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The focus of this journal is to provide readers on understanding of Indonesia and International affairs related to religious literature and heritage and its present developments through publication of articles, research reports, and books reviews.

Heritage of Nusantara specializes in religious studies in the field of literature either contemporarily or classically and heritage located in Southeast Asia. This journal warmly welcomes contributions from scholars of related disciplines.

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## Table of Contents

### Articles

- MODERN GNOSTICS:  
THE PURSUIT OF THE SACRED IN INDONESIAN ISLAM  
*Joel S. Kahn* 171
- SAYYID: “THE STRANGER KING”,  
RELIGION AND TRADITION THE CASE OF CIKOANG  
*Muhammad Hisyam* 195
- TAFSIR AL-MISHBAH* IN THE FRAME WORK OF  
INDONESIAN GOLDEN TRIANGLE *TAFSIRS*:  
A REVIEW ON THE CORRELATION STUDY  
(*MUNASABAH*) OF QUR’AN  
*Hasani Ahmad Said* 211
- BALINESE MINORITY VERSUS SASAK MAJORITY:  
MANAGING ETHNO RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND  
DISPUTES IN WESTERN LOMBOK  
*Erni Budiwanti* 233
- MAINTAINING CULTURAL HERITAGE OF NUSANTARA  
AND ITS RELATIONS TO THE WORLD HERITAGE  
*Lukmanul Hakim* 251
- THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF SUNNISM AND ITS  
RELATION WITH JAVANESE SUFIS  
*Abd. Rachman Mas’ud* 271
- DIALECTIC BETWEEN ISLAMIC LAW AND ADAT LAW  
IN THE NUSANTARA: A REINTERPRETATION OF THE  
TERENGGANU INSCRIPTION IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY  
*Ayang Utriza Yakin* 293

الشيخ متولى الشعراوي وأفكاره حول آيات الجلباب في تفسيره

المعروف وآثاره في إندونيسيا

*ASY SYAIKH MUTAWWALLĪ ASY SYA'RĀWĪ WA AFKĀRUHU  
ḤAULA ĀYĀT AL JILBĀBI FĪ TAFSĪRIHI AL MA'RŪFI WA  
ĀŠĀRIHI FĪ INDŪNĪSIA*

*Zainal Arifin*

313

### **Book Review**

UNDERSTANDING MARITAL DISPUTES MANAGEMENT  
IN RELIGIOUS OFFICE AND *SYARIAH* COURT  
IN MALAYSIA

*Zakiyah*

327

## **BALINESE MINORITY VERSUS SASAK MAJORITY: MANAGING ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY AND DISPUTES IN WESTERN LOMBOK**

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### **Abstract**

*Research upon inter-ethnic and inter-religious relation strongly marked with disparities and conflict are much more extensively done (see Suprpto, 2013, Telle, 2013, Balitbang depag 2006) compared to that of the study on peace and harmony. In other words, analytical reports on inter-religious tolerance and harmony are still relatively rare or less conducted than the one which concentrates more on social conflict. Without intentionally denying the importance of conflict and dispute in the inter ethno-religious studies, this paper tries to focus on the problem of how to maintain social harmony and peace between two groups coming from different ethnic and religious backgrounds. The analysis will particularly look at ritual performances: Puja Wali and Perang Topat held annually at Lingsar village, Lingsat sub-district of West Lombok regency. These ceremonial events have so far been very vital especially in promoting and creating a social atmosphere that upholds mutual-tolerance, mutual-recognition, and mutual respect between the Hindu-Balinese and the Muslim Sasak. Long term sustainability of these ritual activities proves that in addition to, the conflict, harmony, based on the spirit of living co-existently in peaceful circumstances, undeniably becomes an important part of everyday living reality.*

**Keywords:** Muslim Sasak, Hindu-Balinese, Majority, Minority, Rituals, Puja Wali, Perang Topat, Harmony, Tolerance.

### Abstrak

*Realitas penelitian menunjukkan bahwa studi mengenai hubungan antar etnik keagamaan yang melibatkan kesenjangan dan konflik sosial di dalamnya lebih banyak dan marak dilakukan tinjauan, kajian tentang perdamaian, harmoni sosial (lihat Suprpto, 2013, Telle 2013, balitbang depag 2006). Dengan kata lain studi kerukunan antar umat beragama boleh dikatakan masih tergolong langka dibanding studi mengenai konflik sosial. Dengan tidak menafikan realitas konflik yang merupakan gejala serba hadir dalam hubungan antar etnik keagamaan di Lombok, tulisan ini mencoba untuk lebih menitik beratkan pada masalah bagaimana memelihara kerukunan di antara dua kelompok yang berbeda latar belakang etnis, agama, dan bahasa: Hindu-Bali dan Muslim-Sasak. Topik pembahasan terfokus pada ritual Puja Wali (PW) dan Perang Topat (PT) di desa Lingsar, Kecamatan Lingsar, Kabupaten Lombok Barat. Kedua ritual yang sudah dilakukan sejak berabad-abad silam tampaknya memang secara sosio-kultural sengaja dirancang dengan misi menjalin kebersamaan, toleransi, dan perdamaian antar umat beragama. PW dan PT adalah hasil rekonstruksi sosial-budaya budaya yang didemonstrasikan dan dipertontonkan pada khalayak ramai setiap tahunnya untuk menggalakkan semangat persatuan dan toleransi beragama. Puja Wali dan Perang Topat – sebuah tradisi budaya – berfungsi sebagai media sosial untuk menanamkan nilai dan mengembangkan spirit kebersamaan dan solidaritas sosial antar umat. Slogan-slogan sosial seperti: “berbeda tidak harus berpisah”, “berbeda tapi bisa bersatu”, “keyakinan boleh beda, tetapi kebersamaan mesti terjaga demi kelangsungan hidup seterusnya” menjadi pesan moral utama yang selalu dikumandangkan di dalam acara yang berlangsung turun temurun bahkan sebelum Bali menguasai Lombok. Keberlangsungan jangka panjang dari kedua model ritual ini membuktikan bahwa di samping konflik, harmoni sosial yang dilandasi oleh sikap saling menghargai satu sama lain merupakan bagian dari realitas sosial sehari-hari yang tidak bisa dipungkiri keberadaannya.*

**Kata Kunci:** *Islam Sasak, Hindu-Bali, Mayoritas, Minoritas, Ritual, Puja Wali, Perang Topat, Toleransi, Harmoni.*

### A Glimpse on Social, Geographical, and Historical Setting

Bali and Lombok are two islands within the ranges of the Lesser Sunda Islands. Both places are adjacent which is separated by the Lombok strait. Lombok is only around 70 miles or 112 kilometres away to the east of the resort oasis of Bali. It takes around less than half an hour journey by flight or 3 hours by ferry to Lombok from Bali. Many people view Lombok as the “other” exotic tourist island to visit in Indonesia. Its blues oceans, sand beaches, and green volcano crater lakes, Mount Romani, are only part of tourist attractions out of many more unexplored enchant-

ments. This gives the idea that Lombok is a potential competitor of Bali, and nearly similar to Bali, Lombok also offers enormous touristic attractions ranging from nature to culture.

Lombok is frequently taken as a model of religious, ethnic, and lexical diversities. Sasak Muslims are the indigenous and the majority inhabitants who constitute around 87 percent of the three million population of the island. Lombok is the biggest ethnic and religious minority group who make up around 7 percent whereas other ethnic minorities i.e Balinese, Sumbawanese, Bugis, Javanese, Arabs, and Chinese make up around 6 % and contribute to overall Lombok's cultural pluralism. The Sasak's claim over Lombok as *gumi Sasak* (earth belongs to Sasak) is not only meant to mark their nativity, but also stronger attachment to this island compared to other ethnic groups claimed as late comers after the native islanders occupied the island over centuries, and they are thus recognised as *pendatang* (migrants).

Territorial expansion and occupation on the Sasak's land marked the early migration of Balinese in Lombok. The Gelgel dynasty had launched attack to the native Sasak kingdoms, Selaparang in 1616 and 1624, and were unsuccessful to overthrow the indigenous ruler, the Selaparang royal kingdom. It was not until 1675 when Anak Agung Ngurah from Karang Asem of East Bali launched attack to Selaparang, and was finally successful in defeating and gaining control over this royal territory. In later years, Balinese were also successful in occupying the territorial domain of other local rulers (*Datu*): the Pejanggik, the Pagutan, and the Pagesangan. Disunity among the local kingdoms was manipulated by the neighbouring Balinese ruler, Anak Agung Ngurah from Karangasem to gain control over them. He eventually became the new rulers of Lombok in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century after conquering the divided Sasak kingdoms.

The Balinese kings mainly controlled the West and parts of North and Central Lombok for more than three centuries- from 1672 to 1894. However, due to internal disputes and rivalries within the Balinese royal family members, the Karang Asem aristocracy was eventually divided its dominion into 5 territorial kingships:



1. Anak Agung Ngurah Made controlled Singasari with Cakra-negara as its central royal government;
2. Anak Agung Nyoman Karang controlled the Pagesangan;
3. Anak Agung Wayan Sidemen reigned the Pagutan;
4. Anak Agung Bagus Jelantik headed the Mataram;
5. Anak Agung Ketut Rai led the Sengkongo.

The Dutch replaced Balinese ruler when they sided with the Sasaks and defeated the Balinese in bloody battles. Despite losing their political grip and privileged status under Dutch colonial rule, and becoming a religious and ethnic minority in Lombok, the remaining Balinese considered Lombok as new homeland. In other words nearly all of them preferred to stay in Lombok rather than sailed back to their native island.

Under the Dutch rule and conquest, the eastern islands of Indonesia were joined to form the Lesser Sunda islands Province (*Provinsi Sunda Kecil*) that comprised Bali, Lombok, and other small isles in eastern Indonesia (Sumbawa, Alor, Solor, Timor). In the early post-independence era represented by the Old Order regime with its Guided Democracy system (1959-1969), in 1959 the *Provinsi Sunda Kecil* was split into three provinces: Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur. Ever since then Lombok and Sumbawa islands have been incorporated or joined together to form NTB (Nusa Tenggara Barat) Province.

Territorial conquest proves not to be the sole factor leading to the Balinese movement in Lombok. Natural disaster also gives another reason for Balinese to move to Lombok, increasing further its population number. The eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 drove Balinese refugees from the eastern side of the island to Lombok as a safe haven that was also economically promising. Additional voluntary migrations occurred in later years strengthened and increased Balinese communities in Lombok.

Apart from the forced occupation on the Sasak's land, the Balinese ruler had enriched considerably to the Lombok's important cultural heritage. Beautiful ornamental temples and shrines, built during the Balinese reign between 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, now become the centres of tourism attraction in Lombok. Some of them are:

1. Pura Meru, the biggest temple in Lombok located at Cakranegara district Pura Suranadi;
2. Pura Kalasa Narmada built by Anak Agung Ngurah in 1720;
3. Pura Lingsar built by Anak Agung Ngurah in 1710.

All the above temples are worshipping places considered sacred and sustain the Balinese religiosity and unity in Lombok. The Balinese express their religious commitment and strengthen their emotional attachment with other Balinese at these temples. A shared feeling of common ancestry, ethnicity, language and religious practices have integrated the Lombok Balinese.

Balinese conquerors also inherited fascinating royal parks which are now taken care by the regency governments and become important tourism icons of West Nusa Tenggara. These among others are:

- a) Taman Mayora at Cakranegara sub-district of Mataram city;
- b) Taman Narmada, at Lembuah village, Narmada sub-district of West Lombok regency;
- c) Taman Suranadi at Selat village, Narmada sub-district of West Lombok regency;
- d) Taman Lingsar at Lingsar village, Lingsar sub-district of West Lombok regency.

Each royal garden has a temple, and both the garden and the temple bear a single name i.e.: Pura Mayura, Pura, Narmada, Pura Suranadi, and Pura Lingsar. The three parks - Mayura, Meru, and Lingsar will be highlighted and given a more detail examination, since they expose inter ethno-religious ties between Muslims and Hindus.

Mayura Park was built in 1744 during the period of King Anak Agung Ngurah Made from Karangasem. It is located at Cakranegara, around 2.5 kilometres from Mataram- the provincial town of NTB. The original name of Mayura was *Kelepug*. In Balinese' ears *Kelepug*, *Kelepug* were the dripping voices of the water spring, and this gave the reason for the Balinese Raja to call it *Kelepug*. Only after the King renovated the park in 1866, he then changed its name to Mayura, a Sanskrit word, meaning peacock. An informant depicted that previously this recreational park used to be inhabited

by lot of snakes making people who wanted to pray at the temple's park had to be careful and uneasy to pass this place. Once upon a time, a hajj (Pak Haji) from Palembang visited the King and brought peacocks to him as a gift to brighten up and beautify the park. Besides enliven the parks, very unexpectedly the peacocks were also happening to be the natural predators of the snakes. The King was so delighted by the gifts since the peacocks were not only beautifying the park, but also cleared it up from dangerous creature at the same time. As a result, the King then replaced the name of *Kelepug* to *Mayura*. *Mayura* is a Sanskrit, meaning peacock, conveying the King's sentimental remembrance on the peacocks as well as his gratefulness to the royal guest giving him the peacocks. A statue of Pak Haji wearing a hajj cap was also erected near the Bale *Kambang*. Ever since then *Mayura* Park has also been widely known as a symbol of inter ethno-religious friendship, besides its beauty as a recreational site.

A rectangular pond was built around this spring, located precisely at the centre of the park. In the middle of the pond stood a building called bale *kambang* (floating open hall). During the Dutch, *bale kambang* was used as a court of justice to judge and define the sentence upon those committing crime.

Pura Meru is the largest and second most important Hindu temple in Lombok. It was built in 1720 by Anak Agung Made Karangasem, and dedicated to the Hindu trinity of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. This temple is consists of three main yards (Nista Mandala, Madya Mandala and Utama Mandala). From the three parts of the temple, the most sacred temple is Utama Mandala where the three Meru and 33 *sangguh* (small shrines) are located. The three Merus consist of the central Meru, with 11 tiers, is dedicated to Shiva, the Meru to the north with nine tiers is dedicated to Vishnu's; and the seven-tiered Meru to the south is for Brahma. The Meru also represents three sacred mountains: Semeru in Java, Agung in Bali, and Rinjani in Lombok. Every yard is divided by brick wall that has two wooden doors with Balinese engrave.

The 33 small shrines are the symbols of 33 Balinese villagers who helped Anak Agung Made Karangasem to build the temple. In Madya Mandala, a two story gazebo is located and used as

negotiating point. The Nista Mandala has no gazebo; it is a place for displaying artistic performances such as dances accompanied with traditional musical orchestra (*gamelan*).

Anak Agung Made Karangasem also built a mosque to the North of Meru, Masjid Al Ihsan, not long after he married Datu Dinde Nawangsari, a Muslim Sasak noble. This mosque was built as a present for his Muslim wife and a symbol marking the co-religious existence and harmony between Hindu and Muslim in Lombok. Up until now the mosque is mostly used by Muslims living around the Cakranegara district. Some people consider that his marriage with a Sasak and the mosque he built were all intended to gain wider sympathy from the Muslims, especially since he faced a rebellion from Sasak local rulers who challenged his hegemony.

The Meru and the Mayura are both tangible cultural heritages left by Balinese rulers that serve as historical evidence on the inter-connection between Hindu and Islam in Lombok. The Lingsar activity, described below, gives more articulation upon the relation between Balinese Hindus and the Sasak Muslims in ritual sphere.

Until today the Balinese have been living side by side with the Sasaks peacefully for more than six generations and they speak Sasak dialect very fluently. The Lombok Balinese predominantly continue to practice Hinduism, while Islam, of course, is the dominant religion of the Sasak. The two groups devote themselves to distinct religious ideas and events held according to their own specific lunar calendars. This gives Lombok diversity within its population. The Balinese appear to have integrated peacefully with the Sasak despite a violent history between them.

The history of conflict among Lombok's main ethno-religious groups in the past, the Sasak Muslims and Balinese Hindus, has been all but erased by unprecedented tolerance and harmony. The relationship between the two ethno-religious groups is maintained or preserved or refreshed by annual ritual practices held in Lingsar, called the Pujawali and Perang Topat, as noted below. It is a lesson learnt for the rest of Indonesia, which is experiencing a rise in religious and ethnic violence and intolerance. The religious festival at Pura Lingsar Temple named *Perang Topat* held to symbolize

Hindu-Islam tolerance, and it is therefore a reaffirmation of their mutual respect and harmony.

### **Genealogical, Historical, and Spatial Identities**

Long history of Balinese occupation, the increasing numbers of Balinese migration leading to the high growth of their residential complexes in Lombok have both contributed significantly to the identification of '*Balok*' - *orang Bali Lombok* (Lombok people of Balinese origin). *Balok* refers both to spatial and cultural identities. It represents Bali and Lombok as localities as well as the ancestral of origin or the predecessors who previously had lived in Bali and then moved to the adjacent island for over than three centuries ago. Bali is viewed as the ancestral home, while Lombok is seen as current place where the newer generation of Balinese migrants were born and make their living. This explains why the *Balok*, due to their "new" locality, to some extent see themselves differently from that of the Balinese settling in Bali though they derive from a common ancestral of origin. Though genealogically they are tied with common ancestor of origin and religion with the Balinese in Bali, this does not deny the opportunity that they might develop specific culture that might be quite different in expression from where they originally belong to. This situation coincides with King's (1985: 31) remarks based on his research finding in Kalimantan: "socio cultural identification relies considerably on the degree of contrast in which people intend to make and on the spatial context from where they claim a particular identity". "People consciously develop their spatial identity and identify themselves as belonging or being attached to a new environment" (Kim 2007:94-95).

The way to identify "who we are" (the self) and "who they are" (the other) tend to be socio-historically, culturally, and spatially constructed. In other words, history, genealogy, and geography can be among the important elements in making significant contributions to the formation of their identity. And so for the identity construction of Balinese in Lombok, it cannot be entirely detached from the ancient collective memories of long periods of subjugation, domination, and overthrow. The historical legacy of Balinese conquest and war with the native rullers i.e Sasak kingdoms, and

the fight against the Dutch who finally took over the Balinese' grip upon Lombok had given both a sense of triumph and failure. Historical narratives recounted back by some historians (Kraan 20, Heidergal 20) reveal that Balinese were outsiders conquering and inhabiting the neighbouring island by force for three centuries, and who were eventually had to give in their power to external forces. The Balinese in Lombok possess a traversing multiple histories of past and present, here and there, land of origin and present residence. To conclude both Bali and Lombok have given spatial and genealogical identities as parts of the Lombok inhabitants of Balinese origin.

The way we recognise ourselves and others seems not to be socially static, but runny and dynamic. On one hand, the Balinese are often identified as hard workers, artistic in their religious expression as it often involves traditional music (*gamelan*), dancing, flowery and fruity offerings. Sasak often call them *semeton Bali* (distant relative) since they have been residing in Lombok for quite centuries, some of them were even married with the locals and join with the Sasak in one neighbourhood complex. Karang Raden residential complex located in Tanjung sub-district of North Lombok; Puyung and Bon Jeruk sub-districts of Central Lombok, Karang Bayan of West Lombok are among the living neighbourhoods where Balinese blend with the Sasak. Consequently, inter-marriage between these ethno-religious groups often take place in this island.

Apart from the cross-marriages that often takes place resulting hibridity of offsprings and cultural expression, some of the Sasak are likely to call Balinese in Lombok as the occupants of somebody else's lands. In Sasak dialect this is called *nyodok*. This leads to my conclusion that embedded in the Balinese' identity formation is either a constructive or a critical connotation, depending considerably on which historical phases they attempt to put an emphasis on.

## **A Shared Religious Site: Managing Past Hostilities and Current Relationship**

Balinese and Sasak have attempted to bridge their ethno-religious differences as well as their mutually hostile relationship in the past by sharing a ritual site at Kemaliq, and conduct a joint ritual activities at this sacred place. Kemaliq is located at Lingsar village, a sub-district of West Lombok regency, and it is the only prayer site in Lombok which is shared among Balinese, Sasak Muslims, Chinese Buddhists, any other groups by any religious affiliations. Prior to the Balinese rule in Lombok, the Kemaliq was used exclusively by Sasak Muslim. The Kemaliq is at the location of water spring venerated both by the Sasak and the Balinese. The incumbent or the eighth caretaker of the Kemaliq, Pemangku Suparman, recounted that prior to the reign of the Balinese Raja, its architectural design was very simple: bamboo walls, a thatched roof and bamboo fence. When the Balinese Raja first landed on Lombok, he toured Lingsar and was enchanted by the water spring and green valley with rice cultivation surrounding the Kemaliq. At that time, the Kemaliq was taken care of by the third Pemangku. The Raja then made a promise that one day he would come back, and if he succeeded in taking control of Lombok, he would rebuild the Kemaliq into a permanent building. When the Balinese finally did take control of the island around eighteenth century, the Raja's son, who had succeeded him as ruler, fulfilled his father's promise to rebuild the Kemaliq with bricks and mortar.

The Balinese Raja also built a small rectangular enclosed pond around the water spring at the Kemaliq that was devoted to Dewa or Betare Wisnu. They devote the spring to Betare Wisnu, or the "Lord of the Water," one of the Hindu's trinity symbolizing fertility and prosperity. The Balinese also named the water spring "*peganggan*," referring to Gangga, of the Ganges River, India's sacred waterway.

Unlike their Balinese counterparts, the local Sasak believe that the revered 13th-century Javanese Muslim scholar, Raden Mas Sumilir who brought Islam to Lombok, is the spring's creator, and it is a sacred site. Local narratives say that prior to Sumilir's arrival, Lingsar was barren land. After Sumilir, who was also known as Haji Abdul Malik, struck his wooden cane against the ground, the

story goes, water gushed out and transformed Lingsar into a productive agricultural area, primarily for rice farming.

*Sumilir* derives from Javanese word *Silir-Silir* literally means cool breeze. The name marks his benevolence and gentleness in the way he converted the locals. Meanwhile, his other name, Haji<sup>1</sup> Abdul Malik, marks the religious significance of making pilgrimage to the holy land i.e. Mecca. In conducting his mission, Raden Mas Sumilir was assisted by Raden Mas Kertapati and by Dewi Anjani. Raden Mas Kertapati bears an honorific title as Kiai Haji Abdur Rauf. The locals believe that Raden Mas Kertapati travelled further to Bali to spread Islam at this place, while Dewi Anjani went to Mount Rinjani to Islamize all the guardian spirits (*jinn*) inhabited this mountain.

Adjacent to the sacred pond is the main prayer ground equipped with an altar. The altar consists of 40 erect stones wrapped in white cloths and tied with yellow cotton. The Hindu and the Muslims perform ritual prayer interchangeably facing to these stones altar. Stone altars are sacred religious site which can also be found at other graveyards or shrines elsewhere in Lombok, revered by nominal Muslims, Sasak Boda, and Hindu Balinese. In Balinese belief, stones symbolically mark a sustainable links between descendants and their venerated ancestors. The pond and the altar are adjacent and become sacred unit of the Kemaliq. For the Balinese their devotion to this unit is intended to the Batara Gede Lingsar (Harnish: 2006) while for the Sasak is to the Islamic proselytizer, Raden Mas Sumilir, who was believed to *moksa* (disappear) at this site after completing his mission.

The Balinese Raja also built *pancuran* (water spouts) inside the Kemaliq by channelling the water from the main water spring. Two *pancuran* sections were each divided by a wall i.e. *pancuran empat* (four water spouts) at the east side, and *pancuran lima* (five water spouts) at the west part. The two are equipped with prayer ground and small shrine. The total number of the spouts are 9, considered by Muslims as sacred number (*angka keramat*).

Outside the Kemaliq, The Balinese Raja also built separately the *pancuran siwaq mame* (nine water spouts for men's public bath) on the east, and *pancuran siwak nine* (nine water spouts for women)



on the west part. Again, the divided women and men section of each water spouts outside the kemaliq for public baths is 9.

According to Mangku Suparman, the sacredness of number nine for Islam is reflected on

- a. the 99 God's beautiful names (*Asmaul Husna*);
- b. *Ramadhan* (fasting month) is the 9th month of Islamic lunar calendar (*penanggalan Qomariyah*);
- c. the hajj (pilgrimage) starts on the 9th of Dzul Hijjah;
- d. the *Wali Songo* or the 9 Javanese Islamic evangelists who successfully converted Javanese in majority into Islam;
- e. God creation of 9 holes on human's body: 2 ears, 2 eyes, 2 nose trills, 1 mouth/throat, 1 genital, 1 anus;
- f. Any number multiplied by 9, and the result of such multiplication when they are added will return to 9. For example:  $9 \times 73 = 657$ ,  $6+5+7=18$ ,  $1+8=9$ ).

Those who make a special visit to the Kemaliq to pay tribute, regardless of their religion, believe that the water spring, the pond, and water fountains built by the Raja, are and contain healing power. They will drink, rub their forehead, hair and face with this holy water, and take some home with them in a plastic bottle. Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists and Christians with syncretised beliefs often pray at the altar and fountain to heal their sickness or to take it for other worldly purposes. They place *rampek* (flower petals) at the fountains before making special requests through prayers.

The Balinese and Sasak have different mythologies and legends concerning the venerated figure blessed by the Kemaliq, but the differences do not lessen their mutual respect and tolerance for each other's beliefs. This justifies a point made by Adrian Vickers (1985):

In oral tradition, it is usual to have a variety of legends regarding a community's origin. Heterogeneity and lack of congruence means that different stories can be used in different context.

The Kemaliq is a worthy religious spot enabling both religious groups to meet and share this place, and even hold collaborative ritual performances, explained below, to foster constructive relationship and ignoring violent hostilities in the colonial past.

## Puja Wali and Rice Cake ‘War’

Local legend holds that *Perang Topat* was originally created by Sumilir, the Javanese saint, to weaken the power struggles among local Sasak rulers. In the era of Balinese control, the Balinese kings helped to reconstruct *Perang Topat* as a cultural way of reviving inter-religious harmony and tolerance between the Sasak and Balinese.

Previously, the ritual was intended to end enmity within the Sasak community by way of a symbolic war and re-establish relationships to promote social unity, security and prosperity. Battles are usually synonymous with anger and violence –a physical clash between two parties in dispute. But in Lombok *Perang Topat*, which involves hundreds of Balinese and Sasaks on rival sides, gives no impression of being fierce or hostile. On the contrary, the tradition is performed annually to strengthen harmony between the Muslim and Hindu communities.

The village holds *Perang Topat* on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the seventh month of the Lombok Sasak calendar, or *purnama sasih kepitu* (the full moon of the seventh month); in the Balinese Hindu calendar, this corresponds to the 15th day of the sixth month, or *purnama sasi keenem* (the full moon of the sixth month) upon which they usually hold an *Odalan* festival to celebrate the anniversary of a temple. The Sasak communities from remote areas around Lingsar village organize the ritual.

The *topat* (rice cakes) were mostly prepared by Sasak communities from remote areas around Lingsar village. Besides the *topat*, other offerings prepared for the procession into the Kemaliq are the *Kebon Odek*, *Pesaji*, and *botal momot*. With a *Kebon Odek* offering, one male is symbolized by a pineapple, and one female is symbolized by a papaya fruit. *Kebon Odek* literally means “miniature garden.” The male and female *Kebon Odek* symbolizes binary opposition but mutually dependency: man and woman, body and soul, soil and rain. The female symbolizes the earth, while the male represents the sky with rain falling. Fertile soil coupled with the availability of rain is extremely important for rice cultivation. The coupling of *Kebon Odek* (female and male) symbolizes fertility and prosperity.

The *botol momot* is an empty bottle wrapped in leaves and thread. It is carried along with the topat and Pesaji procession, re-stored in the kemaliq. It will be opened after the *beteteh* or the final day of procession at Sarasutra river. The liquid on the bottle was a result of condensation after being wrapped for three days, and was considered sacred. The Pemangku usually mixed this liquid with the water taken from the spring, before distributing it to them. The ritual attendants, Sasak and Balinese, who stored it in small bottle to take it home. The locals associate the amount of water with the quantity of rainfall on the following year, and thus with the fertility and prosperity.

The *Pesaji* are food offerings placed in clay trays consist of steamed rice and side dishes like meat cooked in coconut milk, and sate. Other *Pesaji* contains all sorts of ripe fruits, like rambutan, banana, and oranges. All the food offering (*Pesaji*) are subordinate to the Kebon Odeq. The *Pesaji* have to be served in the increments of 9. On the first day there are nine *Pesaji*, on the second day they make 18, and on the third they provided 27 *Pesaji*. The 9 bamboo spears for the Kebon Odeq and increment of 9 in the *Pesaji* represent the numerological significance of 9 as sacred number (*angka keramat*) as mentioned above.

Once the offerings have been prepared, they are brought inside the Kemaliq building in a procession accompanied by traditional musical instruments of *Gendang Beleq*. The encircling of all the offerings (ketopat, Kebon Odeq, *Pesaji*, *botol momot*) inside the Kemaliq courtyard for three times is symbolic representation of tracing back the Wali steps (*napak tilas jejak Wali*). It is the essential part of *Pujawali*. *Pujawali* derives from the words *Puja* meaning to adore, while *Wali* is God's messengers. In *Pujawali*, the Sasak Muslims of Lingsar commemorate the epic journey of Raden Mas Sumilir, a Javanese Wali, who brought Islam to Lombok and successfully converted the locals. For the Hindu-Balinese, *Puja* means to worship and *Wali* derives from *mewali* meaning to return to. Thus for them, *Pujawali* means returning act to worship God and gods again and again. After the rice cake war, they will hold the *odalan* or ritual marking the anniversary of the Gaduh temple.

As the procession continues, thousands of local residents and visitors wait in the Kemaliq yard for the *topat* to be distributed. The battle begins at four pm, a time known within the Sasak community as *rarak kembang waru* (when the flowers of the hibiscus trees begin to fall). During the past 15 years, the *Perang Topat* has become a popular tourist event, with the West Lombok district chief opening war by symbolically throwing the first piece of rice cake in the outer courtyard of Kemaliq. This is the only war in the world fought without hatred, victims and casualties, and the only one symbolizing brotherhood and tolerance. It is also the only one where rice cakes replace bullets –and not just any rice cake. Unlike ordinary *topat*, which is rectangular in shape, the rice cake used in the “battle” ritual is five-sided and called *ketopat*. The numerological significance of 5 is associated with the five Islamic tenets. The community believes throwing *ketopat* at each other can bring blessings. After the battle, both sides collect the thrown *ketopat* and dump them in the rice field, given local farmers’ belief that it makes the land more fertile. Some hang the rice cake on the roofs of their houses as an offering for prosperity and wealth, or take it to local markets in hopes that business will grow.

The end of Puja Wali and Perang Topat is marked by the throwing of all leftover offerings into the Sarasutra, a nearby river. This ceremony is called the *beteteh*. It is also the time when the Pemangku will open the *botol momot*. The liquid was shared amidst the Balinese and Sasak after being mixed with eater in the sacred spring. People usually put the liquid distributed by Pemangku Sasak in a small bottle and take it home.

Inter-religious relationship is expressed on a symbolic level through a collaborative ritual performed at Pura Lingsar, which is a half Hindu, half Sasak Muslim temple. Perang Topat literally means a fight marked by the throwing of *topat* (rice cake wrapped in coconut leaves) between fighters coming from different ethno-religious backgrounds: the Balinese and the Sasak. Pura Lingsar becomes a shared sacred site during this yearly ceremony, with the Balinese and Sasak affirming their religious partnership by performing the ritual together.

## Concluding Remarks

The historical migrations of the Balinese were not a mere expansion of their Hindu culture. It created a new bicultural identity of Lombok people of Balinese origin (*Balok*). The Balinese in Lombok differentiated themselves, not just from their home island but also from their new neighbours, the Sasak. Yet they participate in a shared cultural festival at a shared sacred site at Lingsar, something that does not go on back home in Bali. The Pura Lingsar Temple is a witness of the long, historical existence of the Balinese in Lombok and their relationship with the Sasak.

The shift of territorial boundary from Bali to Lombok has not only brought them into the sustenance and continuity of their own culture, but also a hybrid with other culture. Though living as minority they do not experience a sense of disengagement or alienation from the larger culture. The flow of Balinese culture has even enriched the cultural diversity of Lombok and added to the complexity of inter-ethnic relations. The complexity is expressed in the way both groups “negotiate others” by incorporating some elements of local culture into their own. This marks the influence of the outside culture into their own and the two merges resulting in a mixed tradition i.e. the rice cake war.

The collaborative ritual performances exercised by both Balinese and Sasak serve to justify Gottowik’s statement that “cultures are always inter-connected through a flow or mobility of actors, commodities, artefacts, ideas, and beliefs. Balinese and Sasak both perceive their culture as a result of exchange and interaction.” (2010: 3).

*Perang Topat* serves as a model for mutual understanding and shared excitement since, for a moment, religious and ethnic differences are set aside. On one level it is a respected religious tradition, and on another it has been embraced as a shared cultural celebration. Ethnic and religious differences in Lombok have been managed and reconciled through the symbolic medium of this ritual. It helps to revitalize the cultural identity of each group. At the same time, it is also a shared collective image of one Indonesia despite its differences.

Indonesia's need for national unity while maintaining cultural pluralism is crucial. The sustainability of Indonesia's nation building project relies on national integration while preserving the integrity and heterogeneity of all ethno-religious groups. Cultural festivals such as *Perang Topat* is one symbolic way of touting both Indonesia's spirit of cohesion and its individuality. It helps further promote Lombok as a diverse but unified multicultural society.

## Endnote

<sup>1</sup> Religious title given to a man who has conducted pilgrimage is Haji, and Hajjah to a woman.

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Jensen, L.R. (12 Dec 1995). Recommendation of student radio/tv in English. *LASTAR* [online]. Available from: Listserv@ftp.nrg.dtu.dk [Accessed 29 Apr 1996].

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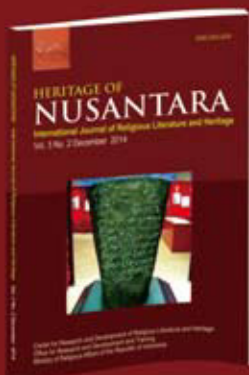
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*Abd. Rachman Mas'ud*

Dialectic Between Islamic Law and Adat Law in the Nusantara: A Reinterpretation of the Terengganu Inscription in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century

*Ayang Utriza Yakin*

الشيخ متولى الشعراوي وأفكاره حول آيات الجلباب في تفسيره المعروف وأثره في إندونيسيا

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