



Wetu Telu in Bayan Lombok: Dialectic of Islam and Local Culture

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Abstract

Islam reached Lombok Island in the sixteenth century, approximately in 1545, which was brought by SunanGiri, the son of SunanPrapen, one of the prominent Islamic preachers known as Wali Songo, through an expedition from Java. Prior to its arrival in the Island, according to some historians, the indigenous Sasak (the indigenous people of Lombok) embraced a traditional belief known as Boda. Historically, since its establishment, Islam has perpetually been expanding despite facing some distinct and contradictory values of local tradition and culture, which leads to a kind of dialectical process and turns in what is known as local Islam such as Islam WetuTelu in Bayan, West Lombok. This article is aimed at revealing the historical root of religious identity of Sasak community. The historical sketch of its religious identity produces a combination of traditional, cultural and religious values of the comers with those of the indigenous people in the past, WetuTelu religion. Present Muslims in Lombok assume that the existence of traditional Islam is due to an incomplete process of Islamization in the Island.

Keywords: Boda, Agama, Local culture, WetuTelu, Waktu Lima

Introduction

Before Islam made its way into the archipelago, a wide range of traditional beliefs were widely practiced and well integrated with the existing local social structure. Hence, when Islam came, it was confronted with the ancient values characterized the elements of Hindu-Buddhist. However, instead of demolishing all of the non-Islamic elements, Islam accommodated them, and it was synchronized with the local traditions. The existence of Islam Abangan in Java, and Islam Wetutelu in Lombok is the evidence of the assimilation, which is known and embraced as local Islam.

On the island of Java, Lombok and other areas, Islam is laden with the local indigenous culture "... Islam, with a few exceptions, practiced throughout the Indonesian archipelago as a traditional folk religion—it shares local beliefs everywhere".² In addition, unsurprisingly, most Muslims view Islam as narrowly as the Creed; abstain from eating pork and drinking alcohol, and it is obliged for men to be circumcised.

The distinct perspectives, understanding and practices of Islamic teachings, and its assimilation into a certain specific local structure have been accounted for the plurality and parochialism of Islam in Indonesia. Soebardi describes the plurality of sub-culture of Islam in Indonesia as the following:

"In reality is of pluralistic Islam. It is straightforward to find Muslims with different ways of life and teachings of Islam. Some orthodox Muslims obviously adhere to the rules and teachings of Islam. On the other hand, there are many people who call themselves as Muslims, yet having limited knowledge of Islamic laws and do not act according to its principles in everyday encounters. In addition to that, there are also pre-Islamic elements or means of worship."³

The elaboration above shows that there is a plurality of religious expressions in Indonesia. On the island of Lombok are two variants of Islam, namely *Waktu Lima* Islam (General Islam with five times prayer) and *Islam Wetu Telu*. The former pertains to *samāwi* (the divine religion), whereas the latter can be categorized as a traditional religion. These do not segregate both of them; however, they can overlap in which both share certain characteristics to some extents and vice versa. In other words, the traditional belief encompasses distinctive values, concepts, perspectives and practices to some extents, which can also be found, even more parochial, in the former.

The characterization of *Wetu Telu* as a traditional religion, and *Waktu Lima* as the divine religion does not entail total segregation. Some valuable characteristics of *Waktu Lima* are prevalent in *Wetu Telu*. These include the use of Arabic words in their rituals taken from Koran (Islamic holy book), the role of Islamic scholars as Imam, and mosques, which become essential elements of *Wetu Telu* deriving from the generally known Islam. The inclusion of the Quranic verses in the so called traditional religion indicates the esoteric quality which, however, does not change the substantial forms of animism and anthropomorphism.³

Formulation of The Problem: Research Questions

Based on the background of the problem, the main issues will be answered in this study are; 1) how different belief systems *WetuTelu*; 2) how religious practice *Wetu Telu* in everyday life.

Objectives And Use Of Research

This study aims to learn in depth how the existence *WetuTelu* in the routine implementation of the understandings they are against the teachings of Islam. Theoretically this paper is expected to contribute an analysis of the process of indigenization of Islam in one part of the territory of Indonesia. In practical terms, is expected to bring an attitude of tolerance towards certain groups who have their own understanding of Islam when dealing with local tradition.

Research Methods

This research is a field research (field research). The method used is qualitative method with an induction analytic reasoning based on analysis of data with continuous basis, both when in the field and after returning to the table.

Parokialitas indigenous religious patterns *WetuTelu* community will be approached with the approach of cultural anthropology,⁴ which is the theory of cultural diffusion. Diffusion in terms of their deployment process of a foreign culture, which came to a certain area where there had been an early local culture that ultimately occurred cultural acculturation.

The research location is housed in North Lombok Bayan village. The village election is considered to represent the problem of Islamic acculturation process and local culture, because the Sasak people located in the village of Bayan, claiming to be a Muslim but his religious routines still becorak local customs (syncretic).

Informants in this study was determined by the concept Spradley,⁵ that principle requires a informan it must understand the local culture. For the determination of the informants was done by using snowballing. It is then determined based on the key informant indigenous elders Bayan village are closely associated with the processes parokialitas indigenous Sasak Muslim community on an ongoing basis at these locations.

While the other informant is determined based on previous informant to obtain the saturation values (there are no more new information). Thus, the number of informants are unlimited. Characteristics of the informants also not entirely determined by the researchers, but based on previous informant. Through that

recommendation, the researchers contacted the informant next to the data obtained to get a unified whole.

Data were collected using participant observation techniques and in-depth interviews (depth interview). In doing participant observation also adhered to the concept Spradley.⁶ Approach participants been to establish a good relationship with the informant that scientists easily perform in-depth interviews. All data is the result of in-depth interviews and observations of everyday accurately recorded and collected as much detail as possible so that it becomes a record field or fieldnotes.⁷ During the informant did not mind it in the implementation of interviews, all the talk was recorded using a special diary. While in the observation using tustel. All the data were analyzed qualitatively. To achieve credibility of the data is done by continuous observation and triangulation. Continuous observation done by repeatedly. Triangulation is done by checking the informant after the interview transcribed.

The data have been obtained through this research are collected using a qualitative approach in the form of in-depth description of the condition of rural communities and socio-cultural diversity that exists. Data analysis is a process of continuous assessment both in the field and after the field.⁸ The analysis done by managing, sorting, classifying, coding, and categorizing data. After that, look for the themes of culture is likely to become the focus of research. The focus of this research deepened through observation and subsequent interviews. In this analysis the talk is of data and researchers did not do the interpretation. If there is interpretation, it is the result of the interpretation of dialectics informant Islam and local traditions.

Religion, Islam and Tradition

There are three terms that constitute the meaning of religion, namely the religion itself, religion, and the term *din*.⁹ Etymologically, the meaning of religion derives from the Sanskrit which consists of *a* = not, and *gam* = go, which means do not go, fixed, static, has been around a long time, been a tradition, inherited from generation to generation. The religious meaning of the word *gam* is scripture, guidance, or guidelines. Hence, religion is based on the teachings of the holy book, which is used as a grip rule of human life.¹⁰ There is also another definition of the word *a* = not, *gamma* = chaotic, which means that religion is an orderly and peaceful system of life.¹¹

Thus, it can be said that religion is a doctrine that has existed since ancient time, inherited from generation to generation, which serves as a

guidance and rule of life generated from a peaceful and orderly scripture of human life.

Terminologically, the religious meanings equivalent to [the same as] the understanding of religion in European languages, and the term *din* in Arabic. The term stems from the word religion *religie* in Dutch, or religion in other European languages, such as English, French, and German, which is derived from the Latin: *Lerigare* [*re* means back, *lerigare* means bound / bond].

Thus, the term religion can be defined as a system of life that is bound by norms or rules, in which the highest norms or rules are the norm or regulation that comes from God. Religion can also mean as Earnest Observance of ritual obligation and an inward spirit of reference.¹²

Religion in the sense Glock and Stark, as quoted DjamaludinAncok,¹³ is a system of symbols and beliefs, valuable systems and institutionalized behavior, all of which centered on the problems experienced as the most meaningful.

Similarly, Robert H. Thouless defines religion as an attitude and adaptation to the world that encompasses all environmental elements which are bound by space and time.¹⁴

William James argued that religion as feelings, actions, and experiences of each human being in the 'silence'.¹⁵ Religious consciousness is based on subjective experience. There are three traits that characterize religion, namely the first, personal, religion is a very personal in accordance with the reality completely; second, emotionality, as the essence of religion in the form of emotional and behavior based on religious feeling; and third, diversity in religious experience.¹⁶

Furthermore, Anthony Giddens explains that religion consists of a set of symbols, which evokes a feeling of reverence and solemn, and associated with various ritual practices and ceremonies performed by adherents of community.¹⁷ As a system of meaning, religion provides certain explanations and interpretations on various issues, and others remain as a mystery. Religion provides answers to questions about the origins of the universe and of man in the life, death and life after death in a nuanced concept of raptures. Therefore, Geertz¹⁸ argued that religious beliefs define the order of social strata and give meaning to the world with reference to the transcendental region.

This means that the explanation and meaning inherent in a religion are beyond the limitations of the human mind and logic. Giddens added that there is always the 'object' of certain supernatural beings whose existence is beyond the reach of human senses that bring awe--Supernatural

objects that can be "a divine force or personalization of the gods".¹⁹ In Islam, the divine power itself is God, whereas the supernatural creature worshiped is one but has several manifestations such as gods, spirits of the ancestors, and other supernatural powers.

In addition, religion also sets a "moral guidelines" that controls and limits the conduct of its adherents.²⁰ Religion imposes various institutions and norms and demands that its adherents to behave according to the rules and norms that have been outlined. The goal is to direct and guide its followers in the right path, the path that ushers them into safety.

While the term derived from the Arabic *din*, which, among others, can be defined as: a habit or behavior, as in the verse of Koran [QS 6: 156, 25: 12, 109: 6]; roads, regulation or law of God [Q.S. 12: 76]; obedience or adherence [Q.S. 16: 52];, rewarded or fair [Q.S. 1: 3, 51: 6, 82: 17].

Thus, it can be formulated that religion is a human habit or behavior that is based on the road, the rules or the law of God, which, if adhered to, will in turn provide a reply in the form kindness and fairness. In the Qur'anic term, *din* is used both for Islam and other religions, including the ancestral religion of the Quraysh, as in the verses QS 109: 6, 48: 28, and 61: 9.

The term *din* connotes special meaning in the religion of Islam led by the Prophet Muhammad, if associated with the words, *Allah*, *al-Haqq al-Qayyim*, and *al-Khalish*, it becomes *Allah Din*, *Din al-Qayyim*, and *Din al-Khalish*.²¹

While word *adat* (tradition) derives from Arabic, *'Addah*, which is literally synonymous with the word *urf*, which means habit, custom or practice. While the meaning of the word *'urf* itself is "something that has been known".²² From this etymological meaning, it can be understood that the traditional means or the repeated practices that have become a habit can be performed individually (*'adah fardliyah*) or in groups (*'adah jama'iyah*). In addition to that, *urf* is defined as the practices that occur repeatedly and can be accepted by a reasonable person. For this reason, it refers to a habit of many people in a community, whereas tradition is more associated with the habit of a small group of people in society. However, some other jurists who understand these two terms opine that they are not different.

Similarly, Subhi Mahmasani opines that the word indigenous and *urf* have similar meaning (*al-'urf bi wa al-'adahma'na bully*).²³ However, another interpretation was drawn from "something that has been known to" to "something that can be accepted by a society" such as custom itself. The latter definition is widely adopted to refer to the two terms. Being

equivalent to the word *urf*, the author uses the term indigenous throughout this paper to show consistency, which means “custom” or “habit”.

Teoretically, custom is not recognized in the Islamic jurisprudence²⁴; however, it plays a pivotal role in the process of creating the Islamic law in various legal sectors in Muslim countries.

Indigenous generally refers to the long-standing convention, either deliberate or the result of accidental adjustments to the state, which is adhered to and highly exalted deeds or deeds.²⁵

Islam WetuTelu: Belief and Rite Religiosity

The 20th century Western sociologist such as Van Eerde and Professor Bousquet stated that there are three religious groups constituting the indigenous Sasak, namely *SasakBoda*, *Waktu Lima* and *WetuTelu*. *SasakBoda* was the indigenous religion of the people. In spite of having homophone with the word “Buddhist” (*Buda* in Sasak language), they were not adherent to the religion, because they did not acknowledge Sidartha Gautama as the prominent figure in the religion or the teachings of enlightenment.²⁶ The traditional belief, according to ErniBudiwanti, was characterized by animism and pantheism. The veneration and worship of ancestral spirits from various other local deities were the main focus of practice of its followers.

The adherents of *Boda* was a small community and was still found in the early 20th century, who was assumed to have dwelled in the Northern part of mount Rinjani (Bayan and Tanjung district) and some of whom were in the Southern part of the mountain. It was assumed that they were from the central part of Lombok, but fled to the mountainous regions to avoid the process of Islamic penetration.

While *Wetu Telu* are identical to the people who in their daily encounters very strictly adhere to the customs of their ancestors.²⁷ In the teaching of *WetuTelu* is a myriad of Islamic elements, yet with more articulated meaning in traditional idioms. Here the colors mixed with the traditional religion, but custom itself is not always compatible with religion. Mixing religious practices into this custom lead character *WetuTelu* be very syncretic.

Some, including Geertz as cited by Mark Woodward, have opined that the phenomenon of *WetuTelu* is similar to that of Javanese Islamic Abangan in Java. However, Prince Gedarip, a chief of tribal Karangsalah, denies the term “*WetuTelu*” used to refer to the traditional religion. According to him, Islam is only one; there is no polarization between *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. “Actually *WetuTelu* is not a religion, but a custom”, he said.²⁸

Furthermore, he stated that the indigenous people of *WetuTelu* recognize two Islamic creeds, "the power of Allah and the prophet Muhammad is as a messenger of God". After reciting in Arabic, as Gedarip said, it is stated in Sasak vernacular as the following:

"*Asyhadu ingsun sinuru anak sinu. Anging stoken ngaraning pangeran. Anging Allah pangeran. Ka sebenere lan ingsun anguruhi. Setukhune Nabi Muhammad utusan demi Allah. Allahhuma Shalli 'ala Sayidina Muhammad*". Meaning: "I bear witness that there is not god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of God." After this spiritual testimonial, one is accepted as a Muslim.

Furthermore, he indicated that the birth of Islam *Wetu telu* term is derived from the Dutch colonial era that run political "divide et impera" to break up the power of Islam by using and promoting the dichotomy between *WetuTelu* and *Waktu Lima*.²⁹

Wetu Telu members in Bayan (a district where the majority of the traditional beliefs' followers dwell) opine that there are at least four concepts of *WetuTelu*. Although different, the four concepts pertain to single meaning, because each respondent interviewed acknowledged that other *WetuTelu* figures have the same opinions.

First, the view that *WetuTelu* as a three-reproductive system, assuming that the word "*Wetu*" derives from the word "*Metu*", which means arise or come from, while "*Telu*" means three. Symbolically speaking, it is revealed that all living things come (*metu*) through three kinds of reproductive system: (1) gave birth to (*menganak*), like humans and mammals; (2) laying (*menteluk*), like a bird; and (3) breed of seed or fruit (*mentiuik*), such as grains, vegetables, fruits, trees and other vegetation. However, the belief of *WetuTelu* is not limited to philosophy, it also refers to the omnipotence of God that allows the creatures to live and breed themselves through the reproduction mechanism.³⁰

Second, the view that *WetuTelu* symbolizes the mutual dependence of living beings (symbiosis mutualism), which perceives that the region is divided into the cosmological universe: large and small universe. The former is regarded as the universe or *mayapada*, encompassing the earth, the sun, moon, stars and other planets. Humans and other creatures pertain to the latter universe as being entirely dependent on the large universe

Third, the notion which perceives *WetuTelu* as a religious system manifested in the belief that all beings go through three stages of the cycle circuit; born (*menganak*); live (*urip*); and die (*mate*).

Ritual activities are strongly adhered to this cycle circuit. Each phase, which is always accompanied by the ceremony, represents the transition and transformation of one's status to the next status; also reflects one's obligations to the spiritual world.

Fourth, the view which sees the primary belief of *Wetu Telu* is faith in God, Adam and Eve. It states that the teaching principles of *Watu Telu* as the followings:

1. Confidential or *Asma* (names of God) that manifests itself in the five senses of the human body.
2. Manifestation of God, manifested in Adam and Eve. Adam symbolically represents the paternal or male, while Eve represents the mother or female line. Each spread four organs in the human body.
3. Power of God is a combination of five senses (from God) and 8 organ inherited from Adam (male line) and Eve (female line). Each nature of God can be found in every hole in the human body-from the eye to the anus.³¹

For these reasons, *Wetu Telu* holds rituals associated with the cycle. The rituals (ceremony) associated with life called *Gawe Urip*, which encompasses all stages of human life since birth until married. Specifically, this includes:³²

1. *Buang Au* (Disposing ash). Birth Ceremony is an ash disposal ceremony taken from woods burned by *belian* (traditional midwife) after helping childbirth. It is held approximately one week after giving birth. At the same time, the parents announce the name of their child after having consulted with a Muslim cleric or related stakeholders.
2. *Ngurisang* (Hair Cutting), a hair cutting ceremony is held after the *exhaust au*. It is conducted for a child who has reached the age of between 1 to 7 years. *Ngurisang* is considered important because a child will be regarded *Selam* (Muslims) after the ceremony, as opposed to *Boda*, meaning that a person who remains non Muslim.
3. *Ngitanang* (circumcision), done when the child is between 3 to 10 years old. Like the first and second ritual ceremony, *Ngitanang* is also seen as a symbol of islamization. a child remains *Boda* unless he is circumcised.
4. *Merosok* (Flatten Teeth), a ceremony which marks the transition from childhood to adulthood. In this ceremony, clerics soften the front teeth of boys and girls lying on *berugaq* (gazebo).
5. *Merariq* / *Mulang* ("steal" Girl) and *Metikah* (Marriage).

While rituals associated with death is called *Gawe Pati* (rituals of death and after death). The ceremony is carried out starting from the day of the burial (*nusurtanah*), the third day (*nelung*), the seventh day (*mituq*), the ninth day (*nyiwaq*), the fortieth day [*matang puluh*], the hundredth [*nyatus*] until the thousandth [*nyiu*].

This ceremony aims to link the spirits of the dead with the world of the ancestors. It is closely related to the perception over the traditional Islam which views that the death is a step to ensure the higher stages, namely nobility (circle ancestors), and rituals to ensure the achievement of this stage. Performing prayers during the ceremony is expected to reunite the spirit of the dead with his ancestors.

Of the four interconnected concepts above, the elements of Islam exist in the belief of *Wetu Telu*. These can also be found in the rituals regarding the Islamic holidays, such as:³³

1. *Rowah Wulan* and *Sampet Jumat*, both ceremonies are intended to welcome the month of fasting (Ramadhan). *Rowah Wulan* held on the first day of the month of *Sya'ban* (the 8th month in Islamic calendar); on the other hand, *Sampet Jumat* is held on Friday in the end of the month. The goal is to purify sins as a means for welcoming the month of fasting, in which they are required to refrain from the acts that are prohibited according to the Islamic principles in order to maintain the sanctity of the month.

These ceremonies are unique because the religious members of *Wetu Telu* are not fasting. Fasting is only carried out by *Kiai* (Islamic clerics), even the practice is not the same as that of performed by *Islam Waktu Lima*.

2. *Maleman Qunut* and *Maleman Likuran*. *Maleman Qunut* is a ritual that indicates the success of having fasted for half month. It is held in the night of the sixteenth day of the month of fasting. When compared with *Waktu Lima* on the same religious ritual, *Qunut* is performed in the night of the sixteenth day when doing the last rak'ah prayer *Witr*, particularly after *Tarawih* prayers (extra prayers performed at night during Ramadhan).

While *maleman likuran* a ceremony held on the evening of the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, and 29th of the fasting month. The celebration is called *malemanselikur*, *malemantelulikur*, *malemanselae*, *maleman pituq likur*, and *maleman siwaq likur*. On these nights, *Wetu Telu* society in turn serves food for clerics who carry out the *tarawih* prayers in the ancient mosque. As for the night of 22, 24, 26, and 28 is celebrated

with a meal shared by clerics. This celebration is called charity *malemanlikuran*.

3. *Maleman Fitrah* and *High Eid* *Maleman Fitrah* (charity given to poor during Ramadhan) characterized by the time of payment of tithes in *Waktu Lima*. The implementation in *Watu Telu* is different from that of *Waktu Lima*. In the tradition of *Wetu Telu*, *Maleman Fitrah* is the time when each member of the community gathers *Fitrah* (charity) to clerics who are fasting and shared among the clerics themselves. The given charity is in different forms. In the teachings of *Waktu Lima*, the tradition of Islam in general, the charity is a certain amount of food given only to those who are alive. On the other hand, in the tradition of *Wetu Telu*, the charity is given in the form of food, agricultural products, as well as money, including ancient money, and is given to both for the living and the dead. Charity intended for the living ones is called *Fitrah Urip*, and *Fitrah Pati* which is intended for the dead. While *Lebaran Tinggi* (High Eid) is characterized by the application of *Idul Fitri* (the greatest day of Muslim, usually at the end of fasting month) in *Waktu Lima*; in *Watu Telu*, it is celebrated by having meals between religious leaders and tribal leaders, and the members of *Wetu Telu*.
4. *Lebaran Topat* (Eid cake rice) held a week after eid ceremony High. In this celebration, the entire Kiai led prince do prayer *Qulhu Sataq* or four rak'ah prayer that is characterized by the reading of al-Ikhlâs, each one hundred times. *Lebaran Topat* ends with a meal shared among the clerics. In this celebration, the diamond became the main ritual meal.
5. *Lebaran Pendek* (Eid Short) is identical with the implementation of Eid al-Adha in *Waktu Lima*. It is usually held two months after *Lebaran Topat*, which begins with prayers among the Islamic clerics, followed by having food together, and ends with cutting black goats.
6. *Selamatan Bubur Puteq* (ceremony of white porridge) and *Bubur Abang* (red porridge): these are held on the 10th of Muharram (1st Islamic calendar) and 8th of Safar (2nd month of Islamic calendar) according to the calendar of *Wetu Telu*, which are intended to commemorate the advent of mankind and their breeding through marriages. *Bubur puteq*

(white porridge) and *Bubur abang* (red porridge) are the main ritual dish consumed in the events. The former symbolizes sperm that represents the male, whilst the latter symbolizes menstrual blood that represents women.

7. Maulud in Sasak language implies that this ceremony is associated with the memorial birthday of the Prophet Muhammad as practiced by Waktu Lima. At the same time Wetutelu commemorates the marriage of Adam and Eve. Like in other ceremonies, praying and eating together are prevalent in the ceremony.

Another belief is the belief in ancestral spirits and the spirits who occupy inanimate objects called gatekeepers (guard). Ancestral spirits are considered important in the credence of Wetutelu as evidenced by among those living today having relevance to and obligations on those who had died. Therefore, every ceremony, whatever they are called, always begins with a tomb cleansing ceremony and put some objects to be lodged at ancestral graves before all ceremonies performed. It is intended to ask for permission and notify the ancestors that they held a ceremony.

Dialectic of Islamic and Local Cultural

Islam as a system encompasses two basic elements that make up a single entity, each of which can not be separated. That element is the doctrine or creed that is dogmatic and serves as a core element on one side; and a civilization which is historical and contextual as another element (peripheral element) on the other side. Creed becomes the core element because it is a substantive spirit of Islamic religion, whose absence will turn in meaningless, whereas the latter element, the civilization, given physical form can be observed by naked eyes if it appears to the surface.

Doctrinal terms, Islam entails permanent and long-lasting transcendental messages, but when these messages are reaching the Muslim community, in practice, the Islamic color can vary depending on the various existing interpretations due to the differences in perception, interpretation, which consequently leads to the formation of highly heterogeneous and dynamic Islam, according to the dimensions of space and time. The latter aspect has become a significant factor for the formation of Islamic identity in social, political, and cultural history which has dialectical differences but in principle underlies the same theological spirit.

Thus, Islam should be seen as a dialectical system that includes aspects of purposes and reality, including the dimensions of faith (belief) in

the form of monotheism, and implemented into practical dimension that includes rituals, culture and traditions and other Islamic traditions.

As a further consequence of the above understanding, the aspects of Islamic purposes are often referred to as, borrowing a phrase used by Fazlur Rahman, "normative Islam" or the term of Richard C. Martin, "formal Islam", the provisions set out explicitly in the primary Islamic texts. Meanwhile, the practical aspects concerning the historical dimension of Muslims vary according to external factors surrounding it. This latter aspect is subjective as a result of the accumulation of knowledge from generation to generation and acculturative dialogue between "formal Islam" and specific local Islamic culture.

In assessing the meaning of Islam and its derivatives, there are at least two approaches used, namely textual approach and contextual approach. Textual approach emphasizes the significance of texts is central to the Islamic studies with reference to the sources of the sacred (pristine source) in Islam, especially the Koran and Al-Hadith (statements of the prophet Muhammad). This approach plays a vital role when looking at the reality of normative Islam written either explicitly or implicitly.

It is not deniable that the phenomenon of religious rituals is far blended with local traditions, such as beliefs and very diverse rituals syncretic or Abangan. Many Islamic researchers in Indonesia provide information about Islam that is so distinct from that of Arabia (Middle East).³⁴

This phenomenon is also admitted by Martin van Bruinessen, as evidenced by the availability of many practices characterized Islam Abangan in other parts of the Islamic world. He compared the description of the Abangan by observing the daily life of the peasants of Egypt, in the early 19th century, as discussed in classical studies conducted, such as the work of Lane: *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Behavior and Habits of People Modern Egyptians). Some less Islamic practices seen in the religious acts of Javanese is also prevalent in the Egyptians.³⁵

In addition, Islam contributes the existence of a myriad of magical practices, which even undoubtedly derive from the holy land (Mecca). It comprises a lot of popular magical texts and prophecies, which are also known as the horoscope or in the Islamic version known as *Mujarobat* book, which are taken directly from the works of North African Muslim writer between the 12th and 13th centuries, namely Sheikh Ahmad al Buni.³⁶

Some local beliefs and practices have become part of the global cultural complexity. Many contemporary Indonesian Muslims are reluctant to regard them as Islam because they oppose the general Islamic principles.

However, continued Martin, in some cases, they come to Indonesia as part of the expansion of the Islamic civilization although it does not become the backbone of the Islamic religion. They represent the early Islamic movement, and it is a fallacy to say that Islamization penetrates at once, but rather a process that began from the 13th century to 15 H.³⁷

To answer the question above, the approach proposed by Mark R. Woodward to mediate the local disparity between the normative Islam and Islam in general can be used. It is arranged chronologically on four basic categories, namely:³⁸

First, Islam universalist; the introduction to universal Islam is done at the beginning as it entails the teachings of Islam, which is called *Qoth'i* as outlined in the Koran and Hadith. This includes the monotheism, arkan al-Islam, and other religious creeds taken to be taught.

Secondly, Islam essentialist; the use of this term is initially borrowed by Woodward of Richard C. Martin to show the mode of ritual practices which, although not explicitly delegated by texts universalist, but is widely practiced by Muslims on the basis of a substantial justification of the spirit of the holy source. Included in this category are the annual ceremony Maulid Nabi Muhammad; reading *zikr*, *halaqah-halaqah* practiced by Sufis; traditional ritual to honor the saints; pilgrimages to holy places; and traditions *slametan*. *Tahlilan* is widely practiced in some Muslim countries, such as India, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Thus, it can be said that this Islamic category is very inclusive.

Third, received Islam; literally, received Islam can be translated to "received" or "understood". Woodward honestly does not present a satisfactory description of this third category. He only mentions that received Islam as a bridge between universalist and essentialist categories with local Islam. Furthermore, he added that the concrete example of this category is the dominance of the Sufi teachings that affect the development of local Islam in Java. This kind of Islam is dynamic; it changes with the knowledge or interpretation of the texts of essentialist.

Fourth, a local Muslim; it can be defined as a set of written texts, oral tradition or ritual whose presence is not known in the area of origin of Islam (Mecca). According to Woodward, manuscripts or Javanese mystical tradition is the most obvious example of this type and their Islam is a logical implication as a result of interaction between local cultures and received Islam.

Drawing on the elaboration above, it is likely that the textual approach does not seem to have clear boundaries to differentiate between so-called "Islamic" and "non-Islamic". However, it implies that this approach

can be applied in any area as long as within the scope of Islamic rituals. Yet, the lack of clarity about the limits of Islam can be a weakness to the textual approach.

Accommodation, Adaptation and Acculturation Inter-Islam With Local Culture

The religious life of Muslims nowadays can not be separated from the spread of Islam in Indonesia since several centuries ago. When Islam arrived in Indonesia, the archipelago culture had been influenced by Hinduism and Buddhism, not to mention the strength of traditional beliefs, such as animism, dynamism, and so on.³⁹ Islamic culture eventually became a small tradition in the midst of Hinduism and Buddhism and other small traditions. Then, it interplays and maintains its existence.

Areas of the country that were first approached by Islam were the business centers in major cities in the coastal area. Orthodox Islam could reach farther toward some islands beyond Java, with little influence of Hinduism and Buddhism. Meanwhile in Java, Islam faced resistance from the mainstream religions of the time, Hinduism and Buddhism. With this regard, Islam did not only have to determine the target, but also have to domesticate itself.⁴⁰ Conflicts and resistance to local cultures forces Islam to get the symbols aligned with the custom of the local community.

Islamic ability to adapt to the local culture paves the way for Islam to penetrate to the bottom-most layer of the society. As a result, Islamic culture is strongly influenced by the culture and the culture of farmer's inland, so that Islamic culture is undergoing a transformation not only because of the geographical distance between Arab and Indonesia, but also due to the cultural distances.

The process of acculturation like this would generate big risk, because in certain circumstances, openness to other culture often results in somewhat being divergent on the Islamic goals. This eventually turns in what is known as Java or syncretism *Islam Abangan*. While on the island of Lombok is known as *Islam Wetu Telu*.

Islamisation process that takes place in the archipelago is basically on the way to acculturation. It is generally known that Islam spread to the archipelago as the principle of normative aspects of art and culture. Meanwhile, society and culture in which Islam was disseminated is an empirical nature. In this context, as intelligent beings, humans are basically religious and most knowledgeable in their own world. In this logic flow, people, through their cultural behaviour, continuously improve self-

actualization. Therefore, in each of acculturation, many people utilize and change things to best fit their needs.

From this paradigm, still within the framework of acculturation, was born what is then known as a local genius. Here, local genius could be interpreted as the ability to absorb while holding the selection and processing actively against foreign cultural influences, so it can achieve a novel unique creation, which is absent in the nation of the cultural origin.

On the other hand, implicitly local genius can be specified into some characteristics, namely: withstanding the outside world; being able to accommodate the elements of the outside world; having the ability to integrate external cultural elements into the native culture; and having the ability to control and provide direction for further cultural development.⁴¹

Muarif Ambary, a historian and archaeologist, believes that there are some important things that need attention with regard to the problems of acculturation in the archipelago with the elements of culture from the outsiders, namely: (1) the process of formation of the core culture of archipelago, peninsula, Brunei Darussalam and Mindanao continuous until the moment of cultural contact with the great tradition of India, the Islamic world and Europe; (2) in respect of the contribution resulting from outside the cultural contiguity; and (3) the local culture is acculturation in adapting the elements great tradition.⁴²

As local institutions, Islamic law for Muslim communities, *Waktu Lima* in Bayan and Muslims in general on the island of Lombok can not be separated from the common law, since long before Islam came to Lombok, traditional or customary law has blossomed as an embodiment of the local Sasak culture. Then custom acquired validity after Islam had become the mainstream belief in the island; and in understanding this, it can be said that the customs and teachings of Islam are bound as a single value system which is formulated in terms of "*adat gama*".⁴³ This means that there is a dialectic between customary law and Islamic law, and in turn pervade almost all aspects of the community, providing allowed and prohibited conducts. If there are differences from the traditional Islamic values, such practices and traditional rituals of *Wetu Telu*, it will apply the principles of the absolute truth of Islam that comes from the Koran and al-Sunnah.

This understanding implies that if the principles of custom need to be retained, these must conform to the teachings of religion. The concept of this notion is what the indigenous Sasak tribe call *adat luar gamma*, that customs may apply and be used as a guide in life when it accords with the teaching of religion, or in line with the philosophy of Minangkabau tradition, which states: "*Adat basandi syara' dan Syara' basandi Kitabullah*".⁴⁴

Islamic law in its acceptance of customary law always reconstructs the regulation system, which subsequently becomes the foundation of people's daily lives. This concept clearly differs from receptive theory of SnouckHurgronje who says that Islam is a new law having legal force as if it has been accepted by customary law.⁴⁵

In line with the above view, the parameter used to determine whether or not a custom is in accordance with Islamic values is to see whether the cultural assimilation brings more harm than good into the community. If it is more advantageous, it can be assessed in accordance with the customary norms of religion and vice versa; otherwise, the customary law is invalid and unacceptable.

On the basis of the later jurists to formulate rules of law: al-'adahmuhakkamah. Furthermore, they also qualify custom roles with a variety of requirements in order to remain valid to be a part of Islamic law. Among the qualifications are: (1) customs should generally practiced by the indigenous peoples if it is widely recognized by all members of society; (2) customs should be a habit that is running in the community at the time will be used as the customary law; (3) they must be deemed invalid *ab intio* if custom is contrary to the explicit provisions of the al-Quran and al-Hadith; and (4) in the case of disputes, customs will be used only when there is no explicit refusal to use the custom nature of one of the parties involved.⁴⁶

Meaning of customary law in every region has a diversity of interpretation, as well as different manifestations. Custom expressions are not equal and vary in each regional communities of Indonesia, as revealed by Hefner,⁴⁷ custom term itself has a wide range of regional significance. Thus, indigenous diversity is a symbol of cultural differences, and many ethnic communities often provide justification to the custom as their distinctive identity.

Institution called customs and beliefs *WetuTelu* are characteristics of syncretic religious practices of Islam *WetuTelu* variant, with an emphasis on cultural relationship between indigenous beliefs, *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. Recognition of Islam by the community *WetuTelu* not shift substantially rites called customary, even more meaningful contribution to understandings previously existing original. Consequently, there are no clear boundaries that separate Islamic ideas *Waktu Lima* of Islamic concepts *WetuTelu*, in particular the separation between "traditional" and "trust" *WetuTelu*.

In view *WetuTelu* community in Lombok, substantially *WetuTelu* is a system that binds norms and society as basic guidelines in daily interaction among fellow citizens, which is called "custom"; and in order to sacrifice to

the ancestors, which is called "trust *WetuTelu*". Based on this formula, to determine the actual entry into force of the customs, habits or "customary law", reflected through the activities of individual citizens, either in the form of ideas of actions, thoughts, perceptions, and decisions of authority illegitimate laws, similar to the norms derived from the "trust *WetuTelu*" can be identified through the rites sacred narrative is conveyed through oral and written forms from various circles, or from observations of short religious ceremonies performed by the community. The actual behavior of *WetuTelu* may be reading prayers together in the form of flattery to the ancestral spirits is identified as having supernatural powers, or may be an ancient mosque prayer ceremony in Bayan with magical rites, under the leadership of Kiai and his students, as the priest and the implementation of Islamic worship.

Dialectics customs and beliefs of Islam *WetuTelu* bore compound properties of a social life in which residents are subject to different rules and pluralistic. From this cultural heterogeneity, gave birth to the behavior of the public to always give respect to older people, such as the traditional elders, to the head of their religion (Kiai) as influential traditional authorities. The phenomenon, forming tendency to how a community that in the context of their culture informal official position is more important than formal official. This assumption is rooted in the belief that those officials for informal as a manifestation of the traditional authorities are descendants of their ancestors' village founder Bayan "or people as role models in the context of worship.

A series of local cultural values in Bayan Lombok Sasak tribe in the form of indigenous and local belief systems and "religion", ie, "indigenous" and "trust *Wetu Telu*", basically in Koentjaraningrat language, as cited in the dissertation Idrus Abdullah,⁴⁸ is the result of copyright , taste, and the work, or an experience of the community, generating a certain value system as a shared cultural commons Sasak tribe in this region, which is about what is considered bad-and therefore should be avoided-and what is considered good to be maintained, as well maintained.

Conclusion Remarks

Exposure based on the above results it can be concluded that in essence, telu *Wetu* group is the Muslims who believe that Allah is the Lord of the Universe Allah and Muhammad is his messenger. However, the group *Wetu Telu* still believe that things are mystical and magical, especially the ancestral spirits in the belief that they still have a stake in our daily lives.

Therefore they must be respected by doing various traditional rituals, especially during an lifecycle. It is consequential on their religious practices, in which the obligations of Islam there are many concessions in which pillars of Islam is not executed perfectly.

Are more prominent in religious practices that are social, like the ceremony to celebrate shave newborn child, circumcision, welcome the month of Ramadan, and others, where in practice the nuances of Islamic and local traditions mixed up which eventually happened acculturation and inculturation.

Recommendation

When Islam came to the region, then the region is not without culture. Therefore, all parties can see it wisely when we see a community that is willing to accept Islam, but still firmly holds the local tradition. We should not judge him directly with misguided claims, but we have to do a persuasive approach and gradually in an effort to make changes to a more perfect understanding that horizontal conflict does not occur.

Endnotes:

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- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
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- ²⁸"Masjid Kuno dan Wetu Telu di Bayan Lombok", tanggal 14 Januari 2004, dalam <http://www.lomboknews.com>.
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- ³⁰Budiwanti, *Islam..*,p. 136
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⁴⁸ Abdullah, *Penyelesaian Sengketa...*, p. 138.

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