



Balancing Tradition and Modernity: Islamic Education in the Evolution of Wetu Telu in Northern Lombok

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ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengeksplorasi Islam Wetu Telu, dengan fokus pada Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Agama Islam: Keberlanjutan dan Upaya Dakwah-Pendidikan Islam Wetu Telu dalam Konteks Islam Waktu Lima, ketahanan, dan adaptasi dalam lanskap keagamaan masyarakat Sasak di Lombok Utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat. Islam Wetu Telu, sebuah bentuk Islam yang unik, jarang dikaji dalam konteks keberagaman agama di Indonesia. Studi ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan mengumpulkan data melalui observasi partisipatif, wawancara mendalam, dan analisis dokumen. Temuan penelitian mengungkapkan bagaimana Islam Wetu Telu terintegrasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari masyarakat Sasak Lombok Utara, menyoroti peran nilai-nilai budaya, tradisi, dan kearifan lokal dalam menjaga kelangsungan tradisi ini. Selain itu, penelitian ini mengungkapkan peran Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Agama Islam sebagai landasan spiritual yang penting dalam membentuk identitas dan moral masyarakat, serta menggambarkan bagaimana nilai-nilai seperti integritas moral, pengetahuan agama, dan ajaran yang adaptif berkontribusi pada keberlanjutan Islam Wetu Telu di tengah perkembangan Islam Waktu Lima. Studi ini menekankan bahwa Islam Wetu Telu tidak hanya bertahan, tetapi juga beradaptasi dalam merespons pengaruh tradisi Islam yang lebih formal. Integrasi Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Agama Islam memberikan pemahaman yang lebih dalam tentang bagaimana masyarakat Sasak mempertahankan nilai-nilai leluhur mereka sambil menyesuaikan diri dengan dinamika keyakinan agama modern. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memperkaya pemahaman tentang Islam Wetu Telu sebagai tradisi yang terus berkembang dan memberikan wawasan untuk pengembangan kebijakan inklusif yang mendukung keberagaman agama di Indonesia, khususnya di Nusa Tenggara Barat.

ABSTRACT

This research explores Wetu Telu Islam, focusing on Islamic Religious Education Values: Continuity and Efforts of Islamic Da'wah-Education of Wetu Telu Islam in the Context of the Five-Time Islam, resilience, and adaptation within the religious landscape of the Sasak community in North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. Wetu Telu Islam, a unique form of Islam, is rarely studied within the context of religious diversity in Indonesia. This study uses a qualitative approach, collecting data through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. The findings reveal how Wetu Telu Islam integrates into the daily lives of the Sasak community in North Lombok, highlighting the role of cultural values, traditions, and local wisdom in sustaining this tradition. Additionally, the research uncovers the role of Islamic Religious Education Values as a crucial spiritual foundation in shaping the community's identity and morals, illustrating how values such as moral integrity, religious knowledge, and adaptable teachings contribute to the enduring relevance of Wetu Telu Islam amid the development of Five-Time Islam. This study emphasizes how Wetu Telu Islam not only survives but also adapts in response to the influence of more formal Islamic traditions. The integration of Islamic Religious Education Values offers a deeper understanding of how the Sasak community maintains their ancestral values while accommodating the dynamics of modern religious beliefs. The research aims to enrich the understanding of Wetu Telu Islam as an evolving tradition and provide insights for developing inclusive policies that support religious diversity in Indonesia, particularly in West Nusa Tenggara.

KATA KUNCI

Islam Wetu Telu ; Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Agama Islam ; Ketahanan ; Adaptasi ; Keberagaman Agama.

KEYWORDS

Islam Wetu Telu; Values of Islamic Religious Education; Resilience; Adaptation; Religious Diversity.

A. Introduction

A quiet morning adorned with the shimmering sunrise in West Nusa Tenggara unfolds a religious landscape radiating an aura of resilience and extraordinary adaptation. Amidst the diversity of beliefs in Indonesia, a religious phenomenon known as Islam Wetu Telu thrives among the North Lombok Sasak community.¹ Every prayer and ritual, every tradition and value,² becomes a call that harmoniously integrates into the daily lives of the people.³ As if engaging with nature and ancestral spirits,⁴ Islam Wetu Telu emerges as a force that creates harmony amid the complexity of religious diversity in Indonesia. However, in its exclusivity, much about Islam Wetu Telu remains undisclosed, like pages yet to be unveiled by the eyes of research.

This study invites us to delve into the journey of Islam Wetu Telu, exploring the seldom-trodden spiritual paths. Among the embracing mountains and seas, this research traverses the traces of religious diversity and uniqueness in the lives of the North Lombok Sasak community. Through various stories and narratives,⁵ the study attempts to interpret the meaning and significance of the resilience and adaptation of Islam Wetu Telu amidst the evolving religious landscape.⁶

The historical exploration of this study delves into and reveals stories that have long been buried, tracing the spiritual life woven into the rich history of a community that upholds diversity. Together, this study lifts the veil of secrecy and appreciates the beauty of Islam Wetu Telu, a profound religious heritage in North Lombok. The prologue serves as an introduction to explore academic concerns within this study. The academic fervor that acts as immunity in unraveling the unique religious phenomenon of Islam Wetu Telu amidst the majority of followers of Islam Waktu Lima. This research captures the daily life of the North Lombok Sasak community, revealing a religious nuance that shapes a unique identity, namely Islam Wetu Telu. Despite being an integral part of everyday life, this phenomenon still holds mysteries rarely touched upon by academics and researchers, both insiders and outsiders. Islam Wetu Telu, as an exclusive form of

¹ David L. Dickinson, "Deliberation, Mood Response, and the Confirmation Bias in the Religious Belief Domain," *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics* 109 (April 2024): 102161, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2024.102161>.

² Sanjeev Rastogi et al., "Self Reported Benefits of Participating in Group Prayer in a Hospital Outpatient Setting: A Cross-Sectional Observational Study," *Journal of Ayurveda and Integrative Medicine* 14, no. 5 (September 2023): 100738, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaim.2023.100738>.

³ Jabulani Shaba and Sandra Swart, "The Occult Goes Underground: Rumour, Rituals, and the Everyday Entrepreneurship of Women in Artisanal Gold Mining in Mazowe, Zimbabwe, c. 2000–2021.," *The Extractive Industries and Society* 17 (March 2024): 101409, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2024.101409>.

⁴ Paul Alain Nana et al., "Scientific Culture and Ancestral Beliefs in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of the Murderous Disasters of Lakes Monoun and Nyos in Cameroon," *Scientific African* 20 (July 2023): e01626, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sciaf.2023.e01626>.

⁵ Ines Adornetti et al., "Comprehending Stories in Pantomime. A Pilot Study with Typically Developing Children and Its Implications for the Narrative Origin of Language," *Language & Communication* 93 (November 2023): 155–71, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2023.10.001>.

⁶ Nao Li et al., "Digital Destination Storytelling: Narrative Persuasion Effects Induced by Story Satisfaction in a VR Context," *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* 58 (March 2024): 184–96, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2023.12.007>.

Islam for the Sasak people, possesses cultural and spiritual wealth reflecting resilience and adaptation in the face of changing times.

This research holds significant importance in exploring the pathways of religious diversity,⁷ particularly within the uncharted territory of Islam Wetu Telu,⁸ The study aims to fill the gaps in existing literature and academic studies by delving deeper into this unique religious phenomenon,⁹ By unveiling the uniqueness of Islam Wetu Telu and providing fresh insights into Indonesian religious understanding,¹⁰ this research is poised to spark broader discourse on religious diversity in West Nusa Tenggara,¹¹ Utilizing diagrams as visual aids will enhance the clarity and comprehensiveness of research findings,¹² laying a foundation for a more profound understanding of religious dynamics in the region.¹³

Additionally, this research builds upon and extends previous studies,¹⁴ enriching our understanding of Islam Wetu Telu's adaptation and resilience amidst changing times,¹⁵ By examining the dialectics between religious teachings and local values, this study sheds light on how the Bayan community preserves its cultural and religious identity.¹⁶ Moreover, through participatory observation, in-depth interviews, and document analysis.¹⁷ the research provides a nuanced understanding of the religious practices and socio-cultural context of Islam Wetu Telu.¹⁸

⁷ Magaly Brodeur et al., "A Call for Qualitative and Mixed-Methods Research on Gambling and Cannabis," *Addictive Behaviors Reports* 17 (June 2023): 100494, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.abrep.2023.100494>.

⁸ Prachi Srivastava and Nick Hopwood, "A Practical Iterative Framework for Qualitative Data Analysis," *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8, no. 1 (March 2009): 76–84, <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800107>.

⁹ Enrica De Cian et al., "Actors, Decision-Making, and Institutions in Quantitative System Modelling," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 151 (February 2020): 119480, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2018.10.004>.

¹⁰ Kate Flemming et al., "Cochrane Qualitative and Implementation Methods Group Guidance Series—Paper 6: Reporting Guidelines for Qualitative, Implementation, and Process Evaluation Evidence Syntheses," *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 97 (May 2018): 79–85, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclinepi.2017.10.022>.

¹¹ Lefkothea Papada et al., "Analyzing Energy Poverty with Fuzzy Cognitive Maps: A Step-Forward towards a More Holistic Approach," *Energy Sources, Part B: Economics, Planning, and Policy* 14, no. 5 (May 4, 2019): 159–82, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15567249.2019.1634162>.

¹² Tondra L. Loder-Jackson et al., "Critical Race Theory and Educational Research Utilizing Qualitative Methods," in *International Encyclopedia of Education (Fourth Edition)* (Elsevier, 2023), 67–77, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-818630-5.11007-3>.

¹³ Yunqing Liu, Jiajun Zhang, and Hongjuan Tang, "Deciphering the Environmental Values behind Green Purchasing: A Mixed-Method Exploration through Regression Analysis and Fuzzy Set Qualitative Comparative Analysis," *Journal of Cleaner Production* 436 (January 2024): 140570, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jclepro.2024.140570>.

¹⁴ Sarah Pink, "ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE INVISIBLE Energy in the Multisensory Home," *Ethnologia Europaea* 41, no. 1 (January 1, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.16995/ee.1082>.

¹⁵ Busra Çırak Sağdıç, Gamze Bozkul, and Sabri Karahan, "Experiences, Difficulties and Coping Methods of Female Nurses Caring for Breast Cancer Surgery Patients: A Qualitative Study," *European Journal of Oncology Nursing* 69 (April 2024): 102511, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejon.2024.102511>.

¹⁶ Eric G. Booth et al., "From Qualitative to Quantitative Environmental Scenarios: Translating Storylines into Biophysical Modeling Inputs at the Watershed Scale," *Environmental Modelling & Software* 85 (November 2016): 80–97, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envsoft.2016.08.008>.

¹⁷ Caroline Nicolodi et al., "Headspace Solid-Phase Microextraction - Gas Chromatography - Mass Spectrometry Qualitative Screening Method for Active Compounds, Adulterants and Impurities in Ecstasy Tablets Seized in Northern Santa Catarina State, Brazil," *Forensic Science International* 355 (February 2024): 111932, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forsciint.2024.111932>.

¹⁸ Andrea LaMarre and Kerry Chamberlain, "Innovating Qualitative Research Methods: Proposals and Possibilities," *Methods in Psychology* 6 (November 2022): 100083, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.metip.2021.100083>.

Through iterative research processes and triangulation of data sources, the validity of findings is ensured,¹⁹ contributing significantly to academic literature and policy discussions surrounding religious diversity and adaptation in Indonesia.²⁰

B. Characteristics of the North Lombok Sasak Community

The location of this research is in the community of Bayan Village, North Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara. The Bayan people are a special community within the larger Sasak ethnic group, recognized as the oldest cultural center in Lombok. The main focus of this community is Bayan Village, located in the Bayan Sub-district, North Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara Province (NTB). In addition to Bayan Village, the traditional practices or religious system of the Bayan people are also spread across various hamlets in the Bayan Sub-district, even extending to the Central Lombok area. These hamlets include East Bayan Belek and West Bayan Belek (Bayan Village); Bumantar Hamlet, Boyotan Asli (Selengan Village); Batu Gembung Hamlet (Akar-Akar Village); Semokabang, Semalangara, Sani, Karang Tanggul, Batu Menjangkung, Batusan Hamlets (Anyar Village); as well as Loang Godek, Batu Geraniung, Tanjung Bi Hamlets (Loloan Village).



Figure 1: Residents seeking blessings from Kiai during the Wetu Telu traditional community gathering after performing the Eid prayer during the traditional Eid celebration at the ancient Bayan mosque. Source: ANTARA Photo/Ahmad Subaidi (Lebaran Adat Bayan Di Lombok, 44 Kyai Adat Gelar Salat Id Di H+3 Idul Fitri, n.d.)

¹⁹ Alexandra Macmillan et al., "Integrated Decision-Making about Housing, Energy and Wellbeing: A Qualitative System Dynamics Model," *Environmental Health* 15, no. S1 (December 2016): S37, <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12940-016-0098-z>.

²⁰ Elmar Hashimov, "Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook and The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers: Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman, and Johnny Saldaña. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2014. 381 Pp. Johnny Saldaña. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2013. 303 Pp.," *Technical Communication Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 109–12, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10572252.2015.975966>.

The Bayan community is specifically distinguished from the Sasak community as they possess their own unique characteristics, even though, in general, they are part of the Sasak ethnic group. The distinctiveness of the Bayan people is primarily associated with their customs and belief system known as Islam Wetu Telu (Three-Time Islam). This belief system differs from the pure teachings of Islam, commonly known as "Five-Time Islam."

Some social observers, such as Adonis, categorize the Bayan community as an "isolated community." The cultural and religious features of the Bayan community have been highlighted in popular news across various media outlets in Indonesia. To communicate among themselves, Bayan residents use the Sasak language, which belongs to the Austronesian language family with the Sasak-Bayan dialect.

C. The Order of Life, Leadership, and Values Of Islamic Religious Education In Islam Wetu Telu

The Bayan community conceptualizes nature into three opposing categories. Firstly, *gumi beliq* (macrocosm/universe) is considered sacred, holy, and divine, with good powers and qualities. Secondly, *gumi beriq* (microcosm/human) is deemed non-sacred, profane, with bad powers and qualities. Thirdly, *gumi baqiq* (realm of subtle spirits) is a combination of the attributes of the first and second categories.



Figure 2: Several Kyai (religious leaders) of the Wetu Telu traditional community leaving the mosque after performing the Eid prayer during the traditional Eid celebration at the ancient Bayan mosque, Bayan Village, Bayan Sub-district, North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), Tuesday, April 25, 2023. ANTARA PHOTO/Ahmad Subaidi. Published by tempo.co. (Lebaran Adat Bayan Di Lombok, 44 Kyai Adat Gelar Salat Id Di H+3 Idul Fitri, n.d.)

This concept reflects the noble values orientation in the lives of the Bayan community regarding their surrounding nature. It is believed to prevent arbitrary behavior in natural resource management. The Bayan community conducts the "Bagawe Aliq" ceremony every first year in the series of eight years (one *windu*) on a hill in the middle of the village area to maintain a balanced

relationship with nature and respect for ancestors.²¹

Although the Bayan community previously adhered to Islam Wetu Telu, the belief system has now experienced a decline in followers. This is due to the increased outreach efforts by the Five-Time Islam group, which has successfully converted many followers of Islam Wetu Telu. Islam Wetu Telu is a belief system that has developed among the Sasak people on the island of Lombok. They only practice four out of the five pillars of Islam (shahada, prayer, zakat, and fasting), with the pilgrimage (hajj) not being recognized. Only individuals called "lebe" (clerics or teachers) are obligated to follow these teachings, while those who are not "lebe" are not required to perform the hajj pilgrimage as they are represented by the former.²²

Beliefs of the Bayan Community and the Application of Islamic Educational Values

The Bayan community categorizes nature into three opposing groups. The first group is called gumi beliq (macrocosm/universe), which is considered sacred, holy, and divine, possessing good powers and qualities. The second group is called gumi beriq (microcosm/human), deemed non-sacred, profane, with bad powers and qualities. The third group is called gumi baqiq (realm of subtle spirits), a combination of the attributes of the first and second groups. This concept forms the foundation of noble values in the lives of the Bayan community, governing how they interact with the environment and respect their ancestors.

Incorporating Islamic educational values, this belief system reflects key principles such as tawhid (the oneness of God), which underpins the sacredness attributed to the universe (gumi beliq). It also highlights adab (etiquette) and akhlaq (moral character) in interactions with the environment and ancestors, promoting respectful and ethical behavior. The annual ritual named "Upacara Bagawe Aliq" aligns life with nature and pays homage to ancestors, echoing the Islamic values of gratitude (syukur), social responsibility, and moral rectitude in maintaining harmony between humans and their surroundings.

The Bayan community once adhered to the Islamic religion, known as Islam Wetu Telu. However, the number of followers has decreased, possibly due to increased missionary activities by the followers of the Five-Time Islam, who successfully converted many followers of Islam Wetu Telu. Islam Wetu Telu is a belief system developed by Nursada, the youngest son of Pangeran Sanga Pati, who spread the teachings of Islam on the island of Lombok.²³ This system is related to the pure teachings of Islam they call "Five-Time Islam." The term Islam Wetu Telu emerged after the Dutch

²¹ Kurniasih Sukenti et al., "Ethnobotanical Study on Local Cuisine of the Sasak Tribe in Lombok Island, Indonesia," *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 3, no. 3 (2016): 189–200, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2016.08.002>.

²² Fikri Zul Fahmi et al., "Creative Industries and Disaster Resilience: A Focus on Arts- and Culture-Based Industries in Indonesia," *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 99 (2023): 104136, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2023.104136>.

²³ Erni Budiwanti, *Islam Sasak: Wetu Telu Versus Waktu Lima* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2000), 43.

entered the island of Lombok, where the term "Wetu Telu" was added to distinguish it from mainstream Islam according to the colonizers' preferences.²⁴

In practice, followers of Islam Wetu Telu engage in various ceremonies that deviate from the pure teachings of Islam. They only practice four out of the five pillars of Islam, namely shahada, prayer, zakat, and fasting, while the pilgrimage (hajj) is not recognized. Following these teachings is restricted to individuals called "lebe" (clerics or teachers), while those who are not "lebe" are not obligated to perform the hajj pilgrimage as it is considered to be represented by the former.²⁵

Teachings and Practices in Islam Wetu Telu

Wetu Telu, also known as Waktu Tiga, is a unique practice among some members of the Sasak community on the island of Lombok in practicing Islam. This practice is believed to have emerged as a result of the gradual introduction of Islam to the Sasak community by early Islamic preachers, who left Lombok before imparting the complete tenets of Islam. Wetu Telu incorporates elements of Values of Islamic Religious Education, which encompass the ethical and educational aspects of Islamic teachings. These values include the emphasis on moral integrity, the importance of knowledge in religious practice, and the adaptation of religious teachings within the local cultural context.²⁶ Currently, the number of followers of Wetu Telu has significantly declined, being limited to the elderly generation in specific areas. This phenomenon can be attributed to the aggressive efforts of Islamic preachers to rectify these practices, ensuring adherence to the comprehensive teachings of Islam and reinforcing the Values of Islamic Religious Education within the community.²⁷

Before Islam arrived on the island of Lombok, the local community had undergone various changes in beliefs, ranging from animism, dynamism, to followers of Hinduism. Islam was first introduced by the Muslim saints (wali) from Java, such as Sunan Prapen in the 16th century, following the collapse of the Majapahit kingdom. The introductory language used by these Islamic propagators was Old Javanese. In conveying Islamic teachings,²⁸ these saints did not immediately eliminate the old habits of the community that still held onto their previous beliefs. There was an acculturation between Islam and local customs, utilizing local customs to facilitate the delivery of Islamic teachings.

²⁴ Tawaluddin Haris, *Islam Wetu Telu Sedikit Tentang Sejarah Dan Ajarannya* (Jakarta: UI Press, 1978), 56.

²⁵ Mary Poo-Moo Judd, *The Sociology of Rural Poverty in Lombok, Dissertation* (Berkeley: Berkeley University, 1980), 23.

²⁶ Waheed Akhter, Vasileios Pappas, and Saad Ullah Khan, "A Comparison of Islamic and Conventional Insurance Demand: Worldwide Evidence during the Global Financial Crisis," *Research in International Business and Finance* 42 (December 2017): 1401–12, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ribaf.2017.07.079>.

²⁷ Najwan Saada, "Educating for Global Citizenship in Religious Education: Islamic Perspective," *International Journal of Educational Development* 103 (November 2023): 102894, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2023.102894>.

²⁸ Jay A. Conger, "Max Weber's Conceptualization of Charismatic Authority: Its Influence on Organizational Research," *The Leadership Quarterly* 4, no. 3–4 (2020): 277–88, [https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843\(93\)90035-R](https://doi.org/10.1016/1048-9843(93)90035-R).

Religious texts of that time were rewritten in Old Javanese.²⁹ The declaration of faith (syahadat) for Wetu Telu followers was even supplemented with sentences in Old Javanese. During that period, only traditional leaders or kiai were obliged to perform religious rituals.



Figure 3: Implementation of prayers by the indigenous community in Bayan Village, source alif.id, published by firtlomboktour.



Figure 4: The community of Bayan traditional village, source: hidayatuna.com, published by firstlomboktour. (Mengenal Lebih Dekat Islam Wetu Telu Suku Sasak, n.d.)

The practice of Wetu Telu persists because the Islamic scholars who initially spread Islam did not complete their teachings, leaving the society at that time trapped in a transitional period. The followers left behind lacked the courage to change their practices towards a more complete Islam.

²⁹ Arild Wæraas, "The Re-Enchantment of Social Institutions: Max Weber and Public Relations," *Public Relations Review* 33, no. 3 (September 2007): 281–86, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2007.05.007>.

This is one of the reasons why followers of Wetu Telu can still be found in the modern era.³⁰

The general public in Lombok refers to this belief as "Waktu Telu," reflecting the acculturation between Islamic teachings and remnants of old beliefs, such as animism, dynamism, and Hinduism. Followers of Wetu Telu do not perform rituals as commonly practiced in Islam ("Waktu Lima"),³¹ as certain individuals like kyai or traditional leaders are obliged to perform these rituals. All activities related to the life cycle, such as death, birth, animal slaughtering, and thanksgiving, must be known to the kyai or traditional leaders, and they should have a share as an expression of gratitude from the host.³²

Followers of Islam Wetu Telu are generally Muslims and are supposed to fulfill Islamic obligations completely. These obligations are not limited to kyai or teachers, but the entire traditional community must follow the rules and worship obligations in Islam, according to followers of Islam Waktu Lima.³³ Traditional ceremonies are led by traditional leaders or village heads, who also act as kyai, giving them a high social status, respected, and revered by the local community. Kyai play a crucial role in guiding and directing the community and are respected as spiritual leaders.³⁴

Compliance with the kyai is strongly emphasized, and violations can lead to calamity for the individual and their family. Punishment or sanctions can be forgiven by paying dedosan (traditional fines) or in accordance with customary legal decisions. Traditional ceremonies aim to redeem sins and rehabilitate one's reputation in the community.

In Islam Wetu Telu, reading the Qur'an is done symbolically during every traditional ceremony. This ceremony involves many traditional processes, and symbolic Qur'an reading is part of the respect for the holy book. Reciting the Qur'an is usually done before Maghrib in a gazebo, followed by congregational Maghrib prayer in the mosque. Copies of the Qur'an and Hadith books are kept in the bale beleq (Traditional House), a small building sanctified for storing ceremony-related items.

According to the concept of Islam Wetu Telu, a person is considered sacred when becoming a kyai or teacher. The appointment of a new kyai is based on the will of the previous kyai and is not democratically chosen. This leadership concept is similar to the concept of an imam in the Shia tradition, where the kyai is considered as God's representative on earth and plays a crucial role in maintaining the continuity of the world. The relay of leadership in Islam Wetu Telu is based on the

³⁰ Zaki Yamani Athhar, "Kearifan Lokal Dalam Ajaran Islam Wetu Telu Di Lombok," *ULUMUNA* 9, no. 1 (June 10, 2005): 70, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v9i1.443>.

³¹ Ahmad Afandi, "Kepercayaan Animisme-Dinamisme Serta Adaptasi Kebudayaan Hindu-Budha Dengan Kebudayaan Asli Di Pulau Lombok-NTB," *Historis / FKIP UMMat* 1, no. 1 (February 15, 2018): 1, <https://doi.org/10.31764/historis.v1i1.202>.

³² I Wayan Sudiartawan and I Wayan Utama, "Komunikasi Budaya Dalam Tradisi Ngelowong Masyarakat Sasak Wetu Telu Di Lombok," *Samvada : Jurnal Riset Komunikasi, Media, Dan Public Relation* 1, no. 2 (November 17, 2022): 75–86, <https://doi.org/10.53977/jsv.v1i2.762>.

³³ Rasmianto Rasmianto, "Interrelasi Kiai, Penghulu dan Pemangku Adat dalam Tradisi Islam Wetu Telu di Lombok," *el-Harakah* 11, no. 2 (August 30, 2009): 139–54, <https://doi.org/10.18860/el.v0i0.429>.

³⁴ Muhammad Harfin Zuhdi, "Islam Wetu Telu di Bayan Lombok: Dialektika Islam dan Budaya Lokal," *Akademika: Jurnal Pemikiran Islam* 17, no. 2 (2012): 1–24.

legitimate right based on the sacred right of God, and the appointment of kyai must be in accordance with texts and wills.³⁵

Some people consider the Wetu Telu phenomenon to have a meaning similar to the followers of abangan Islam or Javanese Islam in Java, as explained in Geertz's trikotomy and written by Mark Woodward. However, Raden Gedarip, a traditional leader from Karangsalah, rejects the mention of Islam Wetu Telu. For him, Islam is one, and there is no separation between Waktu Tiga (Wetu Telu) and Waktu Lima. He stated, "Actually, Wetu Telu is not a religion but tradition." Furthermore, Gedarip explained that the Wetu Telu traditional community acknowledges two shahadah sentences, namely "Allah our Lord who has power, and the Prophet Muhammad as the messenger of Allah."

Followers of Wetu Telu also recite these two shahadah sentences after being recited in Arabic and, according to Gedarip, continued in the Sasak language, for example: "Asyhadu Ingsun sinuru anak sinu. Anging stoken ngaraning pangeran. Anging Allah pangeran. Ka sebenere lan ing sun anguruhi. Setukhune nabi Muhammad utusan demi Allah. Allahhuma shali Allah sayidina Muhammad." Wind acknowledges the greatness of the ruler. The wind acknowledges Allah as the ruler. In essence, I submit and obey Him.³⁶ Furthermore, I testify that Prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. "Allahhuma shali Allah sayidina Muhammad." This means "We swear (bear witness) that there is no god but Allah, and we believe that Prophet Muhammad is the messenger of Allah." It is called "swearing" because it is acknowledged to have embraced the Islamic religion.³⁷

The term "Islam Wetu Telu" is believed to have originated from the Dutch colonial era, which applied the divide et impera strategy to divide Islamic power by creating differences between Islam Wetu Telu and Islam Waktu Lima. According to interviews with the Wetu Telu community in Bayan, members express four understandings of Wetu Telu, which, although different, are acknowledged as a unity by the interviewed Wetu Telu figures.³⁸

The first understanding interprets Wetu Telu as a symbol of three reproductive systems involving birth, laying eggs, and reproducing from seeds or fruits. This symbolism reflects the belief that all living creatures emerge through three types of reproductive systems. In interviews, the second concept emphasizes the interdependence of living beings with the cosmological area divided into small and large realms, where humans and other creatures are entirely dependent on the universe.³⁹

³⁵ A. Ruiz-Frau et al., "Using Graph Theory and Social Media Data to Assess Cultural Ecosystem Services in Coastal Areas: Method Development and Application," *Ecosystem Services* 45 (October 2020): 101176, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecoser.2020.101176>.

³⁶ Solichin Salam, *Lombok Pulau Perawan* (Jakarta: Kuning Mas, 1992), 41.

³⁷ Anak Agung Ngurah Anom Kumbara and Nanang Sutrisno, "Kontestasi Keberagamaan Umat Hindu Dan Islam Wetu Telu Di Pura Lingsar Lombok Barat," *Jurnal Penelitian Agama Hindu* 8, no. 2 (April 17, 2024): 157–70, <https://doi.org/10.37329/jpah.v8i2.2725>.

³⁸ Elodie Gentina, Kun-Huang Huarng, and Mototaka Sakashita, "A Social Comparison Theory Approach to Mothers' and Daughters' Clothing Co-Consumption Behaviors: A Cross-Cultural Study in France and Japan," *Journal of Business Research* 89 (August 2018): 361–70, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2017.12.032>.

³⁹ Yuwei Qi et al., "Diverging Death Risks: Mortality as a Corollary of Economic, Social, Cultural and Person Capital," *SSM - Population Health* 25 (March 2024): 101644, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2024.101644>.

The third understanding states that Wetu Telu is a belief system manifested in the belief that all beings undergo three stages of the life cycle: birth, life, and death. Ritual activities are highly focused on this cycle. The last understanding in the interview states that the core belief of Wetu Telu is faith in Allah, Adam, and Eve. Members of Wetu Telu explain that they perform rituals related to the life cycle, which they call "gawe urip," covering all stages of human life from birth to marriage. All these interviews illustrate the diversity of interpretations of meanings and beliefs within the Wetu Telu community.⁴⁰

The research results of Zaki Yamani Athhar in 2005 brought an understanding of the practices of Islam Wetu Telu, which involve the performance of prayers. In this research, Athhar noted that the Islam Wetu Telu community performs the Asr, Maghrib, and Isha prayers, initially accepted from the kyai. Interestingly, the other two obligatory prayers, Fajr and Dhuhr, are abandoned because they were never taught.⁴¹

Recent research adds a new dimension by highlighting that the Friday Prayer performed by followers of Islam Wetu Telu is not the Friday Prayer as commonly practiced by the general Muslims. Instead, this Friday Prayer is the implementation of the five obligatory prayers, namely Isha, Fajr, Dhuhr, Asr, and Maghrib, on specific days, such as on Eid al-Fitr, Eid al-Adha, and funeral prayers. This understanding indicates variations and adaptations in the practice of prayer according to the teachings of Islam Wetu Telu.⁴² Furthermore, this research also reveals a unique way of determining prayer times, especially on significant days like Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. The timing or days of these two festive prayers do not follow conventional Islamic month calculations but rather are four days backward according to local calculations, creating a distinctive worship context within the Bayan community.⁴³

Thus, this research associates the practices of Islam Wetu Telu with the Friday Prayer described by Athhar, indicating that prayer practices in this community have specific nuances and adaptations to the general teachings of Islam. Therefore, this understanding is not only about ritual worship but also reflects identity and a close connection to the cultural and local context of the Bayan community.⁴⁴ Additionally, these practices are deeply intertwined with the values of Islamic education, emphasizing principles such as community cohesion, moral development, and the

⁴⁰ Tracey Gurbin, "Enlivening The Machinist Perspective: Humanising The Information Processing Theory With Social And Cultural Influences," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 197 (July 2015): 2331–38, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.07.263>.

⁴¹ Zidni Zidni et al., "Nilai-Nilai Sejarah Kemaliq Lingsar Dan Peranannya Bagi Kehidupan Masyarakat Desa Lingsar Lombok Barat," *Jurnal Humanitas: Katalisator Perubahan Dan Inovator Pendidikan* 7, no. 2 (June 30, 2021): 108–21, <https://doi.org/10.29408/jhm.v7i2.3660>.

⁴² Zaenuddin Mansyur, "Penerapan Ajaran Islam Wetu Telu Di Tengah Ajaran Islam Waktu Lima: Upaya Melestarikan Kearifan Lokal Muslim Sasak," *Religió: Jurnal Studi Agama-Agama* 9, no. 2 (September 20, 2019): 222–43, <https://doi.org/10.15642/religio.v9i2.1206>.

⁴³ J. Van Baal, *Pesta Alip Di Bayan* (Jakarta: Bharatara, 1976), 113.

⁴⁴ I Gusti Ngurah and dkk, *Kamus Sasak Indonesia* (Jakarta: Depdikbud, 1985), 34.

integration of religious teachings into daily life. This reflects how Islamic educational values shape and reinforce the community's religious and cultural identity.

D. Adaptation of Time and Beliefs in Eid Prayers According to Islam Wetu Telu

The uniqueness of the Islamic Wetu Telu worship ritual, especially in the context of performing prayers during festive days (Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha), demonstrates characteristics that distinguish it from common practices in Islam. In the understanding of the Wetu Telu Islam community in Bayan Village, there are a series of beliefs and unique procedures that influence the implementation of prayers on these festive days.

Specifically, the Wetu Telu Islam community holds prayers on the occasions of Eid al-Fitr and Eid al-Adha. However, what sets them apart is the determination of the timing or days for the implementation of these festive prayers. In contrast to conventional Islamic month calculations, the Wetu Telu Islam community moves four days backward. For example, Eid al-Fitr falls on the 4th day of Shawwal, and Eid al-Adha falls on the 14th day of Dhu al-Hijjah according to their calculation.⁴⁵

The initial determination of the month of Shawwal is explained by Raden Singaderia, where the new moon is not immediately visible after the end of the fasting month.⁴⁶ They refer to this time as "sacred." On the second day, the moon can be seen but remains invisible due to the mountains in the east (Mount Rinjani), and this is referred to as "Arab." On the third day, the moon is directly above the hill, and this is called "jiwa." Sacred means "will," Arab means "exists," and jiwa means "reality," indicating a reality that humans will face, namely the performance of Eid al-Fitr prayers.⁴⁷ Another uniqueness lies in the perception of the timing of Ramadan fasting. They divide fasting into three parts, each with specific provisions. This includes the use of the term "date," which is less accurate and more appropriately replaced with the term "day." The Wetu Telu Islam community has prohibitions during fasting, such as not engaging in work, avoiding lying, and staying indoors.⁴⁸ It is essential to note that all these practices are entirely entrusted to the kyai, while ordinary people are considered impure and not obligated to fast. The measure of purity in this community is related to holding the position of kyai or guru. This provides a unique insight into how the Wetu Telu Islam community views and carries out its worship rituals, showcasing distinctive adaptations and

⁴⁵ Zaki, "Tradisi Islam Suku Sasak Di Bayan Lombok Barat, Studi Historis Tentang Islam Wetu Telu 1890-1965" (Skripsi, Yogyakarta, IAIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, 2015).

⁴⁶ Shweta Mittal, Vishal Gupta, and Manoj Motiani, "Examining the Linkages between Employee Brand Love, Affective Commitment, Positive Word-of-Mouth, and Turnover Intentions: A Social Identity Theory Perspective," *IIMB Management Review* 34, no. 1 (March 2022): 7–17, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.iimb.2022.04.002>.

⁴⁷ Judith Ecklund, *Tradition or Non Tradition: Adat, Islam, and Local Control on Lombok* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 123.

⁴⁸ Yayasan Bhakti Wawasan Nusantara, *Profil Propinsi NTB* (Jakarta: Yayasan Bhakti Wawasan Nusantara, 1992), 20.

interpretations of Islamic teachings.⁴⁹

E. Unique Adaptation: Maulid Nabi Tradition in Bayan and the Dynamics of Local Islam In the Sasak

The results of interviews and discussions on the Maulid Nabi tradition in Bayan District, North Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, reveal differences in practices compared to Comprehensive Islam (Local Islam and Salaf-Sunni Islam). The rhythmic beats of the lesung (rice pounding tool), producing various rhythms, along with the joyful celebration of the Maulid Nabi, are distinctive features in the life of the Sasak Tribe community in Bayan Village.⁵⁰ In the Maulid Nabi tradition in Bayan, it is evident that rituals like Menyembeq, Ngegelat, and Bisoq Menik are integral parts of commemorating the birth of Prophet Muhammad. Menyembeq, where agricultural produce is offered to Inan Menik, and Ngegelat, the tradition of adorning the ancient mosque of Bayan Beleq with symbols rich in meaning, showcase the cultural richness and beliefs of the Sasak Tribe community.⁵¹

The main differences lie in the implementation of these rituals, which are not always in line with the teachings of Comprehensive Islam. For example, in Menyembeq, placing betel leaves on the forehead of each individual as a way of expressing their aspirations to religious and traditional leaders is a practice not found in Comprehensive Islam (Islam following the Shafi'i school of thought), which emphasizes the principles of Islamic law (Observations and interviews from February 3 to October 9, 2023). Furthermore, the Ngegelat tradition, adorning the mosque with symbols and gamelan accompaniment as preparation for the Presean ritual, creates a religious atmosphere that blends local elements with Islamic practices. Presean, a battle between two men using rattan sticks, although having cultural aspects, can be considered a more ritualistic act than purely Islamic.

The Maulid Nabi tradition in Bayan illustrates a unique adaptation within the Values of Islamic Religious Education in the context of local Islam among the Sasak tribe in Lombok. This tradition, which celebrates the birth of the Prophet Muhammad, reflects a distinct blend of Islamic practices with local cultural elements. The adaptation demonstrates how Values of Islamic Religious Education—such as moral integrity and the importance of religious knowledge—are integrated into local customs. This includes the incorporation of religious teachings into traditional ceremonies and community practices, showcasing how the Sasak community maintains their Islamic identity while preserving cultural heritage. The Maulid Nabi tradition thus serves as a dynamic example of how local Islam evolves by adapting religious values to fit the cultural and social context of the Sasak tribe, contributing to a broader understanding of the diversity and flexibility within Islamic practices in Lombok.

⁴⁹ Clarissa Ruzol et al., "Understanding Water Pollution Management: Evidence and Insights from Incorporating Cultural Theory in Social Network Analysis," *Global Environmental Change* 45 (July 2017): 183–93, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2017.06.009>.

⁵⁰ Tito Adonis, *Suku Terasing Sasak Di Bayan Propinsi NTB* (Mataram: Depdikbud, 1989), 31.

⁵¹ Judd, *The Sociology of Rural Poverty in Lombok, Desertation*, 49.

The adaptation of the Maulid Nabi tradition in Bayan aligns with Clifford Geertz's theory of "Religion as a Cultural System,"⁵² which suggests that religious practices are deeply embedded within the local cultural framework. Geertz argues that religion shapes and is shaped by the cultural symbols and meanings of a community.⁵³ In the case of the Sasak tribe, the integration of Islamic values into their cultural ceremonies reflects how religion adapts to and reinforces the local context, allowing the community to maintain both their religious identity and cultural heritage. This highlights the flexible and dynamic nature of Islamic practices in Lombok.



Figure 5: Bisok Menik Ritual (rice-cleaning ritual) welcoming the celebration of Maulid Nabi. Source: Hypeabis.id Social Media

The *Bisoq Menik* Ritual (Cleaning Rice), where women go down to the river to wash rice in a state of purity, also demonstrates differences with the practices of Islam Kaffah. Taboos on talking during the journey and specific rules in cooking communal rice dishes after washing become distinctive features of this tradition.⁵⁴ Finally, the *Praja Mulud* procession depicting the marriage of Adam and Hawa indicates that the Maulid Nabi Adat Bayan tradition creates religious symbols in a

⁵² Yaron Zelekha and Gil Avnimelech, "Cultural and Personal Channels between Religion, Religiosity, and Corruption," *Heliyon* 9, no. 6 (June 2023): e16882, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.heliyon.2023.e16882>; Emma Tomalin, "Religion, Ecology and Hindu Nationalism in India," *Religion and Development* 2, no. 3 (March 13, 2024): 463–82, <https://doi.org/10.30965/27507955-20230032>; Sarah Hitchner, John Schelhas, and Puneet Dwivedi, "Safe Havens: The Intersection of Family, Religion, and Community in Black Cultural Landscapes of the Southeastern United States," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 214 (October 2021): 104136, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2021.104136>.

⁵³ Vishalache Balakrishnan, "Civics Education in Malaysia: A Clash between Ethics, Religion and Cultural Norms," *Asian Education and Development Studies* 11, no. 4 (September 13, 2022): 581–91, <https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-09-2020-0225>; Elizabeth A. Minton, Lynn R. Kahle, and Chung-Hyun Kim, "Religion and Motives for Sustainable Behaviors: A Cross-Cultural Comparison and Contrast," *Journal of Business Research* 68, no. 9 (September 2015): 1937–44, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2015.01.003>; Jeffrey A. McNeely and Unai Pascual, "Social and Cultural Factors," in *Encyclopedia of Biodiversity* (Elsevier, 2024), 30–38, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-822562-2.00252-8>.

⁵⁴ Vered Heruti and Athar Haj Yahya, "'The Things I See from Here, You Don't See from There': Promoting Multicultural Awareness in a Diverse Society by Intercultural Encounters in Two Museum Spaces," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 100 (May 2024): 101979, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2024.101979>.

more unique and characteristic way, combining cultural elements with Islamic teachings. These differences can be analyzed using the theories of cultural acculturation and syncretism, where the Sasak community in the Bayan Village combines local values and traditional beliefs with Islamic teachings. This illustrates the dynamics of adaptation and evolution of religious practices, resulting in a unique form of local Islam distinct from the potentially more universally practiced Islam Kaffah.

F. Differences in The Maulid Adat Bayan Ritual Compared to the Maulid Ritual of the Majority of Muslims

The Maulid Adat Bayan ritual shows significant differences from the Maulid rituals commonly held by the majority of Muslims. Here are some comparisons between the two:

Belief System

Maulid Adat Bayan: Organizes Maulid rituals colored with customs and beliefs of Islam Wetu Telu, which differ from the teachings of Islam Waktu Lima generally followed by the majority of Muslims. This belief system includes unique religious practices such as Menutu (pounding rice) and Peresean. **Maulid Majority of Muslims:** The majority of Muslims celebrate the Maulid of Prophet Muhammad SAW with activities more focused on reading the Prophet's biography (sirah), religious discussions, reciting blessings (shalawat), and prayers. This ritual reflects the teachings of Islam Waktu Lima.

Determination of Maulid Date

Maulid Adat Bayan: The determination of the Maulid date does not follow the calculation of the Islamic lunar calendar (Qamariyah) like most Muslims. The date of Maulid Adat Bayan is determined based on specific rituals involving moon observation after the month of fasting. **Maulid Majority of Muslims:** The majority of Muslims determine the date of the Maulid of Prophet Muhammad SAW based on the calculation of the Islamic lunar calendar (Qamariyah), which is on the 12th of Rabi'ul Awwal.

Clothing and Decorations

Maulid Adat Bayan: Involves decorating Praja Mulud with flowers and oil, as well as wearing traditional costumes different from the general population. **Maulid Majority of Muslims:** The majority of Muslims do not involve specific decorations on clothing or the body during the Maulid celebration. The attire worn is usually formal or follows local customs.

Fasting Activities

Maulid Adat Bayan: Involves fasting during Ramadan, but with a different understanding and implementation compared to the majority of Muslims. Fasting is divided into three parts with specific rules. **Maulid Majority of Muslims:** Fasting during Ramadan is a common ritual observed by the majority of Muslims following the established rules in the teachings of Islam Waktu Lima. This comparison highlights differences in beliefs, ritual practices, and implementation procedures for the Maulid between the Bayan Adat community following Islam Wetu Telu and the majority of Muslims following the teachings of Islam Waktu Lima.

G. Factors Influencing Resilience and Adaptation

Local Factors

In the context of the resilience and adaptation of Islam Wetu Telu, local factors that significantly impact the sustainability of this belief system involve local wisdom, cultural values, and traditions unique to the Bayan community. First, Local Wisdom. Local wisdom encompasses the inherited knowledge and wisdom that serves as the foundation for followers of Islam Wetu Telu to preserve and uphold their ancestral teachings. The ability to understand and apply local wisdom provides a solid foundation for the resilience of these teachings amidst social and religious changes. Second, Cultural Values. The cultural values of the Bayan community, integral to daily life, form the moral and ethical foundation for practicing Islam Wetu Telu. These values, such as respect for ancestors, play a crucial role in maintaining the identity and resilience of their religious teachings. Third, Traditions. Local traditions, whether related to religious rituals or daily life, provide structure and context for the understanding and practice of Islam Wetu Telu. Traditional ceremonies, like the Bagawe Aliq Ceremony, well-organized and reinforcing community bonds, contribute to resilience against external influences.

These local factors together shape a robust religious ecosystem, making Islam Wetu Telu an inseparable part of the identity and life of the Bayan community. Resilience and adaptation to changes in social and religious environments can be explained by the active engagement of the community in nurturing and developing the local values inherent in Islam Wetu Telu (Observations and interviews from February 3 to October 9, 2023).

Interaction with Other Variant of Islam in Lombok

Recent studies have brought attention to the existence of two distinct variants of Islam in Lombok, specifically known as Islam Wetu Lima and Islam Wetu Telu. The terminology used to describe these variants implies a binary opposition, emphasizing a stark contrast between the two. When Islam Wetu Lima is mentioned, it inherently implies the existence of another form of Islam, namely Islam Wetu Telu. This binary framing reflects a pattern of polarization observed not only in

Lombok but also in various regions of Indonesia and globally (Observations and interviews from February 3 to October 9, 2023)

This dichotomy echoes similar patterns found elsewhere, such as the differentiation between Islam and Islamic Abangan on the island of Java, a concept introduced by Clifford Geertz. In the Lombok context, the parallel terms Islam Wetu Lima and Wetu Telu represent a comparable duality within the Islamic landscape of the region. It's essential to approach such categorizations with a nuanced understanding, recognizing the diversity within Islamic practices and beliefs and avoiding oversimplified judgments about different manifestations of the faith. This observation was shared during an interview with Papuk Diana on May 7, 2019.

The analysis of the resilience and adaptation of Islam Wetu Telu in the Bayan community can be understood through the lens of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of "habitus" and "field."⁵⁵ Bourdieu posits that habitus is the set of dispositions shaped by one's social environment, which influences how individuals perceive and respond to external pressures. In the context of Islam Wetu Telu, local wisdom, cultural values, and traditions serve as the habitus, deeply embedded in the social fabric of the Bayan community, which equips them to maintain their religious practices in the face of change.⁵⁶ This habitus is reinforced by the community's engagement in traditional ceremonies like the Bagawe Aliq, which both reflect and perpetuate the local religious field, shaping how Islam is practiced. The interaction with other forms of Islam, such as Wetu Lima, further underscores how different Islamic variants can coexist within a shared cultural space, with the resilience of Islam Wetu Telu rooted in its unique adaptation to local customs, avoiding polarization while maintaining its distinct identity.

H. The Journey of Wetu Telu Community Adaptation in Religious Dynamics

Before Islam entered the archipelago, various ancient customs and local beliefs had developed and strongly permeated the social structure of the local communities. When Islam later arrived, it encountered old values that partly contained Hindu-Buddhist elements. Instead of completely eliminating non-Islamic elements, Islam accommodated and eventually syncretized into

⁵⁵ Meltem Çengel Schoville et al., "Habitus in Elite Public High Schools: A Case Study from the Perspectives of Shareholders," *International Journal of Educational Development* 109 (September 2024): 103107, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2024.103107>; Hanna-Mari Husu, "Rethinking Incumbency: Utilising Bourdieu's Field, Capital, and Habitus to Explain Energy Transitions," *Energy Research & Social Science* 93 (November 2022): 102825, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.erss.2022.102825>; Susanne Koch and Camilla Tetley, "What 'Counts' in International Forest Policy Research? A Conference Ethnography of Valuation Practice and Habitus in an Interdisciplinary Social Science Field," *Forest Policy and Economics* 154 (September 2023): 103034, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.forpol.2023.103034>.

⁵⁶ Helen Fitt, "Habitus and the Loser Cruiser: How Low Status Deters Bus Use in a Geographically Limited Field," *Journal of Transport Geography* 70 (June 2018): 228–33, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2018.06.011>; H. Hemal Kadakia et al., "Impact of Body Habitus on Attenuation Correction Using Transmission Truncation Compensation with a Small Field of View Camera," *Journal of Nuclear Cardiology* 14, no. 2 (March 2007): S15, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nuclcard.2006.12.062>; Andrew Newman, Anna Goulding, and Christopher Whitehead, "How Cultural Capital, Habitus and Class Influence the Responses of Older Adults to the Field of Contemporary Visual Art," *Poetics* 41, no. 5 (October 2013): 456–80, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2013.07.001>.

local traditions. The existence of Islam Abangan in Java and Islam Wetu Telu in Lombok indicates that Islam is practiced by incorporating local elements that are not entirely Islamic.⁵⁷

In Java, Lombok, and other regions, Islam is influenced by local culture. "Islam, with a few exceptions, is practiced throughout the Indonesian archipelago as a folk religion. Islam is blended with local beliefs everywhere." Moreover, it's not surprising that the majority of nominal Muslims perceive Islam narrowly, limited to the declaration of faith, the prohibition of consuming pork, abstaining from alcohol, and male circumcision. Differences in perspectives and understandings in accepting and practicing Islamic teachings, as well as the integration of this religion into unique local structures, have contributed to the pluralism and parochialism of Islam in Indonesia.⁵⁸

From the explanations above, it is evident that Indonesia has diverse expressions of religious practices. In Lombok, there are two different variants of Islam, namely Islam Wetu Telu and Islam Waktu Lima. Islam Wetu Telu can be considered a traditional religion, while Islam Waktu Lima is regarded as a revealed religion. Although they have distinct characteristics, this classification is not entirely separate. There is an overlap between the two, where one category may have characteristics possessed by the other category, and vice versa.

Identifying Wetu Telu as a traditional religion and Waktu Lima as a revealed religion is not a complete separation. There are values held by Waktu Lima that are also embraced by Wetu Telu. The use of Arabic prayers from the Quran, the role of kiai as imams, and the existence of mosques are essential elements in the beliefs of Wetu Telu drawn from universal Islam. While verses from the Quran are incorporated into the religious practices of Wetu Telu, this is an esoteric quality that does not substantially alter its animistic and anthropomorphic elements.

The journey of adaptation by the Wetu Telu community in the dynamics of religion, particularly among the Sasak tribe in the village of Bayan, Lombok, reflects the principle of "Pantang Melupakan Leluhur" (Never Forget Ancestors) as a crucial foundation. This phrase not only reflects devotion to ancestors but also serves as a life philosophy that has empowered this community to the present day. The cultural strategy of "Pantang Melupakan Leluhur" reflects a historical consciousness that has grown among the Wetu Telu Islamic community, rooted in fear and responsibility for the heritage left by ancestors in the past. The synthesis of the spiral view and the fate of God suggests that the concept of "Pantang Melupakan Leluhur" in the Wetu Telu Islamic community reflects an idea aligned with the historical movement of the Indonesian nation, as reflected in Pancasila as the nation's identity.

The meanings embedded in the culture of Islam Wetu Telu influence social-religious aspects

⁵⁷ Ulyan Nasri, "Memotret Bias Gender Dalam Konteks Sosio-Kultural Lombok Menuju Sebuah Humanisme Sosio-Spiritual," *Al-Munawwarah: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 3, no. 2 (2018): 90.

⁵⁸ Ulyan Nasri, "Paradigma Filsafat Islam: Revitalisasi Pendidikan Multikultural Telaah Pemikiran TGKH. Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid Lombok," *Al-Qalam: Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Pendidikan* 16, no. 1 (June 7, 2024): 8–21, <https://doi.org/10.47435/al-qalam.v16i1.2293>.

in Lombok, reflecting monotheistic teachings where all human activities should be directed only to the Almighty Allah. The origin of the word "Lombok," meaning "straight," refers to the Almighty. The religious-cultural patterns found in Islam Wetu Telu manifest in various meaningful customs related to birth, life, and death.

Examples of patterns found in Lombok regarding birth include the Molang Malik ceremony (aqiqah). Related to life, there are ceremonies like Sorong Serah, Mulud, and Blayar. While most are associated with death, such as the selokan symbol, tomb shapes, Ancak, Nenelung, Mituk, Nyiwa, Empat Pulu, Nyatus, Nyiwu, Nyenyantekin. Additionally, there are ceremonies like Begawe, Mal-Mal Mall, Begamelan Blek, Makon, Sesimbing, Hari Wetu Telu, Method for Determining the Date of Muharrom, and Tuak Reading. (Observations and interviews from February 3 to October 9, 2023)



Figure 6: Maulid Nabi Tradition in Bayan Lombok. Source: ©2021 Merdeka.com/Elyana Dasuki. The tradition of celebrating the Prophet's birthday in Bayan Lombok, from the Bisog Menik ritual to Menyembeq (rice cleaning ritual, preparations for celebrating the Prophet's birthday).

Wetu Telu is often perceived as an imperfect form of Islam, accused of reducing all Islamic teachings or rituals to three, akin to the meaning of the word "wetu," which signifies "three times." Criticisms directed towards followers of Islam Wetu Telu, such as performing prayers only three times, understanding dynamism and animism, acknowledging ancestral spirits, and other related aspects, convey a different meaning from the understanding of Wetu Telu found in Lombok.⁵⁹ For the people of Lombok who believe in Wetu Telu, it is considered a highly perfect form of Islam, constructed from two solid dimensions: the outward (zahir) and inward (batin) or Islamic law, faith, and excellence. Wetu Telu, for them, represents Sufi teachings or Sufism, ingrained in the heart and feelings. When associated with the outward, Wetu Telu includes words and deeds or Sharia. This manifests in societal phenomena as ways of behaving, speaking, or communicating. Wetu Telu is deemed significant, and

⁵⁹ Abdul Haris Rasyidi and Ulyan Nasri, "Muslim Sasak Female Scholars: Empowerment and Strengthening of Islamic Education in the Lombok Community, Indonesia," *Path of Science: International Electronic Scientific Journal* 9, no. 12 (2023): 3028–32, <http://dx.doi.org/10.22178/pos.99-8>.

abandoning it places someone in a state of "grave disbelief," while leaving "Wetu Lima" results in a status of "lesser disbelief."

By preserving and understanding the teachings of their ancestors, the Wetu Telu Islamic community builds the foundation of their identity. This understanding not only serves as a spiritual cornerstone but also creates strong social and cultural bonds among community members. This historical awareness acts as a driving force to maintain the integrity of ancestral values amid the dynamics of modern religious practices. The journey of adaptation for the Wetu Telu community in the dynamics of religion, especially among the Sasak tribe in the village of Bayan, Lombok, reflects the tenacity of their existence from generation to generation. However, overall, its development has not been rapid, likely due to being a minority belief in Lombok, especially among the Sasak people.⁶⁰

The village of Bayan is renowned as the center of the indigenous Sasak community that upholds the Wetu Telu teachings. Initially considered the birthplace of the understanding of Islam Wetu Telu in Lombok, the adaptation journey of Islam Wetu Telu has not experienced significant growth, possibly due to being a minority in the religious context of Lombok. The sustainability of Wetu Telu teachings in the village of Bayan is reflected in the loyalty of the majority of the indigenous Sasak community to these beliefs. Despite existing within diverse customary frameworks in each Sasak village, the community continues to respect and preserve traditions inherited from their ancestors.⁶¹

In this context, the Wetu Telu community's adaptation in the dynamics of religion can be interpreted as their effort to uphold their religious and cultural identity amidst the diverse customs of the Sasak tribe and the dominance of the majority religion in Lombok. Despite being a minority, the continuity and resilience of Islam Wetu Telu in the village of Bayan demonstrate the determination and uniqueness of this community in preserving their religious heritage.

I. Changes in the Religious Landscape: Contemporary Developments

In general, the Sasak community, especially those practicing Islam, pays great attention to time, days, dates, and months when initiating the construction of houses and other needs. To determine these aspects, they use a "papan warige," derived from the *Tapel Adamdan Tajul Muluq* almanac, as their guide. As explained in the introduction, the term "Wetu Telu" widely known to the public originated from Dr. J. Van Ball's book written in 1940 and translated in 1979 by Koentjaraningrat with the title "Pesta Alip di Bayan."

"Pesta Alip" itself is a traditional event held every eight years, aiming to maintain the graves of ancestors in Bayan, specifically in the ancient mosque complex of Bayan. The book by J. Van Ball in

⁶⁰ Erlan Muliadi et al., "Exploring Traditional Wisdom: Values Education in the Games of the Sasak Tribe, Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia," *Journal of Advances in Education and Philosophy* 8, no. 03 (March 24, 2024): 168–79, <https://doi.org/10.36348/jaep.2024.v08i03.004>.

⁶¹ Erlan Muliadi and Ulyan Nasri, "Future-Oriented Education: The Contribution of Educational Philosophy in Facing Global Challenges," *Jurnal Ilmiah Profesi Pendidikan* 8, no. 4 (November 13, 2023): 2420–27, <https://doi.org/10.29303/jipp.v8i4.1807>.

1940 depicted the original condition of Bayan, reflecting a time when Islam was understood according to the initial understanding and teachings imparted to the ancestors of Bayan. Islam rapidly developed in Bayan, and a new system emerged after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, signifying the emergence of modern Islam.

The term "Wetu" is not present in the vocabulary of the Bayan language. Since Islam originated from Java, "Wetu" is often misinterpreted as "Metu," which in Javanese means to emerge or come out, while "Telu" in the Bayan language means three. Therefore, the combination of these two syllables, "Metu Telu" or "Wetu Telu," means emerging from three things. "Wetu Telu" or "Metu Telu" refers to the process of reproducing living creatures, including giving birth, laying eggs, and sprouting, which then evolves into the origin of life in the universe.

The Sasak-Bayan community, particularly in Bayan Village, North Lombok Regency, stands out for its unique blend of culture and religion, with a focus on the distinctive customs and beliefs of Islam Wetu Telu. Through analyses rooted in cultural identity and social-religious theories,⁶² this research aims to unravel the complexities of how cultural identity shapes religious beliefs within this community,⁶³ Additionally, the shift from Islam Wetu Telu to Islam Waktu Lima, influenced by missionary activities, sheds light on the social dynamics and changes in beliefs, offering a comprehensive overview of cultural identity, religion,⁶⁴ and social change within the Sasak-Bayan community.⁶⁵

The unique belief system of the Bayan tribe, dividing nature into three conflicting groups.⁶⁶ provides insight into their profound respect for nature and ancestors.⁶⁷ The annual Bagawe Aliq Ceremony underscores their efforts to harmonize human life with the natural world.⁶⁸ while the analysis of theories of social change and religion unveils the societal shifts influencing religious

⁶² Jonathan Davis Smith, Ronald Adam, and Samsul Maarif, "How Social Movements Use Religious Creativity to Address Environmental Crises in Indonesian Local Communities," *Global Environmental Change* 84 (January 2024): 102772, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2023.102772>.

⁶³ Ali Rama et al., "Religious and Social Narratives and Crowdfunding Success," *Journal of International Financial Markets, Institutions and Money* 80 (September 2022): 101595, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.intfin.2022.101595>.

⁶⁴ Qinyao Yu, "Simulation of the Interactive Prediction of Contemporary Social Change and Religious Socialization Based on Big Data," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 184 (November 2022): 122038, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2022.122038>.

⁶⁵ Susan Myers et al., "Social Religion: A Cross-Platform Examination of the Impact of Religious Influencer Message Cues on Engagement – The Christian Context," *Technological Forecasting and Social Change* 191 (June 2023): 122442, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2023.122442>.

⁶⁶ Yao Qin and Xuehua Wang, "Power Distance Belief and the Desire for Uniqueness," *Journal of Business Research* 160 (May 2023): 113766, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2023.113766>.

⁶⁷ Victoria E. Colvin et al., "Individual Differences in Psychological Rigidity and Beliefs about System Fitness Predict Attitudes about Social Determinants of Disaster Risk," *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction* 95 (September 2023): 103876, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2023.103876>.

⁶⁸ Ranganai Chidembo, Joseph Francis, and Simbarashe Kativhu, "Underlying Beliefs That Influence Solar Home System Adoption in Vhembe District Municipality, South Africa," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 9 (2024): 100754, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100754>.

practices within the community.⁶⁹

Further analyses employing various theoretical frameworks such as symbolism, religious socialization,⁷⁰ and social change theories shed light on the intricate dynamics of religious practices and adaptations within the Wetu Telu Islamic community.⁷¹ These theories help elucidate how religious values and obligations are transmitted,⁷² understood, and internalized within the community.⁷³ providing a deeper understanding of the cultural complexity behind their unique religious practices.⁷⁴

The religious adaptation of the Wetu Telu community reflects the complex interplay between Islam and local values,⁷⁵ presenting challenges amidst social changes and interactions with the majority religion.⁷⁶ While rituals and traditions form a strong foundation for sustainability,⁷⁷ critical analysis underscores the necessity of adjustments to meet contemporary challenges.⁷⁸ This underscores the importance of understanding both external and internal factors influencing the continuity and evolution of this unique religious belief in an ever-changing society.⁷⁹

⁶⁹ Peng Wang and Francisco Olivos, "Where Do Opportunity Beliefs Come from? Implications of Intergenerational Social Mobility for Beliefs about the Distribution System in China," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 89 (February 2024): 100888, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rssm.2024.100888>.

⁷⁰ Olga Oliveira De Araújo et al., "A Comparative Approach Employing Microct For The Analysis Of Cenozoic Foraminifera From The Brazilian Carbonate Equatorial Platform," *Micron*, February 2024, 103611, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.micron.2024.103611>.

⁷¹ Amanuel Gebisa et al., "An Experimental Assessment of Simultaneous Reduction in Vehicle Tailpipe Emissions Employing Desirability Function Analysis," *Cleaner Engineering and Technology*, February 2024, 100731, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clet.2024.100731>.

⁷² Pratyush Anand et al., "Design Analysis and Performance Prediction of Packed Bed Latent Heat Storage System Employing Machine Learning Models," *Journal of Energy Storage* 72 (November 2023): 108690, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.est.2023.108690>.

⁷³ Gowrisetti Nagamani, B. Kiran Naik, and Sumit Agarwal, "Energetic and Exergetic Performance Analyses of Mobile Thermochemical Energy Storage System Employing Industrial Waste Heat," *Energy* 288 (February 2024): 129730, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.energy.2023.129730>.

⁷⁴ Yordan Garbatov, Petar Georgiev, and Dimitar Yalamov, "Risk-Based Retrofitting Analysis Employing the Carbon Intensity Indicator," *Ocean Engineering* 289 (December 2023): 116283, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.oceaneng.2023.116283>.

⁷⁵ Adama Mbaye, Jörn Schmidt, and Marie-Christine Cormier-Salem, "Social Construction of Climate Change and Adaptation Strategies among Senegalese Artisanal Fishers: Between Empirical Knowledge, Magico-Religious Practices and Sciences," *Social Sciences & Humanities Open* 7, no. 1 (2023): 100360, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2022.100360>.

⁷⁶ Thanun Srithongchai and Mohamed B. Gadi, "People's Adaptation to Thermal Conditions inside Buildings for Religious Practice," *Building and Environment* 185 (November 2020): 107115, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.buildenv.2020.107115>.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Davis Smith, Ronald Adam, and Samsul Maarif, "How Social Movements Use Religious Creativity to Address Environmental Crises in Indonesian Local Communities," *Global Environmental Change* 84 (January 2024): 102772, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gloenvcha.2023.102772>.

⁷⁸ Martin Fárek and Artur Boháč, "Asian NRMs in the Czech Republic: Consequences of Their Recognition by State in the Era of Religious Freedom," *Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society* 9, no. 1 (May 30, 2023): 64–92, <https://doi.org/10.30965/23642807-bja10075>.

⁷⁹ Gülcan Bahcecioglu Turan, Esra Yıldız, and Zülfünaz Özer, "The Effects of Strength of Religious Faith on Post-Traumatic Growth in Patients with Epilepsy," *Epilepsy & Behavior* 146 (September 2023): 109343, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.yebeh.2023.109343>.

J. Islamic Religious Education Values: Continuity and Efforts of Islamic Da'wah-Education of Wetu Telu Islam in the Context of the Five-Time Islam

Islamic Religious Education values play a very important role in maintaining the continuity of the Wetu Telu Islamic tradition amid the development of a more comprehensive understanding of Islam in the Sasak community, especially in Bayan. Islamic Religious Education values, which include teachings about honesty, patience, respect for parents, tolerance (*tasamuh*), and self-control (*sabar*), function as a moral and spiritual foundation in the life of the community. These values are not only taught in religious education settings but are also applied in family life and community practices. Character Education Theory, as proposed by James Fowler and Lawrence Kohlberg, emphasizes the importance of values like honesty and self-control in moral development.⁸⁰ In this case, the constant emphasis on Islamic Religious Education helps shape individuals' character within the community, offering ethical guidance and moral support for navigating the complexities of modern life, thereby preserving the foundations laid by Wetu Telu Islam.

Continuity of the Wetu Telu Islam Tradition

Wetu Telu Islam, though increasingly marginalized by a more formal and systematic understanding of Islam through educational institutions, continues to survive through rituals and cultural practices rooted in the community's way of life. Cultural adaptation theory proposed by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu suggests that cultural practices, though influenced by external pressures, tend to endure when deeply embedded within social structures.⁸¹ In the case of Wetu Telu Islam, its close relationship with local culture ensures that it retains a significant place in the lives of the Bayan people. The profound connection of Wetu Telu Islam to the community's traditions creates a resilient cultural identity that resists complete erasure, even as perspectives on religion shift. This form of cultural continuity is essential in preserving a sense of belonging and stability within the community, even in the face of external influences and changing religious perspectives.

⁸⁰ Mary Monalisa Nainggolan and Lamhot Naibaho, "The Integration of Kohlberg Moral Development Theory with Education Character," *Technium Social Sciences Journal* 31 (May 9, 2022): 203–12, <https://doi.org/10.47577/tssj.v31i1.6417>; Ricky Gustiawan, Yeni Erita, and Desyandri, "Pandangan Filsafat Terhadap Pendidikan Karakter Secara Ontologi, Epistemologi, Dan Aksiologi (Studi Literatur)," *Didaktik : Jurnal Ilmiah PGSD STKIP Subang* 8, no. 2 (January 8, 2023): 2537–47, <https://doi.org/10.36989/didaktik.v8i2.570>; Ester A. Tandana, Esti Koku Yowa, and Novida Dwici Yuanri Manik, "CHARACTER EDUCATION IN FORMING STUDENT BEHAVIOR: A Viewpoint of Christian Religious Education Learning," *Didache: Jurnal Teologi Dan Pendidikan Kristiani* 3, no. 2 (July 3, 2022): 161–76, <https://doi.org/10.55076/didache.v4i1.48>.

⁸¹ Wenwen Hu, "Study of Cultural Adaptation in the Context of Intercultural Communication," *International Journal of Education and Humanities* 11, no. 3 (December 13, 2023): 440–43, <https://doi.org/10.54097/ijeh.v11i3.15141>; Manuel Alejandro Giovine and Juan Barri, "La Agencia En La Sociología de Pierre Bourdieu y Anthony Giddens," *Estudios Sociológicos de El Colegio de México* 42 (September 12, 2023): 1–18, <https://doi.org/10.24201/es.2024v42.e2404>.

The Role of Islamic Religious Education Values in the Continuity of Wetu Telu Islam

Islamic Religious Education values play a central role in ensuring the continuity of Wetu Telu Islam by integrating religious teachings into both formal education and everyday practices. Vygotsky's social constructivist theory suggests that knowledge and values are transmitted not only through formal education but also through social interactions and community practices.⁸² In Wetu Telu Islam, religious values are not only taught in madrasas (Islamic schools) but also practiced in family and community life, creating an environment where Islamic Religious Education values such as patience, respect for parents, and tolerance become integral to the social and moral structure of the community. These values act as a bridge, enabling the integration of broader Islamic teachings without erasing the core elements of Wetu Telu Islam. The focus on moral and spiritual formation in Islamic Religious Education allows individuals to embody these principles in their daily lives, which is crucial for sustaining the relevance of Wetu Telu Islam amidst the spread of more formalized Islamic understanding.

Efforts in Education and Da'wah of Five-Time Islam

With the advancement of formal religious education through pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) and higher Islamic educational institutions, da'wah efforts for Five-Time Islam have significantly contributed to shaping the community's understanding of Islam. However, social adaptation theory emphasizes that despite a focus on formal Islamic teachings, traditional practices like Wetu Telu Islam remain, albeit in adapted forms. Educational institutions involved in Five-Time Islam da'wah aim not only to impart religious knowledge but also values such as justice (*adl*), wisdom (*hikmah*), and the pursuit of knowledge (*ilm*), which are essential for personal and social development. Fazlur Rahman's approach to Islamic reform stresses the need for an evolving understanding of Islamic teachings that respects tradition while accommodating modernity.⁸³ The role of Islamic Religious Education is crucial here in bridging the gap between traditional and formal interpretations of Islam, creating a space where Wetu Telu Islamic values can coexist with more structured Islamic education, thereby fostering a more inclusive and adaptable community.

⁸² Sigit Wibowo, Muhammad Nur Wangid, and Fery Muhamad Firdaus, "The Relevance of Vygotsky's Constructivism Learning Theory with the Differentiated Learning Primary Schools," *Journal of Education and Learning (EduLearn)* 19, no. 1 (February 2, 2025): 431–40, <https://doi.org/10.11591/edulearn.v19i1.21197>; Niraj Chaudhary, "Constructivist Pedagogy and ESL Learning in Nepal," *Journal for Research Scholars and Professionals of English Language Teaching* 8, no. 43 (April 1, 2024), <https://doi.org/10.54850/jrspelt.8.43.001>.

⁸³ Encung and Baiq Rida Kartini, "The Urgency of Renewing Islamic Sufism (Neo-Sufism) Fazlur Rahman's Perspective in the Discourse of Modernity," *AL-IKHSAN: Interdisciplinary Journal of Islamic Studies* 1, no. 2 (October 21, 2023): 31–47, <https://doi.org/10.61166/ikhsan.v1i2.12>.

Resilience and Adaptation in the Context of Religious Diversity

The resilience of Wetu Telu Islam lies in its ability to adapt to the changing religious landscape, especially under the influence of Five-Time Islam. Religious diversity theory by Ninian Smart suggests that diverse religious expressions can coexist and enrich one another, especially when there is mutual respect and understanding.⁸⁴ The Bayan community, with its unique culture and practices, has successfully aligned the ritual traditions of Wetu Telu Islam with the broader Islamic teachings of Five-Time Islam.⁸⁵ This adaptation process highlights the role of Islamic education in creating a tolerant and inclusive environment, where traditional practices can coexist with more formal religious teachings. Islamic educational values of tolerance and understanding—key aspects in Islamic Religious Education—help the community maintain its unique cultural identity while engaging with broader Islamic principles. This process ensures that Wetu Telu Islam remains relevant, allowing its adherents to navigate the complexities of religious diversity without losing their spiritual and cultural roots.

In conclusion, Islamic Religious Education values are crucial in maintaining the continuity of Wetu Telu Islam within the Sasak community. While formal religious education through Five-Time Islam has developed, the tradition of Wetu Telu has shown remarkable resilience. This resilience is explained through values taught within Islamic education, which emphasizes both traditional practices and a deeper understanding of Islam. By instilling tolerance, wisdom, and understanding, Islamic Religious Education enables the Bayan community to preserve their cultural identity while adapting to evolving Islamic teachings. The harmony between tradition and modernity within the Sasak community represents a model of religious education that accommodates diverse religious practices and the continuity of local traditions.

K. Conclusions

The religious adaptation of the Wetu Telu community in Lombok, particularly in Bayan Village, illustrates a complex integration of Islamic and local values. Unique adaptations are observed in practices such as the determination of prayer times during festive occasions, the perception of fasting periods, and specific prohibitions during fasting. The Maulid Nabi Adat Bayan tradition further exemplifies syncretism between Islam and local values, creating a distinctive form of local Islam. This blend reflects a dynamic interaction where religious teachings adapt to local cultural frameworks, embodying a unique expression of Islam that aligns with the community's values.

⁸⁴ Amal Alabbad, Jafar Al Saleem, and M. Kabir Hassan, "Does Religious Diversity Play Roles in Corporate Environmental Decisions?," *Journal of Business Research* 148 (September 2022): 489–504, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jbusres.2022.04.058>; Anne Koch, "Cosmopolitan Modes of Governance of Religious Diversity across Europe," *Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society* 6, no. 2 (December 11, 2020): 533–49, <https://doi.org/10.30965/23642807-00602015>.

⁸⁵ Weikang Sun, Zhiqi Wei, and Shixiang Zou, "Exploring the Impact of Religious Diversity on Market Performance and Financial Growth in Developed Economies," *Research in International Business and Finance* 71 (August 2024): 102440, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ribaf.2024.102440>.

The philosophy of “Pantang Melupakan Leluhur” (Never Forget the Ancestors) serves as a foundational aspect of the community’s loyalty to ancestral values, supporting continuity amidst religious and cultural shifts. In this context, the integration of Islamic Religious Education Values: Continuity and Efforts of Islamic Da’wah-Education of Wetu Telu Islam in the Context of the Five-Time Islam plays a critical role. These values emphasize moral integrity, the importance of religious knowledge, and the adaptation of teachings within local traditions, ensuring that the essence of Islamic teachings aligns with cultural practices. This convergence enhances both religious identity and cultural heritage, allowing Wetu Telu to persist as a minority tradition while demonstrating resilience and sustainability in Bayan Village.

However, a critical analysis suggests that adjustments to external factors such as globalization and modernization are necessary to maintain the relevance and development of Wetu Telu amid ongoing social transformations. In navigating this complex adaptation, a profound understanding of both internal cultural values and external pressures becomes essential to appreciate the unique dynamics of religion in this ever-evolving era. Through the continued integration of Islamic Religious Education values, the Wetu Telu community can better navigate and sustain their religious and cultural identity in the face of modernization.

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