

LOMBOK ISLAM IN THE EYES OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS: A LITERATURE REVIEW ON ISLAM WETU TELU AND WAKTU LIMA

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Abstract

Sasak adalah kelompok suku terbesar di Lombok. Mereka terbagi ke dalam dua kelompok, yaitu Wetu Telu dan Waktu Lima. Waktu Lima adalah sebuah komunitas yang mendefinisikan diri sebagai penganut Islam ortodoks. Sedangkan Wetu Telu adalah komunitas suku Sasak marginal yang memiliki kepercayaan yang dianggap sinkretik karena mereka masih mempercayai roh-roh nenek moyang mereka. Akan tetapi, sekitar delapan dekade yang lalu, sebagian muslim Lombok masih menjadi penganut Islam Wetu Telu. Perubahan yang sangat cepat ini mengundang banyak sarjana untuk melakukan penelitian tentang hubungan sosial dan keberagaman masyarakat Lombok. Secara khusus, mereka tertarik untuk mengkaji pembagian antara Wetu Telu dan Waktu Lima.

Artikel ini merupakan kajian literatur yang bertujuan untuk mengkaji relasi kuasa antara Wetu Telu, Waktu Lima dan pemerintah. Artikel ini mencoba meninjau konflik-konflik yang timbul dari hubungan-hubungan tersebut. Selanjutnya, artikel ini juga akan mengkaji perubahan paradigma Suku Sasak dan paradigma pemerintah dalam memandang posisi Wetu Telu. Untuk memahami hal tersebut, penulis akan mencoba menggali kajian-kajian antropologi mengenai masyarakat. Banyak literatur yang sudah membahas mengenai masyarakat Wetu Telu dan Waktu Lima. Untuk menganalisis data, penulis menggunakan metode induktif dan metode deskriptif-analitis.

Kata Kunci: *Sasak, islamisasi, konflik, polarisasi, relasi kuasa*

Abstract

Sasak is the largest ethnic group in Lombok. They are classified into two groups, Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. Waktu Lima is a community who define themselves as orthodox believers of Islam. Meanwhile, Wetu Telu is a

marginalized Sasak community whose belief is viewed as syncretic as they still worship their ancestors' spirit. However, about eight decades ago, a half of Lombok Muslims were still Wetu Telu adherents. This rapid change has invited many scholars to conduct their research on social interaction and religiosity of Sasak community. Particularly, they are interested in studying the division of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. This article is a literature review which aims at studying the power relations among Wetu Telu, Waktu Lima and government. It tries to view conflicts arising from the relations. Furthermore, it will see the shift of Sasaknese and government's paradigm in viewing the position of Wetu Telu. In order to understand these, I will explore the anthropological studies on the community. Many literatures have been written on the Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima community. To analyze the data, inductive and descriptive-analytical method will be conducted.

Key Words: *Sasak, Islamization, conflict, polarization, power relation*

Introduction

In every religious society, there must be people who define themselves as orthodox adherents of a certain religion and at the same time, they view other people as heterodox adherents. However, borrowing Gramsci's theory, to define the division of orthodoxy and heterodoxy should be viewed from who have hegemonic power to determine believers as heterodox adherents of certain religions or not. Thus, those who define other people as heterodox adherents usually have a power or at least they are close to –governmental- power. In Indonesian case, orthodox Islam is perhaps represented by Ulama institutions such as MUI (Majelis Ulama Indonesia) which was established by the government, NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), and Muhammadiyah. Those institutions attached to Sunnism which in Islamic history is the holder of orthodoxy.¹

The division of orthodoxy and heterodoxy is also can be found in Sasak community in Lombok.² Here, *Wetu Telu*³ is viewed as a belief which is syncretic that its adherents worship their ancestors' spirit. Even though they are now called as Muslims, people of *Waktu Lima* who define themselves as orthodox believers of Islam are recognizing *Wetu Telu* adherents as incomplete Muslims.

It is noteworthy that before the 20th century, the majority of Lombok people were *Wetu Telu* adherents. However, the process of

Islamization has been started from the middle of the 19th century.⁴ According to Ruth McVey, the success of orthodox *Waktu Lima* in Islamizing Lombok had something to do with the governmental power at that time. Vogelgesang reported that *Wetu Telu* folk were placed under orthodox heads and they found life increasingly difficult. Therefore, a series of movements made by *Wetu Telu* community. As a result, the Dutch government became more convinced in nominating *Waktu Lima* officials in *Wetu Telu* community.⁵ Through this position, *Waktu Lima* leaders easily disseminate their teachings in Lombok.

The illustration above emphasizes that orthodoxy is always near to power. Therefore, this article aims at studying the power relations among *Wetu Telu*, *Waktu Lima* and government. It also tries to view conflicts arising from the relations. Furthermore, it will see the shift of Sasak and government's paradigm in viewing the position of *Wetu Telu*. In order to understand these, I will explore the anthropological studies on *Wetu Telu* community. What are anthropologists' views on Islam *Wetu Telu*? How have been the local government's policies and orthodox Muslim's attitudes to this marginalized community through the times which can be traced in anthropological studies? In addition, how have the *Wetu Telu* community reacted to the outsiders' powers and what have they done in order to maintain their existences? Of the questions, I will conduct my study by library research. Many literatures have been written on the *Wetu Telu* community. To analyze the data, I will conduct inductive and descriptive-analytical method. As regard to some data which were written in Dutch and French, secondary sources will be consulted.

The first Arrival of Islam in Lombok and the Shaping of Sasak Islam

There are at least two theses on where Islam in Lombok came from. The first is that Lombok Islam came from Java. There are many indications for this, for instance mysticism of Islam and syncretism (Islam *Wetu Telu*) as well as Lombok cultures which are somewhat similar to the Javanese Islam. Some names of spring waters are also named Javanese names. However, the big question then is why was Bali which is located east of Java and west of Lombok not Islamized? Therefore, the second thesis states that the Lombok Islam was introduced from Bugis kingdom through Bima and Sumbawa which are located east of Lombok. Nevertheless, there is no strong evidence to prove this thesis.

Most scholars support the first thesis. In this regards, Erni Budiwanti (2000) said that the Lombok Islam as well as the Bugis Islam were introduced from Java which was brought by Pangeran Prapen from Giri Kingdom in Gresik.⁶ She argued that Bayanese, referring to the place where Islam firstly arrived in Lombok, acknowledge that their ancestors firstly received Islam from Sunan Ampel from Java. Their acknowledgement is strengthened by local myth on some places in Bayan which are named by Javanese names, and supported also by sacred old leaf manuscripts which are written in Javanese. Of the question why Bali which is nearer to Java was not Islamized, she argues that at that time, Bali had strong kingdoms. Therefore, Prapen passed Bali and immediately went to Lombok and Bugis for his *da'wah*.

According to Budiwanti, the Macassarese (Bugis) arrived in Eastern Lombok at the end of the sixteenth century and successfully controlled Selaparang, the native Sasak kingdom. Unlike the Javanese, the Macassarese were intolerant of the native beliefs, which, according to them, contaminated the pure teaching of Islam. They brought with them orthodox Sunni teachings which were accepted by the nobility as well as the commoners, especially from Central and Eastern Lombok. Thus, *Waktu Lima* were among those who accepted the Orthodox Sunni teachings from the Macassarese. While, the *Wetu Telu* Muslims were the Sasak who maintained the Islamic Sufism of the initial Javanese evangelists which enabled them to continue their pre-Islamic beliefs and practices.⁷

Due to the lack of written sources, other scholars mainly go back to a palm leaf manuscript which is often referred to by the Sasaknese. Sven Cederroth (1981) in the introduction of his monograph referred to the manuscript when discussing the Islamization of Lombok.⁸ The manuscript tells us a story about the adventures of a Moslem missionary named Pangeran Sangopati. The people of Lombok were converted to Islam through his teachings. Further, Sangopati had two sons, Nurcahya and Nursada. The former who is the older is described as the founder of *Waktu Lima* while the younger is regarded as the founder of *Wetu Telu*. Furthermore, the manuscript tells us that the followers of *Waktu Lima* were struck by all kinds of accidents and suffered sicknesses and famine, on the other hand, the adherents of *Wetu Telu* prospered and were blessed by harvests. In turn, Sasaknese concluded that *Waktu Lima* was not suitable for the Sasaknese and was the cause of all misfortune. Thus,

the *Waktu Lima* pioneered by Nurcahya converted to *Wetu Telu* and leaved *Waktu Lima*. After that, the luck came and the whole Selaparang (Lombok) was richly blessed by God.

Like Cederroth, Leena Avonius (2004) quoted also the old palm manuscript. However, she states that Islam was introduced to the island in the early 16th century by Sunan Prapen, the son of Sunan Giri, not by Pangeran Sangopati. Perhaps they have a different view because they quoted from different versions of the manuscripts even though with the same title. Furthermore, by quoting Ricklefs (1991: 11), Avonius stated that in the eastern part of the archipelago, Islamisation was spread by Javanese whose interests were not merely spiritual but also political and economic.⁹

In this regard, Ruth McVey (1995) saw the Islamisation and the changes on the Lombok society through religious power relation. In the conversion of *Wetu Telu* to *Waktu Lima*, she argued that it has been more or less influenced by the power relation. Bali is located in the west of Lombok, indeed its kingdom of Karangasem had ever conquered the west part of Lombok. This power of Bali preserved the existence of *Wetu Telu*. While, for the east of the island, Gowa (Makassar) and its client Sumbawa provided a military and economic competitor to the Balinese as well as provided ideological reinforcement for Islam. In effect, Lombok was divided into two. The west part was dominated by a direct Balinese presence and by Sasak chiefs who oriented toward syncretist Islam, and the east part was dominated by orthodox Sasak Muslims. Since the Balinese defeat, followed by the transfer of foreign patronage and the removal of many *Wetu Telu* leaders from authority, the old faith of *Wetu Telu* was firstly leaved by Sasaknese in a big number. Since then, the *Wetu Telu* community was marginalized economically and politically.

Overall, I can conclude that there are two phases of Islamisation of Lombok. The first is Islam which was brought from Java. The Javanese Islam as stated by many anthropologists is a more sufistic Islam and thus it is tolerant to local culture. Therefore, when Javanese Islam firstly came to Lombok, it did not completely remove the Sasak customs which contradict Islamic teachings. In turn, it constituted the *Wetu Telu* belief. The second is Islam which was brought by Bugis people. As mentioned, they brought with them orthodox Sunni teachings which is to some extents intolerant to local customs. Therefore, this second phase of Lombok Islamisation shaped

the *Waktu Lima* community among the Sasaknese and converted many *Wetu Telu* adherents to *Waktu Lima*.

Cosmological Concepts and Wisdom of *Wetu Telu*

Nowadays the division between *Waktu Lima* and *Wetu Telu* is blur among the Sasaknese. However, if we ask them about *Wetu Telu*, they will answer that *Wetu Telu* are those who only perform three-times prayer in a day or those whose Islam is incomplete. The Sasaknese's understanding of *Wetu Telu* belief is so limited recently due to the remote and marginal places of *Wetu Telu* which are mostly in the north part of the Lombok island, behind the mount of Rinjani.¹⁰

If the same question is posed to the *Wetu Telu* community, in this case to their leaders (*pemangku*) since only the leaders know the philosophical concept of *Wetu Telu*, they will answer differently and refuse the common understanding of the Sasaknese. To conceive of the *Wetu Telu* belief as the reduction of all obligatory Islamic practices into "three times" is thus distorting the inner meaning of the *Wetu Telu* cosmology. As asked by Budiwanti (2001), according to one of *pemangku*, "*wetu* is often confused with *waktu* (time)". *Wetu* derives from the word *metu*, meaning "to generate" or "come from", whereas *telu* means three. This symbolically expresses that all the living creatures procreate themselves through three types of reproduction system: i) giving birth (*menganak*) such as human beings and mammals, ii) laying eggs (*menteluk*), such as bird, and, iii) multiplying from seedling and fruits (*mentiuik*), such as grains, vegetables, fruits, and other plants. *Menganak*, *menteluk*, and *mentiuik* symbolically represent the literal meaning of *Wetu Telu*. More specifically, this belief refers to the supreme power of God who enables living beings to live and reproduce themselves through those reproductive mechanisms.¹¹ Meanwhile, others define *wetu* as 'law', and *telu* as 'three'. Therefore, *Wetu Telu* means three laws which rule everyday life of the *Wetu Telu* community. Those three laws are *adat* (tradition), *agama* (religion) and *pemerintah* (civil law or administrative regulation).¹² However, this definition can be criticized as the civil law was firstly introduced to the Sasaknese by the Dutch colonial government.

Wetu Telu also symbolizes the dependency of living creatures upon one another. They divided the cosmological realm into the micro-world and the macro-world. The macro world was also called the universe, while the micro-world is the creatures. The dependency unites the two worlds in equilibrium, and through such dependency,

the natural order is established. The Supreme power of God mobilizes the interdependency between living beings and the world as well as between the living beings themselves. The micro-world and the macro world are in need each other. The *pemangku* demonstrates how the principle of equilibrium works in agriculture. If human beings as the component of the micro world are too greedy to exploit the macro-world, they will destroy the equilibrium. Recently people have been disrupting the principle of this equilibrium, such as through deforestation programme.¹³

Iwan Mucipto (2001) showed also how another *pemangku* defined his own belief. Mucipto asked the *pemangku* of Lingsar about the orthodox Muslims' claim that *Wetu Telu* is an incomplete Islam. The *pemangku* however confessed that he is a Moslem who maintains the custom of his ancestors. In addition, the *pemangku* stated that nowadays the majority of Sasak Muslims are not more pious than his group, except their custom is no longer Sasak but Arab. To him, the problem lies on the way how orthodox Muslims make culture and religion as two things which are similar.¹⁴

Furthermore, Mucipto invited us to see *Wetu Telu* from its many aspects. One of which is its positive tradition in conserving the nature. The *Wetu Telu* preservation of the equilibrium of nature is in line with the *Tri Hita Kirana* philosophy of Balinese which is regarded as one of the world's heritages. However, the *Wetu Telu* attitude on the nature usually considered as a primitive culture and a heresy (*bid'ah*).¹⁵ It is *pemangkus* who maintain the taboo (*maliq*) and prohibition of disrupting forest, cutting trees in steep cliffs, cutting trees around the spring water, and applying penalties for those who violate the *adat*. Therefore, the *Wetu Telu* community usually put offering (*sesajen*) when they are entering a forest as their honor to the forest. Of course, *Waktu Lima* regard the practice as *gyirk* or polytheism. On the contrary, *Wetu Telu* consider the disrupting of forest as an extraordinary crime.

Unlike Budiwanti and Mucipto, other anthropologists usually define *Wetu Telu* only from the obvious appearance of how its adherents performed their religious practices without asking them further what *Wetu Telu* means to its adherents. For instance, Albert Leemann (1989), by quoting Albert Polak's definition (1978: 6), defined *Wetu Telu* as a community that do 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 *kbitan* which is not obligated to the Sasak Boda and the Hinduistic Balinese.¹⁶ Regarding *Waktu Lima*, Leemann defines them as Muslims who allege that they have leaved their faith of everything pre-Islamic and orientate themselves conscientiously towards the doctrine of the prophet. As is expressed through the number five (Lima), they acknowledge the five pillars of Islam.

***Wetu Telu* in the Pre Independence Era**

The first study on Lombok Islam by Westernscholars was started by the Swiss naturalist H. Zollinger. As quoted by Leemann, Zollinger said that Sasak, in opposition to the inhabitants of Sumbawa, were not fanatical, believing Muslims. He attributed this to the fact that Islam had not become firmly established and that the number of 'Muslim Priest' and *haji* was very small. However, the division of the Sasak Muslims into *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima* was not known by Zollinger.¹⁷

The polarization firstly identified by the scholars after Zollinger. However, some later anthropologists date back to different scholars who firstly found the classification of *Waktu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. According to Budiwanti, the polarization of Sasak society into some groups was firstly identified by J. C van Eerde (1901). Eerde mentioned that there were three religious grouping among the Sasak in the early twentieth century. The first was the Sasak *Waktu Lima* who were subjugated and completely converted to Islam. The second was the Sasak *Wetu Telu* who were subjugated but only partially Islamized. Finally, there were Sasak-Boda who escaped to the mountains and remained unconverted.¹⁸

However, Leemann and Avoinus saw that Vogelesang (1922), a Dutch colonial official, is the scholar who introduced the idea that Islam in Lombok is divided into two forms, *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. However, the two orientation of Islam seemed to have been less familiar for some Sasaknese. Furthermore, Vogelesang remarked that there were many Sasak Muslims who did not feel part of either the two groups.¹⁹

Vogelesang started to see the division when there were many conflicts between heads of villages and parts of the population, which

aroused the interest of the Dutch controllers as to the division of the native Muslims into the groups 'adat party' and that of 'orthodox Islam'. Subsequently, this condition was intensified by the *da'wah* movement. While the former group gave their loyalties to the Sasak nobles or the traditional rulers and continued venerating the local *adat*, the latter group followed *tuan gurus* as their charismatic religious leaders. The growth of *tuan gurus*' influence was accompanied by the diminishing status of the nobility. Many of the nobles eventually also turned to *Waktu Lima*. Only a few of them maintained their ruling status within their own limited area.

In turn, the *Wetu Telu* were marginalized and tried to concentrate in certain places. Although they were marginalized and were under pressure of *Waktu Lima*, the *Wetu Telu* were still a big number at that time. In this regard, Leemann showed the ratio of *Wetu Telu* to *Waktu Lima* by referring to the previous anthropologists' studies. Around 1930, G.A. Bosselaar estimated that the ratio still lay at about 50% : 50%. However, by the end of the colonial period, the *Wetu Telu* community was a quarter of the Sasak population.²⁰

***Wetu Telu* in the Post Colonial and the New Order Era**

There are many studies on the *Wetu Telu* which have been done during this era. However, most of them are done by Western scholars.²¹ Perhaps, it is because the tap of freedom of thinking and expression were still strictly limited at that time. This relates also to the risks and threats which would be faced by Indonesian scholars if they conducted studies on social conflicts, moreover if it relates to governmental power. Leemann told us how difficult to get license was when he wanted to do his research in Lombok. He said, until 1972, foreigners still needed an authorization from the local military to visit the *Wetu Telu* stronghold Bayan.²²

The main religious issue in the new order era was the issue of agamacization in which the Indonesian government regarded only five religions, Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism. It has been based on the law no. 1/1965. However, this law is very discriminative and political. It was enacted after the tragedy of 1965 in order to block the communist ideology which was regarded as atheism and thus contradicted the first pillar of Pancasila, "belief in the one and only God". The communist ideology at that time was supported by PKI (The Indonesian Communist Party) and to some extents

supported also by Soekarno's party, PNI (Indonesian Nationalist Party).

In this regard, the minorities of the Balinese, the Sasak Boda and the *Wetu Telu* community support Soekarno's party, PNI. In the Old Order era, the Sasaknese were administratively under their own elite, but only at the very lowest level. At the same time, members of the civil service were Balinese and Javanese who typically favoured the nationalist party. Therefore, by supporting PNI, the *Wetu Telu* nobility saw a possibility to strengthen their position which was being threatened as a result of advancing Islamization. They clove to that party in order to gain bureaucratic support against the *Wetu Lima* whose loyalties went to the Muslim Masyumi party. However, after the tragedy of 1965, the promoters of the New Order called on Muslims to crush Communism and its allies. This brought into sweeping of Chinese minority and some Balinese. In turn, the position of *Wetu Telu* was more difficult. PNI was in similar ideology to PKI in the sense that they preserve *adat*. Therefore, as PKI was suspected by the central government of being the troublemaker, almost all of PKI members were persecuted and killed. After the period of punishment of Communists and their alleged sympathizer, followed a phase of religious dispute, orthodox Muslims with the toleration and support of the army forced the *Wetu Telu*—regardless of whether they were former supporters of the PKI or members of the PNI—under threat and the use of violence to convert.²³

In sequence of the tragedy, the New Order which replaced the Old Order has been regulating that Indonesians must profess one of recognized religions and that Muslims must follow a “proper” version of the faith. Of course *Wetu Telu* has become the main target in Lombok and *Waktu Lima* easily swept the *Wetu Telu* adherents since they had the backing from the rulers. The *Wetu Telu* following collapsed, thus all Sasak Islam was to be considered orthodox, and the categories of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima* were officially abolished.²⁴ Moreover, this policy was not only complicating for the syncretic Muslims such as *Wetu Telu* but also for Bodas. Bodas is different from Buddhism and thus it was not regarded as a lawful religion in Indonesia. As a result, its adherents were to choose Buddhism whereas they are different.

The social conflict became also the study of Cederroth(1981) whopublished his monograph which is entitled “The Spell of the Ancestors and the Power of Mekkah”. It tells us about how internal

and external conflicts in the *Wetu Telu* community lead to social change. Some aspects of the change process from syncretism to orthodoxy and the conflicts involved in the process become the main issue of the discussion in his book. For him, the real causes for social change are located in the structure of society. Thereby, to understand the process of change, we must look at how the structural conditions are formed. Internal and external conflict thus become the focus of the study. Cederroth saw that the presence of the Wetu Lima adherents among the *Wetu Telu* community and the dissemination of their teaching has become the cause of external conflicts.

Another external conflict is the relation between the native population and those of the national administration which is manned largely by orthodox Muslims. According to Cederroth, *Wetu Telu* distinguishes between officials who belong to the religious sphere (*pemuka agama*) and those who are considered as *adat* officials (*pemuka adat*). However, under the New Order regime which is bureaucratically centralistic, the power structure has changed. The power which was usually concentrated on the religious and *adat* leaders, has been shared to the officials of the civil administration (*pemuka masyarakat*). Since most of the officials of the administration are orthodox Muslims, in many cases these officials usually stand with their group.

Simultaneously, Cederroth talks about the internal conflicts within the *Wetu Telu* community in which he discusses the marriage system. Cederroth concludes that the reasons why the native people strictly apply their marriage system is in order to maintain two related factors, ranking system and endogamy. On the one hand, the ranking system frequently becomes the cause of conflicts when the couple of marriage have different social class. On the other hand, the endogamy limits the possibility of native women to get marry with outsiders which of course causes both internal and external conflicts.

The conflicts within *Wetu Telu*, however, have strengthened the position of *tuan gurus* of Wetu Lima and weakened the influence of the nobilities. Therefore, in order to counter the attack from the orthodox Muslims and maintain their influence, the nobility use two strategies, firstly by emphasizing the marriage tradition, and secondly by holding the big feast. The big feast can be described as several life cycle ceremonies of the nobility which are fused together for the sake of making glorious show by which to impress one's neighbours while simultaneously strengthening the grip over one's dependants.

Regarding the social relationships, Leemann (1989) wrote a book on internal and external factors of socio-cultural and socio-economic dynamics in Lombok. As he stated, the aim of the book is to examine the Sasak society critically by focusing on how the relationship among Sasak Boda, *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima* in social organization and economic activities have changed their faith and allies.²⁵ In this respect, Lombok has many experiences of being conquered by external powers and thus the dynamic of religiosity is more colourful. Boda is the native religion of Lombok, but then in the 7th century, Majapahit introduced Hinduism-Buddhism. Islam came later in the 13th century which was brought from Giri Islamic kingdom. Makasarese arrived at the island in the 16th century introducing a more orthodox Islam. In the 17th century, the Balinese Karangasem kingdom conquered Lombok after defeating Makasarese. The Netherlands, with their Christian missionaries, entered Lombok when they were asked by Sasak leaders to chase Balinese away in the end of 19th century. Then, Japan took the power all over Lombok only for three and a half years. In turn, these external influences have constituted the number of religions in Lombok.

Inspired by Leemann's work, Ruth McVey (1995) has continued on studying Sasaknese. She wrote an article which is entitled "Shaping Sasak, Religion and Hierarchy on an Indonesian Island". As mentioned before, yet not so long ago most Sasak were heterodox adherents and some are still. However, the fact is in the contrary nowadays. In order to understand this, McVey studied how history, religion, and economics have been combined to shape the way in which the Sasak have organized themselves and conceived the world.²⁶ These triangular elements therefore become McVey's knife of analysis.

In the article, McVey proposes a new thesis on the polarization of Lombok society. She proposes that the division of Lombok Islam into *Waktu Lima* and *Wetu Telu* is no more relevant. Two new poles of religious orientation, national modernist and local-conservative, have largely replaced the old classification.²⁷ In this regard, she adds that the orthodox Sasak Muslims that were represented by *Waktu Lima*, were orthodox only if they were compared to the *Wetu Telu*. In the wider Islamic communities, *Waktu Lima* belief and practices are still questioned. Therefore, when the governments through the Ministry of Religious Affair applied the modernist, institutionalist and rationalist Islam, the *Waktu Lima* which was parochial, charismatic, and mystical orientation of Lombok's conservative *tuan guru* was challenged.

Another issue of *Wetu Telu* in the New Order era is the issue of land-ownership. In the Dutch Colonial regime, the *adat* tenure land was recognized even though the Dutch rulers applied a higher taxation than that under the Balinese kingdom. However, in the New Order regime, the case was not in the taxation but in how the government used the *adat* lands without any appropriate negotiation with the *adat* community. They changed the land ownership for new comers who were transmigrated from other densely populated area of Lombok. Of course, this made conflicts between the nobilities (native people) and the civil officials who implement the government's policy.

The *adat* lands have a crucial meaning for the traditional community such as *Wetu Telu*. To them, their cultural values are worthier than their economic values. Budiwanti saw the doctrinal reason that makes *Wetu Telu* defend their *adat* lands.²⁸ She explained that the acknowledgement of the supreme power of God by them is mediated by the supernatural power of the ancestral spirits who can intercede with God. The belief in ancestors also leads *Wetu Telu* to preserve carefully all sort of ancestral legacies such as land, homes, funerary complexes, and the palm manuscript. The taboo on selling ancestral land has had the socio-economic and cultural consequence of preventing indigenous lands from being occupied or owned by outsiders.

***Wetu Telu* in the Reformation Era**

Wetu Telu has always become an interesting object of study. Their marginalized position among other Sasaknese has invited a number of scholars to conduct their research on the community. In the reformation era, we find more Indonesian scholars who write on the *Wetu Telu* rather than in the New Order era. In this era, they can think freely and may write whatever they want about *Wetu Telu*. Some of them even criticize the government and the Sasaknese generally in the way they treat the *Wetu Telu* community. We can see their criticism through their studies.

In 2000, Erni Budiwanti published her book which is entitled "Islam Sasak; *Wetu Telu* versus *Waktu Lima*". The main issue which is discussed in this book is the religious antagonism between *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*. How *Wetu Telu* and their leaders face the penetration of *da'wah* and how the Islamic missionaries keep in performing their mission are the main questions which were explored by Budiwanti. Furthermore, Budiwanti saw that the Sasak Islam polarization into

Wetu Telu and *Waktu Lima* is not totally represented or confirmed Geertz's dichotomy of Santri-Abangan. To some extents, there are similarities between Santri and *Waktu Lima* or between Abangan and *Wetu Telu*. However, the different between them is that the division of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima* should be viewed through the ideological conflict relation rather than static dichotomy such as in Santri-Abangan relation.²⁹

Like Cederroth, Budiwanti mention some similar conflicts between *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*, for instance conflicts which aroused because of the orthodox Muslim mission on *Wetu Telu*, land ownerships, and marriage system. However, since Budiwanti did her research almost two decades after Cederroth, some developments were found. When she was doing her research, the position of *Wetu Telu* was in the difficult position confronting the cultural aggression of *Waktu Lima*. By considering the increase of orthodox Islam penetration, together with the strict control of the government on economic development in Bayan, in the North Lombok, she assumed that in the future, the religious view of *Wetu Telu* would change.³⁰

Later in 2001, Budiwanti wrote an article in "Kultur", the Indonesian journal for Muslim cultures published by Center for Languages and Cultures of IAIN Jakarta. The article seems like a summary of her monograph, "Islam Sasak". Here, she wrote about the impact of orthodox Islam on the belief of the *Wetu Telu* community in Bayan. According to the traditional nobilities, the Islamic missionary activities conducted by *tuan gurus* and their disciples seem as ongoing threats which will slowly destroy the *Wetu Telu* identity as well as the strategic position of the *Wetu Telu* functionaries. The spread of Islamic orthodoxy has clearly created conflict at both the elite and the ideological level. Mosques and *madrasah* (schools) are deemed very important in preserving their identity as *Waktu Lima*.³¹ The increasing *da'wah* activity pioneered by Tuan Guru and supported by his loyal disciples has now put the *Wetu Telu* belief system under strong pressure to conform to the practices of the *Waktu Lima*. This activity has created conflict at both the ideological and the elite level. *Da'wah* attempts to purge syncretism of *Wetu Telu* and the spirit cult as well as the stagnant and conservative role of *adat*. At the elite level, the *da'wah* movement has threatened and weakened the traditional authority of the nobles and *adat* functionaries over *Wetu Telu*.

Simultaneously, in 2001, Iwan Mucipto tried to define the position of *Wetu Telu* among the Sasak society and as the citizen. He

questioned whether *Wetu Telu* is an incomplete Islam or it is an ecological culture. To him, *Wetu Telu* is a term for a cultural group in Lombok, especially in the area of the mount Rinjani, and ethnically it is Sasak. However, it seems that most people do not differentiate between ethnic and culture. For example, a Sasak person who converts to Hindu will be considered as one who change his ethnic and become a Balinese and vice versa, a Balinese who converts to Islam will be regarded as a Sasaknese.³² Therefore, even though *Wetu Telu* adherents are ethnically Sasaknese, they are uniquely treated because of their culture. Sasak is now identified as Islam, and since *Wetu Telu* is regarded by orthodox Muslims as an incomplete Islam, its adherents are not considered as Sasaknese. Furthermore, Mucipto saw the *Wetu Telu* community as the third class of citizens. They are poor and are also oppressed. For anthropologists, of course, they are interesting and for environmental activists, they are such friends who conserve the nature. However, for the government and the major people of the West Nusa Tenggara Province, they are regarded as such a shame. Thus, as emphasized by Mucipto, the regent of West Lombok Region had said that in 2000, there would be no *Wetu Telu* in the West Nusa Tenggara.³³ In this regard, Mucipto explained how rights of the *Wetu Telu* community as citizens have been violated, not in de jure but in de facto. The clear example of this is in how the government regulates *adat* lands without any appropriate negotiation with the community as mentioned before.

In 2004, Leena Avonius studied the *Wetu Telu* community that were living in Bentek, in the northwestern part of Lombok. She chose this village because of its position in relation to regional centres and its heterogeneous population and unpleasant memories of the New Order rule. She focuses her study on the process of movement from agamacization, which had been characteristic of the New Order period, towards adatization which took place in Bentek during the first years of Reformation era. Furthermore, Avonius tried to see the process by discussing the triangular relationship of religion, *adat* and government.³⁴ She argues that by interpreting this relation, it is possible to overcome the rigid boundaries of conflict group or social divisions.³⁵

As regard to the classification of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*, in the time when Avonius was doing her field research, she found that the classification was rarely mentioned in everyday life. People knew the terms but did not refer to themselves or to others as followers of

either of the groups. A common remark is that all Muslims are just Muslims without any further designation.³⁶ It seems nowadays that the classification is most often presented among urban people in the island's capital, Mataram, who promote the remote *Wetu Telu* villages as places worth visiting for those who wish to observe 'original Lombok culture'. If we see the promotional material, the 'non-orthodox Islam' is turned into something exotic, a remainder of Lombok's history that still lingers on in a modern society.

Therefore, she proposes that the conceptual of agamization of the New Order era turns now to adatization. The era of transition brought about a redefinition of *Wetu Telu* community that turned from those who perform syncretic form of Islam into those who strictly maintains their indigenous culture. *Adat* has taken a dominant role in *Wetu Telu* while the religious aspects of it have been played down. Thus, now they have been set as an asset of tourist industry. Furthermore, the adatization of local social life has become visible in the Reformation era through *menyowok*. *Menyowok* is a punishment for *adat* assaults in North Lombok that has been latent in the region for decades, because of the weak position of *adat* and *adat* elders particularly among Sasak Muslims. Nevertheless, since 1998, it has become a relatively common form of social control. *Menyowok* is a clear sign that North Lombok villages have moved from the agamization of the New Order to the adatization of the Reformation era.

Concluding Remarks

Wetu Telu is a marginalized Sasak community that is mostly living in the remote area in the north Lombok recently. However, about eight decades ago, a half of Lombok Muslims were still *Wetu Telu* adherents. This rapid change has invited many scholars to conduct their research on social interaction and religiosity of Sasak community. Particularly, they are interested in studying the division of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima*.

The classification of Lombok society into two is not completely in line with that of *abangan-santri* in Javanese society which was proposed by Geertz.³⁷ The difference lies on the way how the anthropologists look at the classification. Van Erde and Vogelesang who are the firsts to classify Lombok society, made the division based on social conflict and power relation. While, Geertz proposed the three subdivisions of *abangan-santri-priyayi* mostly

based on rituals which were performed by each group. Furthermore, the Muslim Lombok classification had come into existence in a long time before Geertz proposed his thesis.

However, the term of *Wetu Telu* and *Waktu Lima* is hardly used nowadays. There are many possibilities for this reason. On the one hand, it shows that the *Wetu Telu* community have been mostly converted to the orthodox Islam, and it points the successful aim of the government and *tuan gurus*. On the other hand, it indicates the change of Sasaknese's paradigm in viewing *Wetu Telu* as only a group of Muslims who maintain their ancestral culture. The second assumption seems to be more accepted than the first one although to some extents, the *da'wah* of *tuan gurus* shows also its achievement. Therefore, even though in the New Order era *Wetu Telu* was viewed as syncretic Islam, now it is regarded as a stronghold of Sasak *adat*. Furthermore, some people use this condition to explore *Wetu Telu* villages as tourist destinations. Of course, this will be positive if the native community are actively involved in the programme. However, they only become the object and do not get any significant benefit. As presented by Mucipto, only few of them are involved in the tourist programme and they just become porters when the tourists climb the Rinjani mount.

In this respect, *Wetu Telu* is always marginalized economically, politically, culturally and legally. The nobilities of *Wetu Telu* can preserve their culture only by applying the big feast and maintaining the endogamy of marriage system which to Budiwanti are not strong enough to face the external influences. However, in my opinion, the government and most of Sasak people should not exploit this community in such a way. Many positive aspects of this community should be preserved. Therefore, in the government's developmental programme, they should be actively involved, not as objects, but as subjects.

Endnotes:

¹ Fauzan Saleh, *Modern Trends in Islamic Theological Discourse in 20th Century Indonesia*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2001), p. 67

² Sasak is the largest ethnic group in Lombok. Their number reaches 90% of all Lombok inhabitants. Other ethnic groups such as Balinese, Sumbawanese, Javanese, Chinese and Arab are new comers. Among the new comers, Balinese is the biggest in number reached 3% of Lombok inhabitants.

³ I prefer to use *Wetu Telu* rather than *Waktu Telu* since nobilities of this group regard *Wetu* as *metu*, not *Waktu*. In addition, we choose *Waktu Lima* rather than *Wetu Lima* since it indicates to *Waktu* which means time.

⁴ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors of Socio-Cultural and Socio-Economic Dynamics in Lombok (NTB)*, Geographisches Institut Abt. Anthropogeographie Universität Zurich, 1989, p. 30

⁵ Ruth McVey, *Shaping the Sasak: Religion and Hierarchy on an Indonesian Island*, in *Kulturen und Raum*, Zurich 1995, p. 318

⁶ Erni Budiwanu, *Islam Sasak, Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), p. 289. See also Erni Budiwanti, "Islam dalam Konteks Budaya Lokal: Studi kasus di Bayan Lombok Barat," in *Masyarakat Indonesia Journal* No. 2, LIPI Press (The Indonesian Institute of Science), 2005, p. 26-28

⁷ Erni Budiwanu, *Islam Sasak, Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, p. 9. See also Erni Budiwanti, "The Impact of Islam on the Religion of the Sasak in Bayan, West Lombok," in *Kultur*, Vol 1, No. 2, 2001, p. 31

⁸ Sven Cederroth, *The Spell of The Ancestors and The Power of Mekkah: A Sasak Community on Lombok*, (Goteborg, 1981), p. 2-3

⁹ Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu: Islam, Adat, and the Promises of Regionalism in Post-New Order Lombok*, (Helsinki, 2004), p. 28

¹⁰ The Rinjani mount is the second highest mount in Indonesia, reaching 3674 m above sea level. It divides Lombok into two, the north part and the south part. Even though the access to the north part of the island is not so difficult now, rarely people go there since all of economic and governmental centers concentrated in the south part of the island. Therefore the Sasaknese usually mention the north part of the island by *dayan gunung* or sometimes by the place behind the mount. Recently, by the regional autonomy law, the north part of Lombok has become a region in West Nusa Tenggara namely Kabupaten Lombok Utara (KLU).

¹¹ Erni Budiwanti, *The Impact of Islam*, p. 33

¹² Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu*, p. 107

¹³ Erni Budiwanti, *The Impact of Islam*, p. 33

¹⁴ Iwan Mucipto, "Wetu Telu: Islam Tidak Sempurna atau Budaya Ekologis?," in *Mitra*, Journal of Culture and Philosophy, 2001, p. 15

¹⁵ Iwan Mucipto, "Wetu Telu", p. 20. Bid'ah is any types of innovation in Islam.

¹⁶ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors of Socio-Cultural and Socio-Economic Dynamics in Lombok (NTB)*, Geographisches Institut Abt. Anthropogeographie Universität Zurich, 1989, p. 24

¹⁷ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 30

¹⁸ Erni Budiwanti, *The Impact of Islam*, p. 31. The origin of Bodas remains obscure, though some theories have been presented. There are basically two competing views in the literature. The first one holds that Bodas represent the indigeneous population of Lombok, a group similar to the Bali Aga on Bali or the population in the mountainous areas of East Java that Robert Hefner (1985) has called Hindu Tengger. Following Van Eerde, Alfons van der Kraan (1980: 3) suggests that Bodas are probably the descendants of those people who managed to escape the Islamization by migrating into the mountains. This theory is supported by the fact that there are no ethnic or linguistic differences between Bodas and Islamic

Sasak. Another hypothesis is that they migrated to Lombok either from Java during the time of Majapahit empire or from Bali, serving the Balinese rulers as slaves. It is also claimed that the term Boda would originate from the Malay word budak, slave. See Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu*, p. 49

¹⁹ Voegesang in Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 31-33, and Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu*, p. 32

²⁰ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 31-33

²¹ Leemann mentioned only one Indonesian scholar who conducted research on *Wetu Telu*, he is M. Koenoe (fieldwork: 1971-73; publication: 1975). Other scholars are outsider scholars: R.M. Krulfeld (fw: 1960-61; p: 1974), Albert Polak (fw: 1966-68; p: 1978), Sven Cederroth (fw: 1972-73, 1975; p: 1975, 1981, Albert Leemann (fw: 1972, 1975, 1979-1983; p: 1983, 1987), I. Gerdin (fw: 1973, 1975-1976; p: 1982), M.P.-M. Judd (fw: 1977-1980; p: 1980), see Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 42

²² Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 47

²³ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 47. Ruth McVey, *Shaping the Sasak*, p. 321. See also Albert Polak, *Some Aspects of a Process of Change in an Indonesian Community, in Tropical Man*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), p. 115

²⁴ Ruth Mc Vey, *Shaping the Sasak*, p. 323

²⁵ Albert Leemann, *Internal and External Factors*, p. 3

²⁶ Ruth Mc Vey, *Shaping the Sasak*, p. 312

²⁷ Ruth McVey, *Shaping the Sasak*, p. 323

²⁸ Erni Budiwanti, Islam Sasak, *Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, p. 242. See also Erni Budiwanti, *The Impact of Islam*, p. 34

²⁹ Erni Budiwanti, Islam Sasak, *Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, p. 342

³⁰ Erni Budiwanti, Islam Sasak, *Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*, p. 348

³¹ Erni Budiwanti, *The Impact of Islam*, p. 37

³² Iwan Mucipto, *Wetu Telu: Islam Tidak Sempurna atau Budaya Ekologis?*, p. 13

³³ Iwan Mucipto, *Wetu Telu: Islam Tidak Sempurna atau Budaya Ekologis?*, p. 13

³⁴ This triangular relationship is also in line with shari'a, local customs and state law which is commonly used in the anthropology of law which emphasize the legal pluralism. See Léon Buskens, "An Islamic Triangle, Changing relationship between Shari'a, State Law and Local Customs," *ISIM Newsletter* No. 5, 2000, p. 8

³⁵ Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu*, p. 18

³⁶ Leena Avonius, *Reforming Wetu Telu*, p. 32

³⁷ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java*, (University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 6

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