

Wetu Telu as a Local Identity of the Sasak ethnic Group on Globally Cultural Endeavour in Lombok

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This paper aims to examine the Wetu Telu as the local identity of Sasak ethnic group on globally cultural endeavour in Lombok. The Wetu Telu tradition has been inherited down from many generations by Sasak ethnic groups, and has experienced a cultural endeavour in the era of globalisation, because it was considered not in accordance with the teachings of Islam in general. The endeavour arises between the ethnic Sasak group who want to maintain the Wetu Telu tradition as a local identity and those who want to apply Islamic culture in general. The endeavour raises concerns about the extinction of the Wetu Telu tradition and the Sasak ethnic group losing their identity. The issue that arises in this case is how Sasak people can maintain their local wisdom so as not to lose their identity. To analyse and explain the Wetu Telu culture as a local identity of the Sasak ethnicity, qualitative research methods were used to reveal the Wetu Telu cultural meaning as a Sasak identity and explain the rise of Sasak local wisdom in Lombok in the midst of globalisation. Qualitative research methods in this case use the historical paradigm, the theory of multiculturalism and the theory of hegemony. This research will be able to reveal the background of the Wetu Telu culture, the endeavour of identity and the rise of the Wetu Telu as the Sasak identity. The results of this study describe the emergence of Cultural Islam as a cultural adaptation between the Wetu Telu and the teachings of Islam in general.

Key words: *Wetu Telu, Identity and Endeavour.*

Introduction

The island of Lombok, which is a small island that lies east of Bali, is inhabited by the Sasak Ethnic people most of whom are Moslem and inherit the Wetu Telu culture. In conducting research, we witness Lombok as being in a stage of social change between the Wetu Telu tradition and the process of globalisation. Local perspectives considering artistic values based

on locality need to be approved as a source of local wisdom and designated as community identity (Jaeni, 2017). Based on the above view, the Wetu Telu tradition which has been inherited from many generations can be considered as a local identity of the Sasak ethnic people and needs to be maintained in the global era. The Wetu Telu tradition has shaped the mental attitude and social behavior of the Lombok people to make their own distinctiveness which is not shared by other ethnic groups. Globalisation, which wants to develop a global culture in the field of religion and community life, emphasises the freedom to develop ideas in the field of religion and way of life.

Zuhdi (2012), said that the emergence of Islam from the beginning, and which will continue until the end of time, has faced some differences in values that are contradicted by local traditions and culture. This is based on that view in Lombok there was a response and also acceptance of cultural globalisation in Islam. Resistance occurs in the application of cultural symbols, such as ways of dressing, marriage procedures, ritual tradition oriented to Islamic culture in general. Reception occurs in the principles of Islamic religion with the obligation to carry out prayers five times, so that in Lombok almost all Moslems who maintain the Wetu Telu tradition carry out the five-time prayer. Reception has led to cultural adaptations that create the concept of cultural Islam.

Cultural homogeneity has become a trend of Islam both in the form of buildings and in the way of dressing that is based on Arabic culture. This state of affairs impacts upon the Sasak ethnic group influencing them to accept the principle of Islamic universalism as a Sasak Islamic identity, so that the interest of the Sasak ethnic group will lose its identity. The concern has triggered the revival of local wisdom within the Wetu Telu tradition, since the identity of the Sasak ethnic group in Lombok cannot be separated from the wisdom of the Wetu Telu tradition, because of the fact that the Wetu Telu tradition only exists in Lombok.

The adherents of the Wetu Telu tradition believe that traditional behaviours are considered as a religion, so they called their version of Islam Wetu Telu. On the other hand the beliefs related to praying five times, are considered religion, which is called the Islam Waktu Lima this being a peculiarity for the people of Lombok because, only in Lombok are there the differing of Islam Waktu Lima and Islam Wetu Telu. The Islam Wetu Telu is a Moslem who retains the Wetu Telu culture but must do the Solat five times which is still done as an Islamic requirement. The five-time prayer obligation consists of Ishya, Subuh, Lohor, Adzar, and Magrib, so that it is abbreviated as Islam.

There is a very strong view in Lombok, that the Wetu Telu tradition is against the Islamic religion, therefore the tradition of the Wetu Telu must be abolished. On the other hand there are those who argue that the Wetu Telu must be recognized as a cultural identity that shows the existence of the Sasak ethnic group in Lombok. Both views constitute an endeavour

between considering both the importance of showing a universal Islamic religious identity, with an interest in maintaining a local identity

From the discussion that arises, there is conflict about the Wetu Telu, and how the background appears; whether the Wetu Telu is cultural or religious. To explain and analyse the Wetu Telu as an identification is to trace the background and concept of the Wetu Telu. To analyze Wetu Telu as Sasak Identity with the pressure of focusing upon universalism, the theory of multiculturalism is employed which controls synchudicativeaccomudativeism and the theory of cultural hegemony.

This paper aims to understand and represent religion and culture as like the opposite sides of the one coin. When the beliefs of the community are related to the Wetu Telu tradition, the Wetu Telu tradition can be called a culture, and its belief compilation can be approved by the community to support the prayer, and then the Sasak people have adhered the teaching of Islam.

Research Method

The research method as a scientific effort is a process of obtaining data, finding objects using logical principles to explain and validate the truth (Garraghan and Gilbert, 1957). The object of this research is the Wetu Telu as Sasak Identity in the endeavour amidst the current globalisation of Islam. Based on the facts about the Wetu Telu tradition in Lombok, data on the development of the Wetu Telu, as well as its implementation in the Sasak community in Lombok, was designed through interviews and written sources.

The interview in this case is an attempt to find and obtain holistic data information, regarding views and opinions on the tradition of Wetu Telu, as well as the implementation of the Wetu Telu tradition in the Sasak community on Lombok. Therefore qualitative research methods are the main reference for obtaining data, since qualitative methods are research methods that discuss how to design, design research using scientific interpretations (Satori and Komariah, 2010).

Although qualitative research is a description but this research is more than just describing reality, it is trying to find and search the meaning behind that reality (Ratna, 2010). To get an overview of the history of discussing the Wetu Telu tradition in Lombok, documented historical evidence, as well as local sources recorded on palm-leaf are needed. In this particular study library research methods are the main reference in obtaining data.

Library research is a research method for gathering sources, seeking research information to understand the term of Islam Wetu Telu and implementing it in the Sasak community on

Lombok. To parse and apply data or required information is needed a theory as the tool of analysis. In analysing the phenomenon of the Wetu Telu tradition in Lombok, the theory used is the multicultural theory and the theory of hegemony. Multicultural theory is a theory that has implications for the reception of cultural differences or acceptance of cultural diversity between groups with minority groups (Ritzer, 2004). Hegemony theory is a form of social bond that contains power and bonds that are controlled by the ideology of power that controls the social level (Hassan, 2011)

Results and Discussion

The Term of Wetu Telu and Its Implementation

The discussion about the term of Wetu Telu and the term of Waktu Telu refers to historical sources, which can be used as the source of analysis. The term of Wetu Telu and Islam Waktu Telu are the results of an analysis referring to history that can be traced back through palm-leaf manuscript sources such as Babad Lombok, Geguritan Nurcaya Nursada, and Dutch sources in the forms of compilation of notes and field observations during the Dutch colonial government in Lombok.

In some Dutch writings, like, Haar, (1925) "Weefsels van Time Teloe op Lombok". TBG, LXV, 1925. J.B. Bakker, "memorie van Overgave", van de aftredend Controleur van Oost Lombok. Bestuurs period: March 5, 1936-20 June 1936. De aftredendfd. Controleur van Oost Lombok, (1932) stated that East Lombok developed the Islam Waktu Telu which carried out prayers only three times namely Subuh, Isa, and Magrib. It was the Dutch writers who found the term Islam Waktu Telu. An important question for the term of Islam Waktu Telu, for Dutch writers emerged because of the field practice that invited Sasak people doing prayers only three times daily.

The rationale of the local writer the term, Wetu Telu, appears based on local sources with the analysis "wetu" which means "to appear", and "telu" which means "three", so the Wetu Telu means a combination of three understandings of teaching. Thus the Wetu Telu is a teaching that emerges from the three basic principles of teaching. These three basic principles lead to differences of opinion. Each other has a different view. Parimatha (1987), states that the principle of the Wetu Telu is the union of three teachings, namely Javanese (Siwaa Buddha), Arabic passagepetangan Arab (Islamic teachings), and holy court petangan Kudus (Sasak original teachings or known as Boda teachings).

The above rationale arises from the Babad Sangupati, Babad Lombok, Geguritan Nurcaya Nursada, which states that the disseminator of the Wetu Telu teachings is Prince Sangupati, who correlates the teachings of Hinduism, Islam, and the original Sasak beliefs. Based on the

Babad Lombok, the Unification took place in a compilation of Sasak communities hit by a plague, so Prince Sangupati needed to raise questions about tradition and worship of the spirit as a symbol of the ancestors. In line with the opinion as above, the person who succeeded in wiping out the outbreak of the disease was Danghyang Nirartha, so that the debate arose whether Prince Sangupati was the same as Danghyang Nirartha, and this remains a historical debate.

When the term of Wetu Telu refers to the concept of religion whose standard is prayer, the Wetu Telu is referred to as religion, with the performance of prayer three times at the time of death, holidays and Friday. Guru Mustajion (Bakker, 1936) mentions that the Sasak Moslem performs prayers three times, namely Subuh, Isa and Magrib.

Based on the prayers which are performed, Islam of Sasak is called Islam Waktu Telu. According to Anggawa Islam of Sasak is not Islam Waktu Telu, but Islam Wetu Telu is guided by three beliefs that Sasak people believe in: ancestral spirits (the concept of worship of ancestors), offerings (sacrifices), and the environment (water, land and earth) (interview, December 29, 2015).

Belief in tradition as inherited until now as a culture that must be maintained, and the obligation to do the five daily prayers, are considered as religious teachings that must be carried out by Islam of Sasak which adheres to the Wetu Telu cultural tradition. The Sasak people who combine the Wetu Telu tradition with religious teachings are called cultural Islam. Thus the Wetu cultural tradition has been adhered to and maintained by cultural Islam through the division of indigenous territories called Payers and each Payer is led by a Payer leader.

The Payer leader has the privilege of giving doctrine or command in setting payers' decisions about religious obligations and the implementation of the Wetu Telu tradition. Through this Payer leader, various Sasak traditions are maintained, although they often face challenges from Islamic groups who want to abolish traditions and return to Islamic teachings universally.

The Practice of Wetu Telu Culture as a Sasak Identity Typical Sasak Marriage

The results of the study show that there is still merari marriage, which is considered a form of marriage that only exists in Lombok. Merari', comes from the words "moro" or "mara" which means to come, and "ri" which means self, so that it merari' means "surrender". From the meaning of the word merari' is the surrender of the two different types of beings to unite in a married life. The general understanding in Lombok of Merari' is considered as an

unpermitted (stealthy) marriage, followed by elopement. It is associated with being unpermitted because the mating of merari' involves fleeing away at night. The view that marari' is an unpermitted marriage is not true in Sasak life, because merari "is a marriage with a long process, it must begin with getting to know each other, then loving each other" (Lukman, 2006).

To be able to know each other and love each other, men can come to a woman's house by visiting, making friends and through appropriate ways such as hanging out to watch a movie or eating together called "midang". If the male has difficulty entering the house of a woman because there is tightness from the woman's side, it can be done through an intermediary called "subandar". In order for Merari' to work well, the woman has the most important role, because the women determine the time, day and hour of leaving the house as well as the pick-up time and pick-up place from the men. The men pick up their future wives in a stealthy manner like stealing by bringing a group that always includes several women to accompany prospective brides on the way so that things immoral do not occur (Lukman, 2006).

Before the completion of their relationship, the bride and groom, both male and female, should not immediately go home, but stay in the same place as peseboan (a place to hide away). Then there occurred a meeting between the two families, both male and female families and the village head invited village leaders to discuss their next actions. The action is called selabarsejati, "sejati" which means to determine, "selabar" which means to announce. Sejatiselabar was instituted as an announcement to make the local women and village heads to be in no doubt about losing their women or village member. After sejatiselabar is announced, the procedure continued with a wedding by picking up the guardian (wali), namely a Kyai accompanied by two witnesses (saksi). Parents of women and their families go to the house of the bridegroom to marry off their child, a ceremony called walimejubir. After that, the bride and groom are considered legitimate as husband and wife in both Islamic and customary religions, then the "aji karma" or "sorongserah" ceremony is carried out.

Aji Karma comes from the word "Aji", means "value" and "karma" means "custom". Aji Karma is customary value, as a self value or self-esteem of men, then "aji karma" is carried out with a sorongserah ceremony, which means giving and receiving. Men approach the women by carrying property called "gegawan" which will be handed over to the women. The group that carries the property is called the "penyorong" and the woman who will receive the property is called the "penanggap". The group of penyorong is led by someone who is fully sided as a spokesperson to determine the course of the ceremony called pembayun. Pembayun comes from the word "pemban" which means the leader.

and swing means front (face), pembayun means leader who is upfront or in front. After this sorongserah is done, and then the bride and groom who were hailed by the attendees came to be called "nyongkolan" (Lukman, 2010).

Customary Ceremonies of Sasak

There are some other ceremonies that remain besides traditional marriage merari'. Those are carried out by Islam of Sasak ethnic as the identity of Lombok, namely: LebaranTopat, Alif, Tilawat,NgajiMakam, Wiwitan, NgayuNgayu ceremonies.

1) LebaranTopat Ceremony is a ceremony that is carried out on seven days after IdulFitri . It is celebrated together with families in a certain place like the beach and celebrated with many types of food. When the ceremony is done with prayers they then eat together with their families and are carried away in cheers to one another.

2) The Alif Ceremony is a ceremony carried out by the Sasak community in West Lombok once in everyone windu (eight years). The sequence of the year is Ehe, Jimawal, Se, Dal, Be, Wau and Jumakhir, while the eight year is called the year of Alif (Supratno, 1996). The year of alifis, the eight year, falls in the incoming ceremony of Makam Reag Roboh. The Makan Reag Roboh ceremony is conducted once in every eight years, and if that time frame is Rumah Makan Reag Tidak Roboh therefore the Makam Reag Roboh Ceremony is not conducted and should be done eight years later. Ceremony of the Alifyear remains to be conducted since the circulation of the alifyear is in one windu, however, the ceremonial party is not conducted since the Makam Reag Roboh ceremony is also not conducted.

3) Taliwat Ceremony is an evening ceremony of Koran reading in the Mosque shortly after Isya up to Subuh prayer. Such a ceremony is still conducted in Bayan village, it is at least attended by roughly 44 people with intention to invoke salvation, being led to the right path, being cleansed of all sins and hazard behaviour, and being bestowed abundance in life.

4) Ngaji Makan Ceremony, can be divided into three types namely: first, Ngaji Makam Ngaturan Ngule Kaya is a ceremony for expressing gratitude to the God (Allah), for success to fulfil the Sasak familial and societal life needs within a year. Therefore this ceremony is conducted in every year. Second, Ngaji Makan Turun Bibit is a ceremony carried out before planting the rice crops in order to succeed so that the rice crops are nourished. Such a ceremony in Bali is called "mebulih", that is selection of fine rice crops to plant in order to have nourished rice crops and good harvest et the end. Third, Ngaji MakamPotong Padi is a ceremony carried out when the rice crops are mature and ready to be cropped. That ceremony is conducted with hope that the crops will be much more and meet fine quality i.e. none of its pulpy pocket is empty (puyung). In Balinese society this ceremony is renowned as "mebiukukung".

5) Wiwitan Ceremony is a ceremony when there is a disaster or epidemic that afflicts the community, livestock or plants. The ceremony was held in a mosque led by a Kyai or

headman and attended by at least 44 people. In Balinese society the ceremony of evicting an outbreak or disaster is often referred to as the "tanglukmerane" ceremony, which is a ceremony to fortify the community from an epidemic of disease.

6) Ngayu Ngayu ceremony is a traditional ceremony held at the beginning of the rainy season. The purpose of this ceremony is to guide the spirits of the ancestors so that they can be accepted by God to be placed as gods. The ceremony is carried out in an occult kemalik, or, also called a lease padewaan.

Performing Arts

Performing arts is one of the media that can be used to disseminate adaptively the values of the Wetu Telu teachings between Islamic teachings and local traditions. The vibration of the relationship between culture and Islam in Lombok can be seen through puppet shows, both wayangkulit and wayang orang. As an adaptive form of puppet performance using the source of the story as the main story is Serat Menak, so the Sasak puppet is known as the Wayang Menak. Wayang performance is a reflective show and can evoke self-introspection based on the character of the puppet show and the values within the character.

Puppet shows are able to provide space for the audience to sort out which ones are good and which are bad, which ones are right and what is wrong. Puppet theatre is a creative expression that can influence our experience to define and determine identity (Kartodirdjo, 1982). As a creative expression, wayang communicates values and teachings that can direct the way of thinking and how to act in ways that are good and right according to the source of local wisdom. In the Sasak community, the source of local wisdom lies in the tradition of the Wetu Telu, and the tradition of the Wetu Telu is considered very relevant in accordance with the story of Serat Menak.

There are three characterizations in the Serat Menak story, namely the character of the enforcer of the teachings of goodness and truth, a character that fights goodness and truth, as well as an intermediary character or adaptive character. As a good character and enforcer of truth, Jayengrana is symbolized as a figure who has a high Islamic religious ability and is very familiar with the core teachings of Islam. As a figure who opposes kindness, PrabuJubil has a greedy character, proud of his power and wealth. An intermediary or mediator who has an adaptive character is Umar Maya, who is Jayengrana's advisor. This figure, Umar Maya, is a figure who gives consideration to Jayengrana who masters the core of Islamic teachings to bring together symbols that are considered incompatible with the teachings of Islam (infidel/kafir) with the purity of Islamic teachings (sharia).

The blend between traditional culture which is considered as symbols of infidelity and the purity of Islamic teachings has been carried out by Jayengrana through the intermediary of

the figure Umar Maya. Because Serat Menak has a tendency to contain adaptive values, and adaptation is actually carried out by people who are the master of Islamic teachings, namely Jayengrana, so it is called wong Menak. According to Anggawa: "Wongmenak is derived from the word wong, which means human or person, the word menakis the same as bead which means the core. Wong Menak stands for people who really understand the core of Islamic teachings, and he becomes role model of Sasak ethnic groups" (interview, February 15, 2014).

Through Jayengrana's role in wayangkulit and wayang performances, people will be informed about the core teachings of Islam that can be used as references by Lombok people in understanding the application of Islamic teachings in Lombok as a synchronisation between culture and religion.

The Emergence of Cultural Islam in Lombok

According to Mamik Prima and Mamik Anggawa, to encourage the rise of the Sasak tradition as Lombok Identity inhabited by residents who are predominantly Moslem in the Sasak ethnic, the Sasak indigenous people divide the traditional territory into six customary payer territories, such as; 1) Payer adattinuk (east), 2) Payer adattengah (central), 3) Payer adatlauk (south), 4) Payer adatdaye (north), 5) Payer adat bat (west), 6) Payer adatbawak (base). All customary Payers have their own habits and language as markers. Among the Payers, the bawak Payer whose community base is in the city of Mataram has used more Indonesian language. In addition to the division of indigenous territories, in Mataram a social institution was also established with the Sasak Indigenous Community, to protect the Sasak tradition and tradition as Lombok identity that was being swept away by Islamic universalism. – understanding that it wants to homogenise Islam by applying Arabic culture as a Sasak Islamic identity (interview, February 15, 2014).

The division of customary territories is carried out to facilitate the development of the Sasak tradition that has local wisdom, which can be used as a guide in the lives of multicultural communities. This custom payer activity is fostering and encouraging the growth and development of the Sasak tradition which has been abandoned by its followers since 1965 because there is a very strong indication of politics that considers those who defend custom as non-religious (kafir). It is this Payer that plays a major role in nurturing meaningfully the traditional arts to communicate the values of the communicative Sasak traditions.

Performing arts that have been successfully raised are puppet shows using the main story source is called Serat Menak. The wayang show that was referred to in this case is a shadow puppet show, and does not pay attention to wayangwong performances. The wayangwong performance was only heard by traditional Sasak figures when I Gusti Ngurah Seramasara

(the author of the current article), conducted research on Wayang Wong whose existence was truly alarming. The Wayang Wong conservative village is located very far from Batu Pandang village, Sapit village, Swela sub-district, East Lombok district. From the results of the mapping carried out by the Mataram Lombok Cultural Park, Wayang Wong needs to be reconstructed, so that reconstruction is carried out on November 14, 2009.

The emergence of new judges (firkoh) who want Islam of Sasak to return to the Koran in accordance with its universal application as in Arabic, including the shape of the building and way of dressing that led to cultural traditions including various types of traditional Sasak arts left behind by the community. This condition raised concern for Sasak traditional leaders, so customary payers were formed to explore and encourage the revival of the Sasak tradition as a legacy of the Wetu Telu. Customary Payer is an indigenous area with their respective identities both from language and habits led by the customary Payer chairman. Customary Payer has the authority to defend Sasak traditions and culture, and issue “fatwas” regarding the relationship between Islam and culture.

The link between trust over religion and Sasak culture create a culturally based religious ideology, that was known as the Sasak people who were Moslem with cultural ideology. The Sasak Moslems supporting this cultural ideology are called Cultural Islam, which is distinguished from the Moslem of Sasak with the Islamic ideology. Both Cultural Islam and Sharia Islam still believe in Islam with the obligation to do Solatof five times prayers. The difference is that Cultural Islam still maintains the Wetu Telu tradition, whereas Sharia Islam wants to apply Arabic culture as a Sasak identity.

The difference does not cause differences in carrying out obligations as adherents of Islam, especially in terms of the implementation of prayer, so that currently in Lombok, there is no term Islam Waktu Telu, and Islam Waktu Lima. All Islam of Sasak is Waktu Lima but there are those who maintain the Wetu Telu culture, and some reject the Wetu Telu tradition.

Conclusion and Suggestion

From the analysis, as above, it can be concluded that the Wetu Telu is a teaching about human life that combines religious teachings with ways of behaving or cultural customs. The concept of this combination is very evident in Hinduism which has been inherited from the time of Majapahit and is very well preserved in Bali, so that the implementation of the Wetu Telu teachings is very close to the ceremony of worshiping spirits and the environment.

The closeness of the ceremonial way of worshiping spirits and the environment between Balinese and Sasak people led to the assumption that the Wetu Telu was developed by Prince



Sangupati, who was none other than Danghyang Nirartha, with his ability to create peace, and drive out disease through the belief in a belief in God and traditions that have been inherited.

The Wetu Telu teaching is a combination of religious teachings with beliefs in tradition, so that beliefs in religious teachings and traditions are a culture, because the Wetu Telu is not merely implementing religious doctrine, but must be supported by the procedures for applying that doctrine. Currently the Wetu Telu is no longer a doctrine of religious teachings, but is considered a culture that supports the identity of the Sasak people who are Moslem.

Through this conclusion, it can be suggested that the Wetu Telu is very important to be maintained and developed as a guideline for behavior in the life of a pluralistic society so that humans can respect each other's beliefs, because the Wetu Telu contains accommodative traits.



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