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Environmental Theology and Worship Teaching of Lombok *Wetu Telu* Old Manuscripts

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Abstract:

This study aims to explore the intertwining of two Islamic teachings, namely environmental values and worship practice in three old manuscripts popular among *Wetu Telu* people in North Lombok. It questions how the three, *Serat Rengganis*, *Usada Rara*, and *Tuḥfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī* deliver the teaching through its contents about the two themes. Those manuscripts are well known and

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routinely recited among *Wetu Telu* in Bayan, a village that routinely holds a ritual called *pepaosan*. The anthropological method used in this paper relies on primary data through in-depth observation, interviews with relevant parties, as well as manuscript content mapping. The finding shows that environmental values and worship teaching among *Wetu Telu* in North Lombok are mostly based on those manuscripts with *Serat Rengganis* as the mostly referred and popular one. The manuscripts likely use metaphors to deliver the teaching which makes it hard to understand the meaning without attending the *pepaosan* to listen to explanations from the experts. Integration of both teachings is mainly clear from how *Wetu Telu* people are supposed to behave well to God, fellow humans, and nature. Both individual and social worship of *Wetu Telu*, like *ṣalāt* (prayer) and *al-ḥajj* (pilgrimage), also indicate how the three old manuscripts still play an important role within the community.

Keywords:

Old Manuscripts; *Wetu Telu*; Environmental Theology; Worship

Introduction

Wetu Telu is partly considered as an Islamic practice with three times of prayer, different from the majority of Islamic community with *waktu lima* or five times prayer. Etymologically, *wetu* means the cosmological time among Bayan communities which is related to the appearance of humans, animals, and plants. This appearance is locally called *metu*, while *telu* means three. Therefore, *wetu telu* means a three times prayer. On the other hand, one relates it to three reductive systems: *menganak*, giving birth; *mentiok*, growing or reproducing from seeds; and *mentelok*, namely for hatching the eggs and breeding. However, *Wetu Telu* is not only about reproductive systems, but also the omnipotence of God for living things in the world.¹ This view is reflected in how *Wetu Telu* people surrender to God through a good

¹ Erni Budiwanti, "Reislamizing Lombok: Contesting the Bayanese Adat," *Masyarakat Indonesia* 37, no. 2 (2011): 85-114, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.14203/jmi.v37i2.632>.

attitude toward animals, plants and nature with general. For them, this is believed to be the primary substance of their faith and culture.²

As a type of local Islam, *Wetu Telu* firstly spread out among villages in North and East Lombok from the 19th century until the beginning of the 20th century.³ By the middle of the 20th century, this form of Islamic practice remained only in the villages on the outskirts of Rinjani mountains. Among these villages, Bayan in the north of Lombok is one of those village that still practice Islamic and environmental values according to the beliefs of *Wetu Telu*. This village is also known as one that still maintains authenticity by enforcing the rule of the existence of a mosque in every 40 houses.⁴ This village is located at the East of Karang Bayan village. Most of the population in Bayan adheres to Islam, as much as 80%, while the other 20% adheres to Buddhism and Hinduism. In addition, the agricultural system that uses the tradition of cultivating rice fields together using cows is still well maintained in its two hamlets. Over the centuries, Islamic teaching and values have been studied by people in Bayan from various old *kawi* and *jawi* manuscripts they have and keep.

The manuscript is therefore an important part of the social and religious development of the Sasak tribe on Lombok. As in the Javanese and Balinese, various manuscripts known as *lontar* are used as records of life and religious teachings, stories about family origins, and important stories. In Java, a manuscript known as *kawi*, is closely related to the transition from Hinduism to Islam and the emergence of syncretic Islam.⁵ In Bali, this text is related to the development of

² Erni Budiwanti, "The Purification Movement in Bayan, North Lombok: Orthodox Islam Vis-à-Vis Religious Syncretism," in *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 144–62, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271494_007.

³ M. Ardi Kusumawardana, "Wetu Telu dalam Perspektif Ulama Lombok (Studi Pemahaman Salat dalam Alquran Surat *Al-Isrā'* [17]: 78)," *Core.Ac.Uk* (Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel, 2019), 1–70, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/195392521.pdf>.

⁴ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTB, *Adat Istiadat Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat* (Mataram: Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan Daerah, 1978).

⁵ Anthony Reid, "Historical Thought and Historiography: Southeast Asia," *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences: Second Edition*, 2015, 82–88, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62034-2>.

Hinduism while in Lombok, it has a robust relationship with the strengthening of Islamic teachings among Sasak people. Looking at the context of this relationship, it can be said that the manuscripts play a significant role in the growth and development of religions in various cultures, including Islam in Lombok. In the context of *Wetu Telu* in Lombok, there are at least three most popular manuscripts, namely *Serat Rengganis*, *Usada Rara* and *Tuhfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī*. The first two are written in *kawi*, Javanese letters, while the last is in *jawi* or Malay letters.

Particularly, those old manuscripts play an important role in the formation of relations between Hinduism and Islam communities among the Sasak Tribe. One of the Lombok ancient manuscripts, namely *Serat Rengganis*, for instance, reveals interesting facts about the relationship between Islam, *shari'ah*, tolerances, and human-nature connection among Sasaknese. Through the narration of *Rengganis*, the daughter of Jamineran, a king who became a hermit and was entitled *Datu Pandita*, *Wetu Telu* people understand the rules of Islam and the meaning of life in nature. In a story, *Rengganis* wandered in search of Islam and its values from Lombok to Mecca. She found the answer when she met a person in Mecca, namely *Jayangrana*.⁶ *Jamineran*, a Hindu figure and *Jayangrana*, a Moslem, have been a symbol of the relationship between Hinduism and Islam on the island for centuries. Among people and families in *Wetu Telu* villages today, including that of *Bayan*, this story is narrated at a certain time through an event called *pepaosan*.

As a reading manuscript tradition, *pepaosan* is carried out at a certain time according to *rowot* calendar (Sasaknese traditional calendar) once or twice a month. It is led by a *kiai* involving various community groups in a village. Those groups, interestingly, could be from *Wetu Telu* Islam or Hinduism. In this traditional performance, a reader recites the old manuscripts followed by a translator and a tone accelerator, while villagers carefully listen to them from the beginning to the end. Furthermore, *pepaosan* tradition itself is a part of Islamic teaching and interfaith liaison in many traditional villages in Lombok as clear from several previous research(es). *Atisah's* writing, among others, reveals the form and function of *pepaosan* among Sasak people

⁶ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTB, *Bunga Rampai Kutipan Naskah Lama Dan Aspek Pengetahuannya* (Mataram: Proyek Kajian Kebudayaan Daerah, 1990).

in Lombok as an activity of reading *takepan* or old manuscript accompanied by certain traditions, such as circumcision and marriage.⁷ On the other hand, Anthony Reid reveals the important role of the *kawi* manuscript on social and historical changes in society. By elaborating on some ancient manuscripts in Sumatra, Java, and Bali, Reid explained this thoroughly.⁸ In addition to Reid, Fakhriati et al. tried to discuss the role of manuscripts for change, namely in the context of social life and disaster mitigation. By looking at the role of knowledge in ancient texts on communication patterns and reducing the impact of natural disasters in West Sumatra, Java, and Bali, Fakhriati tried to prove her hypothesis.⁹

Referring to the findings of previous studies that focused on the manuscripts, traditions, and social change, this study distinguishes itself by focusing on examining how three ancient manuscripts contain environmental teaching and shape both understanding and practice of worship among *Wetu Telu* communities in North Lombok. The two chosen themes closely related to an assumption that *Wetu Telu* is acculturation between the teachings of Islam and local values, namely the particular view of Sasak people about the relationship between God, man, and nature.¹⁰ Furthermore, their faith in cosmological symbols through the concept of big (the sun, the moon, and planets) and small universes (human, animal, trees and other creatures) is deemed to influence the way they articulate the teachings of Islam, especially about *ṣalāt* (prayer) and *al-ḥajj* (Islamic pilgrimage). For instance, they believe that Muslims who perform prayer are required to give peace to nature and animals.

In addition to their contents focusing on the relation of humans and the environment as well as the teaching of worship, the popularity of the three manuscripts and routine recitation make them

⁷ Nining Alaini, "Tradisi Lisan Cepung: Sastra Perlawanan Komunitas Sasak Terhadap Kekuasaan Bali di Pulau Lombok," *METASASTRA: Jurnal Penelitian Sastra* 8, no. 1 (March 10, 2016): 47-60, <https://doi.org/10.26610/metasastra.2015.v8i1.47-60>.

⁸ Reid, "Historical Thought and Historiography: Southeast Asia."

⁹ Fakhriati Fakhriati et al., "Making Peace With Disaster: A Study of Earthquake Disaster Communication Through Manuscripts and Oral Traditions," *Progress in Disaster Science* 18, no. April (2023): 100287, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pdisas.2023.100287>.

¹⁰ Muliadi and Didin Komarudin, "The Islamic Culture of 'Wetu Telu Islam' Affecting Social Religion in Lombok," *El Harakah* 22, no. 1 (2020): 97-115, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v22i1.7384>.

selected options among other manuscripts. This new direction is important to complement research on Sasak Moslem, particularly its ancient manuscripts which are rarely discussed. In addition, this research aims to explore how the *pepaosan* itself takes place, and then focuses on how those manuscripts examine the environmental teachings as well as explore worship teaching; both of which lead to how Sasak people behave with the environment and shape their understanding and practice of Islamic worships.

Methods

In this paper, an anthropological method was used to find how the three *Kawi* manuscripts are recited in the special rite and narrate Islamic teaching, namely environmental values and teaching of worship as well as how *Wetu Telu* people in Bayan, North Lombok, perceive and enliven them. The primary data in this paper was obtained through observation for eight months and in-depth interviews with three village leaders and five manuscript readers. The main instrument for data compilation is the three manuscripts recited in *pepaosan* rituals. By finding informants, interviewing, recording, and making transcriptions, this research tries to find how the manuscripts shape the understanding of Islamic teaching in environmental issues and teaching of worship.

Result and Discussion

Pepaosan of Three Manuscripts among Wetu Telu People

Pepaosan has been a tradition of reading ancient manuscripts among Lombok people since the arrival of Java and Malay culture. Based on the form of *kawi* scripts recited in the forum, it can be assumed that this tradition appeared between the 14th and 15th centuries. It was the time of the Majapahit people's immigration out of Java after the demise of Majapahit along with the increasing strength of Islam. Meanwhile, manuscripts with *jawi* letters that came later, between the 16th and 18th centuries, gave a unique Islamic touch to the *pepaosan* tradition.¹¹ This is clear from *bismillāh* and Islamic prayer reading in *pepaosan*.

¹¹ Peter K Austin, "Reading the Lontars: Endangered Literature Practices of Lombok, Eastern Indonesia," *Language Documentation & Description* 8, no. Special issue on oral literature and language endangerment (2010): 27-48.

In determining the time or due day of *pepaosan*, *kiai* is the one who decides a manuscript reading day based on calculations of the traditional calendar known as *rowot*.¹² When the time of manuscript recitation is decided, the manuscript reader group consisting of readers, translators, and tone definers likely prepare which manuscript to recite at the next meeting. They choose approximately 15-20 pages for each meeting.¹³ At the d-day, taking place as so-called *sekenem* (a village hall), believers of Islam, Hinduism and Budha attend the event to listen to manuscript recitation. They are only allowed to ask questions, if any, after the manuscript recitation is finished. It is also necessary to note that the listeners tend to only listen to the manuscript without holding the same script or making a note on it.

Of the three old manuscripts, *Serat Rengganis* is the most frequently read by the people of Bayan, while the other two complete its explanation. In every *pepaosan* event, *Serat Rengganis* will always be recited at the beginning, while the other two are optional. *Serat Rengganis* manuscript itself is intentionally recited to learn about the ideal interaction of humans with nature as well as meaning beyond Islamic worship. It has 225 sheets or 450 pages.¹⁴ This old manuscript mainly discusses about *tawhīd*, Mecca, and human relations with nature, while its accentuated worship themes are about prayer and *al-hajj* worship. Characters like Rengganis and Amir Hamzah were symbolically assigned to convey theological and environmental messages to Sasak community which still strongly held firm local beliefs at the time.¹⁵ Anthropologists refer to this era as the beginning of Islamic development on Lombok Island.

Based on observational data, *pepaosan* is usually attended by residents whose age has reached adolescence and adulthood. This age-based selection of listeners refers to materials discussed in the

¹² Muliadi and Komarudin, "The Islamic Culture of 'Wetu Telu Islam' Affecting Social Religion in Lombok."

¹³ Baiq Yuliatin Ihsani et al., "Leksikon Yang Digunakan dalam Ritual Pepaosan Takepan Masyarakat Suku Sasak: Sebuah Kajian Etnolinguistik," *Jurnal Ilmiah Telaah* 6, no. 2 (2021): 169, <https://doi.org/10.31764/telaah.v6i2.6190>.

¹⁴ Lalu Gde Suparman, *Dewi Rengganis* (Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1992).

¹⁵ Kun Zachrun Istanti, "Warna Lokal Teks Amir Hamzah dalam Serat Menak," *Humanio* 18, no. 2 (2006): 114-24, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.22146/jh.869>.

manuscript. Some of them are considered unsuitable for children who have not yet reached adolescence, especially regarding discussions about spirituality and the form of relationships between Hindu and Muslim figures in the manuscript. By using this pattern-based selection, the messages within *Serat Rengganis* are wished to be well absorbed by the right listeners. On the other hand, the pattern of manuscript recitation and the unwritten rule of audiences' ages imply that discussed themes are not something easily understood by children who have not yet reached adolescence. However, some teenagers usually keep attending the meeting.

Pepaosan is carried out in the *paosan* stages. Readers or *pemaos* read the contents of the text in front of listeners followed by a translator who delivers the explanation in Sasak language. This is needed because in addition to situations in which not many listeners speak Javanese or soft Sasaknese, the journey of *Rengganis* to meet Amir Hamzah in Mecca is written through spiritual and humanity perspectives.¹⁶ The story also used symbolic interpretation so that to avoid any misinterpretation, a translator is needed. Furthermore, this sort of mistake is also avoided by the existence of a tone clarifier. As the reader recites the manuscript using the tone which implies the meaning beyond the text, mistakes in taking the tone, if any, will directly be corrected by the tone clarifier.

Another manuscript called *Tuhfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī* relates quite closer to *Serat Rengganis*. This *jawi* manuscript was brought from Palembang and written on European paper. It has 23 pages describing *tawḥīd* (oneness of God), prayer, going to Mecca, and the relationship between doing worship with treatment to nature. The existence of this manuscript among Bayan people can be traced back to a prolonged history of communication between Bayan people and *tarekat* followers outside Lombok since the 17th century.¹⁷ It is commonly told among people of Sembalun and Bayan that centuries ago, three young men were sent outside Lombok to learn a variety of knowledge. One young man visited Palembang, one came to Java, and

¹⁶ Syarifah Sajila Apjan, "Tolak Bala: A Relation Between Islam and Tradition," *Millati: Journal of Islamic Studies and Humanities* 4, no. 1 (2019): 87-98, <https://doi.org/10.18326/mlt.v4i1.87-98>.

¹⁷ Baharudin, Muhammad Adi Junaidi, and Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, "Authenticity of Traditional Houses, Islam and Cultural Tourism Products and Services," *Ulumuna* 27, no. 1 (2023): 467-99, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v27i1.776>.

the last one visited Bali. Of these three young men, only one who visited Java and Bali returned alive with the manuscript of *Manunggaling Kawula Gusti* and weaponry techniques. The man going to Palembang died on his way home but before that, he wrote the Malay Arab manuscript later known as *Tuhfah al-Mursalāh ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī* simply called *tokbah*.

Different from *Serat Rengganis* and *Tokbah*, *Usada Rara* is known as the source of medical practices among *belian* or traditional healers in Bayan. This old manuscript mainly contains information about various types of healing plants which can be easily found in their surroundings. In addition, it also discusses *tawḥīd*, worship, and the way humans deal with nature.¹⁸ According to the data of the West Nusa Tenggara Museum, there are five manuscripts of *Usada Rara*:

The *first* volume is written traditionally using *lontar* sheet and *pangot* or traditional knife as the pen. The writing system is *rekto verso*, so it has to be reversed to read the entire contents of the script because writing is found on both sides of the leaf. *Jejawan* letters are found in 5 sheets which is equivalent to 10 pages. The blending of Sasak and Bali languages in the manuscript indicated a mixture of different cultures. It contains a variety of information about traditional medicine, symptoms, causes, and treatment. It also explains various types of natural ingredients used in traditional medicine including medicinal plants, roots, leaves, or even certain animals. Besides this traditional guidance, this manuscript elaborated on healing prayers in Islam, including prayers or spells to be uttered when performing traditional medicine.

The *second* volume is also in *lontar*, *pangot*, and *rekto verso*. The scrolls in this manuscript are compressed with wood to the size of the manuscript. It explains the ingredients of traditional medicine and their uses as well as the division of good and bad days or situations based on the running of the moon called *primbon pengayam-ayam*. The total number of pages of this manuscript is 50 leaflets (100 pages) using *Jejawan* and Balinese letters.

The *third* volume is written in a way with *pangot* and *rekto verso* or backward using the form of *gancaran* discussing 42 bad days based

¹⁸ Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, "Naskan Pengobatan Dan Pertumbuhan Islam di Indonesia Tengah," *ANCOMS: Annual Conference for Muslim Scholars* 2, no. 110 (2017): 979–88, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.36835/ancoms.v0iSeri%202.99>.

on the date and birth of the Prophet. It furthermore has 18 blades (36 pages) with *Jejawan* letters and a mixture of Sasak and Bali languages.¹⁹ Likely, the fourth volume is characterized by *lontar*, *pangot*, and *rekto verso*. It explains traditional medicine of disease types based on its treatment, namely natural diseases and diseases caused by subtle beings. Besides, this manuscript contains prayers for healing. The total number of pages of this manuscript is 54 sheets (108 pages) with *Jejawan* and Sasak letters. The fifth volume, also in *lontar* and *pangot*, described the material of the medicine and its treatment, the conditions of the treatment and various prayers in the medicine. It has 56 leaflets (112 pages) with *Jejawan* and Sasak letters

Compared to the other two, *Usada Rara* is most rarely recited at the *pepaosan*. Its recitation usually takes in turns for every volume among the whole five. However, it is the one that is mostly recited in the ritual of healing sick people in Bayan. The ritual particularly takes place to heal mental sickness using spells mentioned in the manuscript. During the ritual, in addition to the sick, people usually attend it to testify about the event while giving support to the sick.

Environmental Teaching within the Three Manuscripts

Generally, the three manuscripts discuss the relationship of man with God and nature in different portions and scales, as well as perspectives. In *Serat Rengganis*, environmental teaching is manifested through the story of Rengganis and her encounters with others on her journey to Mecca. In *Tokbah*, meanwhile, it is summarized in the concept of وادي (*wadi*), ميني (*mani*), مدي (*madi*), and منيكم (*manikam*) and *Usada* accentuates it in the discussion of worship house, nature, and human medicine. No matter if they are different in that way, they share the same method of delivering the teaching, namely using metaphor.

On *Serat Rengganis*, this is mentioned alternately from the fifth to the twentieth leaf.²⁰ In those pages, it is told about the journey of King Jamineran and Rengganis to Mount Argapura. On this mountain, Rengganis was introduced for the first time to prayer and

¹⁹ N K Warditiani, N P A Leliqia, and P A Savitri, "Data Tanaman Dan Pengobatan Pada Lontar USAda Rare," *Jurnal Farmasi Udayana* 4, no. 1 (2015).

²⁰ Suparman, *Dewi Rengganis*.

other Islamic basic teachings. After receiving guidance from God, the king and his daughter returned to their kingdom. Rengganis said that the journey with her father inspired her to seek more knowledge about aspects of worship and its relationship with the balance of human life and nature through visits to various places. The story was narrated by involving additional characters from page 13 to the end of the script.²¹

In Bayan, this early narrative of Rengganis becomes a part of the story that is always recited in *pepaosan*. Adim, one of the customary figures as the tribal chief in Bayan, said that the teachings in the sheets of this manuscript played a significant role in making *basin* (people of Bayan) understand that worship does not only connect men with God, but also connects men with nature. Adim referred this to the notion that Islam unites with mankind.²²

On the *tokbah*, environmental teaching is presented from the tenth to the twelfth sheet. Worshipping in *tokbah* is mentioned as a part of the *caliph* (lifekeeper)'s role given to mankind, one of which, is about treating nature well. In this manuscript, exploration on the meaning of worship through good treatment on the nature is reinforced by human responsibility in the realm of space, namely ودي (*wadī*) as fire, مني (*manī*) as water, مدي (*madi*) as wind, and منيكم (*manīkam*) as earth. It is their responsibility to keep those natural resources as well as possible. Having this in mind, Raden Ning, a hamlet chief and a *pepaosan* reader, said that these four elements are associated with the movement of the human body and soul in treating nature as far as they can do.²³

As for *Usada*, the explanation of the appeal to treat the environment well is mixed with the mention of prayer and the mixing method of traditional medicine made from leaves and trees. It also clarifies *halāl* and *harām* for worship and local medication. Through the discovery by the West Nusa Tenggara Museum, 266 variants of medical plants have been used in traditional medicine practices some of which are mentioned in the *Usada*. However, instead of only mentioning it, there also found some rules to picking and mixing the materials of trees so that they will not harm nature. The enlisted

²¹ Suparman.

²² Adim, *Interview* (Bayan, February 2024).

²³ Raden Ning, *Interview* (Bayan, February 2024).

materials are also known as safe ingredients to consume by humankind.

In addition, the *Wetu Telu* people in Bayan are still fundamentally tied their Islamic views to the cosmological view in their cultural area. It is all related to the big universe and the small universe. The big universe consists of the sun, moon, and planets. The small universe is about humans, animals, trees, and other creatures. Before the arrival of Islam in Lombok, there was a belief among the Sasaks that the big-small universe is reflected from Mount Rinjani as a symbol of spirituality.²⁴ This all shows how they perceive nature as a companion, rather than objects to exploit.

Furthermore, it is told by Amaq Saleh, a *Serat Rengganis* and *Usada Rara* reader, that Boda (Budha) Sasak followers who lived in the village had the habit of occasionally wandering and contemplating the meaning of divinity on Mount Rinjani. After Islam came to Lombok, this view changed to Ka'ba as a new symbol for Lombok people's spirituality. This doctrine, based on the relationship among God, men, and nature as a devotion to the One God, is acculturated with universal Islamic values in *al-ḥajj*, such as monotheism, compassion, and social justice.²⁵ This change of symbols is told in the whole three manuscripts recited at *pepaosan*.

Another side of the attractive cultural system and Islamic belief of *Wetu Telu*, as said by *Serat Rengganis* and *Usada Rara* readers in *pepaosan* is the preserve of heritage traditions namely *tetulak* and *memata'in*. *Tetulak* is closely linked to people's belief in human brotherhood with nature. Using the local calendar system combined with the Islamic calendar, people in Bayan determine the date to gather to pray together in the middle of the forest.²⁶ This is an annual activity taking place before the growing season. After making dishes with traditional wine (sweet ones made from palm sugar), the *Wetu Telu* people wearing traditional clothes gather to pray and perform this remembrance ritual. This tradition aims to reject reinforcements that potentially come from things unwanted like natural disasters or crop failure. The *Tetulak* village tradition carried out by the

²⁴ Sven Cederroth, *The Spell of The Ancestors and The Power of Mekah: A Sasak Community on Lombok* (Sweden: ACTA Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1981).

²⁵ Budiwanti, "Reislamizing Lombok: Contesting the Bayanese Adat."

²⁶ L Bahriah, "Metode Penentuan Awal Waktu Salat Penganut Wetu Telu Bayan Lombok Utara" (Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, 2020).

community is expected to give a blessing to the local community in addition to symbolizing a hope that their agricultural business will run smoothly.²⁷ The event can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. *Tetulak* rite

Figure 1 shows how people gather joyfully at the rite while putting a wish for the success of their agricultural business. Meanwhile, *memata'in* ritual is usually carried out at the beginning of the rice harvest. Before leaving the rice fields, women prepare offerings and tools for the rice fields, while men help prepare for the ritual. At the afternoon, they go to the rice fields to pray with the *saman* or a traditional medical expert. Before harvesting the rice, traditional elders will take a few rice stalks as a sign that the rice will be ready to be harvested. The religious leader, meanwhile, leads people to remember and pray to the God. The event of *memata'ain* can be seen in Figure 2.

²⁷ Kusumawardana, "Wetu Telu dalam Perspektif Ulama Lombok (Studi Pemahaman Salat dalam Alquran Surat *Al-Isrâ'* [17]: 78)"; Arif Sugitanata et al., "Violation of Women's Rights: The Kawin Magrib Tradition of the Sasak Muslim Community in Lombok, Indonesia," *Journal of Islamic Law* 4, no. 2 (2023): 197-217, <https://doi.org/10.24260/jil.v4i2.1772>.



Figure 2. *Memata'in* rite

As an important part of the Islamic culture in *Wetu Telu* of Bayan, the tradition of teaching Islam among *Wetu Telu* people is embedded in *kiai*, the adat leader, and three manuscripts for recitation. This is becoming an important element for the five senses of the human and also for the manifestation of Adam, Eve, and Nur Muhammad. Adam represents the male line, Eve represents the female line, and Nur Muhammad represents the source of the truth. This teaching is manifested through putting the life aspects as something complementary to each other. Humankind and forest are in unity and in a family, while the whole livings are in couple and keeping each other for good. This becomes the basis for tradition to treat and keep the environment as well as possible.²⁸

The Teaching of Worships within Three Manuscripts

Wetu Telu people believe that *shari'ah* means harmonizing human relationships with God, other creatures and nature.²⁹ This is manifested through their actions in worshiping and treating nature. For them, every Muslim has to perform prayer and protect nature within the whole stages of life: being born, living, and dying. After being born, men begin to learn about their relationships with other

²⁸ Kusumawardana, "Wetu Telu dalam Perspektif Ulama Lombok (Studi Pemahaman Salat dalam Alquran Surat *Al-Isrā'* [17]: 78)."

²⁹ Budiwanti, "The Purification Movement in Bayan, North Lombok: Orthodox Islam Vis-à-Vis Religious Syncretism."

fellows, animals, and God. This process continues until they grow up while and adulthood to death, they perform both individual and social worship to maintain their relationship with God.³⁰ The worship centered on prayer, fasting, and *al-hajj*, with giving alm as the complementary part of fasting. Each of them gives the foundation for basic meaning of Islam and worships among people in *Wetu Telu* who learn about *tawhīd* and *sharī'ah* deeply then manifest it in action so called *be-sarīah*.³¹

In *Serat Rengganis*, this value is presented in the story of Rengganis' journey to discover the meaning of *sharī'ah* through the process of human maturation. In *Tokbah*, meanwhile, this teaching is implied through the appeal to worship and live in harmony with fellow men and nature. Taking a relatively different point, *Usada Rara* discusses more about worship, *halāl* and *harām*, treatment of diseases, and how to treat various kinds of plants.³² It is obvious here that in all three manuscripts, building a good relationship with nature is always hand in hand with worshipping God and behaving well to others.

The mention of *sharī'ah* term is found in the discussion of *tawhīd*, worship, figures, and human interaction with nature. In *sinom*, the sixth chapter, *Serat Rengganis* contains this; "*dateng lek gunung petapan, desida datu kiai, tangket bija ndeqna lapar, lan biha meneng ndeq nangis, inget banjur datu kyasi, desida banjurna ngulu, lek pancoran telaga wakap, Datu Guru taek gelis, tangket bija desida banjur sembahyang.*" It tells how the king and his daughter, the little Rengganis, arrived at the small house on the mountain of Argapura; the hunger didn't cease, and the daughter quietly did not cry. The king realized this then he did ritual ablution from a well shower. With his daughter, he went up to the mosque and worshipped God. This scene is deemed as a metaphor for how men seek answers by worshipping God even in the mountains which implies doing one thing for two purposes; maintaining a relationship with God and nature at the same time.

³⁰ Harfin Muhammdad Zuhdi, "Islam Wetu Telu (Dialektika Hukum Islam Dengan Tradisi Lokal)," *Istinbath: Jurnal Hukum Islam* 13, no. 2 (2014): 156–80, <https://www.neliti.com/publications/41814/>.

³¹ Lalu Muhammad Ariadi, *Haji Sasak: Sebuah Potret Dialektika Haji Dan Kebudayaan Lokal* (Jakarta: IMPRESSA Publishing, 2013).

³² Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTB, *Bunga Rampai Kutipan Naskah Lama Dan Aspek Pengetahuannya*.

Doing worship in both forest and mountain is repeatedly mentioned on their journey to Mecca.³³

In *Tokbah*, it is furthermore mentioned that doing prayer engages spiritual behavior in both physical and non-physical realms. It does not only involve fulfilling prayers' pillars, but also spiritually connected as a medium to cleanse the heart and be grateful to God. This is deemed in line with basic principles of *'ibādah māḥḍah* (individual worship), namely ذات-صفة-أفعال, which implies integrity of the whole dimensions beyond worship as the distinctive touch on how they are performed. It is also correlated to the fact that some *Wetu Telu* Muslims perform three types of prayer, namely middle day (*zūhur*) one every Friday, Idul Fitri, and Idul Adha prayers.

To this point, it is clear that prayer is individual worship that everyone can easily perform on their own preferences. However, it is different from *al-ḥajj* which has a sort of requirement. It is only allowed for those who are believed to have performed other worships by fulfilling maximum requirements from both physical and spiritual dimensions. This is inspired by the text in *Serat Rengganis* showing that a visit to Mecca is the final part of the journey in performing and learning worship and understanding life's meaning. Accordingly, at *Tokbah*, it is mentioned that doing pilgrimage to Mecca is the peak of all worship. Relating to this, Amaq Wanah expressed local people's belief that going pilgrimage to Mecca is the next series in the process of seeking Ka'ba within the heart through performing worship and respecting nature. He called it manifesting *sharī'ah* in both recitation and action.³⁴

In line with that, *Usada Rara* which mainly discusses traditional healing techniques and formulations also explains that in addition to physical healing, spiritual healing also matters. It highlights the cleansing of the heart from any tendency to do bad deeds. Doing a pilgrimage, here, is deemed as a step in strengthening a Muslim's awareness not to do any harm to fellow humans, plants, and animals. Therefore, those who have performed pilgrimage are considered as saints or pious persons because successfully reached that summit. This belief appeared in the 17th century as a result of acculturation between Javanese or Malay Islam with local belief about

³³ Suparman, *Dewi Rengganis*.

³⁴ Amaq Wnah, *Interview* (Bayan, February 2024).

human submission and the attainment of the spiritual peak.³⁵ In both *Serat Rengganis* and *Tokbah*, it is concluded in explanation about the journey, spiritual training, and worship. Therefore, among *Wetu Telu* or sufism followers, pilgrimage to Mecca has become a medium to reach any specific spiritual phase.³⁶

In the context of *al-hajj* which accentuates total surrender to God, liberation from any worldly elements, and appreciation of man and nature, a pilgrim increasingly performs introspection, contemplation, and evaluation of himself and his social environment. Going to Mecca symbolizes their turn to a new phase of life, like a spiritual rebirth into the world of social reality. With the ritual and spiritual values of *al-hajj* described in *Serat Rengganis* and *Tokbah* manuscripts, a pilgrim is furthermore cannot entitled as *mabrūr* before attaining social integrity. This makes *al-hajj* as a social worship as it affects to social life of the pilgrims.

How *Wetu Telu* people respect those who have performed pilgrimage is obvious from several rites around the pilgrimage. 40 days before the departure, the pilgrims are required to carefully keep their speech and action while performing worship wholeheartedly and contemplating (*tafakkur* and *tadabbur*) in a special room covered by white cloth. Meanwhile, a couple of days before the departure, the pilgrims visit their neighbors as a sort of confirmation after the mosque speakers announce their soon-to-do departure. This aims to fulfill cultural requirements before performing *al-hajj* worship while reminding about death. This series of traditions, called *behaji*, is basically a development of *beziarah* ritual of Sasaknese. They both function to enhance spirituality, particularly among sufism followers in Lombok or Muslims in general.³⁷ The significance of this tradition

³⁵ Lalu Habiburrahman, "Strategi Dan Fungsi Linguistik Kekuasaan dalam Naskah Babad Lombok," *Mabasan* 5, no. 2 (2019): 35-47, <https://doi.org/10.26499/mab.v5i2.209>.

³⁶ M. Pauzi, Darul Hipni, and Anwar M. Radiamoda, "The Importance of the Ijtihad Jama'I Method in Contemporary Fiqh Formulations," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian Hukum Dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 23, no. 1 (2023): 13-20, <https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v23i1.1322>. Muliadi and Komarudin, "The Islamic Culture of 'Wetu Telu Islam' Affecting Social Religion in Lombok."

³⁷ Muliadi and Komarudin, "The Islamic Culture of 'Wetu Telu Islam' Affecting Social Religion in Lombok."

lies in its role as a cultural medium in internalizing various values beyond the *al-ḥajj* worship.³⁸

Similarly, after returning from Mecca and holding salutation as *al-ḥajj*, they are still required to focus on doing worship, *dhikir*, *tafakkur* and *tadabbur* for the first 40 days. Right after that, they typically organize such thanksgiving and *silaturrahmi* (gathering) with family and neighbors while making visits for certain relatives. Only after they pass through this whole step, they can do daily activities as usual while being required to always behave well to maintain the status of accepted pilgrims (*al-ḥajj al-mabrūr*). Having the salutation as *haji* means an obligation to incorporate worship physically and inwardly in their daily lives because for the Sasak, only a *haji* capable of fulfilling this duty can be qualified as a *al-ḥajj al-mabrūr*.

The series of rituals around the pilgrimage furthermore show another side of how the three manuscripts put *al-ḥajj* worship within their discussion. *Serat Rengganis* furthermore writes this; “*Nemana araq berhajat. Banjur tengkok berasanji* (It is also called a *behaji*. They are coming to read *barzanji*). *Guru tuan pada nyerakal* (Tuan Guru reads the *tahlil*). *Araq nyebeng laiq mudi. Ia ngantih cangkir lebih. Itung tasbeh sebeng pacu* (Somebody is screaming backward. He looks serious about counting the tassel, but he is waiting for more cups). *Ruene gaweq tarekat dait sareat. Asik ate kangen kupi ujut niat keranaq mele kaken jaje* (It looks like he is working for the sake of sharia and *tarekat*, but his intention is just to eat the cake).³⁹ This indicates an appeal for pilgrims, who are later called as *Tuan Guru*, to keep their behavior and morality while prioritizing afterworld orientation over material orientation. The metaphor of eating the cake implies the human tendency for worldly orientation which is not supposed to precede the more important one.

³⁸ Ariadi, *Haji Sasak: Sebuah Potret Dialektika Haji Dan Kebudayaan Lokal*.

³⁹ Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan NTB, *Buku Petunjuk Museum Nusa Tenggara Barat* (Mataram: Museum NTB, 1992).

Conclusion

As time goes by, how *Wetu Telu* people internalize or enliven environmental theology and worship teaching might not be always in line with what is written in their three manuscripts. However, *pepaosan* events which are routinely held these days indicates how the old manuscripts are still well respected and made as life guides. This furthermore shows the effort of *Wetu Telu* people to preserve their legacy ranging from keeping to organize the event to maintaining values beyond the texts of the manuscripts. Meanwhile, environmental theology and worship teaching are actually intertwined with one another because they reflect both physical and spiritual treatment at one time. Once a man treats nature well, s/he is supposed to build a good interaction with God and fellow humans through performing worship in the right way. To keep this relationship ideal and balanced, it is found some rites to reinforce this unity, such as a series of rituals surrounding pilgrimage, before planting, or after harvest time. This study reveals that in addition to accentuating the divine relationship with God, *Wetu Telu* still maintains their old teaching on harmony with fellow men and nature, including the space for sort of meditation and contemplation; things that make *Wetu Telu* distinctive across generations. However, this research is limited to three old manuscripts with no further analysis of how far they impact how *Wetu Telu* people behave toward other creatures and cope with diverse rules of *fiqh* and tradition in performing the worship, for instance. It is therefore necessary to dig deeper for various perspectives and approach related to the result that this research comes up with.

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