



The Representation of Wetu Telu's Islamic Identity in Ancient Mosques in Lombok

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Abstract. Cultural identity in each region has characteristics or values that distinguish it from other regions. One of them is the Wetu Telu Islamic group. It is a Muslim group in Lombok that still believe in animistic ancestors and anthropomorphic objects, thus forming the identity of a cultural group. The identity of the Wetu Telu Islamic group is represented in material culture, in this case, the mosque. Therefore, this study intends to explain how the identity of the Wetu Telu Islamic group is represented in ancient mosques in Lombok. This study uses four ancient mosques which are relics of the Wetu Telu Islam. This study uses an archaeological approach through three stages of research, data collection, data processing, and data interpretation. The results of this study are that there are ornaments and placements of ancient mosques in Lombok that represent the identity of Wetu Telu Islam. These ornaments include animal motifs in the form of dragons, deer, chickens, fish, birds, and coconut trees which represent the meaning of Wetu Telu. In addition, the location of the mosque in a high place represents the teachings of Wetu Telu related to their belief that ancestral spirits reside in high places.

Keywords: representation · identity · islam · Wetu Telu · mosque

1 Introduction

Identity is a characteristic, personality, or value that distinguishes people from other people [1]. Manuel Castells explains that identity is a source of meaning for the perpetrators themselves which is constructed through the process of individuation [2]. This meaning is born when people have the same experiences, ways, and perspectives in representing or producing meaning. Therefore identity is closely related to representation, namely the process by which meaning is produced using language as a medium [3].

Human identity can not only be defined by what they think and say but identity can also be seen from the human material culture [1]. Material culture is the most important part of the world of archaeology. The study of material culture can be used to understand the social meaning, the meaning of sub-cultures, social practices, or social status. In addition, material culture can be used to understand identity, formation, and different social groups, classes, or ethnic groups [1]. Material culture is an expression of ethnic

groups, therefore certain aspects of material culture can be used in the meaning of identity and become the basis of relations between cultural groups [4].

The mosque as one of the Islamic buildings is a material culture that can not only be seen as a place for worship, but the mosque can be seen as a marker that has specific meanings that are able to represent a certain cultural identity [5]. As also expressed by Danesi that buildings do not only function as shelters, but buildings can signify an identity, status, power, and so on [6]. An architectural work has a character that is able to reflect the identity and characteristics of a society that emerges from cultural patterns, symbols, and community activities [7].

The mosque as a marker of identity has diversity in each region in Indonesia. This diversity is due to the universality contained in the notion of a mosque according to the hadith, and the absence of binding rules in the establishment of a mosque, except for the direction of the Qibla [8]. In addition, this diversity is also caused by the acculturation of Islam with local elements at the beginning of its development. This acculturation makes Muslims in each region form a cultural group. One of them is Lombok which has two Islamic cultural groups, namely Wetu Telu Islam and Waktu Lima Islam. The grouping was originally proposed by Ven Der Kraan and was carried out on the basis of the Islamization process that took place in Lombok and the background of the Lombok people before the arrival of Islam.

Before the entry and development of Islam in Lombok, the people of Lombok believed in various religions and beliefs. These religions and beliefs range from animism, dynamism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. In addition, there is also a local belief called Sasak Boda that existed before the arrival of foreign influences in Lombok. Sasak Boda is not the same as Buddhism because it does not recognize Sidharta Gautama as the main figure of worship, but the main focus of their worship is on ancestral spirits and various other local gods [9]. The entry of Buddhism in Lombok was marked by the discovery of four bronze statues in Pendua, Sesait Village, Gangga District, West Lombok Regency, while Hinduism entered Lombok, marked by the discovery of the Shiva Mahadewa statue in 1950 in Batu Pandang, Sapit Village, Pringgabaya District, East Lombok Regency [10].

After the development of various religions and beliefs in Lombok, Islam entered the process of Islamization carried out by Sunan Prapen. Sunan Prapen for the first time arrived in Salut which is in North Lombok. At the beginning of his arrival, Sunan Prapen was opposed by the surrounding community and even wanted to be fought. Sunan Prapen was received by the king in Lombok, but soon he fought again. In the war, the King of Lombok and his people were defeated by Sunan Prapen's troops. The king of Lombok and his people fled into the forest. During the escape, the King of Lombok was found in the forest, then said the shahada and converted to Islam, which was followed by his people [11].

After the mission to spread Islam on the island of Lombok was completed, Sunan Prapen continued his journey to Sumbawa and Bima. After Sunan Prapen's death, many people in Lombok left Islam. Sunan Prapen heard this when he was about to continue his journey to spread Islam to Bali. Following up on this, Prince Prapen fought the people of Lombok Island who had not embraced Islam. This war resulted in the people of Lombok fleeing to the mountains and forests [11].

This background made Van Der Kraan divide the people of Lombok into three groups. According to Van Der Kraan in Haris (1998), the first group is the population who fled to the mountains and into the forest called the Boda. The second group is the population who surrendered and embraced Islam and later became known as the followers of the Waktu Lima Islam. The third group is the subjugated population known as the followers of the Wetu Telu Islam [11]. According to Jamaluddin, Kraan was too hasty in classifying the division. According to him, the first group is a devout Muslim group, this group has not fully accepted Islam, but thanks to their sincerity in accepting Islamic teachings, they are able to become a devout Islamic group, the second group is a disobedient Islamic group and only recites two sentences of the creed., the third group is Boda which according to Jamaluddin is a distorted Buddhist religion [12].

Another opinion was expressed by Erni Budiwanti (2000) which differs from Kraan and Jamaluddin. He divides the followers of Islam in Lombok into two groups, namely Wetu Telu Islam, namely Muslims who still believe in ancestral animistic and anthropomorphic objects, and Waktu Lima Islam, namely, Islam which applies the teachings of the Qur'an and Hadith more strictly. Erni did not include Boda in the grouping of adherents of Islam because he thought that Boda was the original belief of the Sasak people who were referred to as Sasak-Boda. The Boda religion of the Sasak people is characterized by animism and pantheism [9].

The Wetu Telu Islam as one of the cultural groups that developed in Lombok certainly has an identity that distinguishes it from other cultural groups. The identity of this cultural group is revealed in its archaeological remains, one of which is a mosque. The remains of ancient mosques in Lombok have their own characteristics that distinguish them from other mosques in general. Of course, the difference lies in the identity created by the community behind the cultural symbols represented in the mosque. The characteristics possessed by ancient mosques in Lombok can be seen in the mosque's ornaments with animal and plant motifs, their placement on a high place, and also the presence of buildings around them that relate to the period before the arrival of Islam.

The problem raised in this study is how the Islamic identity of Wetu Telu is represented in the Ancient Mosques on Lombok Island. This issue is important to discuss because there have been no previous studies linking the identity of the Wetu Telu Islamic group with its cultural heritage. This research is also able to see the extent to which the identity of the Wetu Telu Islamic group is represented through its material culture, in this case, the mosque. This study aims to explain how the Wetu Telu Islamic group represents its identity through its cultural heritage, in this case, the ancient mosques so that this research is able to provide deeper knowledge and knowledge or the actual picture of the Wetu Telu Islamic group through its cultural heritage.

This study uses an archaeological approach through three stages of research, namely data collection, data processing, and data interpretation [13]. Data collection was carried out through three stages, namely literature study, field study, and interviews. In the literature study stage, a search was carried out on all sources or information related to ancient mosques in Lombok, namely books, articles, journals, and research reports. Field studies were conducted by recording data both verbally and pictorially. The interview was conducted with the traditional head of the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque, namely Amaq Riyajim (81 years old). The interview was conducted by asking what Wetu Telu's

Islamic identity really is and how that identity is represented in its material culture. In the next stage, namely data processing, a formal analysis was carried out on the components of the mosque that had been observed, namely the analysis of the main room form, mihrab shape, pulpit shape, pillar shape, door shape, roof shape, and decorative forms. Then the formal analysis of each component is compared between mosques. In the final stage, interpretation is carried out, namely by conducting contextual analysis. This analysis is carried out by connecting Wetu Telu's Islamic identity with the ornaments on the mosque and their placement.

2 Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam on Lombok Island

The followers of Islam on the island of Lombok are grouped into two, namely Wetu Telu Islam and Waktu Lima Islam. There are many opinions that develop among the people of the island of Lombok regarding the explanation of the two groups. Wetu Telu Islam is widely defined by the people of the island of Lombok as a cultural group that only prays three times a day or a group whose Islam is not perfect [14]. According to Sutyono quoted from Mulyadi and Komarudin (2020), there are at least nine assumptions that develop in society regarding Wetu Telu Islam, namely: 1) belief in spirits that reside in inanimate objects that are subject to the power of God; 2) three basic principles regarding life, namely past, present, and future; 3) distribution related to geographical areas, namely mountains, land, and beaches; 4) division related to human life, namely birth, development, and death; 5) relating to the implementation of formal worship which is carried out three times; 6) forms of belief influenced by animism, dynamism, and Hinduism; 7) relating to three structures in society, namely custom, religion, and government; 8) acculturation of Islamic teachings with old beliefs, such as animism, dynamism, and Hindu beliefs; 9) related to the three elements of life, water, wind, and soil [15].

Several researchers have tried to interpret the definition of Wetu Telu Islam. Erni Budiwanti (2000) defines Wetu Telu as a traditional religion. Wetu Telu are Sasak people who, despite claiming to be Muslims, still strongly believe in the ancestral animistic deity (ancestral animistic deities) and anthropomorphic objects (anthropomorphized inanimate objects). In that respect they are pantheists [9]. In religious practice, elements of Islam are mixed with elements of adat. Wetu Telu have an ideal conception of adat. They define *adat* as normative rules, codes of ethics, and behavior that are applied in various social, cultural, and political activities [9]. Although Wetu Telu is defined as a traditional religion, many contents are taken from universal Islam, such as the use of Arabic prayers taken from the Qur'an. In addition, the verses of the Qur'an are also included in the Wetu Telu religious practices.

Another opinion regarding Wetu Telu Islam is that it is widely interpreted as "three times" and is associated with all Islamic worship being three. In the Regional Monograph of West Nusa Tenggara (1977), it is explained that Wetu Telu Islam only recognizes (newly recognized) three pillars of the five pillars of Islam. The imperfect model of Islamic worship among the Wetu Telu group is caused because they are completely immersed in their customary practices, especially the preservation of ancient practices of ancestor worship that is passed down from one generation to the next, which are full of animism [16].

Tawalinuddin Haris also defines Wetu Telu Islam as adherents of Islam who have never carried out their duties as Muslims. Wetu Telu followers of Islam argue that religious obligations and duties are only in the hands of the kyai, their Islamic identity can only be seen in the issue of circumcision and not eating pork. Furthermore, Haris explained that Wetu Telu Islam adheres to beliefs originating from pre-Islamic religions, namely the worship of ancestral spirits. Wetu Telu Muslims believe that the spirits of their ancestors reside on hilltops, in large trees, in river channels, and behind rocks [17]. Their beliefs are closely related to the natural surroundings and deceased ancestors, they focus on ancestral spirits and inanimate objects, such as forests, rivers, mountains, villages, villages, and houses [18].

Wetu Telu followers of Islam consider the spirits of their ancestors to live in a subtle and sacred realm. Wetu Telu followers of Islam have the belief that in death a person dies only the gross body, while the subtle body remains alive and moves to another world called the subtle realm which has a higher place. Because spirits live in subtle realms, they consider deceased ancestors to have a close relationship with God. They view the ancestors as intermediaries who are able to relate to God on their behalf. They also believe that their ancestors can bring God's blessings, as well as provide protection to their surviving descendants, especially in terms of their welfare. In addition, the ancestral spirit as an intermediary functions to bring humans closer to God and is able to increase and carry further human requests and goals to God [9].

Erni Budiwanti in her book entitled *Islam Sasak; Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima* denies the meaning of Wetu Telu is "three times" in Islamic worship. From the results of interviews he conducted with traditional stakeholders, wetu comes from the word *metu*, which means to appear or come from, while telu means three. This symbolically reveals that all living things arise (*metu*) through three kinds of reproductive systems; i) give birth (kid), like humans and mammals; ii) lay eggs (baying), like birds, and iii) reproduce from seeds and fruit (*meniuk*), such as grains, vegetables, fruits, trees, and other plants. *Menganak*, *mentiuk*, *menteluk* symbolically represent the literal meaning of wetu or metu telu [9]. Sri Murni also stated the same thing, he argued that Wetu Telu came from the concept of the philosophy of Islamic belief in Wetu Telu that life consists of three kinds. The first is life because it is born like humans and animals that give birth to their children. Second, is life because it hatches through eggs like birds and other egg-laying animals. Third, life because it grows like trees and other plants [19].

In contrast to Wetu Telu, Waktu Lima is defined as Sasak Muslims who follow the teachings of the Shari'ah more strictly as taught by the Qur'an and Hadith [9]. The fifth time Islam has a higher commitment to obedience to Islamic teachings. In addition, they also have a greater commitment to sharia when compared to Wetu Telu adherents. Their shari'ah obedience and commitment are manifested in the daily worship of the pillars of Islam. The pillars of Islam are praying five times a day, fasting Ramadan, paying zakat to those in need, and making the pilgrimage to the holy land of Mecca if they are able. The high love for these practices as well as for the shari'ah makes their commitment or obedience to the customary rules thin [9].

Waktu Lima relatively uses the ideal standard of Islam as a benchmark, so they see that in various beliefs and worship there have been fundamental deviations and

violations. The view they use to see these deviations from the point of view of the holy book, as written in the Qur'an and hadith.

3 Ancient Mosques on Lombok Island

The mosque at the beginning of the development of Islam became a place for the spread and teaching of Islam in Lombok. The mosque in Lombok has certain characteristics and uniqueness. Of course, this happens because the teachings of Islam itself it is never explained in the Qur'an or Hadith regarding mosque buildings, in terms of shape, space, or provisions regarding what must be in a mosque.

Characteristics possessed by ancient mosques in Lombok, among others, such as construction made of wood and bamboo, rectangular in plan, in the main room there a mihrab and pulpit, a terraced roof made of palm fiber and bamboo leaves, and a foundation made of bamboo. From the ground. In addition, the ancient mosques in Lombok are also mixed with existing local elements.

In the literature search process carried out on all sources of information, both books, articles, journals, and research reports, there are approximately 20 ancient mosques in Lombok. Of the 20 mosques in Lombok, four were chosen. The four mosques were chosen because of the various sources of research conducted as well as confirmation by the stakeholders and administrators of the mosque that the four mosques are relics of Wetu Telu Islam, besides that the four mosques are mosques that have the most complete and clear historical sources. The four mosques are the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque located in Bayan Village, Bayan District, North Lombok Regency, Gunung Pujut Ancient Mosque located in Sengkol Village, Pujut District, Central Lombok Regency, Rembitan Ancient Mosque located in Rembitan Village, Janapria District, Central Lombok Regency, and the Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque located in Karang Bayan Village, Lingsar District, West Lombok Regency.

3.1 Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque

The Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque has a square plan measuring 8.90 x 8.90 m. In the main room, there are four main pillars in the form of a circle made of wood. The four pillars have a circular pedestal made of natural stone. The main room of the mosque is also filled with drums which are located between the main pillars of the southeast and southwest parts which are hung using rattan. In addition, the main room of the mosque is filled by the pulpit of the mosque which is to the north of the mihrab of the mosque. At the top of the pulpit, there is an ornament in the form of a dragon with three 12, 8, and 7-sided stars carved on its body. In addition, there are also other carvings, namely coconut trees, deer, and chickens.

The mihrab of the mosque is on the west side of the main room and the door of the mosque is on the east side of the main room which only has one. The roof of the mosque is in the form of an overlapping roof made of woven bamboo. At the top of the roof of the mosque, there is an ornament in the form of a bird's head. In addition to the pulpit, decorations are also found on the border, to be precise on the four sides of the border, namely fish in the east and birds in the west, north, and south (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. The Outside and Inside of the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque.

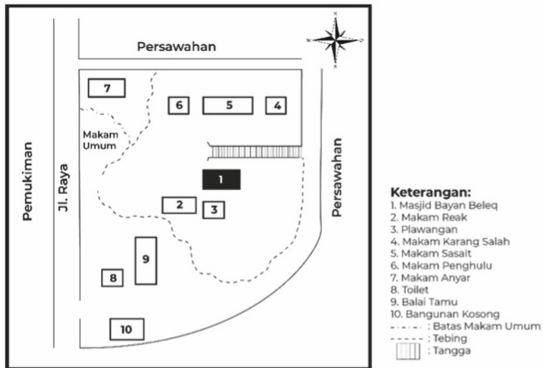


Fig. 2. The layout of the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque.

3.2 Gunung Pujut Ancient Mosque

Gunung Pujut Ancient Mosque has a square plan measuring 8.5 x 8.5 m. Inside the main room, there are four main rectangular pillars made of wood. The main support pillar has



Fig. 3. The Outside and Inside of the Gunung Pujut Ancient Mosque.

a pedestal of natural stone with the same shape, namely a square. At the top end of the main support pole, there is a geometric carved motif. The main room of the mosque also has a drum which is placed in the northeast corner of the main room of the mosque. In the main room of the mosque, to the north of the mihrab, there is a pulpit. Around the pulpit seats, there are carved geometric motifs. There is one door of the mosque which is on the east side of the main room, while the mihrab of the mosque is on the west side of the main room of the mosque. The roof of the mosque is an overlapping roof with a semi-circular peak covering the top. At the top of the inner roof, there are carvings on rectangular wood with geometric motifs and tendrils (Fig. 2).

3.3 Rembitan Ancient Mosque

The Rembitan Ancient Mosque has a square plan with a size of 7 x 7 m. In the main room of the mosque, in the middle of the main room, there are four main pillars. The four main pillars are circular in shape and do not have a pedestal. The diameter of the circle of the top main support post is smaller than the bottom. At the top end of the pole, there is a geometric carved ornament. In the main room, there is a pulpit and drum. The pulpit is outside the mihrab, precisely on the north side of the mihrab. The pulpit of the mosque has a rectangular pyramid-shaped roof made of woven bamboo. The bedug is on the east side of the main room and is hung using a black rope on the bamboo that supports the roof reeds. On the west side of the main room there is a mihrab and on the walls (Fig. 3).

In the south, there is a mosque door which is the main door. The door of the mosque has a door lock consisting of a lock and a place for the lock to be placed which is made

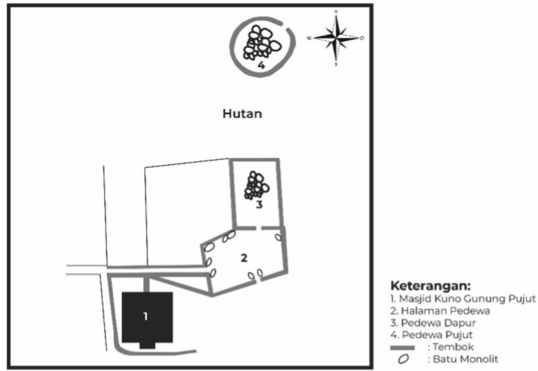


Fig. 4. The layout of the Gunung Pujut Ancient Mosque.

of wood. On the outside of the door, there is an ornament in the form of a rectangular pyramid attached to the left and right sides of the door. The roof of the mosque is a two-fold roof that has a peak with the shape of a bird. The bird is placed on a wooden shaped like a crown (Fig. 4).



Fig. 5. The Outside and Inside of the Rembitan Ancient Mosque.

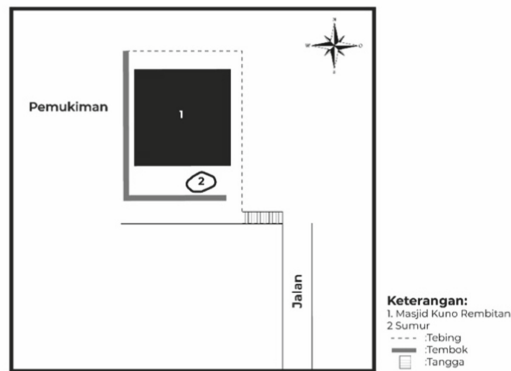


Fig. 6. The layout of the Rembitan Ancient Mosque.

3.4 Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque

Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque has a rectangular floor plan with a size of 7 x 5.50 m. The mosque does not have the main pillar. The mosque is only supported by 12 pillars that surround the main room of the mosque. On the east side of the main room, there is the main door of the mosque and on the west side of the main room, there is a mihrab. The door of the mosque is rectangular and made of woven bamboo. In the main room, there is a pulpit which is to the north of the mihrab. Unlike other ancient mosques, the roof of the Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque is in the form of a triangular prism made of reeds. The roof of the mosque covers the entire main room. The roof of the mosque hangs very low on all sides. The roofs on the west and east sides cover the mihrab and on the east side cover the doors of the mosque (Fig. 5).

4 Representation of Wetu Telu's Islamic Identity in Ancient Mosques on Lombok Island

Wetu Telu Islam, as previously explained, is a traditional religion that still believes in animistic ancestors and anthropomorphic objects. The word "Wetu Telu" itself comes from the word "metu", which means to appear or come from, while "telu means three". The word Wetu Telu explains that all living things arise (metu) through three kinds of reproductive systems; 1) give birth (kid), like humans and mammals; 2) lay eggs (baying), like birds, and 3) reproduce from seeds and fruit (meniuk), such as grains, vegetables, fruits, trees, and other plants. Riyajim (81 years old), the traditional leader of the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque also expressed the same thing. He explained that the meaning of Wetu Telu is a container or world filled with three elements of living things, namely growing (plants and trees), laying eggs (some on land and some in the sea), and giving birth (some from animals and some from humans) (Fig. 6).



Fig. 7. The Outside and Inside of the Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque.

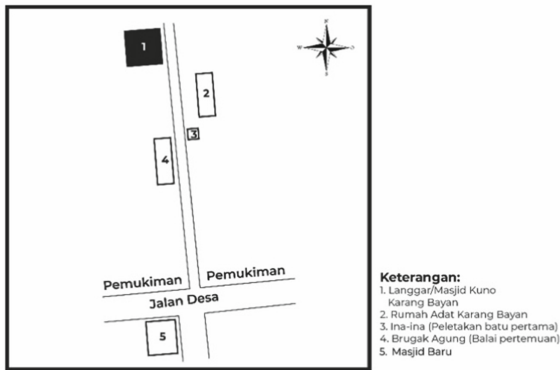


Fig. 8. The layout of the Karang Bayan Ancient Mosque.

The ornaments on the mosque show a correlation with the explanation above. At the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque, there are ornaments with plant and animal motifs. These ornaments are found on the pulpit, blandar, and peak. At the top of the pulpit

there is an ornament in the shape of a dragon. On the dragon's body, there are carvings with animal shapes, such as deer, chickens, and coconut trees. In the blandar section there are ornaments with animal shapes, such as fish and chickens, and at the peak with the shape of a bird. At the Rembitan Ancient Mosque, there is also an ornament with a bird-shaped animal motif at its peak. These ornaments refer to living things that come from the process of giving birth, laying eggs, and reproducing from seeds and fruit. Animals deer are a representation of the process of giving birth, birds, and chickens from the process of laying eggs, and coconut trees are plants that reproduce from fruit. In addition, animal ornaments in the form of fish indicate that there are living creatures that lay eggs in the sea, as revealed by Amaq Riyajim that animals lay eggs on land and sea. Furthermore, Amaq Riyajim revealed that the carving on the pulpit of the Bayan Beleq Ancient Mosque is a representation of the meaning of "Wetu Telu" itself that the world is filled with three elements of living things. This is in line with what was expressed by Cederroth (2004) that the carvings were interpreted by some Bayan people as a symbolic explanation of the inner meaning of the identity of their cultural group, namely the Wetu Telu Islam [20].

The Wetu Telu Islam as an Islamic group that still believes in the spirits of their ancestors or ancestors can also be seen in the location of the mosque. The location of the four mosques is on a high plateau, it can even be said to be on a hill. Referring to the opinion of Tawalinuddin Haris that Wetu Telu Muslims believe that the spirits of their ancestors reside on hilltops, in large trees, in river channels, and behind rocks [17]. If you look back, the construction of buildings in high places has been going on since before Islam, namely from prehistoric times (megalithic tradition) and Hindu times. (Fig. 7) The Wetu Telu Islam as a religion that is acculturated with beliefs before the arrival of Islam adopted this for the location of the mosque. As previously explained, Wetu Telu followers of Islam have the belief that the spirits of the ancestors are in a higher subtle realm, so they are able to intercede for their followers to God in conveying all their prayers and wishes. With the location of the mosque in a high place, namely the abode of the ancestral spirits, they hope that all the prayers they pray can be conveyed by the ancestral spirits to God. (Fig. 8)

5 Conclusion

The Wetu Telu Islam is a cultural group located in Lombok that represents their identity in material culture. As an Islamic cultural group, they represent it in the mosque. A mosque as a material culture is a building that can not only be seen as a place of worship, but a mosque can show a certain identity.

The representation of identity described by Wetu Telu Islam can be seen from the ornaments on the mosque and the placement of each mosque. The ornaments depicted are animal and plant motifs, including deer, chickens, coconut trees, birds, and fish. The location of each mosque is on a plateau, namely on a hill or cliff.

The location of the mosque in a high place shows that Wetu Telu Islam still believes in their ancestors or ancestors. They believe that their ancestors or ancestors resided in high places. The ornaments contained in the mosque illustrate the meaning of "Wetu Telu" itself that all living things come from three processes, namely giving birth (children), laying eggs (menteluk), and reproducing from seeds and fruit (mentiuik).

The representation depicted by Wetu Telu Islam in mosques shows that the Wetu Telu Islam does not contain any boundaries between traditional and religious elements. The two elements are mixed to form a cultural group that has its own identity, namely the Wetu Telu Islam. The ornaments of animate creatures depicted in the mosque are an embodiment that the Wetu Telu Islam is acculturated, namely between cultures before and after the entry of Islam. Likewise, what happened to the placement of the mosque which was in a high place? The Wetu Telu Islamic group incorporates traditional elements that existed before Islam came, namely the belief in ancestral spirits and anthropomorphic objects.

The representation of identity depicted in the mosque denies the identity given by outsiders about Wetu Telu Islam, which means three times. The meaning of the three times is then related to the number of obligatory prayers that they perform in carrying out Islamic law. The meaning of something can be done if the meaning process is carried out when people have the same background in culture. Therefore, the meaning given by other communities cannot be carried out because they have a different understanding background from the Wetu Telu followers of Islam. The meaning of Wetu Telu Islam can only be done by people from the Wetu Telu Islamic group, namely by making representations contained in the mosque.

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