
ISLAM BAYAN: AN ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR ON GAMA AND LUIR GAMA TRADITIONAL CEREMONIES IN LOMBOK NTB

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ABSTRACT

This study examined adherents of Islam Bayan or *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Gama* and *Luir Gama* traditional ceremonies in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. This research uses qualitative methods to understand the religious behaviour of *Islam Wetu Telu at Gama* and *Luir Gama* traditional ceremonies. The theories used in this study are social action theory and functional structural theory. The findings of this study reveal that *Gama* traditional ceremonies consist of various behaviour related to religious celebrations. Meanwhile, the *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony, which is a ceremonial activity held in connection with the occurrence of a long drought and excessive rainfall. This ceremony is carried out once a year, precisely in the first year of the *sewindu*, namely the year of *Alip*. *Luir Gama* customs can be divided into two types of ceremonies, namely *Taik Lauk* and *Taik Daye*. The *Taik Lauk* ritual is held when facing the changing drought, while the *Taik Daye* ritual is held when entering the rainy season every year. The main actors, all religious ceremonies are traditional leaders and *Kiai Kagungan* which the author calls central behaviour. The factors behind the religious behaviour of *Islam Wetu Telu in Gama* and *Luir Gama* traditional ceremonies are internal and external factors. Internal factors are related to changes in the attitudes of traditional leaders, willingness to acculturate, and the ability to perform adaptation. Meanwhile, external factors concern the history of the entry of Islam in Lombok, Islamic Da'wah, and Hinduization

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1. INTRODUCTION

Islam Bayan is a new term to replace the Islamic term *Islam Wetu Telu* in Lombok. However, the Islamic terminology "*Islam Wetu Telu*" is still used in this paper because of the unique consideration of the name "Islamic teachings" in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* seems unique and different when compared to the religious behavior of *Islam Waktu Lima*. The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu*, if examined at a glance, seems unremarkable and no different from the religious behavior of Islam in general. However, if you look at it in depth, it will be seen that the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* is unique when juxtaposed with common Islamic religious behavior. Religious behavior is a unique cultural treasure rooted in tradition and custom, as stated in the traditional ceremonies of *Gama* and *Luir Gama*. The two kinds of traditional ceremonies, *Gama* and *Luir Gama*, are still alive and are maintained as authentic by adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* in North Lombok and West Nusa Tenggara (Adonis, Tito, 1989).

The intended religious behavior is related to various traditional *Gama* and *Luir Gama* ceremonies practiced by *Islam Wetu Telu*. *Gama* traditional ceremonies are ceremonies related to Islamic holidays, while *Luir Gama*

traditional ceremonies are traditional ceremonies related to the rice planting cycle, the life cycle (*gawe urip*), and the death cycle (*gawe pati*) of humans. The uniqueness of the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu lies not in their personal behavior but in the collective representative behavior carried out by the Kiai and Traditional Leaders. This means that Kiai and traditional stakeholders have an obligation to carry out all forms of Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies, while other Muslims, called Wetu Telu, help prepare offerings for Kiai and traditional stakeholders. In the implementation of the Janazah prayer, for example, it is enough to be represented by the Kiai, while members of the Islam Wetu Telu believers only sit in the courtyard area where the Janazah prayer is held (Gde Suparman, 1992).

Thus, the role of traditional stakeholders and Kiai is central and important to the success of Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies. All forms of traditional ceremonies, such as the performance of Janazah prayers, fasting, and the celebration of the prophet's maulid; the cleansing of places of worship, ancestral tombs, ceremonial agriculture, life cycles, and death ceremonies would not have been carried out without the presence of Kiai and traditional stakeholders. In practice, the implementation of religious ceremonies performed by Islam Wetu Telu will be different when compared to religious practices carried out by Islam Waktu Lima, for example in the implementation of janazah prayers. This behavior is very contrary to the practice of corpse prayer carried out by Islam Waktu Lima, where the Kiai and Tuan Guru set up congregational corpse prayers in the mosque. Unlike the case with the implementation of Janazah prayers among Islam Wetu Telu adherents, which are only carried out by Kiai located in *berugaq* or six-masted buildings without partitions and roofed with shingles, this building is usually in front of a house separate from the main house (Wacana, Lalu, 1977)

In carrying out religious ceremonies or rituals, adherents of Islam Wetu Telu are without a distinctive and unique style that is not the same as Islam Waktu Lima. At any religious ceremony, it always refers to the number symbol "Telu," or "three." For example, Islam Wetu Telu only practices three pillars of Islam out of the five pillars in the teachings of the Islamic religion. Zakat and Hajj are not performed by Islam Wetu Telu for various reasons. Meanwhile, prayers and fasting were hardly performed perfectly; even if they are implemented, the obligation is left to the Kiai. At this level, the position of the Kiai in the beliefs of the Islam Wetu Telu is very central and respectable. The Kiai, who are obliged to observe the fast of Ramadan, also have a peculiarity: where the fasting service that should be required is 30 days, the Kiai only fasts 3 days at the beginning, 3 days in the middle, and 3 days at the end of Ramadan. This type of religious behavior is also one of the distinctions between Islam and other faiths (Budiwanti, Erni, 2000)

To begin the implementation of fasting, the adherent of Islam, Wetu Telu, is based on the dates set by his ancestors (*Toaq Lokaq*) without ever making any changes. Adherents of Islam Wetu Telu who are scattered in several areas when they start fasting can be grouped into three, namely the Wednesday, or *Aboge*, Thursday, and Friday dating groups. The Wednesday dating group (*Aboge*) started the fast on the 1st of Ramadan, the Thursday dating group fasted on the 2nd of Ramadan, and the Friday dating group fasted on the 3rd of Ramadan. However, they hold the principle that fasting should be a full 30 days plus one day on Eid al-Fithri. For those who begin their fast on the 2nd and 3rd of Ramadan, the fast will end on the 2nd and 3rd of Shawwal.

The Islam Wetu Telu Kiai, for example, appears to have a striking difference between one Kiai and another. In practice, Kiai are divided into five groups based on the distribution area of Islam Wetu Telu adherents in Lombok, namely (1). The prayer time is five times a day and night: *Maghrib*, *Isya'*, *Subuh*, *Zuhur*, and *Ashar*, performed by Kiai only. The practice applies to adherents in the *Pujut* area of Central Lombok. (2). The prayer times are only *Dhohor* on Friday, *Mayit* prayer, *Eid al-Fitr* prayer, and *Tarawih* prayer in Ramadan. Compulsory prayers are not performed at all.

The practice applies to the *Bayan*, *Tanjung*, *Narmada*, *Gerung*, and *Pujut* areas. (3). Prayer time is only *Ashar* on Thursday (Friday night). *Subuh* prayers on the morning of *Eid al-Fitr*, prayers on Fridays This practice applies to the *Semalun* and *Sapit* areas (East Lombok). (4). *Subuh* prayer time in the morning of *Eid al-Fithri*, *Dhohor* prayer on Friday, *Magrib* and *Isya'* prayers during the month of Ramadan, *Eid al-Fitr*, *Eid al-Adha*, *Tarawih* prayer, and *Mayit* prayer the practice applies in *Rambitan* village, Central Lombok. (5). The prayer time applies as long as the Kiai serves as a *marbot* (mosque guard and beater), then it is mandatory to perform prayers five times a day and a night, but if the Kiai is not on duty, then he only prays on Friday: *Tarawih* prayers, *Eid al-Fitri* prayers, *Adha*, and *Mayit* prayers. The practice occurs in the *Pengadang* area of East Lombok and the village of *Pengadang* in Central Lombok.

The religious practices of Islam Wetu Telu, as mentioned above, resulted in negative assessments from outsiders. They are considered a disobedient group to practice Islamic Shari'a and adherents of Shirking (paganism). The desire of outsiders, or Islam Waktu Lima, to teach pure Islam to adherents of Islam Wetu Telu was often met with challenges and resistance that gave rise to endless conflicts to this day. Adherents of Islam, Wetu Telu, have always argued that that is the teaching of the inheritance of our ancestors and we dare not violate it. With that dogma of belief, they continue to conduct and maintain syncretic religious behavior.



The religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu, who have been mixed with other beliefs (syncretism), can be equated with the abangan group in Geertz's conception (1960). As a result of his research in Mojokuto, Geertz grouped Javanese people into three main groups: the santri, which are orthodox Muslims; the priyai, which was a noble circle influenced mainly by Hindu-Javanese traditions; and the abangan, which is a village community of Animism-Dynamism. Therefore, the adherents of Islam Waktu Lima invite the adherents of Islam Wetu Telu to put off their syncretic beliefs and invite a return to the perfect Islam (Geertz, Clifford, 1992).

The label of Islam Wetu Telu as a group that does not obey Islamic law and the splinter group given by Islam Waktu Lima are the main factors in the tension between Islam Wetu Telu and Islam Waktu Lima. Various efforts and strategies are carried out by traditional stakeholders, Kiai, and toak lokaq to continue to maintain and preserve the Islamic customs of Wetu Telu, so as to come to the choice to acculturate and adapt. Both options became rational choices with the aim of minimizing the structural and horizontal pressures on the adherents of Islam Waktu Lima. Adherents of Islam Wetu Telu, as a minority group, continue to be pressured to conform to religious practices such as Islam Waktu Lima.

The adaptation of the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu has not had too much influence on the beliefs he has always believed in. This refers to the routine implementation of Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies characterized by syncretism, interest in magical powers, supernatural worlds, ancestral spirits, and the role and function of traditional stakeholders in the implementation of ritual events that are still strong. Nevertheless, Islam Wetu Telu continues to make adjustments to the environment (adaptation) by focusing on a new synthesis, namely harmony with the demands of Islamic Shari'a.

The adjustment of religious behavior made by Islam Wetu Telu is based on the strengthening of the quality of Islam since the 1970s. This was marked by the enthusiasm of Islam Wetu Telu, who celebrated religious ceremonies (Gama customs), and the number of people who performed five-time prayers increased. Their enthusiasm, it turns out, has not been matched by their willingness to pay zakat, carry out fasting, and go on hajj to the holy land. Pure Islam takes a process and time for the strong adherents of Islam, Wetu Telu, to maintain their ancestral traditions. From a psychological perspective, the willingness to adapt expressed in religious behavior is a positive response of Islam Wetu Telu to the onslaught of Islamic proselytizing carried out by Islam Waktu Lima. He did so because of his internal experience and the external encouragement of traditional Islamic leaders like Wetu Telu, who are increasingly open.

In the context of hirtoris, Islam Wetu Telu was born from the process of Islamic proselytizing that had not been completely taught by Sunan Prapen. Sunan Prapen taught the five pillars of Islam to the community at that time, but only until the third pillar (fasting), then he left the northern coastal area of Lombok for Sumbawa. The beginning of the emergence of Islam Wetu Telu was blocked by Raden Gedarip (the traditional leader of Karangsalah Bayan). Wetu Telu is not directly related to the proselytizing carried out by Sunan Prapen against the Bayan people but is related to the cosmological aspects of living things. The five pillars of Islam are still believed but have not been able to be implemented as a whole.

Therefore, the correctness of the term "Wetu Telu" means the output (kemetuan) of three things, namely giving birth (menganak), laying eggs (menteluk), and seeding (mentiwuk). Solidarity is more cosmological than the result of incomplete teaching of the pillars of Islam.

Today, the distribution of Islam Wetu Telu (other than in North Lombok) is still found in several areas of Lombok. In the West Lombok region, there are Narmada and Sekotong districts. The North Lombok region is located in the Pemenang, Tanjung, Gangga, Kayangan, and Bayan districts. Meanwhile, in Central Lombok Regency, the Islam Wetu Telu are no longer found except for archaeological remains in the form of villages in Rambitan and Sade villages. While in East Lombok, there are still people in the Sembalun and Obel-Obel areas.

Relics in the form of ancient villages and mosques built by adherents of Islam Wetu Telu are found in several places in Lombok, which are still preserved today and used as tourist destinations by the central Lombok district government, such as in Sade of Rambitan village, Pujut district. There is a fundamental difference in the village, namely that there is a mosque in the middle of the village, such as the one in the Sade village of Central Lombok. The existence of the mosque is an indication that Islam Wetu Telu has undergone a process of changing religious and cultural adaptation.

The most obvious example of adaptation is seen in the religious behavior in the traditional ceremonies of Gama and Luir Gama practiced by adherents of Islam Wetu Telu. In both traditional ceremonies, there are factors of ancestral beliefs (animism and dynamism), Hinduism, and Islam. The factors of ancestral beliefs are seen in various paraphernalia of traditional ceremonies, such as sembeq; the factors of Hinduism are seen in the garments of traditional leaders and Kiai wearing headbands and white garments, as well as the burning of coconut fibers (substitutes for frankincense) at ngaji kuburan ceremonies; and the factors of Islamic teachings appear dominant in every traditional

ceremony of Gama and Luir Gama. The prayers offered by the master of ceremonies before and after the traditional ceremonies of Gama and Luir Gama are proof of the absorption of Islamic values.

There are several studies that have been conducted by researchers, as follows: First, J. Van Baal (1976) regarding the Alip feast in Bayan Baal's research describes the elements of the Alip Islam Wetu Telu celebration ceremony with all its symbols. The Alip feast ceremony is a form of traditional ceremony carried out by Islam Wetu Telu until now. This ceremony is carried out once in a span of eight years and has the aim of renovating and cleaning the ancient mosque (Baal, J. Van, 1976).

Second, Sven Cederroth (1981), a Swedish anthropologist, conducted research for 5 years in Bayan. Cederroth's research elaborated on the forms and types of religion in Islam (Wetu Telu). In detail, Cederroth explained that there are two social stratifications of society in Bayan, namely perwangse and jajar karang. Perwangse was a layer of nobility and patih. The nobility itself was divided into two, namely the highclass nobility and the middle class. While Jajar Karang is a layer of ordinary people (Cederroth, Sven, 1981).

Third, Erni Budiwanti, a LIPI researcher, conducted an ethnographic study in Bayan in order to complete her doctoral dissertation. The focus of Budiwanti's study was the idiosyncratic conflict between two religious and cultural groups, namely Islam Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. Islam Wetu Telu is an Islamic group that is more concerned with ritual customs and is categorized as not obeying the religious sharia, while Islam Waktu Lima is an Islamic group that is very obedient to practice Shari'a. With reference to Geertz's conception, according to Budiwanti, Islam Wetu Telu, within certain limits, has religious characteristics similar to those of the abangans, and Islam Waktu Lima also has similarities with the santri (Geertz, Clifford, 1992). The distinction between Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima does not fully represent or confirm Geertz's dichotomy, but should be seen as a dynamic model that marks the variables of change and intensity of ideological conflict, not in a dichotomous and static way (Budiwanti, Erni, 2000).

Fourth, John Ryan Bartholomew conducted ethnographic research in the Demen area, Ampenan district, and Mataram City (formerly included in the West Lombok regency). Bartholomew explores the ways in which two organizations (Nahdatul Wathan and Muhammadiyah) reconcile long-lived Sasak traditions with Islamic ideas deemed appropriate and inappropriate. At the same time, the two organizations, in different ways, try to bridge the power of modernity that is being experienced by the Demen community, Ampenan District. The main thesis that Bartholomew built on his research in the Demen shaped local ideas about how to reconcile between Islam, modernity, and tradition (Bartholomew, John Ryan, 2001).

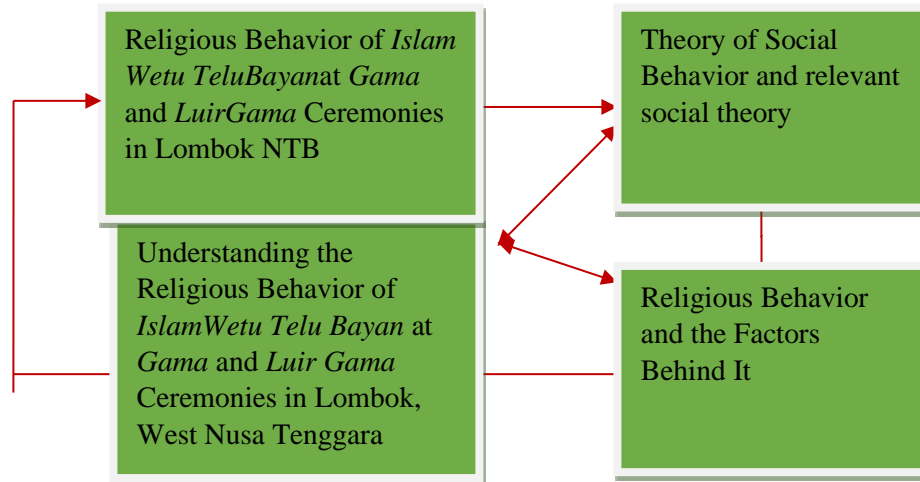
Fifth, Kamarudin Zaelani conducted research in order to complete the postgraduate program at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Kamarudin's research focuses on Wetu Telu theology. The theological conception of Islam Wetu Telu adherents is influenced by several earlier traditions in the styles of dynamism, animism, pantheism, and anthropomorphism. Adherents of Islam Wetu Telu believe in a God whose dominion pervades the entire universe, but at the same time acknowledge the existence of several gods and spirits that affect human life and occupy certain places. So, the theological conception of Wetu Telu is a religious concept that talks about God in relation to man as well as the universe and is based on local cultural constructions or customary heritage (Zaelani, Kamarudin, 2002).

Based on the description above, this research will try to answer several research questions, as follows: How is the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu at the Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. What factors are behind the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu at the Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research used qualitative methods to obtain data related to the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu at Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. To obtain data, researchers choose an open interview method to study and understand the attitudes, views, feelings, and behaviors of individuals or groups of people (Merton, Robert K., 1967).

When collecting data, researchers themselves engage in comparisons to enrich data collection for conceptualization and categorization purposes. The results of data collection on religious behavior at Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies were then reduced (data reduction). After data reduction, it is then organized into a data display form to facilitate efforts to expose data and affirm conclusions back and forth (Moleong, Lexy J., 1999).



The theories used in this paper are social action theory and functional structural theory. In social action theory, Weber introduced the concept of the meaning of an action. The essence of the thesis he put forward is that "a human action is full of meaning." Therefore, to study social action, Weber proposed a method of interpretation and understanding (interpretive understanding and verstehen). Human individuals in society are creative actors, and social reality is not a static tool (Weber, Max, 2022). That is, human actions are not entirely determined by the norms, habits, and values that are included in the concept of social facts. In the development of his thinking, Weber himself recognized social structures and social institutions. The two are interrelated in constructing social action (Turner, Jonathan H., and Maryanski Alexandra, 2010).

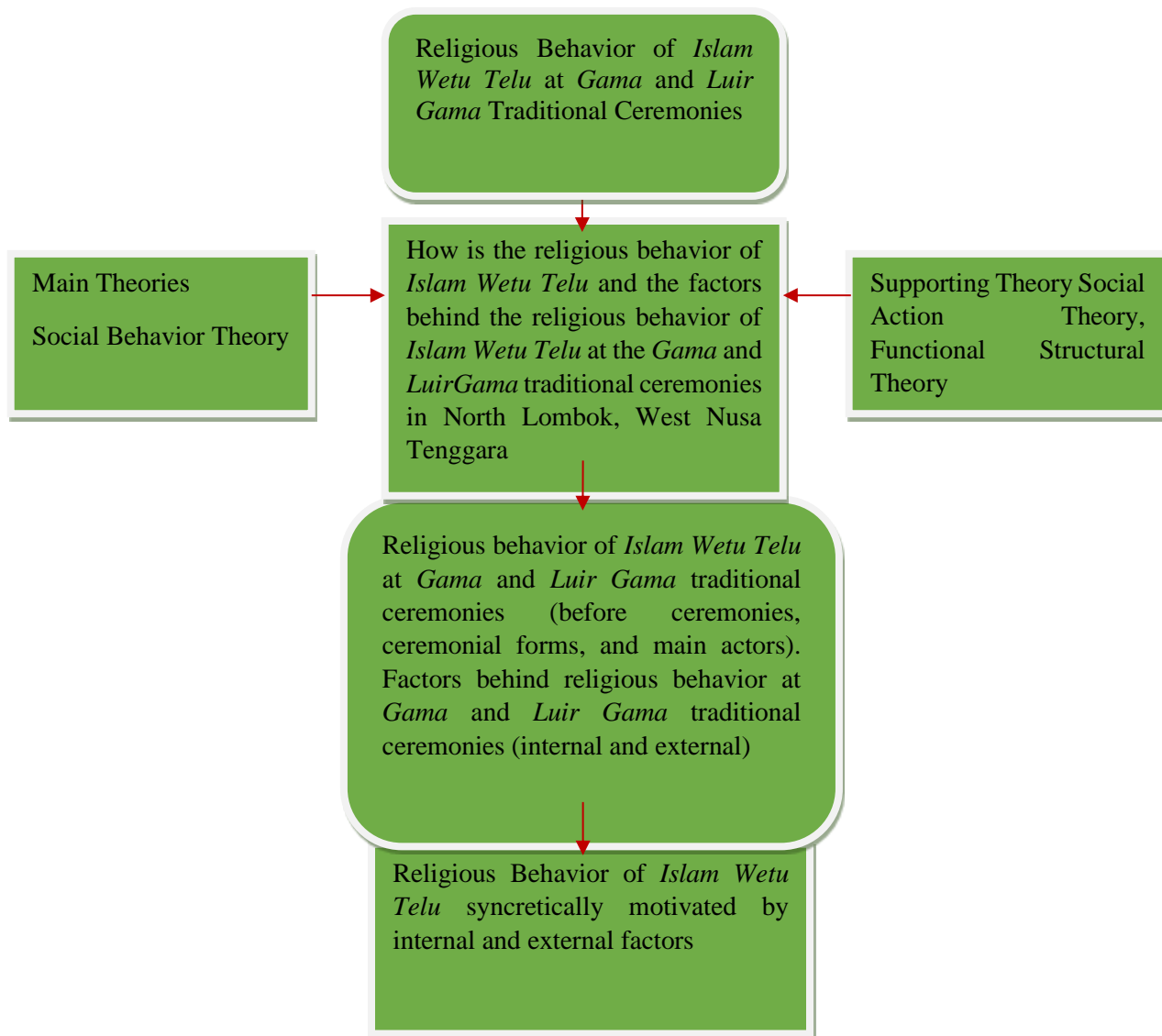
There are four typologies of social action studied by Weber: instrumental rationality (zweckrationalitat), rationality of purpose (wetrationalitat), traditional action, and affective action. The rationality of goals is an action that is carried out taking into account the goals and the tools used to achieve the goals. Rationality of purpose, that is, actions that look at tools only with conscious consideration and calculation, because the goals associated with values have already been determined, Traditional actions are actions that are carried out based on habits without planning or conscious reflection. While affective actions, that is, actions that are carried out and dominated by feelings or emotions without conscious reflection or planning (Johnson, Doyle Paul, 1986),

Furthermore, the theory of functionalism is used in this study as an analytical tool to see how an organism is interconnected and functions. Conceptions of structural functional theory can help researchers explain the role of Kiai and traditional stakeholders, who have a central function for adherents of Islam Wetu Telu. These functions have certain consequences for adherents of Islam Wetu Telu. In the conception of structural functionalist theory, a society is seen as a dynamic system consisting of interconnected subsystems. These subsystems have consequences for each other and for the system as a whole (Parson, Talcott, 1964).

The main pressing point of structural-functional theory is order. The main concepts are function, dysfunction, latent function, manifest function, and equilibrium. The function in this theory is the observable effect that it corresponds to in a system. Therefore, the pairing is dysfunctional. The nature of that function is manifest and latent. The function of any activity that is always repetitive, such as the punishment of crimes or burial ceremonies, is a part that it plays in social life as a whole. For example, Merton has developed fundamental statements of the theories of functionalism by limiting some of the basic analytical concepts to functional analysis and explaining some of the uncertainty of meaning contained in the postulates of the functionalists. (Ritzer, George, 1983)

There are three postulates that Merton is trying to refine, namely: first, the functional unity of society, which can be limited to a state in which all parts of the social system work together in an adequate level of internal harmony or consistency without producing prolonged conflicts that cannot be overcome or organized. Second, universal functionalism considers that all established social and cultural forms have positive functions. Third, indispensability considers that in every type of civilization, every habit, idea, material object, and belief, fulfills several important

functions, has a number of tasks to be carried out, and is an important and inseparable part of the activities of the system as a whole (Merton, Robert K., 1967). Here is the conceptual framework in this paper.



3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Religious Behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at *Gama* and *Luir Gama* Traditional Ceremonies

The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* is part of its social system, viewed from an emic perspective or outlook on life. In the social paradigm, human behavior is seen as a mechanical response or reaction to the automatic nature of a number of stimuli that appear in human interaction. (Ritzer, George, 1983)

The intended religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* is related to various activities of *Gama* and *Luir Gama* traditional ceremonies. The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* is a centralized collective religious behavior, where the main actors in each religious ceremony are the traditional leaders and the *Kiai*. *Islam Wetu Telu* are tasked with preparing ceremonial paraphernalia and meeting all the needs of traditional leaders and *Kiai*. Therefore, researchers call the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* a centralized collective of religious behavior. The term describes the collective religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu*, who are represented to traditional leaders and *Kiai* (Skinner, B.F., 2013).

Religious Behaviour at the Traditional Ceremony of the *Alip Feast*

Traditional leaders and *Kiai* became the main actors at the traditional ceremony of the *Alip* feast. The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* in the traditional ceremony of the *Alip* feast looks different and unique because it is still mixed with syncretic ancestral beliefs. The syncretic behavior was born from the process of adaptation by adopting the values of ancestral beliefs, Hinduism, and Islam, as revealed from the data (RGF.01, RF.02, AM.04). The

religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Alip* year ceremony obtained several findings based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Alip* feast ceremony is a behavior constructed by the ancestors (Toaq Lokaq), who are then habituated (imitated) according to the model exemplified by the previous ancestors.

Findings 2: The attitudes and decisions of the Toaq Lokaqs continued the tradition of *Alip* feast ceremonies based on the results of their deliberations.

Findings 3: The *Alip* feast ceremony is carried out in the context of restoring (renovating) ancient mosques and ancestral tombs, which are carried out once every eight years (sewindu) according to the Hijriyah calendar.

From the findings 1–3 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional ceremony of the *Alip* feast is constructed by the ancestors (Toaq Lokaq), which is passed down in the form of tradition to the offspring of his descendants.

Religious Behaviour at *Tilawat* Traditional Ceremonies

The *tilawat* ceremony is a follow-up to *Alip*'s feast after the renovation of the ancient mosque and the ancestral tomb of the Islamic believer *Wetu Telu*. At the *tilawat* ceremony, the Islamic *Kiai Wetu Telu* envoys from several *kampu* scattered in *Bayan* gathered in the ancient mosque to perform a traditional *tilawat* ceremony. The *tilawat* ceremony is presided over by the *Kiai penghulu* of the *Kiai Kagungan* group. The *Kiai* of the *Bayan* people who adhere to *Islam Wetu Telu* are classified into three, namely *Kiai Raden*, *Kiai Santri*, and *Kiai Kampu* (Fadly, M. Ahyar, 2008). From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional *Tilawat* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: Religious behavior at the *tilawat* ceremony became *selamatan* (thanksgiving) after the completion of the renovation of the ancient mosque and the *gedeng leluhur*.

Findings 2: The behavior at the *tilawat* ceremony is to read the *Qur'an* and pray together, which is attended by 44 *Kiai* and ends with a meal of offerings that have been prepared by the residents of *Kampu*.

From the findings 1-2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: Religious behavior at the *Tilawat* traditional ceremony as a form of gratitude (*selamatan*) for the completion of the renovation work of the ancient mosque and the house of the ancestral tomb, which was attended by 44 *Kiai*, included reading the *Qur'an* and praying together.

Religious Behaviour at *Lohor Jumat* Ceremonies

The Friday *Lohor* ceremony performed by the *Islam Wetu Telu* believer illustrates the helplessness of facing the disaster that befell him and, at the same time, a form of realization that there is no omnipotent power other than the power of God. In that context, K.T. Freusz proposed the concept of actions to hold the necessities of his life that could not be achieved instinctively or reasonably because it was a ceremony or ritual as a way out (Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1948). Adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* take their own way to avoid all forms of distress, namely by performing the *Lohor* Friday ceremony. From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the Friday *lohor* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: The Friday *Lohor* ceremony performed by the *Islam Wetu Telu* believer illustrates the helplessness of facing the disaster that befell him and, at the same time, a form of realization that there is no omnipotent power other than the power of God. In that context, K.T. Freusz proposed the concept of actions to hold the necessities of his life that could not be achieved instinctively or reasonably because it was a ceremony or ritual as a way out (Malinowski, Bronislaw, 1948). Adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* take their own way to avoid all forms of distress, namely by performing the *Lohor* Friday ceremony. From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the Friday *lohor* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

From the findings Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: Religious behavior at the traditional *lohor* Friday ceremony is a response to the natural disaster carried out by *Islam Wetu Telu*, who established a two-rakaat circumcision prayer to ask God for protection.

Religious Behaviour at *Muludan* Ceremonies

The *muludan* celebration is centered on the ancient *Bayan* Mosque and is celebrated festively by *Islam Wetu Telu* in *Lombok*, *West Nusa Tenggara*. As a tradition that has long lived among the adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu*, *muludan* is one of the rich local traditions and wisdom that is important for adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu*. The celebration of *muludan* as a medium for proselytizing was used by *Sunan Prapen* to spread *Islam* in *Lombok*, which still adheres to the beliefs of animism, dynamism, and Hinduism. *Sunan Prapen* deliberately constructs behavior by including Islamic *Sharia* values in various ceremonies or rituals in a society that is still primitive and has a pagan culture. *Sunan Prapen* adopts *Javanese* traditional behavioral practices and cultural manners into the behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu*.

From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* the traditional *mulud* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: Religious behavior at the *muludan* traditional ceremony is a celebration commemorating the reunion of Adam and Eve as well as the birth of the prophet Muhammad SAW, who is wrapped in local culture amid the belief "inget joq lapuq leluhurte" (keep in mind of the ancestors).

Findings 2: *Peraje Mulud* is a symbol of the first human marriage and an expression of gratitude for the prosperity and strong sense of brotherhood among the adherents of Islam, *Wetu Telu*. The behavior of the motorcade bringing the *Peraje Mulud* to the ancient mosque is a symbol of the strong brotherhood among the *Islam Wetu Telu* adherents.

From the findings 1-2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Muludan* traditional ceremony to know brotherhood and togetherness in order to express gratitude for the overflow of *rizki* wrapped in local traditions through the commemoration of the birth of the prophet Muhammad SAW.

Religious Behaviour at Fasting Month Ceremonies

Adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* highly respect the fasting month, even though they do not actually carry it out in full. The *Kiai*, as a representation of their adherents, welcomed the arrival of the fasting month by carrying out traditional rituals. The ceremony to welcome the arrival of the month of Ramadan, held one month earlier, was called *Rowah Wulan* and *Sampet Friday* (Raden Finadi RF.03). From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional fasting month ceremony, it was obtained how many findings were based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: Adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* highly respect the fasting month as evidenced by various ceremonial behaviors and prohibitions, such as *rowah wulan* ceremonies, *Friday sampet*, *maleman Qunut*, and *malemanlikuran* (night *lailatul qadar*), and are prohibited from saying dirty, working until sweating, climbing trees, and quarreling.

Findings 2: *Islam Wetu Telu* do not carry out the obligation of fasting for Ramadan for a whole month. The obligation to observe fasting and *sunah taraweh* prayers is represented by the *Kiai Kagungan*, who are on duty to become *marbotts* (guards of ancient mosques).

From the findings 1-2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: *Islam Wetu Telu* do not observe Ramadan fasting or *taraweh* circumcision prayers, but they highly respect the fasting month with various ritual ceremonies and stay away from prohibitions during the fasting month.

Religious Behaviour at Idhul Fithri Ceremonies

The end of performing *zakat fitrah* is before establishing the *Eid al-Fithri* prayer. RGF.01 says that adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* pay *zakat fitrah*, like other Islamic ummah. *Berzakat* is an obligation that Allah Almighty has entrusted to the Islamic ummah. *Zakat* is the fourth pillar of Islam; therefore, the Islamic religion requires its adherents to pay *zakat*. *Zakat* is intended for the poor who have been established in the Islamic Fiqh.

AM. 04 told researchers that *Islam Wetu Telu* paid *zakat fitrah* collectively in each *kampu* and was then taken to the ancient mosque where the *Kiai Kagungan* were waiting. After *zakat fitrah* was collected in the ancient mosque, it was then distributed to residents living in *Kampu* and scattered in *Bayan* village. From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional *Eid al-Fithri* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: *Islam Wetu Telu* pay *zakat fitrah* collectively in their respective *kampu* in the form of rice, fruits, seeds, sweet potatoes, bananas, coconuts, and *arak* (local drinks of the *Bayan* people), which were collectively handed over to *Kiai Kagungan* in ancient mosques.

Findings 2: The *Eid al-Fithri* prayer is held on the fourth day after the implementation of the *Eid al-Fithri* prayer set by the government. The *Eid al-Fithri* prayer was founded by the *Kiai Kagungan* envoys from various *Kampu* in the area of the ancient mosque.

Findings 3: After *Kiai Kagungan* prays *Eid al-Fithri*, they go to the ancestral burial area for the ritual of *ngaji makam* as a form of respect for the spirits of their ancestors.

From the findings 1-3 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: *Eid al-Fithri* prayers are held on the fourth day according to a government decree that is only established by *Kiai Kagungan* and traditional envoys from various *kampu* in *Bayan* to then perform *ngaji makam* in the area of ancestral tombs.

Religious Behaviour at LebaranTopat Ceremonies

The celebration of *Eid Topat* carried out by *Islam Wetu Telu* in ancient mosques is a manifestation of the perceived response and is believed to be sacred (sacer) in the conception of Rudolf Otto's theory. *Eid topat*, celebrated by *Islam Wetu Telu*, has a social function to intensify the solidarity of the community and God. Religious ceremonies, which Roberston called a presentation ceremony (Robertson, Roland, 1969), From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Eid-topat* ceremony, several findings were obtained based on data and facts in the field, namely:

Findings 1: Eid topat is a traditional Eid marked by eating ketupat together after the Kiai Kagungan established the Qulhu Sataq prayer in the ancient mosque on the 7th of Shawwal every year.

Findings 2: There is a fundamental difference in the celebration of Eid Topat between adherents of Islam Wetu Telu and Islam Waktu Lima in Lombok. The celebration of Eid topat by Islam Wetu Telu begins with the establishment of Qulhu Sataq prayers, while Islam Waktu Lima is spreading topat after observing the six-day fast of the Shawwal sunnah.

From the findings 1-2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: The celebration of *Eid Topat* is a traditional Eid organized by adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* and *Islam Waktu Lima* after establishing *qulhu sataq* prayers and fasting *shawwal* for six days, along with the culmination of a *ketupat meal* together.

Religious Behaviour at *Lebaran Pendek* Ceremonies

The short Eid ritual was established by the *Kiai Kagungan*, while *Islam Wetu Telu* sat in the outer area of the ancient mosque and prepared dishes and ceremonial supplies. RF.031 data explains that the procession of performing short *Eid* rituals stems from the behavior of the *Kiai* sucking in the sacred tombs of ancestors. Sucking into the ancestral tombs is done by the *Kiai* in the evening before the short *Eid* day. From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* on the short *Eid* celebration (Eid al-Qurban), findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: Religious behavior at the short Eid celebration (Eid al-Adha) begins with making a *ngaji makam* (ngosap) to the ancestral tomb. On the day and the 10th of Dzulhijjah, the *Kiai Kagungan* established the two rakaat sunnah prayers and the recitation of the *khutbah* (ngangkat syare'at) in the ancient mosque. After the prayers, the *Kiai Kagungan* enjoyed a meal that had been prepared by the *kampu* residents. Some time later, *Kiai Kagungan* gathered outside the ancient mosque to slaughter a black goat that was sacrificed as the core of the short Eid celebration (Eid al-Qurban).

From the findings 1 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: The celebration of short Eid (ngangkat syare'at) begins with sucking into the ancestral tomb and slaughtering a scapegoat as a form of their devotion to the ancestral heritage with the phrase "already from ancestors."

Religious Behaviour at *Bubuh Beaq dan Bubuh Puteq* Ceremonies

According to RF.03, adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* perform a diving ceremony on the 10th of Muharram by preparing dishes in the form of *Bubuh Beaq* and *Bubuh Puteq*. The diving ceremony is held to commemorate the emergence of the *ummah* and their lambing through marital ties. Based on the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu*, findings were obtained based on data and facts on the ground, namely:

Findings 1: The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* on the 10th of Muharram, when it performs the ceremony of diving *bubuh beaq* and *bubuh puteq*. *Bubuh Puteq* represents male sperm, while *Bubuh Beaq* represents female menstrual blood. The diving ceremony aims to reveal the identity of the adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu*. From finding 1 above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Religious Behaviour Adherents of *Wetu Telu* at the *Luir Gama* Traditional Ceremony

The *Luir Gama* custom is a ceremony held in connection with a long drought and excessive rainfall. This ceremony is performed once a year, precisely in the tribe of the first year in *sewindu*, namely the year of *Alip*. The *Luir Gama* custom can be divided into two types of ceremonies, namely *Taik Lauk* and *Taik Daye* (RGF.01 and RW.02). The *Taik Lauk* ritual is held when facing the changing drought, while the *Taik Daye* ritual is held every year when entering the rainy season. The implementation of the two rituals aims to ask God (*Si Epeng Kulo*) so that farmers avoid bad influences when starting to cultivate paddy fields (*rau*) and so that the produce is abundant. The *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony in *Islam Wetu Telu* concerns behavior in traditional ceremonies that fall into the *Luir Gama* traditional category, namely rituals related to the rice planting cycle, *gawe urip*, and *gawe pati*, as described below:

1. Rice Planting Cycle

The embodiment of a form of traditional wisdom that is a reflection of the local knowledge and technology system of *Islam Wetu Telu* farmers in Lombok According to one informant, the belief that is still held among Muslims in *Wetu Telu* is in the form of ritual ceremonies during the rice planting cycle. In comparison, *Kusnaka Adimihardja* highlights a similar ceremony performed by the people of *Kesepuhan* on *Mount Halimun* called the "*pupuhunan*" ceremony (*Adimihardja, Kusnaka, 1999*). From the behavior at the *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony related to the rice planting cycle, several findings were obtained based on field data and facts, as follows:

Findings 1: The behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* farmers, at the traditional ceremony of the rice planting cycle, aim to maintain good relations with the inhabitants of the fields, or *paer*, inhabited by delicate creatures, and prevent all forms of diseases and pests that can damage the rice crop.

Findings 2: behavior at the rice planting cycle ceremony as an expression of gratitude to the *si epeng kulo*, or God, for the grains that grow well and produce a bountiful harvest.

From the findings 1–2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1: The behavior of farmers who adhere to Islam Wetu Telu in the rice planting cycle ritual is a means to maintain good relations with supernatural inhabitants in the form of subtle spirits and plead with Si Epeng Kulos (God) to avoid rice disease so as to produce good rice grains.

2. Living Rituals (gaweurip)

One of the RS.06 customary stakeholders said that; adherents of *Islam Wetu Telu* recognize several activities that mark the cycle of life, namely the ritual of *teteh awu or memedak, mekombong, ngurisan, nyunatan, and marriage*. From the religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony regarding the custom of living (gawe urip), several findings were obtained based on field data and facts, as follows:

Findings 1 :The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* in the customary cycle of life (gawe urip) is an ancestral heritage that it preserves. The stages of the *Gawe urip* ritual are the joint obligations of indigenous communities living together in *Kampu*.

Findings 2:The social differences of Islam Wetu Telu affect the political, sociocultural, and economic life systems. The nobility was the traditional leader as the traditional ruler of Bayan Agung and the traditional leader.

From the findings 1–2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1:The behavior at the *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony makes *gawe urip* a joint obligation of the community living in the *kampu* within the framework of fulfilling Bayan customs and culture under the leadership of *Bayan Agung* and traditional leaders.

3. Death Rituals (gawepati)

Adherents of Islam Wetu Telu organizes long and elaborate rituals for the dead. Post-death rituals organized by Islam Wetu Telu require high costs; therefore, their implementation is adjusted to the socioeconomic status of the family, as AM said. 04. Noble families and the rich will organize complete death and post-death rituals, but this is not the case with poor families. Rituals are organized simply, and it is not uncommon for them to join forces to organize post-death rituals. From the behavior at the *Luir Gama* traditional ceremony regarding the custom of dying (gawe pati), several findings were obtained based on field data and facts, as follows:

Findings 1:The behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional dead cycle ceremony (gawe pati) is a form of final respect for the family of the deceased.

Findings 2:Factors of local tradition, Hinduism, and Islam influenced *gawe pati* ceremonies such as preparing offerings during the excavation of *liang lahat, selamat gumi, and corpse prayers*, which were only established by the *Kiai Kagungan*. *Gawe pati* is carried out in terms of maintaining good relations with God and the world of ancestral spirits.

From the findings 1–2 Above, the researcher made the following proposition:

Proposition 1:The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* at the traditional *gawe pati* ceremony in terms of maintaining the relationship between the living person and *si epen kulo* and the world of ancestral spirits.

Factors Behind the Religious Behaviour of Islam Wetu Telu

The religious behavior of *Islam Wetu Telu* is influenced by internal and external factors. The internal factor is a change in the attitude of traditional leaders.

a). Changes in the attitudes of traditional leaders

Traditional leaders have a privileged position within the *Islam Wetu Telu*. Traditional leaders have a privileged position within the Islam Wetu Telu. Traditional leadership consisting of traditional stakeholders, pembekel, and *Kiai Kagungan* is a leader who has the responsibility to deal with issues related to customs, society, and religious affairs. refers to the leadership as "Datu Telu." This means that the three most respected and decisive leadership groups in Islam are Wetu Telu, RW.02 That important and privileged position made it highly respected, and its economic life was guaranteed by its adherents, so there were prohibitions (pemaliq) for "Datu Telu." Pemaliq is a customary system of rules that must be obeyed by them, such as the prohibition of not being allowed to try, not being allowed to trade, and not being allowed to work.

Along with the development of the times and the increasing demands of economic life, these prohibitions began to be rationalized by trying their luck to become traders and building a homestay business. RGF 01 asserts that the decision of some indigenous stakeholders to trade and open lodging businesses is more due to increasingly heavy economic demands. Also, they are aware that it will not always live off the gifts of their adherents due to their position as traditional leaders.

Adherents of Islam Wetu Telu as a clan also have leadership characteristics that are different from other clan leadership. In Max Weber's conception of thought, the Datu Telu leadership model among Islam Wetu Telu adherents can be categorized as a charismatic leadership model. Charismatic leaders have innate instincts from birth and a strong stance that will increase the confidence of their followers in their considerations, opinions, decisions, and policies (Ritzer, George, 1983).

The decision of traditional Bayan leaders to accept the arrival of transmigrant workers was not without risks. Tensions and psychological conflicts occur, but can be suppressed through consulting driven by the West Lombok regional government during the New Order period. As one of the Bayan traditional leaders, he admitted that "it is natural that there is tension between the native Bayan people and the migrants, because their arrival is considered to damage the beliefs and traditions of their ancestors' customs" (Interview with RGF Kiai adat Bayan, 2016).

b). Acculturation Willingness

Islam Wetu Telu, as a religious and cultural identity, was formed through a long process of acculturation. The presence of Islam as a new belief does not necessarily completely eradicate the customs, traditions, and culture that already exist in society. For example, adherents of Islam Wetu Telu still hold two basic rules of life derived from traditional values, namely the principles of harmony and respect, as expressed by informants. From these two rules, it gives birth to the cultural activities of *betulungan* (*gotong royong*), *saling ayok* (*silaturrahim*), *saling ijot*, and *saling pesilaq*. JA.11.

Geertz mentioned that religion is part of the cultural system. The concrete form of culture in the form of human activities or human groups interacting with each other has a framework of rules that are based on a system of symbols as the source (Geertz, Clifford, 1992). Thus, a symbol is a formula that is visible in various thoughts or concrete embodiments of ideas, attitudes, decisions, longings, or beliefs (Koentjaraningrat, 1987).

Cultural activity as part of the cultural system in Islam Wetu Telu asserts that from the value system that surrounds it, an ethnic personality is constructed so as to have its own characteristics as a form of identity (local identity) in Islam Wetu Telu. The core value system functions as a source of motivation from within (self motivation) in the form of the deepest values, namely: *tindih*, *maliq*, *merang*, *patut*, *patuh*, and *patju*.

The function of religion in this race is an oversight because religion feels responsible for the existence of good moral norms, selects existing social rules, confirms the good as good rules, and rejects the bad as bad rules to be abandoned as prohibitions or taboos. *Maliq* and *merang* as a value system in the local identity of Islam Wetu Telu have been maintained and used as guidelines to date, as SW.02 says.

The value system that was used as a guide by the Bayan people went through a fairly long process of acculturation. The process of acculturation usually occurs when a culture is influenced by a foreign culture or due to urbanization. In his research on the Batak Toba people who sacrificed to the city of Medan, he found that their traditional customs, instead of being slack, instead became strict. In his writing *Kinship Organization Among the Urban Batak of Sumatra*, as stated in the book "History of Anthropological Theory II" written by Koentjaraningrat, Bruner explained that: "The process of tightening the solidarity of kinship and customs of the Toba clan in the city of Medan was caused by the Batak Toba people who had begun to relax their traditional life and therefore sacrificed to the city of Medan, had to face great rivals from other ethnic groups and groups, such as the Karo Batak, Malays, Minangkabau, Javanese, and Chinese, without a dominant culture to be used as a center of orientation in acculturation, without Thus, in order to be able to advance in economic, social, and political life in the city, they must work closely together and help among themselves. Knowledge of clan customs strengthens their identity as Batak Toba people in the midst of the struggle for life in the city (Haviland, William A., 1988).

Another set of data is shown by M. Gluckman (1960) that in the process of acculturation in the context of urbanization, there is often a "temporary integration" of foreign cultural elements by migrants, only to satisfy their needs to play their social role as city dwellers. The data was collected from the Lozi ethnic community in northwest Zambia, in Central Africa. From the data, it turns out: "Lozi migrants who come seasonally to the city do adjust to the way of city life but do not take away their traditional customs and seek to maintain relationships with the rural areas from which they come regularly." This was caused by the realization that they hoped that one day they would leave life in the city and return to their old hometowns and traditional customs. In certain seasons, they always try to visit the village again (Lauer, Robert H., 1993).

Based on the data according to Bruner and Gluckman above, it is an illustration that acculturation related to urbanization cannot be separated from the differences in the acculturation process in a culture, namely differential acculturation. The difference is caused by the state of the city, cultural dominance, and differences in the personalities of the citizens of the community who are undergoing a process of acculturation.

c). Adaptation

Acculturation occurred due to a change in the mindset of traditional leaders of Wetu Telu Muslims. Acculturation is an entry point for social, political, cultural, and religious behavior. The syncretic adaptation of Islam Wetu Telu religious behavior at Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies is an example. Although there is a willingness to accept acculturation, which results in adaptation, the adherents of Islam, Wetu Telu, remain firm and stick to the traditions, customs, and beliefs of their ancestors. The spirit to maintain the heritage of the ancestors became the social capital and the main glue of its existence to this day. The factor of locality, in the form of the spirit of Islam

Wetu Telu adherents, became an original behavior that, in subsequent developments, mingled (syncretic) with Hindu factors and Islam.

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3. External Factors

The Entry of Islam in Lombok

Islam entered the island of Lombok shortly after the fall of the Majapahit kingdom. Around the XIII century, Lombok was visited by many traders from various parts of the archipelago, such as Java, Palembang, Banten, Gersik, and Makassar, South Sulawesi. The interaction between traders and indigenous people was quite intense, so that over time they made their own villages, such as the Bugis village in Labuhan Lombok. Some of them even married a native of Lombok. This resulted in social, cultural, and religious conversions. At this level, Muslim merchants not only sold spices and sarongs but also introduced literary books that breathed Islam, such as the Roman Yusuf, the Menak fiber, and the Qur'an. The entry of religion on the island of Lombok came through two routes, namely Labuhan Carik Bayan North Lombok and Labuhan Haji East Lombok. Sunan Prapen is a preacher who brings Islam from the North Lombok Carik Bayan labuhan, while from the East Lombok Hajj labuhan route, traders from Makasar bring it (Fadly, M. Ahyar, 2008).

JA.11 says that traders from Makasar spread Islam through social and cultural interactions that gradually resulted in religious conversion. Such intense interactions give rise to mutual respect between them. Makasar Muslim traders sailed and traded along the north coast of Java Island, Madura Strait, Bali, the east coast of Lombok Island, and the island of Sunda Kecil to Maluku. Bugis village in East Lombok is proof of the early history of the entry of Islam through the East Lombok labuhan route. The Islam that came through the East Lombok port route was purer and became known as the Islam Waktu Lima.

Meanwhile, Islam that came in Lombok through the Carik Bayan Labuhan route is an Islam that has experienced syncretic marriage with Javanese culture. RGF.01 said Sunan Prapen was the first spreader of Islam to the Bayan area and its surroundings. He landed at the port of Carik Bayan after traveling by sea from Giri, Central Java, as revealed by RGF.01, JA.11. In Babad Lombok, the explicit evidence of the arrival of Islam in Lombok is explained as follows: Susuhunan Ratu Giri ordered her son Prince Prapen to Bali, Lombok, and Sumbawa. Prapen sailed for the first time to Lombok, where he violently changed the faith of the people to embrace Islam. Then he continued the voyage to Sumbawa and Bima. While traveling, people still adhere to the belief of worshipping idols, especially women. After his successful missions in Sumbawa and Bima, Prapen returned to Lombok and devised a new strategy. Lombok people who do not want to embrace Islam run into the mountains. Others converted to Islam, and others were only conquered. Then Prapen left Raden from Sumuliya and Raden from Salut to be responsible for maintaining Islam in the area and moved to Bali.

De Graaf and Pigeaud revealed that long before the arrival of the group of scholars led by Sunan Prapen, in fact, sailors and traders from Gresik had introduced the names of scholars from Giri to the archipelago (including Lombok). It was further revealed that, with the increasing bustle of trade between the north coast of Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku, Muslim traders had taken part in trade voyages along the route. The author's strong conjecture that there had been trade contacts between locals and sailors from Lombok and Muslim traders at the time (Fadly, M. Ahyar, 2008).

Theoretically, J.P. Williams describes that there are four levels of acceptance of a religion, namely, "the secret level," where a person holds the teachings of a religion that he adheres to and believes in for himself and not to be discussed or stated to others. The private level is that he discusses and disseminates knowledge of his religious beliefs to others who are classified as people in private who are very closely related to him. On a denominational level, individuals have the same religious beliefs that other individuals in a large group have, and therefore their religious beliefs are not confidential or private. The level of society is such that individuals have religious beliefs that are the same as the religious beliefs of the citizens of the community (Pritchard, E.E. Evans, 1984).

The theory proposed by Williams, at the private and community level, is very likely to be considered by Sunan Prapen and his students to teach Islam in Bayan North Lombok (originally it was the West Lombok regency area). Sunan Prapen taught Islam to a limited group of local residents and was immediately appointed as his student and then given the task of spreading Islam to his community (Adonis, Tito, 1989).

At this level, Sunan Prapen and his students received a serious challenge from the local population over the new religion they brought. RGF.01 said that the new teachings brought by Sunan Prapen and his students were acceptable to some Bayan people and others who rejected the new religion. Those who reject Islam group themselves in boda communities (not Buddhist communities) by leaving their villages and then moving to mountainous areas, such as in Tanjung, Pemenang, Sokong, and Dangi.

As a conditioned historical fact, at first, tradition was deliberately present in the form of experiences that arise after humans have experienced social contracts, either through social interaction or by means of communication with the surrounding environment. Over time, according to Berger & Luckmann (1990), there is also an accumulation of experiences that are then subjectively structured in the cognitive realm of individuals and society in general as a social stock of knowledge. Various ceremonies or rituals are a symptom of religion because religion is a set of ceremonies that are rationalized myths and that move supernatural forces with the intention of achieving or avoiding something change in circumstances in man and nature (Connolly, Peter, 2002).

4. CONCLUSION

The religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu at the Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, is syncretic religious behavior that is a mixture of ancestral local beliefs. Religious behavior is constructed through a long process of habituation and time by the ancestors (Toaq Lokaq). Gama traditional ceremonies consist of various behaviors related to the celebration of the Alip feast, the Tilawat ceremony, the Friday Lohor ceremony, Muludan, Ramadham fasting, Eid al-Fithri, Eid Topat, Short Eid (Eid al-Adha), Bubuh Beaq, and Bubuh Puteq. Meanwhile, the traditional ceremonies of Luir Gama, which are ceremonial activities held in connection with the occurrence of a long drought and excessive rainfall, continue. This ceremony is performed once a year, precisely in the tribe of the first year in sewindu, namely the year of Alip.

The Luir Gama custom can be divided into two types of ceremonies, namely Taik Lauk and Taik Daye. The Taik Lauk ritual is held when facing the changing drought, while the Taik Daye ritual is held every year when entering the rainy season. The implementation of the two rituals aims to ask God (Si Epeng Kulo) so that farmers avoid bad influences when starting to cultivate paddy fields (rau) and so that the produce is abundant. There are two factors behind the religious behavior of Islam Wetu Telu in Gama and Luir Gama traditional ceremonies, namely internal and external factors. Internal factors are related to the change in attitudes of traditional leaders (local elites), the willingness to acculturate, and the ability to perform adaptation. Meanwhile, external factors concern the history of the entry of Islam into Lombok, Islamic da'wah, and Hinduization.

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