth conducted from the time of planting (ngaji makam turun bibit), fertilizing and spreading pesticides to prevent rice diseases and locusts attack (ngaji makam tunas setamba), and at the time of harvesting the crops marking a thanks-giving ceremony and people's expectation (prayer) for better rice production in the next season (ngaji makam ngaturang ulak kaya).

The community bond to adat seems not to be the sole factor leading to the low acceptance of the dakwah. Method and procedure of spreading the dakwah also contribute to the lack of interest to the Islamic discourse brought by the da'i. In the early period of missionary, Ustadz Zam & Fitrah were reluctant to take up invitations whenever a family invited them for individual rites of the passage. They told the main reason for not attending was dietary taboos that they strictly maintained. They were never sure whether the beef, cooked for these events, was slaughtered according to the prescribed ways of Islam. They further explained that locals were accustomed to mix the blood of slaughtered cow and chicken with vegetables as part of the main dish, and served rice wine (*aik poteng*) as appetizer and desert. Since food was not offered only to the guests, but there was also food-offering for the ancestors and guardian spirits, fulfilling adat invitation, in their opinion, would mean to justify or give further legitimation of the adat belief.

Though the da'is reside in the heart of Bayanese enclave, they tended to disengage from the social surrounding by preventing themselves from any adat invitation. Distancing themselves from the adat activity would further mean that they isolate themselves from the rest of the community members. The isolation sometimes put the da'is in difficult situation when they required urgent help. Such when Ustadz Zam's wife was about time to deliver her baby. At night he had to walk to Ancak – a hamlet around two kilometres away from Bayan Beleq - to pick up a mid-wife since he was reluctant to ask help from the locals. During the harvesting season he completely depended assistance on the madrasah pupils to guard the rice crop alternately before and after they were harvested, piled it into rice sacks and transported to his residence.

Unlike the early mission, conducted by Ustadz Awisah, Zam, and Fitrah who were valued as overemphasizing precepts like *halal* and *haram*, the later mission led by Ustadz Ambal and Ustadz Zani applied a slightly different approach in dealing with the locals. Ustadz Ambal, for instance, never hesitates to come whenever he is invited by the locals to attend any adat function. He admitted that it is culturally sensitive to refuse their invitations. It would be valued as a denial not only toward their hospitality, but also to their adat system as a whole. Fulfilling an individual or social invitation (collective work), is a matter of giving

one's "share". In an adat community marked with strong kinship ties and cooperative work (*gotong royong*), one's value is defined in terms of his share.

Ustadz Ambal applied different religious understanding from that of Ustadz Zam, regarding to the served food, as he explained:

The Bayanese should be treated as Muslim brothers (*ikhwanul Muslimin*), because they believe in the Qur'an, and thus should be helped in the process of becoming a better Muslim. If God allows Muslims to eat the food of *ahlul kitab*²⁰ (*makanan ahli kitab adalah halal*), it is even so for the Muslim brothers. Their hospitality and generosity to invite and serve meal for us should also be highly respected as the way we treat the *ahlul kitab*.

In the beginning, Ustadz Ambal was treated like the other guest, but as the relation develops, he was given the role as prayer reader - a position that previously was on the hands of the Kiai adat only. This, according to him, was an opportunity that never be given to other da'is working before him. He told proudly a story when one family asked him to give prayer upon a death of a relative. After the Kiai adat performed the burial ceremony²¹, Ustadz Ambal did the *talqin* and giving the *takziah*. In doing so he sounded a call to prayer (*adzan*) followed later by the *talqin* reading²². *Takziah* is a speech dedicated to the family and friends of the deceased at the grave site, after burial finishes. The Ustadz was given a chance after the adat was accomplished. Similar opportunity was also been offered to him for other ritual events such as circumcision, hair shaving and naming ceremony. In this occasion he led *dizikir* or the remembrance of God's name that included the *tahlil* (there is no other gods than Allah), *tahmid*, *tasbih* (praising God's name). Ustadz Hambali has successfully initiated new approach enabling him and other da'i to

²⁰ Ahlul Kitab are people of the book, those who inherited the holy books from the following prophets: Injil (bible) for prophet Isa, Dzabur for prophet Daud, Taurat (Toorah) for Moses.

²¹ This ranges from bathing, to wrap the body in white cotton, put it in the coffin and bring the corpse to the grave site.

²² The talqin reading was intended to teach the deceased and the livings that two angels would come to the dead person after his/her families, friends, neighbours left the burial site to ask about "who is thy God, "what is thy holy book", "whom thy follow", "who is thy leader". The livings attending the burial are reminded by the talqin that one day they were also going to die and facing similar questions. Muslims believe that those committing good deedb during their life will easily answer these questions, and thus would obtain happiness in the purgatory.

take up certain role in the adat community; though it is limited on a few family circles he is acquainted.

DAKWAH AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROJECT

Apart from the goal of reforming religious ideas, TGH Safwan has also involved in community development project working for the betterment of the locals' living quality. The da'is, working as the extension of his hands, has provided him with social network to identify issues and collect information throughout the whole villages. The da'i working in the village of Segenter, Ustadz Ali and Ardi, for example discovered that villagers here had problem with water supply, forcing them to travel a long distance to collect water for various household needs. Based on this report, TGH then took the initiative to build pipes and water reservoir inside the mosque complex with the financial aid from the Rabita'al Islami, allowing people to fetch water of the mosque. In due course more and more villagers gradually became regular mosque attendants.

Since 1980 Tuan Guru Safwan has successfully distributed million of seeds in other pondok pesantren, and various places of Bayan with the help of the da'i. TGH Safwan working with the Gerbang Emas-Gerakan Membangun Ekonomi Masyarakat, an environmental organization funded by the Provincial Government, has grown various seeds such as *jati* (*Tectonia grandis.*), *jati putih*, and *mahoni* (*swietenia mahagoni*) and distributed them in some critical areas of Bayan. His biggest plantation project is in *Dusun Banteq* of *Desa Akar-Akar* of *Kecamatan Bayan*. Assisted by his disciples and by working together with the locals, they maintain more than 50, 000 *jati* and *mahagoni* trees. His long and arduous works had rendered him the *Kalpataru*²³ awarded directly by President SBY in the Presidential palace, Istana Merdeka, Jakarta on the 7th of June 2011.

Giving the reason to get involved in environmental project, he stated 5 major values: i) *hibzul nafsi* (take care of the soul), do not hurt, do not

²³ Every year kementerian Lingkungan Hidup, Ministry of environment, provided a trophy, hadiah kapaltaru for individuals and institutions making ecological achievement. Every province is given the chance to select a nominee based on the criteria made by the Ministry. And Pondok pesantren Nurul Hakim was one among the other nominees winning this trophy.

kill, ii) *hibzul nasab* (take care of family, blood links), so that you know exactly who you are, your own relatives who would succeed you and fulfil your hopes, iii) *hibzul mal* (take care of property and belongings) for the continuity and well-being of your *nasab* in the future, iv) *hibzul akal* (look after your mind), think for the betterment, v) *hibzul bii'ah* (look after the environment) since all the living creatures are mutually dependant. Preparing seeds and growing them is the fifth elements of his belief.

He also cited two hadith justifying his green movement: “grow trees even dooms day will come on the next day. Even if you are going to die tomorrow, if you still have seeds in your hand, you should grow them”. “Good living means a life that is useful for others, while bad living means a life that damages or is detrimental to others”. Cultivating trees, in his religious thought can be included “*sodaqah jari'ah*”²⁴, meaning a good deed that will prosper its doer and renders him/her an unlimited “reward”.

Apart from religious mission to purify the adat belief, da'i and Tuan Guru had also performed important role as development agents mediating and accelerating the central government policy for “green living” to the very bottom of village community. This is one among so many ways to overcome global warming and to provide the locals with a better living environment.

CONCLUSION

The dakwah activity to disseminate Islam is never considered to be a complete task or mission accomplished. This activity, pioneered by Javanese Walis, Sunan Ampel, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Prapen, were successfully but only nominally converted the locals. There seems to be different degrees or qualities in the ways Islam is absorbed, adopted, and practiced in everyday life. Though Islam has become the religion of the community, it does not remove the old customary (adat) belief strongly imbued with spirit worship. Instead of decreasing the outstanding role

²⁴ Among the attitude or behaviours considered to be amal or sodaqoh jari'ah are: i) spreading useful knowledge, making discovery and invention from which any body can take advantage out of such knowledge and invention, iii) building institution or organisation benefiting its users (such as hospitals, orphanages, roads, bridges, schools, etc), iii) prayer of a pious son/daughter marking successful parenting.

of adat, the acceptance of Islam though only partially, even strengthens the applicability of adat. This is obvious from the prayers adopted from Qur'anic verses to Islamize the adat rituals. As Cess van Dijk argues: "when Islam came, it was confronted with already well established societies with elaborate social structure and deeply rooted beliefs. Islam became the official religion of these societies, but it did not prove easy to replace the old beliefs and customs (1984: 7)".

The basic religious syncretism lays on the preservation of ancestral customary belief alongside partial acceptance of Islamic tenet. The co-existence and intermixed practices of the two portrays startlingly unique picture of adat in Bayan, especially when it is compared to the ideal standard of Islam practiced in Arabic countries. As a result the expression of religiosity ("Islamism") in Bayan was never being the same compared to other Muslims living in different parts of Lombok. The invocation of ancestor and the guardian spirits is the main fundamental thing that differs Bayanese from other Muslims.

Bayanese syncretism had instigated the charismatic, and inspirational leader i.e Tuan Guru, to impart pure Islamic teachings. The mission of propagating Qur'anic Islam initiated by the Javanese saints is now continued by Tuan Guru assisted by his loyal disciples who mostly graduated from his pondok pesantren. The current dakwah attempts to involve locals in the teaching and management of madrasah by offering free education to the locals to take higher Islamic learning in Pondok Pesantren Nurul Hakim, Kediri. In spite of free exemption of higher education, Bayanese show lack interest in taking up this opportunity. Only a few of them had taken up this offer especially after the da'i had made untiring effort to persuade their parents.

Tuan Guru is an outstanding figure whose domain is not limited within religious sphere, but is exceeded to accelerate the global need for maintaining ecological balance. Tuan Guru Safwan was the only pondok pesantren figure in West Nusa Tenggara island that successfully brought his environmental concern to the fore, and target it as fundamental part of his sustainable missionary movement. He and his loyal disciples, supported by the government, act as both religious reformers and environmental protagonists.

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TGH Safwan Hakim received Kalpataru award from the President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono.



Tuan Guru and his da'i



Old adat mosque and the Bayanese adat functionaries