



## Maintaining Tradition to Establish Cohesion: An attempt of Sowing Local Wisdom-Based Multicultural Education in Lombok Community

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**Abstract** *Cultural heterogeneity and plurality of religions which grow, develop and survive in Lombok make this island such a pluralistic and multicultural miniature of Indonesia. This entity can be potentially integrative as a knit of social cohesiveness. However, in certain conditions and atmosphere, this diversity and culture can arise the emergence of conflict, violence and disaster if it is not managed properly. Muslims Sasak and Hindus Balinese ethnic as the two largest communities in Lombok, often meet in space and stage conflict. The main factors are culture, economy, sectarianism, exclusivism, primordialism and multiculturalism education are still low. Despite repeated conflicts, it does not mean the social interaction of these two communities is not tolerated. Despite the conflicts that are always episodes, these two communities have local wisdom in the form of a religious festival of the perang topat tradition. This discourse is intended to describe the historical background of Islam and Hinduism in Lombok, analyze the causes of social conflict between the Muslim Sasak community and Hinduism Balinese ethnic in Lombok, as well as explore the local wisdom of the perang topat tradition as multicultural education base that can be made as a seeding of social cohesiveness.*

**Keywords:** *Local Wisdom, Perang Topat, Multicultural Education, Social Cohesiveness*

### INTRODUCTION

Lombok Island is one of the pearl grains that dangles the Republic of Indonesia. The diameter island 4,738.65 km stretches from the Ampenan and ends at the Kayangan port (BPS NTB, 2019: 5). Before connecting with the provinces of West Nusa Tenggara, Lombok and Sumbawa, Bali, Flores, Timor, Sumba, Rote, and Sawu became part of the administrative area of the Sunda Kecil Province (Salam, 1992: 156). Geographically, Lombok has a graceful and amazing natural beauty. In addition to having

fertile soil that is used as agricultural land, on its land stands tall and towering Mount Rinjani in the midst of the fog and white clouds, presenting stunning mountain views. Now the mountain is attached to the legend of Dewi Anjani, famous for trekking and camping tours on the side of *Segara Anak lake* (Danau Segare Anak).

Lombok also has gili islands that resemble pieces of heaven and a stretch of beach similar to white and pink alien planets. The combination of expanse of savanna that stretches green, the blue Indian Ocean, and coral cliffs that are layered in golden color, make as if you are on another continent. Crispy spinach with spicy chili sauce, savory *Taliwang* chicken crispy which some delicious culinary tours are unforgettable. Tourism of the unique and beautiful village of Sade, and the ancient mosque of *Bayan Beleq*, are few among the rows of fascinating cultural attractions. That is why, Diatmika, et al., (2010), the traveler community expressed their hearts, and their admiration about the island of Lombok in a written scratch with titled "*Dong Ayo Ke Lombok*". '*Alakullihal ...* the latest and become brand Lombok island is a halal tour and the great Hubbul Wathan Islamic Center mosque is an icon of religious tourism. All these tourist destinations, making Lombok unable to circumvent the visit of domestic and foreign tourists.

Culturally, Lombok is located in the embrace of two different religious communities namely Hinduism in Bali and Islam in Sumbawa. The centuries-old presence of Islam in Lombok has taken root in the breath of people's lives. In daily oral communication, the island often greets itself as the Islands of Thousand Mosque. This term means that Islam, with its mosque symbol, is not only a religion that is believed by the majority of the inhabitants of this island, but more it means monism of ethnic identity (Fuadi: 2019: 17). This interpretation presupposes that the Sasak ethnic, as the natives and the largest inhabitants of the island, predominantly Muslim. A further consequence of this interpretation is the creation of a single identification for this indigenous tribe, namely Sasak is Islam. This fact is what Bartholomew (2010: 86), and Mary Poo-Mooi Judd (1980: 89) said hyperbolically: to be Sasak is to be Muslim.

However, it must be realized from beginning that this identification does not avoid the fact that in Lombok has various ethnicities, ethnicities, cultures and adherents of other religions, such as: Hinduism, Buddhism and Christian. This social reality presupposes Lombok as a pluralistic and multicultural miniature of Indonesia. These two entities have the potential to be integrative, meaning that religious plurality and cultural heterogeneity can be used as knitters of social cohesiveness within a frame harmonious life. But in certain conditions and circumstances,

diversity of diversity and culture can be the igniter of the emergence of conflict, violence, and disaster (Geertz, 1983: 475).

Basically, conflict and violence have become part of the cultural construction and traditions of local communities are difficult to eliminate. Its existence as something natural. Even Coser (1965) saw it as part of the dynamics of society, because it had a positive effect on group solidarity. The same thing happened in Lombok in the last two decades. As if they did not want to quit and leave forever, communal conflict actually continued to occur and was replaced with different types and motives. Conflicts between villages, between religious followers, and internal religious conflicts involving Islamic religious organizations became the most dominant (Hamdi, 2014; Lan, 2006; Kristiansen 2003; Sihbudi, 2001). The Lombok people easily provoked character and the tradition of testing each other's "supernatural powers" has opened access to communal conflict. In other cultural factors also cause of clash, including economic factors, sectarianism, exclusivism, primordialism and multiculturalism education which are still weak. This identification is in line with the abstraction stated by Klinken (2005: 91) that communal conflict is more productive when it involves broader elements of identity such as elements of religion, ethnicity, and culture as its instruments.

This condition is certainly not conducive for the creation of a harmonious life between people. Various endeavors have been and continue to be carried out in order to create social cohesiveness within a peaceful frame of life. One of the initiatives that continues to be developed, maintained and nurtured is multicultural values in the local wisdom of the community. This discourse is intended to describe the historical setting of Islam and Hinduism in Lombok, analyze the causes of social conflict between the Sasak Muslim community and Balinese ethnic Hinduism in Lombok, and explore the local wisdom of the *perang topat* tradition as a multicultural educational base that can be made as a knit of social cohesiveness.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### **Lombok: Candradimuka Crater for the Growth and Development of Religions and Culture**

Before Islam became a single identity in Lombok, the original people, Sasak adopted a traditional belief system called *Boda* and its adherents were called *Sasak-Boda* (Asnawi, 2005: 11). For those who believe, they are often identified themselves as a direct descendant of Majapahit who fled during the penetration of the Muslims into this island. Therefore, they consider their religion as "Majapahit Religion" (Leeman, 1989: 20). In its

ritual practice, *Boda's* belief does not coincide directly with belief in Sidharta Gautama (Smith, 1999: 106). Therefore, it is different from Buddhism which is officially recognized by the Indonesian government.

In principle, *Boda* conviction rests on the elements of animism, dynamism, pantheism and anthropomorphism. Therefore, worship and worship of ancestral spirits and various other local gods are the main focus on practice of Sasak-*Boda* religious. Furthermore, no references have claimed as the holy book. Never heard the name of the character, and no identified how the standard rules of social life, as well as the procedures for worship. However, this trust can be scanned from the characteristics that have been identified by Paul van der Eerden in Cederroth (1981: 7).

The strongly flow of modernity, the active penetration of Islamic dakwah and the massive implications of government policy are the main causes of the *Sasak-Boda* community being marginalized from the social dynamics of Lombok society. The rest society, now live in groups in villages that are geographically far from the city. Some of the villages or hut occupied by this community are located in Gangga and Tanjung sub-districts, North Lombok and in Lembar sub-district, West Lombok.

Meanwhile, the conversion of the Sasak tribe to other religions began during the penetration of the Hindu-Majapahit kingdom from East Java which penetrated the island of Lombok in the XIII century and introduced Hinduism to the Sasak people (Budiwanti, 2000: 8). The relationship between Hindus and local believers was going well. Harmony between these two communities can coexist because doctrinally there are no significant and controversial differences. That is why, Hinduism can grow and develop not only among local people, but also community leaders and nobility groups. Naturally, in primordial societies, religious conversion can massively and colossally along with the religious conversions of its personal reference.

The wave spreading of Hindu continued along with the arrival of the Balinese to Lombok in the XVI century. In this phase, the arrival of the Balinese brought economic and cultural missions (Zakaria, 1998: 17). The two main missions, require Balinese Hindu immigrants to build social relations in harmony with the local population so as to create a relationship that is symbiotic mutualism. This model of social relations opens for cultural diffusion and acculturation. Therefore, the influence of Balinese Hinduism in the Sasak community is increasingly piercing and coloring all the dynamics of people's lives. This domination lasted a long time and has involved various elements of the formation of identity

monism as abstracted by Halikiopoulou (2007: 56), namely patterns of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions.

The rooted of monism of identity Balinese Hindu in Lombok, in turn encouraged them to change the initial mission (economic and cultural) into a religious political mission. That is why, from 1740-1891 they invaded and controlled the western part of Lombok island (Marrison, 1999). Since then, the relationship between Balinese Hinduism and Sasak Lombok has become very complex, full of tension, conquest, rebellion, various political intrigues, accommodations, agreements and peace agreements and cooperation. Balinese Hindu hegemony over Sasak Lombok ended in 1891 and in the same number of years brought Lombok into Dutch imperialism and colonialism (Bruinessen, 1992: 202).

Along with the politics of imperialism and colonialism, the Dutch also brought and implemented religious missions known as mission politics. In this phase, the *zending* applied Christian teachings that were designed in such a way as to legitimize the interests of the Dutch Indies government, as well as to reduce the influence of Islam among their followers. Zakaria (1998: 94) cites a number of documents that legitimize the existence of politics mission, and describe it plainly as follows: that Samuel Eliza Harthoorn (1831-1883), one of the missionaries from Malang who was very influential among the Dutch Indies had recommended: "... the areas that have become Islamic will no longer embrace Christianity, and also come to the conclusion, Islam, is a fears enemy, it does not have to be attacked directly, but its strength must be reduced through various ways, from promoting ancient customs, ethnic and religions, regional dialects (different from Malay, as a means of Islamic transformation) to modernization of care and education. The common goal of all forms of activity representing various political missions is to reduce the power and Islam influence.

Referring to the politics mission, the Selaparang kingdom whose population are Muslim, directly had not to be attacked and conquered, historically in Lombok there is a kingdom which did not adopt Islamic philosophy (Mataram Hindu), indirectly the functions as a buffer, so that the spread of Islam cannot develop maximum, and keep it away from the direct interaction and influence of Islamic spreader (Javanese and Makassar). This caused the Dutch slow down their military expedition to Lombok, beside to minimalize number and types of spices needed by the Dutch Indies government that found on this island. However, the politics of this mission can be considered successful, since the Dutch have increasingly made clear the demarcation between the traditional beliefs of Boda, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity in Lombok.

Furthermore, the conversion of the Sasak ethnic into Islam was estimated to occur in the XVI century, brought by Sunan Prapen or also known as Prince Sangapati, son of Sunan Giri Gresik, East Java. The preacher landed first on the north coast of Lombok which name of this place as Bayan (Cederroth, 1981: 32). Naming the main locus of the grounding of Islam as Bayan, inspired by the verses of the Koran surah Ali Imran verse 138 which means: "This (al-Qur'an) is a clear statement for all humans, and become guidelines and lessons for those who fear Allah ". The word Bayan which means information seems to be used to name this place with the hope that this is where Islam radiates its bright light to the lives of people in all corners of Lombok. The imposition of Bayan as the gateway for Islam in Lombok, it does not seem excessive, considering geographically, precisely 500 meters in the north of Bayan village there is a vast ocean with calm water conditions. In the side a beach called the Cirik harbour. It is estimated this harbour is the first place for ships to be used by Sunan Prapen in carrying out his preacher mission (Zaki, 2005: 89).

When Islam was grounded in Bayan, the cultural setting of the people displayed a life with the scent of animism, anthropomorphic dynamism (Boda) and Hinduism. This element of trust is held firmly by the whole society and permeates all dimensions of life. This condition requires Sunan Prapen negotiated with indigenous leaders Bayan. The agreement was reached on the condition the people would embrace Islam on the condition that they continue to maintain the cultural customs of their ancestors and all their institutions. Then, the performance of Islam which then emerged was a concoction of teachings called Wetu Telu (Mucipto, 2001: 11). Creative concoction is possible considering that the Javanese Islam brought by Sunan Prapen is a teaching of Islam which is full of Sufism-mysticism which naturally tolerates any Islamic element as long as it is substantively able to take humans to meet God.

Then, slowly the influence of Islam has continued to strengthen and dominate the dynamics of Sasak people's lives, while marginalizing the influence of Hinduism and other traditional beliefs. At the same time Islamic preachers from Makassar arrived in the eastern and central parts of the island of Lombok. The face of Islam which is fundamentally grounded is more orthodox and different from the face of Islam which was developed by preachers from Java who took place in the western and northern hemispheres of the island of Lombok. Compared to preachers from Java, preachers from Makassar were more successful in preaching more orthodox and puritanical Sunni Islam throughout the Lombok region. As a majority in religion and ethnicity, certainly more or less

Sasak ethnic colors the constellation of organizing life macro in Lombok, including in the political field. Inevitably, it is this empirical reality that negates Islam as a major factor in Lombok society. So it is not surprising if some ethnographics said that "being Sasak means being Muslim".

**Lombok: Valley of Contestation for the Advancements of Religions.**

Lombok Island, which was degraded into five administrative regions, is inhabited by various ethnicities, ethnics and religious followers. Two of the dominant ethnic groups and religious followers are the Sasak who embrace Islam and the ethnic Balinese Hindus. The ethnic Balinese Sasak and Hindu Muslim communities in Lombok have a very long and dynamic relationship, throughout the history of their interactions. Each community of religious followers has a political-historical relationship that allows both of them to be in an atmosphere of peace and harmony and tolerance. But there is no meaning between the two of them to be completely from the possibility of the emergence of conflict that leads violence. Diachronically, the encounter between the two communities is often in a valley full of conflict and violence.

Massive and colossal conflicts involving Sasak Islam and Balinese Hinduism occurred in 1995. Conflicts involving the Muslim community of Kampung Taliwang versus the Hindu community of Kampung Tohpati or Kampung Shindu in West Lombok. This conflict is classified as colossal and massive, because it involves Balinese ethnic, Bali and Sasak ethnic in Central Lombok and East Lombok and in the Sumbawa island. The conflict began and was triggered by small matters, such as fights between young people between villages. Then it wide into a collective conflict between communities because it carries ethnic and religious symbols (Kironosasi, 1996). Conflicts involving the same community also occurred in 2000, 2012 and 2013. This conflict was triggered by the construction of a mosque adjacent to a Hindu temple. Another is the offense of Hindus during Nyepi celebrations. At the same time Muslims held the tradition of *selakaran*, using a sound system with a high volume. Sasak Muslim tradition in order to welcome the pilgrims who just returned from Mecca. The loudspeaker offended Hindus, who needed calm, seriousness and abstaining from electronic equipment during the Nyepi ritual (Suprpto, 2015).

Also Conflict occurred in 2001 between the Nyangget Muslim Sasak community and the Hindu Sekarsari. The conflict was triggered by a fight between young men who were drunk, then involved the two village communities. In order to prevent escalation and conflict, the government built a wall to separate the two conflicting villages. This wall prevents

two neighboring villages from interacting with another. The existence of this wall cannot prevent recurring conflicts. In fact, in 2008 conflict again broke out between these two religious communities. This conflict resulted in the loss of injuries caused by sharp weapons, strikes of arrows and other blunt objects, even including one of the victims died.

In the same case, the opaque portrait of the Sasak Muslim community conflict with Balinese Hinduism in Lombok was repeated with the involvement of the Muslim Karang Tapen versus the Balinese Hindu Karang Jasi. The same portrait also took place between the Karang Tapen Sasak Muslim community versus the Balinese Karang Lelede Hindu community. They are only separated by narrow roads and intersections. The crossing turned into a battle arena and was a silent witness of mass unrest. Another tension between Sasak Muslim and Balinese Hinduism was the destruction of Hindu temples on Tuesday night January 15, 2008. Thousands of people attacked, destroyed and burned Sangkareang temple in Keru village, Narmada District, West Lombok Regency. They argue that the temple was built illegally without permission from the government (Suprpto, 2015).

Like a fire in the husk, it seems that the social relations between Islam Sasak and Hindu Bali in Lombok mostly occur in conflict. The most recent and most conflict is the Monta in 2017. Monta is an acronym of Monjok-Taliwang which is a series of conflicts between the Muslim Sasak Karang Taliwang and Hindu the Balinese community in Monjok. Generally, the factors of this conflict are the removal of garbage containers in the side of the graveyard wall of the border Monjok village with the Karang Taliwang in 2015 and repeated in 2017 with the same problem. The Hindu Monjok community who objected then damaged this garbage container. This destruction was met by the Karang Taliwang Muslim Sasak by destruct the local public cemetery wall. Both parties involved the conflict, residents armed with a variety of sharp weapons and facing each other in the middle of the fields in open war atmospheres. As a result of this dispute, there were hundreds of people suffered serious and injuries. However, no one of the community died (Philona, 2017).

The SARA nuances conflicts also occur between the Muslim Sasak community and the Christian and Chinese ethnic congregations which are popularly known as "one-seven-one" events, referring to the event number which is seventeen January, two thousand years. Starting from the square in the Mataram town, hundreds thousands of Muslim communities attended a grand tablig which was held to promote solidarity with the Muslim community being persecuted in Maluku. After

the activity ended, provocation ensued that resulted in house and shops Chineseethnicchurches destroyed and burned. The impact of this event was the economic down and disruption of services in health centers because most shops were controlled by ethnic Chinese, and some specialist doctors who were Christians were driven out of the island of Lombok (Sihbudi, 2001 and Aziz, et al., 2004).

Thus the serial conflict that occurred in Lombok. So far, the communal conflicts involving SARA elements, often stems from small matters and then wide and enlarges when involving ethnic entities and religious symbols. Imposition of religious teachings or doctrines that give a strong emphasis on aspects of monotheism, the universality and salvation of humanity is often easily understood as an invitation to the use of violence. Unfortunately, religious followers tend to be sensitive to matters relating to the affirmation of self-identity (for example as pure monotheism confronted with polytheism), strengthening group (for example as indigenous and non-native), and the spirit of spreading the absolute truths which his believes. These matters, the followers of religion are very easy to use religious doctrinal references as a basis for violence. This condition will give birth to what is called by Aziz (2000) as a problem of religiocentrism.

### **Local Wisdom: Base on Multicultural Education.**

Despite the conflicts repeated, especially between the Sasak Islamic and Hindu Balinese in Lombok, it does not mean the social interaction of these two communities is not tolerated. Behind the conflict that always episodes, these two communities have a variety of local wisdom that can be used as a basis for multicultural education. This educational model has significant relevance for plural society in the religion and heterogeneity in the realm of ethnicity, language, culture, gender and social class, to explore the values of local wisdom based on the views of the ancestors in every ethnic and ethnic group (Bank: 1989).

For people who have cultural heterogeneity and religious plurality, multicultural education is highly recommended by Tilaar (2006), given the educational content is related to the themes of tolerance, ethno-cultural and religious differences, the danger of discrimination, conflict resolution and mediation, human rights, democratization, plurality, universal humanity, and other relevant subjects. All of this content exists and resides in the local wisdom of every community including the people of Lombok. One of them is the tradition of *perang topat*.

### ***Perang Topat Traditions***

Almost not found in any part of the world, a community of followers of certain faiths will perform the same ritual of worship, at the same place, and at the same time as other believers in a peaceful atmosphere. The situations and conditions tend to be utopian and unrealistic, except for the tradition of *perang topat*. *Perang Topat* is a hybrid culture created by the agreement of Islam Sasak and Hindu Bali in Lombok. Its existence is regarded as a medium of encounter in a peaceful space and full of values of tolerance between two different ethnicities and beliefs. At an empirical level, the tradition of *perang topat* is able to transcend barriers of primordialism which have the potential to divide the community into a harmonious and tolerant society.

Normally harmony and tolerance between religious people will be created in social dimensions, not in the spiritual scup. Considering each religion, it is the responsibility of the adherents of the religion itself and has a form of worship (ritual) with its own systems and procedures that are charged and become the responsibility of the adherents. On that basis, tolerance in the association of life between religions is not tolerance in religious matters, but the embodiment of the religious attitude of adherents of a religion in the association of life between people who are not religious in social matters or general benefit (al-Munawwar, 2003:13). But here is the unique tradition of *perang topat*. He brought together of two religious communities which doctrin, historic, and scriptures differed diametrically, togetherness in the same place (*Kemaliq Lingsar*), and at the same time (*Rara 'Kembang Waru*), to perform the same riatual worship (puja wali).

This phenomenon is interesting in relation to relations between religions. In a religious community, ritual ceremonies always involve various components, such as beliefs, actors, equipment, time, and place, so that the practice of rituals is unique in every community of religions. This peculiarity makes the implementation of the ritual ceremony has a unique meaning also for every religious adherent (Sedyawati, 1998). In the context of *perang topat* ceremonies, these particularities can be a means to build harmonious relations between two different religious communities namely Islam Sasak and Hindu Bali.

Historically, the *perang topat* was one of a series of *pujawali* ceremonies in commemoration of Sheikh Abdul Malik dedication who held the title Raden Mas Kerta Jagad, an Islamic intellectual preacher actor in Lingsar Village, West Lombok. In the past, the main locus of the *perang topat* was known as a barren area, which was only overgrown with shrubs and inhabited with wild and reptile animals. After Sheikh Abdul Malik and

his brothers Abdul Rauf or Raden Mas Kerta Pati and his sister Raden Ayu Mas Dewi Anjani came and settled down, the village of Lingsar turned into a fertile and prosperous region.

According to local belief, one night, the moon in the sky was full, pointing to the number of fifteen Rajab months or *mikrat sisi kapitu Sasak wariga* (the seventh month according to the Sasak calendar), Sheikh Abdul Malik was having an all-night retreat. He woke up from the seclusion the next day just before the arrival of Asr prayer. Then walk slowly by holding a stick made of Sulaiman wood to a hill and stop at a waru tree that only grows alone. Under this hibiscus tree, he rests for a moment sitting cross-legged, then sticks his stick into the ground while raising his face and hands to the sky while praying the presence of the creator of the universe. After praying, the stick was pulled back and from the ground came water. The sound of water came to a distance and at the same time the flowers of the waru tree fell (Sasak: *rara ' kembang waru*). From the incident the water was released named Lingsar. In the Sasak language, *ling* means sound and *sar* means water flows. To commemorate this event, the Sasak Islamic community, today, every year during the full moon or the *mikrat sisi kapitu warigaSasak* which coincides with the fall of the waru flowers, commonly known as *perang topat* (Sodli, 2010: 190).

The main locus of the *perang topat*, especially the *puja wali*, is held in the lingsar holy building area with *kemaliq* as the main place of celebration for the Muslim community and Gaduh Temple as a place of celebration for the Hindu community as well as a *Tamu Agung* (very important guest). The existence of this *kemaliq* is estimated to have existed since 1633 AD, and continues to be maintained in a whole series of events in each of the *perang topat* ceremonies until now. In the Sasak conception of Islam, *kemaliq* is not just an altar building made of natural stone, but *kemaliq* is more a conception of the life source. This conception is symbolized by springs that exist in *kemaliq*, so *kemaliq* or *malik* is understood life source that has mystical-theological meaning. For Islam Sasak, *kemaliq* is a sacred place that shows the region where their ancestors accepted and lived the truth of the religion of monotheism (Islam). On this site the beginnings of their ancestors knew al-Malik as the Almighty God who lived and stood by Himself, unmatched and incomparable rulers. He is the King (in Arabic: al-Malik) the Most High (Sanusi, 1994).

Meanwhile, the celebration of the *perang topat* for the Balinese Hindu community is in Pura Gaduh, still in the same area as the temple in the sacred building of Lingsar. The history of these two places began when the leader of the Karang Asem Kingdom of Bali intendedexpanded its

territory to Lombok by sending a number of war troops. They landed on the west coast of the Lombok, then moved into conquering the areas such as Mount Pengsong, Pagutan, Pagesangan and Gunung Sari. After plugging the power in the area, these troops moved towards the east and spent the night in the Punikan region. During a break at night, the troops heard a roar and the next day they moved to explore the source of the sound by passing the path in the Ulon area. From this area, they headed west and finally found the source of the sound, right in the village of Lingsar.

The irresistible admiration and amazement of the Karang Asem army and the witnessed of heavy water which the source is coming out from the foothills. While restraining his curiosity, Anak Agung Ketut (the younger brother of the king of Karang Asem) as the warlord, met Indrawan, who was serving as the customary leader of *Kemaliq Lingsar*. In his dialogue with adat leaders, the warlord promised to build the Gaduh Temple next to the *Kemaliq Lingsar* if it was able to controlled the western part of the Lombok island. This promise was realized in 1759 with the establishment of Pura Gaduh as a place for Hindus to perform religious rituals right next to the *Kemaliq Lingsar* where Muslims perform religious rituals (Sodli, 2010: 190).

Diachronically, the implementation of the *perang topat* ceremony fully calculation in the Sasak almanac, which on the full moon of the seventh month (*sasi kapitu wariga* Sasak). The event procession includes pre-event activities, core events, and activities after the ceremony. The entire procession of the event took seven days, with three days for pre-event and opening, one day for core activities, and three days for closing activities. Normally, this procession starts from the 12th and ends on the 18th of the seventh *sasi*. The fix time is the result of the convention and has become a tradition from the past until present.

The tradition of *perang topat* as the instrument of preserving the tradition of knitting social cohesiveness is very bright in the whole process. Both of religious communities, Islam Sasak and Hinduism Balinese as the main actors, always build harmonious relationships and close cooperation in the successful implementation of the ritual procession. This atmosphere is created because both of them have positive and permissive towards the differences and they did not activate excessive the religious identity. This conception is important and becomes the basic point for cohesiveness of social building through tolerance, as assumed by Al-Munawwar (2003: 208) that to build the attitude tolerance, it is necessary to build various basic concepts, including: a) agree to

disagree (agree in disagreement); b) agree to each other (agree in agreement); and c) agree on differences (agree in different).

Conception agrees to disagree (agree in disagreement), build the conditional situation for both religion, Islam Sasak and Hindu Bali, Aware of differences in the religion they profess and that difference is something that is natural that is indisputable for everyone. In practice, the community of the two adherents of the religion strengthened their belief position and convinced themselves that in principle and fundamentally, their religious doctrines differed diametrically. That is why, in the procession of the *perang topat* was never any conflict, considering the Balinese Islam Sasak communities have a correct understanding of the substance of their religious rules. Awareness of that substance not only strengthens in the practice of religion but also the existence of the other beliefs believed by adherents of other religions. For these situation, awareness is not must be highlighted in the relationship between adherents of religion externally, but rather only limited to relations in internal relations.

This positive and permissive attitude of both communities seems to be ties for both to continue to preserve the *perang topat* as a tradition of shared property, thus directing them in a life that is tolerant and integrative. The tolerant and integrative form of life, among others, looks at the choice of buffalo used for food during the celebration of the *perang topat*. The choice of this animal is an implementation of agreeing to disagree (agree in disagreement) concept in the Islam Sasak and Hindu Bali communities in knitting tolerance. The existence of buffalo is quite neutral for both communities. If animals are used, cows for example, this will hurt the feelings of the Hindu community, because these animals are classified as holy. Likewise, if the animals used by pigs, as is the custom of the Hindu community, this will hurt the feelings of the Sasak Islamic community, because these animals are classified as *haram* for consumption. So it was agreed to use buffalo as a middle ground. Buffalo meat that has been slaughtered by Islamic procedures, is distributed to each community in accordance with its capacity and cooked to eat together.

Meanwhile, the practice of conception agreeing in agreement, as a basic point to build an attitude of tolerance in the *perang topat* procession, it appears in the birth of collective agreements, for example regarding the rules (requirements) for each participant who intends to enter the holy building in Lingsar area which contains *Kemaliq* and *Gaduh* Temple. Every person who enters the area of the Lingsar holy building, is deemed to be free from large *hadas*, the effects of intoxicating drinking, carrying pork or

carrying used equipment used to cook pork. The conditions which are binding on all these participants are literally loaded with Islamic values. This can be interpreted as a respect for the Hindu Balinese towards the Islam Sasak. This conception, the two adherents of the religion admit that the teachings of religion are not only exclusive but also inclusive.

Likewise, the conception of agree in differences, also did not avoid the procession from the *perang topat*. This conception presupposes all religious doctrines to teach about the values of justice, equality, help and so on. These values are agreed by every human being, including participants in *perang topat*. The practice appears in the willingness of the Balinese and Sasak communities to unite in one line in the procession to trace the *perang topat*. These communities together build the line and surrounded the *kemaliq* belonging to the Islamic community and the Hindu community's Pura Gaduh and joined into one. This procession symbolizes of togetherness and equality of rights between two communities of different religions, ethnics and groups. They did not discriminate between one another in relation to respect for ancestors and all human being. Likewise, the *perang tupal* came from the contribution of farmers who used the Lingsar spring to irrigate their fields. In addition to preserving the local culture in the area, it is also to reinforce the values the mutual cooperation between the two communities which is not distinguish religious and ethnic backgrounds.

## CONCLUSION

The ethnic Muslim Sasak and Hindu Bali communities in Lombok have dynamic political-historical relationship throughout their history of interaction. Despite repeated conflicts, it does not mean the social interaction of these communities is tolerated. In certain cycles, they will meet in the same place, at the same time to build the same worship rituals, with a harmonious and peaceful atmosphere, in the frame of local wisdom of the *perang topat* tradition. As a hybrid culture which create the mutual agreement, *perang topat* traditions are able to transcend barriers of primordialism and potentially become multicultural education base in order to knit social cohesiveness. Multicultural education based on local wisdom has significant relevance for plural and heterogeneous communities such as Lombok. Considering this educational content is inter-relate with themes of tolerance, ethno-cultural and religious differences, the danger of discrimination, conflict resolution and mediation, human rights, democratization, plurality, universal humanity, and other relevant subjects. All this content exists and resides in the local wisdom of the *perang topat* tradition.

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