

## **Genealogical Acculturation of Bali and Sasak Cultures in Lombok Island**

### **Akulturasinya Genealogis Budaya Bali dan Sasak di Pulau Lombok**

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Submitted: 2021-03-12

Published: 2021-03-30

DOI: 10.24036/humanus.v20i1.111950

Accepted: 2021-06-30

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.24036/humanus.v20i1.111950>

#### **Abstract**

Harmonious life relations between Balinese and Sasaknese society in Lombok had been intertwined properly since the era of Karangasem Kingdom. Numerous historical heritages of both ethnics are founded in various places and still exist nowadays. Those ethnics concerned on the effort to build up a great civilization rather than making culture boundaries in the cultural diversity. The qualitative anthropologist approach was used in order to identify the elements of genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese in Lombok. The data were reduced step-by-step and analyzed descriptively. The data were collected by employing participative observation technique, deep-structured interview, and documentary files. The results suggest that the genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese were found out on the following elements: (1) mutually absorbed language, (2) conversance system by adopting the farming technique mutually, (3) social organization, both adopted patrilineal system, (4) living equipment system and technology, a harmonious and supporting linking between system of living equipment and technology, (5) livelihood system by adopting harmonious irrigation system, (6) religion system, there was an intensive acculturation from those ethnics to bear a new understanding of Sasaknese and some are adopted by Balinese, and (7) arts, the unification of both ethnics emerged novel arts.

**Keywords:** *Acculturation; Balinese; Genealogical Culture; Sasaknese.*

#### **Abstrak**

Harmonisasi kehidupan masyarakat etnis Bali dan Sasak di Lombok telah terjalin dengan baik sejak jaman kerajaan Karangasem. Berbagai peninggalan budaya kedua etnis ditemukan di berbagai tempat dan masih hidup hingga kini. Latar belakang ideologi agama yang berbeda, tidak membuat sekat-sekat budaya berbenturan, namun fleksibel membangun peradaban baru. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan antropologis kualitatif yang bertujuan mengidentifikasi unsur genealogis akulturasinya kebudayaan Bali dengan Sasak di Lombok. Analisis disajikan secara deskriptif dengan data-data yang direduksi secara bertahap. Teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan teknik observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam, dan studi kepustakaan. Hasil analisis unsur genealogis akulturasinya kebudayaan Bali dan Sasak di Lombok menunjukkan terjadi pada tujuh unsur kebudayaan yaitu (1) Bahasa yang saling terserap; (2) Sistem pengetahuan,

saling mengadopsi teknik bertani; (3) Organisasi sosial, yang keduanya menerapkan sistem patrilineal ; (4) Sistem peralatan hidup dan teknologi; perpaduan yang harmonis dalam sistem peralatan hidup dan teknologi yang saling mendukung; (5) Sistem mata pencarian hidup; mengadopsi sistem irigasi yang harmonis; (6) Sistem religi, terjadi akulturasi yang intensif dari kedua etnis sehingga melahirkan paham baru dari etnis sasak dan beberapa sistem diadopsi oleh etnis Bali; dan (7) Kesenian, terjadi perpaduan kesenian kedua etnis yang memunculkan kesenian-kesenian baru.

**Kata kunci:** *Adopsi; Adaptasi; Akulturasi; Genealogis Budaya; Sasak Bali.*

## **Introduction**

Historically, the development of culture in Indonesia was started in the early century AD and influenced by the presence of Hindu Kingdom such as Kutai, Taruma Negara, Sriwijaya, and Majapahit. However, the combination of Hindu and Buddhist Kingdom dominantly influenced the aspects of arts in Indonesia since the early century AD to fourteenth century. An influx of Muslim cultures replaced the Hindus domination and took parts in arts development in Indonesia, signaled out by the emergence of Demak Kingdom right after the collapse of Majapahit Kingdom in the last fourteenth century.

Lombok, one of the islands in the central Indonesian region was affected by those cultural movement. Lombok is claimed as one of Indonesian cultural treasures. Geographically, Lombok Island is located at Nusa Tenggara archipelago which is encircled by Lombok Strait to the West next to Bali, and Alas Strait to the East near Sumbawa.

Demographically, Lombok Island consist of various inhabitants such as Sasaknese, Balinese, Javanese, Chinese, and Arabian. It is found that Sasaknese dominates the Lombok civilization followed by Balinese in the second place. The existence of Balinese could not be separated from the political relations, and it emerged in the beginning of XVI century. Since Klungkung Kingdom independence in XIV century post Majapahit Kingdom collapsed, Gelgel Kingdom centered in Klungkung was able to control the area of Blambangan, Lombok, and Sumbawa under the headship of King Dalem Watuenggong. The downfall of Gelgel Kingdom in Bali caused the presence of Karangasem Kingdom which did a tight political relation with Lombok.

The political relations between Bali and Lombok were begun in the last of XVII century. Selaparang Kingdom in the East Lombok, Pejanggik Kingdom in the Central Lombok, and Karangasem Kingdom were intertwined to create several colonies of small kingdoms inhabited by nobles of Karangasem Kingdom like Pagesangan, Kediri, Sengkongo, Pagutan, and Mataram as well (Agung (2009: 51). In addition, he states that Lombok was conquered since the collapse of Selaparang Kingdom in 1691 to 1740 by Karangasem Kingdom. In 1740, it dominated and controlled the whole area of Lombok which was proven by the tax payment by Pejanggik, Parwa, Langko, Sokong, Bayang, Praya, and Batu Kaliyang (1999: 55).

The political relations between Bali and Lombok brought both cultures together whereby Sasaknese dominated due to their own ideology which is developed through times. The archeological cultural heritages in Lombok during the prehistorical period can be proven by the finding of fossils, menhirs, and sarcophagi. Also, the legacy of Hindus and Buddhist influences during Majapahit Kingdom authority is recorded in the inscription.

The downfall of Majapahit in the last of fourteenth century affected towards the fading domination of the kingdom and also the centralistic religion system. The first Muslim kingdom, Demak, made an impact on the deployment of Islam in Lombok in the XVI century through some preachers like Sunan Prapen, Sangupati, and so on. Tim (1977: 14) states that Sunan Prapen, son of Sunan Giri, was ordered to disseminate Islam principals in Lombok. Budhiwanti (2000: 9) also augments that Islam brought by the kings of Java was full of mysticism naturally. The principals were associated with the condition of the society therefore the *fikh* was written in local and Kawi languages.

The prominent success of Islam in Lombok was implicated on the government and diversity systems, for example, in Selaparang Kingdom. Budhiwanti (2000: 9) claims that the deployment of Islam was done by the Sultanate of Makassar as well. Makassar people were more successful in teaching and deploying Islam principals in Lombok, and it is proven by the fact that all Sasaknese are Muslim though they combine Islam with the previous beliefs such as local faith, Hindus, or Buddhist.

On the other hand, by the domination of Karangasem Kingdom, the Balinese brought Hindu ideology system which influenced the culture of Sasaknese. The combination of both cultures with each ideology bore an acculturation of Sasaknese and Balinese in Lombok. It is crept on several cultural elements such as language, knowledge system, social organization, living equipment system and technology, livelihood system, religion, and arts (Koentjaraningrat, 1999: 164).

The term *genealogy* in this study refers to the examination of culture acculturation through historical track records alongside genetical analysis. Acculturation is understood as a process that arises socially when a group of people with a certain culture faced with the elements of a foreign culture in particular way, and at the end, the elements of a foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture without losing the cultural personality itself (Koentjaraningrat, 2009: 202).

Culture itself is defined as the whole systems of idea, action, and human works which belongs to the particular society and organized well by learning (Koentjaraningrat, 2009: 144). Culture generally consists of some core elements such as (1) language, (2) knowledge system, (3) social organization, (4) living equipment system and technology, (5) livelihood system, (6) religion, and (7) arts. Exploring the genetic culture through historical data is the principal concept of this study. There are seven ideas related to the acculturation of the culture: (1) language within ideas, activities, and artifact; (2) knowledge system within ideas, activities, and artifact; (3) social organization within ideas, activities, and artifact; (4) living equipment system and technology within ideas, activities, and artifact; (5) livelihood system within ideas, activities, and artifact; (6) religion system within ideas, activities, and artifact; and (7) arts within ideas, activities, and artifact.

The form of genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese in Lombok was analyzed through cultural form mapping which is categorized by Koentjaraningrat (2009: 150) such as (1) ideas, where the form of culture is understood as a complexity of ideas, thoughts, values, rules, and so on, (2) activities refers to the form of culture as a complexity of human activities and patterned actions in the community, and (3) artifacts, where the form of culture is collected as human-made entities.

In Mataram, for example, Trisnawati (2015) asserts that the acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese created a collaborated dance within local story Dewi Rengganis which illustrates the positive values of tolerance and cooperation. Also, Ariadi (2017) claims

that the form of religion is influenced by the social environment combined with the culture itself. This is regarded as religion elasticity, and it causes the development and the change of religion behavior along with its practices.

On a side note, Mutawali (2019) affirms that Muslim Sasaknese is derived as the result of dialectic process to make it unique, specific, and exoteric within various Sasaknese traditions. The insertion of Islam values to the traditions bear the elegance of the culture, and make it becomes more dynamic and rigid dealing with the social reality in the dynamic community.

Purwanto (2015) reveals the religion systems assembly between Hindu Balinese ethnics and Muslim Sasaknese ethnic which bears the elements of beliefs such as dogma as learning source, rite or ordinances in religion, worship place as a place of orientation, and people who believe in it. In summary, this study aimed to identify the elements of genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese in Lombok.

## **Method**

The qualitative anthropologist approach was used in conducting this study. The analyzed data were displayed descriptively within the step-by-step reduced data. Historical documents and other books, field data through observation, and additional information taken from the religion figures and culture figures from both Balinese and Sasaknese were employed as the sources of the data. This study was conducted in Mataram City and Regency of West Lombok with the following considerations: (1) the genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasak in Lombok has not explored yet specifically; and (2) the exclusivity of both cultures is seen from the existence of Balinese who had become the sovereign of Lombok. This study used both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitatively, the source of data was obtained through the documentary files, social activities, and cultural entities of both ethnics. Subsequently, the data were collected by employing participative observation technique, deep-structured interview, and documentary analysis. Then, the data were analyzed through following steps such as data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusion.

## **Result and Discussion**

### **Culture Acculturation in the Form of Ideas**

The ideas level refers to abstract forms of culture which comes out from the inside of human in particular community. The idea and concept live together and lit up the community soul. The concept is connected each other to create a cultural system. The ideal culture used to control, organize, and direct the members of the society to the polite actions, behavior, and deeds. In the other words, it is called as customs.

Customs itself is understood as a system of cultural value, views of life, and ideology. The system of cultural value is an abstract thing, and it posits the highest level of the custom. This system is valuable, priceless, and important because it is considered as a guidance of life that provides direction and orientation which is generally hard to be explained rationally. This general trait also places the system of cultural values on the emotional area of the community.

Such system is composed based on the five basic problems of human life such as (1) the problem of the nature of human life, (2) the problem of human life entities, (3) the problem of the nature position of the human position through time and space, (4) the problem of the nature of the human relationship with the natural surroundings, and (5) the problem of the nature of human relations with each other (C. Kluckhohn & F. Kluckhohn as cited in Koentjaraningrat, 2009: 154).

The notion of ideas consists of valuably cultural system as a guidance in giving direction and orientation towards life. Also, it is defined as general norm system consisting of specific action rules complete with detail, clear, assertive, and undoubtful formulas. The specific rules are

clustered into several community institutions, for examples, scientific, educational, judicial, economical, aesthetic, and religious institutions.

Both cultural value and norm systems become the basis of human culture, due to the notion of ideas as a part of customs. Customs develop through particular values adopted by the community, for example, religious value system. Sanderson (2010: 62) explains that religious system has become a superstructure realm ideology consisting of patterned manners to set out human way of thinking, conceptualizing, feeling and valuing, as the opposite of the actual thing in the real daily encounters.

The religious system in Lombok develops quite varied through the times. It can be proven through the historical facts that notice that Sasaknese had influenced by several cultures like megaliths, Hindus and Buddhists, Sriwijaya and Majapahit Kingdoms around seventh to fourteenth century, the birth of Muslim Kingdom of Demak around fourteenth to sixteenth century, Hindu Kingdom of Karangasem around seventeenth and nineteenth century (Sudirman, 2012).

The dynamic development of religious system had significant impact on the development of cultural value system of Sasaknese. Basically, both Balinese and Sasaknese ethnics are rooted similarly on the same cultures that were influenced in the prehistorical, Hindus, and Buddhist periods. Eventually, it becomes the foundation of the Balinese cultures acceptance in Sasaknese though the development of Islam is quite strong to define the pattern of the culture.

The ideal acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese can be seen from the religious events of both. For example, even the majority of Sasaknese is Muslim, they used to do certain things that are not referring to Islam principals like *sesaji* or offerings tradition. In traditional ceremonies, offerings, offerings, offerings, or offerings are a means of communication for the community to the highest power that has given life and which is the center of hope for the various positive desires of society. Respectively, figures 1 and 2 illustrate two types of offering called *bunga rampai* or potpourri and *kinangan* or ingredients for roasting, and basic offering.

**Figure 1.** *Bunga rampai* “potpourri” and *kinangan* “ingredients for roasting”



**Figure 2.** Basic offering



*Bunga Rampai* and *Kinangan* are examples of sacred offerings presented by Sasaknese in Lingsar Temple. This temple is considered as a symbol of harmonious life between Bali-Lombok Hindus and Sasak-Lombok Islam, located in Lingsar District, Regency of West Lombok. Besides, *sesajen* or basic offering (Figure 2) usually consists of food, fruits, or side dishes. Moreover, Figure 1 is representatively similar to common offering in Figure 3, used by Balinese in any sacred rituals. Traditionally, it is called as *canang sari*.

**Figure 3.** Canang Sari



Commonly, the offerings are presented and served in specific events, for examples, Islam religious holy days, or related to the life cycle such as cutting toddler hair, circumcision ceremony, *pegat kemalik* meaning a ceremony asking for the salvation from negative things since the birth, or other traditional celebrations. Those rituals are aimed to asking for health and healing, or begging for sustenance. Figures 4 and 5 below represent the sacred ritual of Sasaknese in Lingsar and Kemaliq Lingsar Temples.

**Figure 4.** Sacred Ritual of Sasaknese in Lingsar Temple



**Figure 5.** Kemaliq Lingsar Temple



The sacred ritual such in Figure 4 should not be carried out by the Islam Sasaknese because it does not belong to the Islam ideology since serving and presenting the offerings are prohibited.

Besides, Figure 5 represents a temple called *kemaliq*. Specifically, that place used to be related to the Sasaknese worship in a Hindu temple covertly.

### Culture Acculturation in the Form of Activities

Activities here refer to a social system in case of individuals patterned action involved in the form of cultures. The social system is appointed to the human interaction activities, relationship, and taking a part in the society based on the typical patterns of customs. The notion of activities in the process of Balinese and Sasaknese acculturation is related to the social system consisting of human activities in interacting, making relationship, and connecting to other people second by second, day by day, and year by year in accordance with the particular patterns in the customs of conduct. As a part of individuals activities in the local community, the social system is seen as a concrete, observable, regular, and documented phenomena (Koentjaraningrat, 2009: 151).

The acculturation of both Balinese and Sasaknese occurs in the realm of language, since their languages are clustered into the same language family, Austronesian Malayo-Polynesian. an intensive interaction between these ethnics was expected as the main cause of giving significant influence towards each language. For example, both ethnics use *hanacaraka* alphabet system as derived from Javanese, seen in Figure 6. *Hanacaraka* is intensively used by Lombok-Balinese in the process of writing documentary literatures within Sasaknese language as well. The traditional alphabet system of Sasak is known as *Jejawan*, and it looks similar to Balinese and Javanese due to the expectation towards the strong influence of those languages during the authority of Mataram or Cakranegara Kindoms, as derived from Karangasem Kindom.

Figure 6. Alphabet Systems of Javanese, Balinese, and Sasaknese

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The use of daily languages undergo acculturation as well. Karangasem Balinese language has typical dialect among other Balinese. The application of Balinese in Lombok is influenced by both Karangasem Balinese and also general Sasaknese styles. Therefore, many people call it as Balinese-Lombok style. Besides, some Sasaknese vocabularies are adopted and spoken by Balinese-Lombok community in their daily encounters.

Moreover, the acculturation of these typical ethnics is illustrated as an insight of traditional calendar. It is made based on the position of the sun and the moon, and converted in the forms of calendar consisting of proper days called as *Wariga*. Traditionally, Balinese community introduces *Wariga* as an insight of traditional calendar in Bali, specifically it concerns on the manner of selecting good or bad days in order to start a particular activity. Balinese people believe that *Wariga* is used as a hint for individuals to achieve their best. In detail, it is organized based

on five frameworks called as *wuku*, *wewaran*, *pananggal-pangelong*, *sasih*, and *dauh*. “Wuku” consists of 30 wuku, and each wuku entails 7 days. In the other words, “one wuku” is similar to one week. “Wewaran” demands 10 *wara*, whereas *Pananggal-Pangelong* refers to the calculation of time based on circulation moon around the earth. Each *Pananggal* and *Pangelong* is counted into 15 days whereby the first one comes right after dark moon (*tilem*) phase, and the second one is right after the full moon (*purname*). Besides, the term *sasih* is similar to “month”, one year entails 12 *sasih* or months. Herein the calculation of *Sasih* according to Balinese calendar: *Sasih Wuku* follows the cycle of *wuku* (2 x 210 days = 420 days where 1 month consists of 35 days); *Sasih Candra* follows the circulation of moon around the earth (354/355 days, each month entails 29/30 days); *Sasih Surya* follows the earth revaluation (365/366 days, each month consists of 30/31 days); and *Sasih Kawulu* (26/29 days). Another term of time cycle is *dauh* meaning the hours that is accounted based on the earth rotation.

On a side note, The Agency Team of Rowot Nusantara Lombok in *Mengenal Rowot Sasak* (2014) claim that the term *Wariga* is used to assign in determining season or locally known as *penande mangse* such as *mangseketaun* (rainy season) and *kebalit* (dry season). It has an important role for the Sasaknese farmers to start their works, or it is employed by the fisherman to decide their sailing or fishing times (Bahri, 2018). He puts forward that *Wariga* is important in the relation to the activities of the Balinese and Sasak people in general it is an agricultural society. As an agrarian society requires instructions on changing seasons and suitable planting periods.

The social organization of the patrilineal system influences the tradition of marriage and inheritance rights. Both ethnics adhere to this system as well. Certain long-term interaction triggered the mingled marriage of both ethnics. Lombok has a typical marriage system called *merariq* meaning that someone is leaving home secretly in order to get married without the permission of his/her parents (eloping). Eloping or *merariq* is a customary marriage in Lombok done by Sasaknese mostly and Balinese partially. The marriage was carried out on a consensual basis of both groom and bride, but without being preceded by a formal marriage ceremony. The ceremony itself is conducted in the groom’s house, however, this system affects the inheritance rights dominated by the man.

Furthermore, another case of Balinese and Sasaknese acculturation is the livelihood system, especially living as agrarian society. Both ethnics are familiar with the agricultural system recognized as *Subak*. It is adopted from the watering system in Bali. Figure 7 illustrates the organization structure of system of *Subak* in Lingsar, Lombok.

**Figure 7.** Organization Structure of System of *Subak* in Lingsar, Lombok



Besides, the assimilation between Balinese and Sasaknese is perceived from the system of religion. Both ethnics are familiar with the following terms: *makemit*, *mayah kaul*, *megat kemalik*, and *perang topat* ceremony. The term *makemit* refers to spend a night in a holy place, especially Hindu temple in Lingsar. *Megat Kemalik* is conducted as a ceremony asking for the salvation from negative things since the birth. *Perang Topat* ceremony as seen in Figure 8 is carried out by both

ethnics in Lingsar Temple started at 4 in the afternoon or locally so-called as *raraq kembang waru*. Such ceremony aims to beg for the fertility in the period of farming.

**Figure 8.** Perang Topat in Lingsar Temple



Moreover, in case of arts, Sasaknese has the art of sound whereby the singing of *tembang* (traditional song) is identical to Javanese and Balinese like *Dandang Gula*, *Maskumambang*, *Asmarandhana*, for examples. Besides, the acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese is recognized through the arts of traditional music and dance. For instance, if *Gamelan* is a traditional musical instrument used by Balinese, Sasaknese call it as *Gendang Beleq*. Similar, both ethnics have *Gandrung* and *Joget* dances representing social dance. The following figures suggest the comparison of Balinese *gamelan* and Sasaknese *Gendang Beleq*. (taken from Google Image).

**Figure 9.** Balinese *Gamelan*



**Figure 10.** Sasaknese *Gendang Beleq*



#### **Culture Acculturation in the Form of Artifacts**

The term *artifacts* refer to concrete things in the forms of physical individual entities. The entities are the real form of culture, they are visible, touchable, and capturable as claimed by Koentjaraningrat (2009: 151). Regarding to this, there are lots of historical heritages in Lombok like palace, temples, and arts. The heritages were strongly influenced by the mixture of Balinese

and Sasaknese culture system, specifically in Islam and Hindu religion systems. We can see some Sasaknese legacies such as Ancient-Mosque Bayan Beleq, Ancient-Mosque Gunung Pujut, Ancient-Mosque Rembitan, and Seriwa Pejanggik cemetery, seen in Figure 11. On the other side, the Balinese ancient legacies are known as Cakranegara Meru temple, Lingsar Park, Suranadi temple, Narmada Park, and Mayura Park of Cakranegara.

**Figure 11.** Sasaknese Muslim Legacies



The ancient-mosque Bayan is located in Bayan Beleq district, one of North Lombok regions. Bayan are hilly areas with the background of the base or foot of Mount Rinjani in the south. The mosque was constructed over the highest uneven ground surface. This concept adopted the faith of Hindus where the sacred places should be located on the highest level of surface. The highest level represents the saintly orientation of Hindus, for examples mountains, hills, and alike. Another different thing compared to the general mosques, the height of the circumference of the poles of Bayan Beleq is only 125 cm far than normal adult height, so that people have to duck when getting into it. At the *blandar*, some wood-made ornaments shaped like fish and birds are placed right on a place called *jait*, they represent the underworld and the upperworld respectively. There is a podium decorated with some ornaments shaped like dragons, trees, chicken, eggs, and deer. They all are considered as results of pre-Islam influence in Lombok.

Meanwhile, the name of ancient-mosque Gunung Pujut was taken from its location right on the Gunung Pujut hill, precisely in Sengkol village, Pujut district, Central Lombok regency. Sudirman (2011: 47) argues that the areas of this mosque including *pedewaq*, i.e. a place of worship for *Wetu Telu* followers, are used for typical regular religious ceremony. The *pedewaq* was established over the high-land, and it is considered as similar as the concept of both Hindu megalith holiness. The ritual was commonly led by a figure of religion so-called as *pemangku*. It was well-thought-out name for a link-up between human realm and forefather spirits or Gods like Wisnu and Guru. Besides, ancient-mosque Rembitan is another legacy of Islam Sasaknese which is located in Rembitan village, Pujut district, Central Lombok regency. This mosque looks similar to Gunung Pujut mosque as influenced by Hindus, for example, the roof was formed as similar as the system of *Meru* like the most Balinese temple.

Moreover, Seriwa Pejanggik cemetery in Seriwa district, Central Lombok regency is another concrete evidence of the Hindu religion influence due to its location over the hill. Hindus believe that it symbolizes the place where the forefather spirits or Gods reside. They pay homage to who had died especially to the king by burying them in a high place such hills.

The artefacts of Balinese are found in many places in Lombok. Reminding that this island was under some Hindu kingdoms, for example Cakranegara or Mataram kingdom. Some ancient legacies of Balinese are notorious as Cakranegara Meru temple, Lingsar park, Suranadi temple, Narmada park, and Cakranegara Mayura park. Interestingly, some of them were motivated by the Sasaknese impacts. For examples, in particular temples like Suranadi and Lingsar, there is a special sacred place called as *kemaliq* similar to *pedewaq* mentioned previously. The local community used to call it as *penglukatan* temple referring to a place for the sanctification of all forms of negative things in the body in the form of sins either from residual previous actions or from current life deeds. In addition to the fact that Lingsar temple is Hindus sacred place for praying, there is *kemaliq* in this temple used by Sasaknese to show their adoration. In point of fact, the *perang topat* ceremony is held in this temple by both Sasaknese and Balinese. Both ethnics believe that *Kemaliq* as a part of their religion system. Up to now, some followers of Islam *Wetu Telu* still make it a place of worship covertly. Figure 12 suggests *Kemaliq* building in Lingsar temple.

Figure 12. *Kemaliq* in Lingsar temple



## Conclusion

The results of the analysis of genealogical acculturation of Balinese and Sasaknese cultures in Lombok suggest that there are seven elements considered: (1) Language, both ethnics languages are derived from the same language family, Austronesian Malayo-Polynesian. In the interaction realm, some Balinese language elements are absorbed as subtle language by Sasaknese. Meanwhile, the combination of both ethnics' dialect causes a typical characterization of Balinese dialect and terminology in Lombok which differ from common dialect in Bali; (2) Knowledge system where Sasaknese calendar system adopted Hindus astronomic system for particular purposes. It is combined with the Hijri calendar system as well; (3) Social organization. Both ethnicities have the same kinship system, namely patrilineal. There is harmonization in several matters regarding the culture of marriage and rights inheritance; (4) Living equipment system and technology acculturation. Living in the similar agrarian culture, they are match in terms of farming tools, food, suits, forms of house, and weapon usage; (5) Livelihood system. Farming becomes a primary activity for most people of both ethnics; therefore, the system of irrigation seems as an alternative acculturation of them; (6) Religion system. In this case, there is intensive acculturation of the two ethnicities so that it bears new understandings from Sasaknese and some systems adopted by Balinese; and (7) Arts. The combination of those ethnicities bear brand-new arts like *Gandrung* and *Joget* dances, or *Gendang Beleq* instruments.

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