

REINTERPRETING WETU TELU AND WAKTU LIMA ISLAM IN THE MIDST MODERNITY OF THE SASAK TRIBE IN LOMBOK

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Abstract

The Sasak people in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, have two prominent religious orientations. Wetu Telu, a syncretic practice that combines elements of Islam with local traditions, and Waktu Lima, which represents a more heavenly form of Islam. The problem examined in this study is how these two traditions reinterpret religious practices amidst the flow of modernity, specifically in negotiating between preserving cultural heritage and the demands of global change. The purpose of this research is to analyze the historical roots of both traditions, trace the dynamics of change that have occurred, and assess the multidimensional implications of this reinterpretation process. The method used is library research with a qualitative approach within the framework of cultural anthropology and religious sociology. The findings indicate that the process of reinterpretation not only reshapes religious practices but also more broadly influences aspects of Sasak community life, including social relations, economic activities, political participation, and educational development. The conclusion of this study confirms the adaptive capacity of traditional societies in responding to modernization, while simultaneously preserving the essence of their cultural and religious identity, thus providing important insights into the dynamics of socio-religious change within local Muslim communities.

Keywords: *Reinterpretation, Wetu Telu Islam, Waktu Lima, Modernity*

INTRODUCTION

Islam has flourished on Lombok Island for centuries, and has a strong influence in the daily lives of the people. However, variations in religious practices, including the existence of groups such as Wetu Telu, demonstrate the adaptation and integration of Islam with local beliefs and traditions (Arifin, 2016). On the island of Lombok itself, there are two significantly different variants of Islam - Wetu Telu Islam and Waktu Lima Islam. Wetu Telu Islam tends to reflect traditional religion, while Waktu Lima Islam is more in line with the teachings of Islam. However, these two categories are not always strictly separate, and there is overlap between the two. Certain values, concepts, views and practices from traditional religion can be found in Islam Waktu Lima, and vice versa.

Although Wetu Telu Islam is closer to religious traditions, and Waktu Lima Islam follows more heavenly teachings, this separation is not total. There are elements of Lima Time Islam that are also embraced by Wetu Telu people, such as the use of Arabic prayers taken from the Quran and hadiths, the role of kiai as imams, and the existence of mosques. Conversely, Quranic verses are incorporated in Wetu Telu religious practices, but do not substantially change the animistic and anthropomorphic forms of their beliefs (Suprpto, 2020). Whereas Waktu Lima Islam, which is dominant among the Sasak people, rejects traditional ritual practices that still contain elements of animism, and opposes traditional ceremonies that are considered contrary to religious

teachings. This means rejecting the local heritage of Islam that has roots in animism. Such practices can be found in many parts of Lombok, even in the city of Mataram where the majority of the population are modernist Muslims (Mansyur, 2019).

Theologically, the practices of the Wetu Telu religion as practised by the adherents of Waktu Lima Islam are based on the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet. This includes belief in spirits and spirit beings in traditional practices such as ngurisang and nyunatang. In addition, they believe that the concept of teachings they receive from their teachers and kiai is not yet fully perfect. This research aims to reveal more about the practices of Wetu Telu Islam among the Waktu Lima Islamic community (Zuhdi, 2014).

The differences between Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima are not only limited to religious practices, but also include social and cultural aspects. (Susanti, 2023). Wetu Telu adherents tend to maintain local traditions, while Waktu Lima adherents are more orientated towards universal Islamic values. The dynamics between these two groups have coloured the socio-religious life of the Sasak people for generations. Entering the modern era, Sasak society faces various new challenges. Globalisation, modernisation and the development of information technology have brought significant changes in various aspects of life. This has led to a reinterpretation of religious traditions and practices, both among Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima adherents.

The process of reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam among the Sasak people of Lombok is a complex phenomenon influenced by various factors of modernity (Aniq, 2011). Increased access to formal education has opened people's minds to new ideas and values, while increased social mobility has facilitated the exchange of ideas between groups. The development of mass media and information technology has also played an important role in expanding people's access to various sources of information and ideas. In addition, government policies on development and modernisation have also shaped changes in social and economic structures. Another important factor is the emergence of Islamic purification movements that seek to return religious practices to teachings that are considered more authentic.

In the face of these changes, both Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima adherents are faced with the challenge of reinterpreting their traditions in order to remain relevant. Wetu Telu adherents seek to maintain the essence of local traditions while adopting positive modern values, while Waktu Lima adherents seek to consistently practice Islamic teachings without causing conflict with local socio-cultural realities. This reinterpretation process touches various aspects of Sasak life. In terms of religious rituals, there are adjustments to traditional practices to be more in line with Islamic teachings without losing their cultural essence. Traditional symbols also undergo reinterpretation in the context of a broader understanding of Islam (Syarqowi & Haris, 2024). In education, the traditional system adapted to modern education, integrating religious and general education. Social structures and customary leadership have also undergone adjustments to meet the demands of democracy and modern governance. Gender roles in society have also been reinterpreted to take into account Islamic values and the demands of modern equality.

This process is not an easy or uniform journey. It involves a constant negotiation between maintaining cultural heritage and adapting to changing times. Each reinterpreted aspect presents its own challenges, demanding wisdom in bridging tradition and modernity. For example, in customary ritual adjustments, Sasak people must carefully sort out which elements can be modified and which must be maintained so as not to lose their cultural identity. Similarly, the reinterpretation of gender roles requires a balance between Islamic values, customs and modern principles of equality.

This dynamic reflects how Sasak communities, both Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima adherents, are trying to navigate the complexities of the modern world while still maintaining their traditional roots and beliefs (Mansyur, 2019). This process is not only about changing religious practices, but also about how a community redefines their identity amidst globalisation and modernisation. The result is a unique form of Islam, which continues to evolve while remaining rooted in Sasak cultural heritage. There are complex variations and dynamics, with some communities being more conservative in maintaining traditions, while others are more open to change. This often leads to ongoing tensions and negotiations within Sasak society.

The study of this phenomenon is not only important in the context of understanding the socio-religious dynamics of Sasak society, but also provides valuable insights into how local traditions and religions negotiate with modernity. It can make an important contribution to a broader understanding of religious pluralism, multiculturalism and the process of modernisation in Indonesia. The reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the midst of modernity in the Sasak tribe of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, is an interesting socio-religious phenomenon to study. This phenomenon reflects the dynamics of change and adaptation of local traditions to the times, especially in the context of Sasak society which has a long history of cultural and religious acculturation.

In some literature, many have researched about Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam, including Muhammad Syarqowi and Yogi Sopian Haris (2024) researching about Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam. Integration Of Sufism, Wetu Telu Mysthicity As Local Wisdom From Al-Qur'an And Hadith Perspectives In Bayan, North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara (Syarqowi & Haris, 2024). The research findings show that the integration of Sufism and Wetu Telu on Lombok Island has long historical roots and is closely related to the spread of Islam in the region. The values of the Qur'an and Hadith become the moral and spiritual foundation of Sufism and Wetu Telu traditions, which are reflected in various rituals, customs, and religious practices of the Lombok people which are a combination of Sufism teachings in Islam with Wetu Telu mystical practices derived from Hindu-Buddhist traditions. This integration can be seen in the rituals, practices, and perspectives of the Bayan community in living a spiritual life. Then in Ahmad Fathan's research (2011) entitled Lombok Islam in the Eyes of Anthropologists: A Literature Review on Islam Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Anthropologists found the fact that wetu Telu Islam was earlier in its emergence than Waktu Lima Islam. (Aniq, 2011). This research also reveals that Wetu Telu is a local wisdom that is still maintained today. Meanwhile, Waktu Lima is still consistent with heavenly teachings which are in accordance with the teachings of Islam in general.

Then Zaenuddin Mansyur (2019) in his Research on the Application of Wetu Telu Islamic Teachings in the Middle of the Five Time Islamic Teachings: An Effort to Preserve the Local Wisdom of Sasak Muslims (Mansyur, 2019). The practice of Islam Wetu Telu in the midst of Islam Waktu Lima tradition has been cultivated by several foundations. First, although the concept of Islam Wetu Telu differs from Islam Waktu Lima it represents a vehicle to maintain shared traditions between them. Second, in the process of transforming symbolic meaning within the practice of Islam Wetu Telu dan Islam Waktu Lima, there has been a common teaching performed based on rational logic, such as mituk, nyiwaan, and membangar. Third, the teaching of Islam Wetu Telu practiced by the adherents of Islam Waktu Lima was theologically based on the doctrines of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, like the tradition of ngurisang, and nyunatang. Fourth, the perfection of the concept of teaching received from their teachers and clerics is not yet complete. This paper aims to explain how Islam Waktu Lima accomodates Islam Wetu Telu teaching and concept within their everyday life. Then Septiani Selly (2023) in her research entitled Sasak Islam: Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima(Susanti, 2023). This research reveals the

historical basis that demonstrates the religious identity of the Sasak people. A brief history of the religious identity of the Sasak people towards the Wetu Telu religion is a collaboration of a tradition, culture, and religious values of the migrants who were the indigenous population in the past. Other perspectives suggest that the Wetu Telu religion is an incomplete process of Islamisation of the Waktu Lima religion which has recently been considered the true and sacred Islam by most Muslims in Lombok.

This study offers a fresh perspective on the dynamic interplay between traditional Islamic practices (Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima) and modernization within the Sasak community of Lombok. While previous research has often treated these religious orientations as static or in decline, this work examines how they are being actively reinterpreted and adapted in response to contemporary challenges. The novelty lies in exploring how Sasak individuals and communities are creatively synthesizing elements of Wetu Telu, Waktu Lima, and modern influences to forge new, hybrid religious identities. This research moves beyond simplistic narratives of tradition versus modernity, instead revealing the complex negotiations and innovations occurring as the Sasak people navigate their cultural heritage in a rapidly changing world. By analyzing these processes of reinterpretation, the study contributes to a more nuanced understanding of religious change, cultural resilience, and the ongoing relevance of local wisdom in the face of globalization.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative approach with literature review as the primary strategy to explore the reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the context of modernity among the Sasak community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. The choice of a qualitative approach is based on the consideration that the research object, the reinterpretation of religion in the context of local culture, cannot be fully captured through quantitative measurement alone, but requires in-depth descriptive analysis of meaning, values, and sociocultural dynamics (Nashihin, 2023).

The literature review research method was applied by systematically collecting data and information from various secondary sources, including books, theses, dissertations, scientific journals, and previous research reports relevant to the research topic. This method allows researchers to gain a comprehensive understanding of the historical roots, theoretical perspectives, and socio-religious transformations surrounding Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. The data collection process involved careful selection of references, particularly those addressing the intersection of Islam and local culture, the sociology of religion, and cultural anthropology (Hahadap & Dkk, 2021).

Data analysis in this study used several qualitative strategies. First, content analysis was used to carefully examine textual materials books, journal articles, and other scholarly works to extract relevant information, identify recurring patterns, and classify concepts related to the reinterpretation of Islamic practices. Second, thematic analysis was applied to group the findings into major themes such as historical roots, syncretism, divine, adaptation to modernity, and socio-cultural impact. This process allows data to be systematically organized into coherent categories that reflect the dynamics of Sasak society. Third, critical analysis is conducted to go beyond descriptive explanations, by questioning the underlying power relations, ideological assumptions, and socio-political contexts that shape the reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. Through this critical lens, this research aims not only to describe but also to interpret and evaluate the deeper implications of this transformation (Dahuri, 2023). To clarify the visualization of the research flow, here is the image.

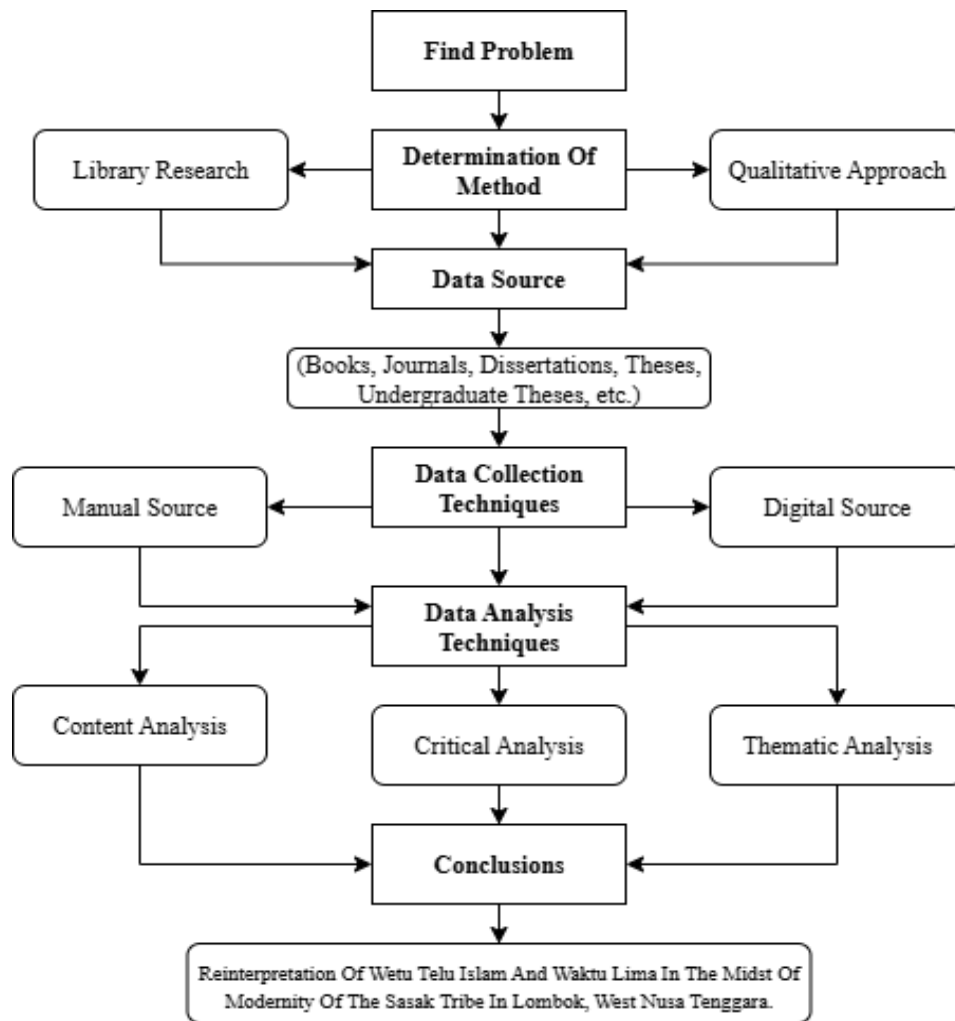


Figure 1. Research Flow

The analysis was conducted using a general-to-specific approach, starting with a broad theoretical framework on religion, culture, and modernity, then narrowing down to the specific case of the Sasak tribe. By integrating content, thematic, and critical analysis, this research provides a holistic understanding of how religious traditions are reinterpreted in response to modern challenges. Thus, the methodological design literature review with a qualitative approach supported by content, thematic, and critical analysis ensures that this research produces a nuanced and comprehensive picture of the ongoing negotiation between tradition and modernity in the religious identity of the Sasak community.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Historical Context of the Arrival of Wetu Telu and the Emergence of Lima Time

a. History of Wetu Telu Arrival

There are various versions about the causes of the birth of this belief. Wetu Telu Islam is usually associated with the unfinished process of preaching Islam by the early Islamic propagators. (Umam, 2020). In the process of spreading, it turned out that the teachings of Islam were still difficult to be accepted unanimously by the Sasak people. The beliefs of animism and dynamism, which are the legacy of their ancestors, still cannot be abandoned. Hindu dogmas that have similarities with the beliefs of their ancestors as well as the prophets before completing the teachings they brought began to leave this area to continue the spread of Islam to other areas (such as Sumbawa and Bima) (Athhar, 2018).

Before leaving this area, the mubalig appointed kiai as their representatives to convey teachings to the people (Sasak tribe). The kiai only conveyed the teachings they received from their teachers. They never provided new interpretations of Islamic teachings to respond to challenges stemming from the phenomena of life that emerged in society. This happened, in part, because of the kiai's fear, obedience, and/or inability to provide interpretations. As a result, the teachings of Islam that were newly recognised by the Sasak experienced stagnation.



Figure 2. Islam Wetu Telu, *Source: Nusantara News*

In another version, after Islam was introduced to the Sasak people of Bayan Village, efforts to spread Hinduism also increased. A priest named Dankian Nirartha, sent by the King of Bali, attempted to unite Islam, Hinduism and the old beliefs into one. This was the beginning of the development of Wetu Telu Islamic beliefs among the Sasak of Bayan Village (Wiwik Setiyani, 2023). The teachings of Dankian Nirartha became the main foundation of Wetu Telu Islamic beliefs, among which were the restoration of the customs of worshipping gods with the intermediary of the pemangku, maintaining the practice of circumcision, and reducing the daily prayer obligation, which was only performed by kiai in the mosque on three specific occasions (Setiyani, 2023). Based on the reason that only three kinds of prayers are performed, the belief is called Wetu Telu Islam. Other obligations required by Islam are abolished such as hajj and zakat.

Many have criticised the traditional beliefs of the Sasak tribe, one of them calling it a choice that is only chosen for its convenience. However, the Sasak tribe's commitment to their beliefs is not only due to convenience. Although the economic factors and daily activities have been fulfilled through agriculture, it does not mean that they choose traditional beliefs frivolously. The reality of life shows that the Sasak tribe's belief in Wetu Telu Islam is driven more by fear, obedience, and their limitations in interpreting the teachings they have received from their teachers. They also reject the reforms that come from Islamic figures, believing that the true religion is the religion they profess (Hariadi, 2021).

While the strongest version of the birth of wetu telu Islam is when the arrival of Sunan Prapen or Pengeran Sangupati had a significant impact on the spread of Islam on Lombok Island. Initially, the King of Lombok rejected the arrival of Islam, but the peace mission brought by Sunan Prapen changed the King's view, finally accepting Islam. From historical records, the arrival of Islam and its spread on Lombok Island resulted in a belief system known as the Wetu Telu Islamic

Belief System. This marked an important phase in the process of Islamisation on Lombok Island (Hafiz, 2023).

b. The emergence of Waktu Lima

The history of the emergence of Waktu Lima as a response to Wetu Telu in Lombok is a reflection of the complex socio-religious dynamics within Sasak society. This process took place over centuries, starting from the background of Wetu Telu which has been deeply rooted as a syncretic practice between local beliefs and Islamic teachings in Lombok.

The beginning of this change can be traced to the 16th century, when Islam began to enter Lombok through traders and religious propagators from various regions such as Java, Makassar and Sumatra. At this early stage, Islam blended with local beliefs, forming what became known as Wetu Telu (Ulwan, 2017). However, over time, especially in the 17th and 18th centuries, the influence of heavenly Islam began to strengthen in Lombok. This was due to intensified contact with Islamic kingdoms in Java and Makassar, which brought a more 'pure' understanding of Islam to the island.

A significant momentum of change occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, marked by the emergence of Islamic purification movements in various parts of the archipelago, including Lombok. This movement was driven by increased contact with Islamic centres in the Middle East and the influx of Islamic reformist thought. In response to this purification movement, a group emerged that emphasised the importance of observing the five pillars of Islam more strictly, including the five daily prayers. This group became known as the Five Time adherents.

However, the emergence of Waktu Lima did not necessarily erase the existence of Wetu Telu. Instead, this period was characterised by a long process involving conflict, negotiation and accommodation between the two groups. (Qutuby et al., 2020). The Waktu Lima adherents attempted to 'rectify' the religious practices of Wetu Telu, while the Wetu Telu adherents tried to maintain their traditions. This dynamic was made more complex by the interference of the Dutch colonial government, which tended to favour Wetu Telu practices because it was considered easier to control than mainstream Islam.

After Indonesia's independence, the influence of Waktu Lima became even stronger. Government policies that emphasised monotheism and modernisation indirectly supported Waktu Lima practices. This trend reached its peak in the New Order era, where there was a systematic attempt to 'normalise' religious practices according to national standards. This further strengthened the position of Waktu Lima and suppressed the existence of Wetu Telu. Nonetheless, Wetu Telu did not completely disappear from Lombok's religious landscape. In the reformation era, efforts emerged to revitalise and preserve Wetu Telu practices as cultural heritage. This shows the resilience of local traditions in the midst of modernisation and religious samawi.



Figure 3. Islam Waktu Lima, *Source: Suara.com*

It is important to note that the transition process from Wetu Telu to Waktu Lima did not take place linearly and uniformly throughout Lombok. (Bayo, 2018). In some areas, this change occurred more rapidly, while in other areas, Wetu Telu practices still persist today. Moreover, an interesting phenomenon that has emerged is that many Sasak communities have adopted elements of Waktu Lima while retaining some Wetu Telu practices, creating new forms of Islam unique to Lombok.

This dynamic reflects how the religious identity of the Sasak people was formed through a long and complex process. Internal factors such as local cultural resistance and the desire to purify religious teachings, as well as external factors such as colonial influences, government policies and global currents, all played a role in shaping the religious landscape of Lombok. Furthermore, this history also illustrates how Sasak people attempted to negotiate between maintaining local cultural heritage and adopting new values brought by modernity and religious samawii. This process is not only about changing religious practices, but also about how a society redefines their identity in the midst of changing times. In a broader context, this phenomenon also reflects the dynamics taking place in many traditional societies in Indonesia and even around the world, where local traditions have to deal with globalisation and modernisation. The case of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima in Lombok provides valuable insights into how a society can maintain its cultural uniqueness while adapting to changing times, creating a new synthesis between tradition and modernity in a religious context.

2. The Concept of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima

a. Wetu Telu Concept

Various views have emerged regarding wetu telu, which is considered by some to be a distorted form of Islam (Fitriani, 2016). This is because in practice, wetu telu adherents do not fully follow the teachings of Islam, but mix elements from other religions such as Hinduism and Buddhism. One of the striking differences is in the implementation of worship, especially prayer. Wetu telu adherents often only pray three times a day, namely at Zuhur, Asr and Maghrib. This is different from the teachings of Islam, which stipulates five prayer times a day (Zia, 2020).

The term 'wetu telu' itself has varied meanings, as there is no term 'wetu' in the Sasak language. The term is often misinterpreted as 'time' and 'telu' as 'three', so it is interpreted as 'three times' referring to only three prayers a day. However, this is not necessarily entirely accurate. The wetu telu adherents themselves are still trying to explain that their beliefs are in

accordance with the teachings of Islam, although there are differences in the implementation of prayer services that are considered wrong by some people (Said, 2020).

- 1) Wetu Telu is defined as three reproductive systems, which refers to the process of living things emerging through three ways: giving birth, laying eggs, and reproducing from seed or fruit. This concept also reflects a belief in the Omnipotence of God that allows these reproductive processes to occur.
- 2) Wetu Telu symbolises the dependence of living things on each other, with a cosmological division of territory into a small universe and a large universe. Humans and other creatures are considered dependent on the universe.
- 3) Wetu Telu is understood as a religious system that describes the three life cycle stages of birth, life and death. Their ritual activities are highly focused on these stages, which signify the transition and transformation to the next status.

b. Waktu Lima Concept

The concept of Waktu Lima in the Sasak community of Lombok is a manifestation of a more heavenly Islamic practice that is in line with the teachings of Islam in general. The term, which literally means 'Waktu Lima', refers to the obligation to pray five times a day as one of the fundamental pillars of Islam. (Zuhdi, 2017). The use of this term aims to distinguish the Sasak Muslim group that practices Islam in accordance with the general laws from the more syncretic Wetu Telu group.

Waktu Lima adherents' worship in accordance with the general Islamic law, including praying five times a day (Subuh, Zuhur, Ashar, Maghrib, Isya) fasting in the month of Ramadan, paying zakat, performing the hajj pilgrimage for those who can afford it, reading the Quran, and implementing Islamic laws in daily life. The use of this term aims to distinguish the Sasak Muslim group that practices Islam in accordance with the general laws from the more syncretic Wetu Telu group.

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The social structure in the Waktu Lima community places religious figures such as ustadz, kiai, or tuan guru in a very important position. They are not only a reference in religious matters, but often also have significant influence in the socio-political realm. The global orientation of Waktu Lima adherents is reflected in their openness to relations with the global Muslim community, facilitating the adoption of Islamic thought and practice from outside Lombok. (Naamy, 2023). In the face of modernisation, the Lima Time group generally shows a more open attitude, especially towards aspects that do not conflict with Islamic teachings. They tend to attempt to integrate Islamic values with the demands of modern life. In terms of interpretation of Islamic law or fiqh, Waktu Lima adherents generally follow the dominant Shafi'i school of thought in Indonesia, although there is also a tendency to adopt understandings from various other sources.

In addition to performing compulsory worship, Waktu Lima adherents are also active in various Islamic rituals and celebrations such as Maulid Nabi and Isra Mi'raj, but with interpretations that are more in line with the teachings of heavenly Islam. Despite emphasising

their Islamic identity, many Waktu Lima adherents in Lombok maintain good relations with adherents of other religions, reflecting the deep-rooted values of tolerance in Sasak society. It is important to note that within the Waktu Lima group itself there are complex internal dynamics (Ridwan, 2021). There are variations in understanding and practice, with a spectrum ranging from conservative to moderate groups interpreting and practising Islamic teachings. This diversity reflects the complexity and dynamism of the Waktu Lima concept, which continues to evolve in line with social, economic and political changes in Lombok and Indonesia more generally.

The constant interaction between Islamic values, local traditions and the demands of modernity has shaped the unique characteristics of Waktu Lima Islam in Lombok. The result is a distinctive form of Islam, which remains connected to the global Islamic mainstream yet has a strong local flavour. The evolution of the Waktu Lima concept reflects how the Sasak people seek to negotiate their religious identity amidst various influences and changes, creating a unique synthesis between Islamic *samawii*, local wisdom, and the demands of modern times.

3. Reinterpretation of Wetu Telu Islam and Waktu Lima in the Midst of Modernity of the Sasak Tribe of Lombok West Nusa Tenggara

The reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the midst of modernity in the Sasak tribe of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, is a complex and interesting socio-religious phenomenon. This process reflects the dynamics of change and adaptation of local traditions to the times, while still trying to maintain a cultural identity that has been rooted for centuries. Wetu Telu, which literally means 'three times', is a traditional Sasak religious practice that combines elements of Islam with local pre-Islamic beliefs. (Rusdidaming, 2017). On the other hand, Waktu Lima refers to the more heavenly practice of Islam, referring to the five obligatory prayer times and the stricter observance of the pillars of Islam. These two traditions have long coexisted in Lombok, creating a unique and diverse religious landscape.

In the face of modernity, both Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima adherents have undergone significant reinterpretation processes. Modernity, with all its aspects such as globalisation, information technology and socio-economic changes, has encouraged both groups to reflect and redefine their religious practices. For Wetu Telu adherents, the main challenge is how to maintain the essence of their traditions amidst the pressure to 'purify' religious practices. They face a dilemma between maintaining their ancestral heritage and adapting to the demands of the times. The process of reinterpretation in this context involves an attempt to reinterpret traditional rituals within the framework of a broader understanding of Islam.

For example, some Wetu Telu practices that were previously considered un-Islamic are now reinterpreted from a more inclusive perspective. Traditional rituals that were once considered a form of *shirk* (associating partners with God) are now understood as cultural expressions that do not contradict the core teachings of Islam. (Sardjuningsih, 2013). This process involves intensive dialogue between traditional leaders, religious leaders and local scholars to find common ground between tradition and modernity. On the other hand, the Waktu Lima adherents are also experiencing an equally dynamic process of reinterpretation. Although generally more pious in religious practice, they are also required to respond to various challenges of modernity. One important aspect of Waktu Lima reinterpretation is how to understand and apply Islamic teachings in the context of an increasingly complex modern society.

Contemporary issues such as gender equality, religious pluralism, and democracy encourage Lima adherents to re-read religious texts. (Affiah, 2017). This process involves

attempts to contextualise Islamic teachings so that they remain relevant to changing social realities. For example, interpretations of women's roles in society are shifting, with more Sasak women pursuing higher education and actively participating in the public sphere. Modernity also brings challenges in terms of daily religious practice. For example, the use of technology in determining prayer times and Qibla direction, or the utilisation of social media for da'wah, requires adjustments in religious understanding and practice. Waktu Lima adherents are required to navigate between adherence to tradition and the adoption of beneficial innovations.

This process of reinterpretation does not occur without conflict and negotiation. There is a wide spectrum of views, ranging from the very conservative to the liberal, among both Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima. Intensive debates and discussions often take place, reflecting the internal dynamics within Sasak society itself. The role of formal and informal education becomes very important in this reinterpretation process. Educational institutions, both traditional pesantren and modern schools, became arenas where new ideas were introduced and discussed. Many young Sasak men who study outside Lombok, even abroad, bring home new perspectives that enrich local religious discourse.

Mass media and information technology also play a crucial role in this reinterpretation process. Access to global information opens the Sasak community's horizons to various interpretations of Islam from around the world. (Mustanadi, 2021). This has led to more intensive dialogue and exchange of ideas, both within the Sasak community itself and with other Muslim communities. The phenomenon of religious and cultural tourism has also influenced this reinterpretation process. The increasing interest in cultural and spiritual-based tourism encourages Sasak communities to reflect and present their religious identity to the outside world. This sometimes creates a dilemma between authenticity and cultural commodification.

In the context of local and national politics, the reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam also has significant implications. Religious identity is often an important factor in political dynamics, and the way Sasak people interpret and practice Islam influences the political landscape in Lombok and even at the national level. (Tahir, 2008). It is important to note that this reinterpretation process is not a uniform or linear phenomenon. In different parts of Lombok, this process takes place at different speeds and intensities. In some areas, especially in rural areas, Wetu Telu practices still hold strong despite modifications. While in urban areas, the influence of Waktu Lima and more globalised interpretations of Islam tend to be more dominant. (Sardjuningsih, 2015).

The great challenge in this reinterpretation process is how to maintain a balance between maintaining a unique cultural identity and adapting to the demands of the times. Sasak society is challenged to find a harmonious synthesis between local traditions, Islamic teachings and modern values. Furthermore, the process of reinterpreting Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the midst of modernity also reflects the broader issue of how religion and tradition negotiate with modernity. The Sasak experience provides valuable insights into how local communities can maintain their identity while remaining open to global changes and developments.

In conclusion, the reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the midst of modernity for the Sasak of Lombok is a complex, dynamic and ongoing process. This process reflects the ability of the Sasak people to adapt and innovate, while still maintaining the essence of their traditions and identity. This phenomenon is not only important in the context of Islamic studies in Indonesia, but also provides a valuable perspective on the interaction between religion, culture and modernity in a global context.

4. Implications of Islamic Reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima in the Midst of Modernity of the Sasak Tribe of Lombok West Nusa Tenggara

The reinterpretation of Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima Islam in the midst of modernity in the Sasak community of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, has produced a series of deep and broad implications. This phenomenon not only changes the religious landscape, but also has a significant impact on various aspects of the social, cultural, economic and political life of the Sasak people. This dynamic process reflects how a traditional society attempts to negotiate its cultural and religious identity in the face of the challenges of modernity, while still maintaining the essence of long-rooted values. (Sri et al., 2020). The implications arising from this reinterpretation process are multidimensional and interrelated, forming a complex tapestry that illustrates the transformation of Sasak society in the contemporary era. The following is an in-depth analysis of the various implications arising from the reinterpretation process, covering religious, socio-cultural, economic, political, educational, environmental aspects, to the position of the Sasak people in a global context.

Table 1. Implications of the Reinterpretation of Islam Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima

Types of Implication	Form of Implication	Implication
Religious Implications	Changes in ritual practice	Reinterpretation has resulted in modifications in the performance of religious rituals. Some Wetu Telu practices that were deemed incompatible with the teachings of heavenly Islam were adjusted or even abandoned. On the contrary, new rituals that were considered more 'Islamic' were adopted.
	Shifting religious authority	There was a change in the structure of religious authority. The role of traditional leaders in Wetu Telu began to shift, while ulama and religious leaders who were more orientated towards heavenly Islam gained a stronger position.
	Increased religious literacy	The reinterpretation process encouraged Sasak people to understand the teachings of Islam more deeply. This resulted in an increased interest in religious education and Islamic studies.
	Internal pluralism	There is greater variation in religious interpretation and practice among Sasak communities, creating a wider spectrum between traditionalists and modernists.
Socio-Cultural Implications	Identity transformation	Reinterpretation affects the way Sasak people define their identity. There is a constant negotiation between identity as Muslim and Sasak cultural identity
	Changes in social structure	There was a shift in the traditional social hierarchy. New groups, such as educated people and successful businessmen, began to gain high social status, shifting the role of traditional nobility.
	Gender dynamics	The reinterpretation of Islamic teachings brought changes in gender relations. Sasak women began to gain greater access to education and public participation, although still within the framework of Islamic values.
	Changes in family patterns	There has been a shift from traditional extended families to nuclear families, especially in urban areas. This affects parenting and the transmission of traditional values.
	Cultural revitalisation	Paradoxically, the flow of modernity has also encouraged efforts to revitalise elements of Sasak culture that are deemed not to conflict with Islam, as a form of assertion of local identity.

Educational Implications	Education system	There was a stronger integration between general and religious education. Many public schools began to incorporate more intensive elements of Islamic education.
	Curriculum	Curriculum adjustments to accommodate a more comprehensive understanding of Islam, while retaining elements of local wisdom.
	Digital literacy	The utilisation of information technology in religious education, creating new forms of religious knowledge transmission.
	Educational mobility	Increased interest in pursuing higher education, including outside Lombok and abroad, which in turn brings new perspectives into Sasak society.

This reinterpretation is not just about changes in religious practice, but is also a reflection of the broader dynamics between tradition, religion and modernity. The Sasak people have shown a remarkable ability in negotiating these various influences, creating a unique synthesis that reflects both local wisdom and openness to global change. The challenge ahead for the Sasak people is how to continue to manage these changes wisely, maintaining the positive values of their cultural heritage while remaining responsive to world developments. Success in striking a balance between maintaining cultural identity and adapting to modernity will be key to the future sustainability and progress of Sasak society. Finally, the experience of the Sasak people in this reinterpretation process provides valuable lessons for other traditional communities around the world facing similar challenges. It shows that change and adaptation are not threats to identity, but rather can be a means to strengthen and enrich cultural heritage in the context of a changing world.

CONCLUSION

Wetu Telu and Waktu Lima are two religious concepts that developed among the Sasak tribe in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Wetu Telu is a form of syncretism between the teachings of Islam and local beliefs, while Waktu Lima refers to the more heavenly practices of Islam. Their history reflects the complex process of Islamisation in Lombok, from the introduction of Islam in the 16th century to the Islamic purification movement in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the midst of modernity, both concepts have undergone significant reinterpretation. Wetu Telu adherents seek to maintain the essence of their traditions while adjusting to the demands of the times, while Waktu Lima adherents seek to contextualise Islamic teachings to remain relevant to changing social realities. This reinterpretation process has broad implications, not only in religious aspects, but also in socio-cultural, economic, political and educational aspects. This phenomenon illustrates how traditional communities such as the Sasak negotiate their cultural and religious identities in the face of modernity. The challenge ahead is how to strike a balance between maintaining cultural heritage and adapting to global developments. The Sasak experience provides valuable insights into the interaction between religion, culture and modernity, and provides important lessons for other traditional communities facing similar challenges around the world.

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