

Tuan Guru, Islamic Da'wah, and Competition: The Fragmentation of Authority in Lombok- Indonesia

Nazar Naamy¹

Abstract

The development of Islam in Lombok-Indonesia did not develop naturally. There is an influence of contestation and fragmentation of religious authority. For this reason, this study aims to investigate the dimensions of contestation and fragmentation of religious authority that influence the Islamic movement in Lombok. This research uses the case study method. Research data is sourced from observations, in-depth interviews, and literature reviews. The existence of multi-identity organizations such as NU, NW, Maraqit Ta'limat, Mukhtariyah, and Thoreqot led to competition and fragmentation of authority among leaders of religious groups. The findings of this study show that: first, the majority of religious authorities in Lombok are identical to Middle Eastern alumni. Second, the fragmentation of religious authority is represented by alumni of Shauliyyah Makkah, Al-Azhar Cairo, and Madinah University. Third, the emergence of Salafi-Wahhabi in Islamic da'wah in East Lombok poses a challenge to traditional authority (Aswaja). An important implication of the study is that fragmentation of religious authority can legitimize the power of preaching in the public eye. In addition, Islamic da'wah authorities in Lombok-Indonesia can provide insight for other religious authorities on the successful spread of Islam in the world.

Keywords: Da'wah, Authority, Fragmentation, Conflict, Religious groups.

1. Introduction

History noted that Islam entered Lombok in the 16th century through Arab traders and traders from Gujarat, India. At that time, Lombok was still controlled by Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms (Alatas, 2020; Aniq, 2011; Hamdi, 2015). The process of Islamization in Lombok then took place gradually and continues to this day. In the process of Islamization, Tuan Guru plays a very important role. As educators, master teachers in Lombok teach Islam to their students. They not only teach religious theory and practice, but also teach religious values. In addition, the

¹ Islamic Broadcasting Communication Study Program, Faculty of Da'wah and Islamic Communication, Universitas Islam Negeri Mataram, Indonesia

master teacher also teaches about the history and culture of Islam in Lombok, so that students can understand well the process of Islam developing in the area. In the process of Islamization in Lombok, master teachers also play a role in maintaining harmony between Muslims and people of other religions. They provide education on tolerance and mutual respect between religious communities, to create a harmonious and peaceful environment. In this case, the master teacher not only serves as an educator but also as a social and spiritual mobilizer in Lombok society. They had a crucial role in the success of Islamic da'wah in Lombok which only began in the 16th century until it reached success in the 20th century (Aswasulasikin et al., 2020; Hamdi, 2015; Jamaluddin, 2016; Kingsley, 2012). Therefore, it is important to investigate and explore the patterns and strategies of Islamic da'wah in Lombok used by Tuan Guru.

To this end, studies on Islamic da'wah and the role of Tuan Guru in the Sasak Muslim community focus on three issues. First, the polarization of Islamic orthodoxy and Islamic heterodoxy in the form of Islam Wetu Telu and Islam Wetu Lima (Aniq, 2011; Arsalan, 2014; Budiwanti, 2014). Second, the role of Tuan Guru and Pesantren in strengthening da'wah and education (Jamaluddin, 2016; Kingsley, 2014). Third, the study of Tuan Guru as a religious figure formed in the construction of polarization in the form of teacher-student peer counseling (Fadli, 2016; Fahrurrozi, 2018; Parhanudin, 2020).

Based on the literature review it can be said that the patterns discussed above show that the study of Tuan Guru, da'wah, and the dynamics of Sasak Muslim society tends to ignore the complexities and contestations that occur, especially in the life of contemporary Sasak Muslims. Indeed, the polarization of Islamic orthodoxy and Islamic heterodoxy in Lombok has been the focus of previous studies, but no exploration has been made of the influence it had on Sasak society. Also, although the role of Tuan Guru and pesantren has been studied before, there is still a need to examine more about the dimensions of contestation and fragmentation of religious authority in Lombok.

Based on the problems that have been described, this study aims to investigate the dimensions of contestation and fragmentation of religious authority in Lombok. This paper aims to show, in particular, how the construction of the Master's authority is related to the missionary, political, and organizational roles. However, democratization in Indonesia, especially after the Soeharto administration has significantly helped Tuan Guru's vertical mobility in developing the da'wah authority (Hamdi, 2015; Kaptein, 2004; Kingsley, 2012, 2014). Tuan Guru Authority may have political influences oriented towards suppressing contestation and fragmentation of authority that have emerged in Muslim communities in Lombok.

2. Theoretical Framework

Weber distinguished three types of authority. First, there is traditional authority. In particular, authority based on the beliefs and practices of pre-industrial societies. A person can have traditional authority because it relates to people who previously held traditional authority (Ediful et al., 2020; Ray, 1996; Weber, 2019). Secondly, there is legal-rational authority. In particular, authority is established by the legitimacy of laws and social rules within the state. In a democracy, for example, the elected people will hold power and have authority guaranteed by the constitution (Black, 1960; Weber, 2019). Third, charismatic authority refers to authority derived from the personal qualities of outstanding individuals, such as the Prophet Muhammad, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and Buddha Sidharta. In addition to Weber's theory of authority, Alatas used the term "articulatory work" in describing religious authority. According to Alatas, religious authority cannot be achieved before preaching, i.e. conveying and realizing the Sunnah according to the context and needs of the religious community. The level of the religious authority of a person is determined by the intensity of his da'wah activity. This effort is also carried out by helping troubled communities, providing advice, and building gathering places such as mosques, madrassas, and taklim councils. Alatas expanded his theory by borrowing Hannah Arendt's idea that authority should serve as a role model. For example, Habib Luthfi united authority by linking himself to various Islamic genealogies, networks, and scientific traditions ("genealogical adoption"), allowing a person in the present to connect with the prophetic past (Alatas, 2019, 2020, 2021).

3. Methodology

This study aims to investigate the dimensions of contestation and fragmentation of religious authority in Lombok. For reasons of the suitability of research character, qualitative methods with case studies are considered appropriate to be used as research guidelines. The case study approach was chosen because it allows an in-depth exploration of interesting phenomena in real-life contexts. It offers flexibility to adapt to the nature of emerging research topics. In addition, case studies are considered appropriate because they can provide insight into subjective experiences (Bennett & Elman, 2006; Creswell, 2007, 2014; Merriam, 1998; Neuman, 2014). It can provide a holistic understanding of complexity and contestation in the social reality of Lombok. The authority theory of Max Weber and Fajrie Alatas was adopted as the conceptual framework for this study, as it offers a useful lens through which to examine the nature and sources

of authority in Islamic societies (Alatas, 2020; Merriam, 1998; Weber, 2019).

To collect data, this study used purposive sampling by selecting seven villages in East Lombok: Pancor, Anjani, Bagik Nyaka, Masbagik, Mamben, Sakra, and Jerowaru. These villages were chosen because they represent the diversity of Islamic groups in Lombok, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the fragmentation of authority in Lombok's Muslim society. Data were collected through a combination of observation, in-depth interviews, and relevant literature reviews. Thematic data analysis is used to analyze data. This approach involves identifying patterns and themes in the data and interpreting their meaning in the context of the research question. Purposive sampling is considered appropriate because it allows the researcher to select the participants or cases most relevant to the research question and to ensure that the sample is representative of the population of interest. The combination of observation, interviews, and literature review allows the triangulation of data sources, increasing the credibility and validity of findings (Creswell, 2014; Mack et al., 2005; Neuman, 2014).

3.1. The Making of Authority: Haramain Alumni and Tuan Guru

The title Tuan Guru in Lombok is similar to Kiai in Java, Teungku in Aceh, Buya in Padang, and Anjeungan in Sundanese. Tuan Guru has charismatic authority because of their religious knowledge, piety, and traditional leadership. Thus, Tuan Guru is a clerical title for a religious leader who becomes a leader of the people, mediator, inspiration, and agent of change. Etymologically, Tuan Guru comes from two words, "Master" and "Guru." Tuan means a person who has performed Hajj, while a teacher has a qualified capacity for religious knowledge. The validity of Tuan Guru is subject to strict restrictions in the socio-anthropological construction of the Sasak Muslim community (Aniq, 2011). First, the figure the master must be a Middle Eastern alumnus. Secondly, they must be well-versed in religion (Tamaqua finding). Third, build widespread acceptance in the local community. Fourth, if the teacher is affiliated with a particular Islamic organization, his authority will be increasingly respected field field (Hamdi, 2015; Kaptein, 2004).

Pancor, Masbagik, Bagik Nyaka, Mamben, Sakra, and Jerowaru have historically and geographically been centers of religious authority in East Lombok. The charismatic figures of Tuan Guru were born in these areas and were influential in the spread of Islam in Lombok, and their influence continues to this day. In today's context, communities of Islamic organizations such as NW and NU are the dominant Muslim groups in East Lombok, while Muhammadiyah does not have many followers. For example, Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainuddin Abdul Madjid founded the Islamic organization Nahdlatul Wathan (NW) in

Pancor in 1953 He is an alumnus of Madrasah Shaulatiyyah Makkah, a legendary Madrasa in Hejaz founded by Sheikh Rahmatullah Ibn Khalil al-Hindi al-Dahlawi—an Indian Diaspora, alumnus of Madrasah Darul Ulum (Deoband School) founded in 1867(Hamdi, 2021; Said, 2019)

Tuan Guru Mahsun was the authoritative figure for NU in Masbagik (1907-1987). From 1936 A.D. to 1940 A.D., he studied in Mecca for four years. After returning from Mecca, he preached in various places in East Lombok. To strengthen the struggle for da'wah and the regeneration of the next generation, he established the Nahdlatul Ummat (Yadinu) and Al Ijtihad Education Foundations. Another NU Charismatic figure in East Lombok is TGH. Abdul Mannan. Jamaluddin Bagik Nyaka Islamic Boarding School was founded by TGH Abdul Manan. The foundation is growing rapidly in various regions, and educational institutions have branches in several villages. Tuan Guru Abdul Mannan has three children, namely TGH. Yep. Husni, TGH. Muhammad Luthfi, and TGH. Muhammad Lutfi Abdul Manar. TGH. Muhammad Luthfi founded the Syafiatul Aitam Al-Mannan Foundation in 1996 to honor his father's contribution. Meanwhile, TGH Husni became a supporter of Wahhabi proselytizing. He came into contact with the Wahhabis when he was studying in Mecca, and later he brought Wahhabism back to Lombok. Wahhabi ideology emerged in Lombok as an antithesis and criticism of amaliyah which is usually practiced by members of the Islamic community NU, NW, and tariqa in Lombok. Because of its purification spirit, Wahhabis often stigmatize and label other Islamic groups as heretics, and Tuan Guru Mahsun was the authoritative figure for NU in Masbagik (1907-1987)(Said, 2019).

From 1936 A.D. to 1940 A.D., he studied in Mecca for four years. After returning from Mecca, he preached in various places in East Lombok. To strengthen the struggle for da'wah and the regeneration of the next generation, he established the Nahdlatul Ummat (Yadinu) and Al Ijtihad Education Foundations. Another NU Charismatic figure in East Lombok is TGH. Abdul Mannan. Jamaluddin Bagik Nyaka Islamic Boarding School was founded by TGH Abdul Manan. The foundation is growing rapidly in various regions, and educational institutions have branches in several villages. Tuan Guru Abdul Mannan has three children, namely TGH. Yep. Husni, TGH. Muhammad Luthfi, and TGH. Muhammad Lutfi Abdul Manar. TGH. Muhammad Luthfi founded the Syafiatul Aitam Al-Mannan Foundation in 1996 to honor his father's contribution. Meanwhile, TGH Husni became a supporter of Wahhabi proselytizing. He came into contact with the Wahhabis when he was studying in Mecca, and later he brought Wahhabism back to Lombok. Wahhabi ideology emerged in Lombok as an antithesis and criticism of religious practice which is usually practiced by members of the Islamic community NU, NW, and tariqa in Lombok. Because of its purification

spirit, Wahhabis often stigmatize and label other Islamic groups as heretics and shirk (Hamdi, 2021; Hamdi & Smith, 2012)

Tuan Guru Muhammad Zainuddin Arsyad, an alumnus of Madrasah Darul Ulum, Mecca, founded the Maraqit talisman organization in Mamben East Lombok. Darul Ulum is a madrasah that is in great demand by students from Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia (Hashim & Langgulung, 2008; Zaini, 2022). The figure of teacher Zainuddin Arsyad is very influential in Mamben, East Lombok. People came from all villages in East Lombok to attend the recitation assembly. He also went around preaching the same message to villages on the east coast of Lombok Island, as well as villages on the north coast of Lombok Island, such as Bayan, Panggung, and Sidutan in the North Lombok Regency. He continued his da'wah mission from the north to the south coast, precisely in Bongor, West Lombok Regency (interview with HR, 2022). The influence of Tuan Guru Zainuddin Arsyad can still be felt today and is passed on by his descendants. They continue to play an important and influential role in the socio-religious life of the Mamben community (interview with AZ, 2022).

While in the southern part of East Lombok, the Sakra region, religious expression is still strongly influenced by Sufism and the tariqat movement, especially Naqsabandiyah. Tuan Guru by the order of the order leads the religious authority in the region. In Sakra, the religious pattern of the tariqa model has deep historical roots, especially the influence of da'wah and the agency of Tuan Guru Muhammad Ali Batu. Ali Batu was a charismatic religious leader in the region, he was considered a symbol of Sasak unity against Bali's Mataram kingdom. He is also known as a leader in battles against Dutch colonials. In 1891, Sasak Muslims rebelled against the rule of the Balinese king (Anak Agung Ngurah Karang Asem), led by Tuan Guru Ali Batu (Tanwir, 2007). Muhammad Ali Batu is famous in Lombok, especially in the Sakra community as a tashawuf or tariqat expert. Due to the influence of Tuan Guru Ali Batu, the expression of religious life influenced by the tariqat in Sakra continues to exist today.

In the rest of southern Lombok, Sufism, and tariqa groups continue to be very influential and dominant. The majority of Jerowaru people, continue to practice tasawwuf and tariqat, especially the Naqsabandiyah tariq. Tuan Guru Muhammad Mutawalli Yahya Al-Kalimi was an important and influential figure in Jerowaru, even becoming a Murshid of the Naqsabandiyah order. He left for Mecca around 1945 A.D. and spent much time there to advance Islam. After returning from Mecca, he participated in preaching around Jerowaru by opening religious practice councils and basic educational institutions such as the Nahdlatul Awam Education Institute and Darul Aitam Islamic Boarding School. The image and authority of Tuan Guru

Mutawalli were later succeeded by his sons, Tuan Guru Sibawaih and Tuan Guru Ukit. Tuan Guru Ukit is an interesting phenomenon; He was considered a member of the Order with an unusual appearance. Guru Ukit is even considered a Wali (religious leader), who presents themselves as crazy in some circles. Even though many people consider him a figure who takes Sufism seriously (Interview With HG, 2022). A brief description of the above figures shows that there was a geographical division of authority among religious leaders in East Lombok. Moreover, the study shows that there is no single authority within the Sasak Muslim community; On the contrary, each region greatly admires charismatic figures.

3.2. Fragmentation of Authority: Da'wa, Mass Islamic Organization, and Conflict

The death of Tuan Guru Zainuddin in 1997 caused a split within Nahdlatul Wathan (NW). Siti Rauhun and Siti Raihanun are Zainuddin's daughters who were involved in the NW leadership struggle (Hamdi, 2011, 2021). Eventually, Raihanun was elected and took over the leadership of the NW Islamic Organization following the results of the 10th Congress in Praya, Central Lombok. Siti Rauyun's faction refused to accept the results of the congress, claiming that women were not allowed to become leaders in the Shafi'i school of thought. On the other hand, Siti Raihanun's election is a progressive achievement in the history of Islamic organizations in Indonesia, as she is the first female leader to achieve top leadership in Islamic organizations in Indonesia (Hamdi, 2021). In contrast to Hamdi's description, this article explains how the conflict led to power struggles in the third generation, especially Zainul Majdi and Zainuddin Tsani.

The death of Tuan Guru Zainuddin in 1997 caused a split within Nahdlatul Wathan (NW). Siti Rauhun and Siti Raihanun are Zainuddin's daughters who were involved in the NW leadership struggle. Eventually, Raihanun was elected and took over the leadership of the NW Islamic Organization following the results of the 10th congress in Praya, Central Lombok. Siti Rauyun's faction refused to accept the results of the congress, claiming that women were not allowed to become leaders in the Shafi'i school of thought. On the other hand, Siti Raihanun's election is a progressive achievement in the history of Islamic organizations in Indonesia, as she is the first female leader to achieve top leadership in Islamic organizations in Indonesia (Hamdi & Smith, 2012). Unlike Hamdi's description, this article explains how the conflict led to power struggles in the third generation, especially Zainul Majdi and Zainuddin Tsani (Interview with ABQ, 2022).

RTGB Zainuddin Tsani also uses mysticism-based strategies to build his authority. He often stated in his speeches that his grandfather visited him in his dreams to guide him to lead NW. According to Alatas, traditionalist Muslims rely on the dream phenomenon as a form of

protection. For example, how Habib Luthfi's dream can be used to reconstruct Islamic history in Java. Habib Luthfi's dream code can be used as a guide to finding the tomb of an unknown Wali in Java (Alatas, 2021). Anthropologically, Zainuddin Tsani's RTGB dream case is compatible with the Alatas framework, in traditional societies, dreams can be used as a source of information for the practice of Islamic da'wah. In this term, RTGB Zainuddin Tsani interpreted his grandfather's appearance in his dream to support him. Tsani also claimed his authority through educational institutions such as M'ahad Darul al-Qur'an wa-Alhadis in Anjani, East Lombok, by this institution RTGB Zainuddin Tsani was a figure who inherited the authority and da'wah struggle of his grandfather.

While in the context of Zainul Majdi, he did not inherit the title from his grandfather (Tuan Guru Zainuddin). The TGB title was awarded to Zainul Majdi by the community after returning from Al-Azhar University, Egypt in 1997 and starting his da'wah in Lombok (Interview with MZ, 2022). From Alatas Lens, Majdi built his authority by engaging in "articulation work," which he achieved through his eloquence and rhetoric in da'wah. TGB Zainul Majdi's religious authority is being formed in this way while he preached around Lombok Island. Zainul Majdi's cultural authority is also supported by Al-Azhar's alumni network. TGB's main supporters in mainstreaming Azhar-style Wasatiyah da'wah are Al-Azhar Alumni in Lombok (interview with MK, 2022). Zainul Majdi also founded the Azhar mediator, a kind of guidance institution for followers preparing to continue their education at Al-Azhar in Egypt. When Zainul Majdi joined politics, the title "Tuan Guru Bajang"—a young Tuan Guru (ulama)—also became an important political asset. For example, in the 2004 regional elections, the Moon Star Party (PBB) succeeded in electing Zainul Majdi as the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia. After that, with his influence and popularity as Tuan Guru, he won the 2008-2013 and 2013-2018 NTB gubernatorial elections. There were four significant results from the election of Zainul Majid as governor. First, it signaled the end of military and aristocratic control over the governor of NTB. Second, Zainul Majdi showed the success of the vertical mobility of student politics in Lombok. Third, Zainul Majdi became the first Tuan Guru to replace the Governor of NTB. Fourth, Zainul Majdi was the first NW cadre to be elected as Governor of NTB. This achievement influenced TGB Zainul Majdi's authority to be strengthened. He was able to establish and strengthen his political authority by winning the NTB gubernatorial election in 2008 (Hamdi, 2015).

The dynamic rivalry between the TGB duo in the NW neighborhood shows that authority in Islamic da'wah in East Lombok is fragmented. The split between the two factions was marked by proselytizing rivalry,

in addition to conflicts of power and the leadership of mass organizations. The dualism of leadership within the NW body then contributed to segregation, polarization, and even conflict at the grassroots level among NW congregations. The construction of authority between opposing parties had a domino effect on aspects of social relations between NW congregations in East Lombok, where there were fluctuating relations. This phenomenon seems to have emerged in recent years in Indonesian Muslim society, where the voices of clerics and fatwas find space for contestation in the public sphere (Kaptein, 2004).

3.3. Da'wa and fragmentation of religious Authority: The Role of NU in East Lombok.

After its formation as a political party in 1953, NU decided to leave Masyumi during the old order period, the momentum being a milestone in NU's expansion beyond Java, including Lombok. Basik, Nyaka, and Masbagik villages became the main focus of NU's da'wah movement in East Lombok in the 1950s. Tuan Guru Abdul Mannan in Bagik Nyaka and Tuan Guru Mahsun in Masbagik are two historical figures of NU's dissemination. H. Achsyit Muzhar is another prominent NU figure in Masbagik. He played an important structural role in NU's growth in Lombok. In particular, he served as Chairman of Tanfizd NU with Tuan Guru Shaleh Hambali as Rois Syuriah NU from 1953 to 1968 (Aniq, 2011; Nahdi, 2013)

The religious authority in Bagik Nyaka began to crack from within the NU family. Tuan Guru Husni, for example, was a pioneer of Salafi-Wahhabi proselytizing, even his son was the son of Tuan Guru Abdul Mannan a charismatic NU leader in East Lombok (Said, 2019). In 1989, TGH Abdul Manan established Pondok Pesantren Jamaludin Almanar Bagik Nyake, which is affiliated with NU. However, due to the death of Tuan Guru Almanan, the leadership of the Lodge was taken over by TGH. Husni and his younger brother TGH Manar. This pesantren then adopted Salafi-Wahabi Islam as its ideology. Thus, the people of Bagik Nyaka village are sociologically divided into two groups: the NU group and the Salafi-Wahhabi group. Meanwhile, in Masbagik, there was a dispute between Tuan Guru Mahsun and Tuan Guru Aschit Azhar's group in the 1980s. As a result, there was a separation of authority between two key NU figures. This disagreement separates the NU community in Masbagik into two identities: the Yadinu group, which follows Aschit Muzhar, and the al-ijtihad al-Mahsuni group, which follows Tuan Guru Mahsun (Wawancara dengan AM, 2022).

Currently, East Lombok NU figures are reorganizing their da'wah and political strategies. Because the fingers of religious authority—cultural capital—in society are, by definition, limited if not supported by political power. As a result, several figures, including Tuan Guru NU, took to the stage to participate in local Lombok political events. Both

in provincial and district DPRD elections. Later, since Jokowi's administration, NU's relationship with politics seems to have gained traction. This strengthens NU's strategic position. Jokowi appointed Ma'aruf Amin as vice president during his second term. Of course, the election of Ma'aruf Amin increased NU's access to resources and power. As a result, this has a positive impact on the growth of NU da'wah, including in Lombok.

NU's da'wah has recently developed in East Lombok. District-level NU administrators have begun implementing management reforms at the village level. NU also coordinates efforts to strengthen Jama'at bases in various villages. The distribution of NU educational institutions in various villages in the East Lombok region synchronizes efforts to strengthen NU's da'wah and religious practice gates. According to the documentation of the East Lombok PCNU board, NU East Lombok is currently reorganizing NU Islamic boarding schools to strengthen Islam aswaja An-nahdliyah (Interview with AS, 2022). East Lombok District has Islamic boarding schools affiliated with NU educational institutions, described in Table 1.

Table 1. Pesantren affiliated with NU educational institutions

No.	Boarding School Name / Address	Leaders
1.	Ponpes Al-Ijtidah, Danger, Masbagik	HJ. Nurhasanah.
2.	Ponpes Ihya Ulumuddin, Masbagik	TGH. Patahudin.
3.	Ponpes Al-Khaer, Masbagik	TGH. Madlul Khair
4.	Ponpes Tarbiyatul Muslimin, Dasan Malang	Ustd. Abdul Kadir
5.	Ponpes Al-Latifiyah, Tinggar, Sikur	H. Aminullah
6.	Ponpes Assyafiyah, Kilang Bendung	H. Ismail
7.	Ponpes Nurul Islam, Kembang Kuning	H. Lalu Suljan
8.	Ponpes Assholihyah, Santong, Terara	TGH. Abdul Kadir Jaelani
9.	Ponpes Nurussalam, Tetebatu	TGH. Subki
10.	Ponpes Islahul Muslimin, Jurit	Drs. Ezzudin
11.	Ponpes Yadinu, Banok, Masbagik	Munawir
12.	Ponpes Al-Hikam, Aikmel	Sunardi
13.	Ponpes Riyadul Falah, Aik Prarapa	Ustd. Marwan Hakim
14.	SMP Islam Dasan Bagek, Aikmel	Ustd. Hilmi,
15.	Ponpes Jamiyatul Islamiyah, Bebidas	H. Mukhtar
16.	SMP Islam Al-Ma'arif, Bebidas	Ustd. Rasyidin
17.	Ponpes Al-Manan, Bagek Nyaka	TGH. Zamharir
18.	Ponpes Hidayatul Islam, Bagek Nyaka	TGH. Abdul Azim
19.	Ponpes Sirojul Ulum, Mamben Daya	TGH. Akmal
20.	Ponpes Nahdlatulsofiyah, Wanasaba	Ust. Anwar

21.	Ponpes Baiturrahim, Bagek Payung	Ust. Suhaili
22.	Ponpes Al-Latifiyah, Terara	Ustd. Yusuf
23.	SMA Islam Perigi	Asri Mardianto
24.	Ponpes Al-Anwar, Rensing	H. Anwar
25.	Ponpes Jamiatul Islam, Pancor	Hamdan Lilmubtadi.
26.	Raudatul Atfal, Pancor	Bisri Syamsuri.
27.	Ponpes Izzudin Albadar, Rakam	TGH. Athar
28.	Jamiatul Mu'min, Paok Pampang	TGH. Suryadi
29.	Ponpes Darussalam Al-Qubro, Moyot	TGH. Yahya Ibrahim
30.	SMP Islam Sakra	TGH. Afhar Izzudin
31.	Ponpes Assyafiiyah, Kabar	TGH. M. Syafii
32.	Ponpes Al-Ma'rif, Dasan Baru	Ustd. Hasan, BA
33.	Ponpes Bintang Sembilan, Geres	Lalu Nurman
34.	Ponpes Al-Wusto, Jerowaru	TGH. Abdul Azis Ansori
35.	Ponpes Kudwatussolihin, Jerowaru	Ustd. Ridwan, S.PdI
36.	Ponpes Darul Qur'an, Jerowaru	TGH. Hamdani Yamin
37.	Ponpes Islahul Islam, Batu Putik	Abdurrahman, S.PdI

According to Fajri, figures from the NU generation, as shown in the table above, are doing "particularity work", that is building and strengthening their da'wah base through the construction of pesantren and engagement with local communities. The presence of NU pesantren in villages will undoubtedly be a stronghold for Aswaja-Islam Nusantara in East Lombok. Furthermore, the cadre process in pesantren, the cadre process through educational institutions, can be carried out more effectively. In terms of da'wah, the relationship between NU and NW in East Lombok can be described as conducive and cooperative in many ways. Because these two organizations share the task of preaching Aswaja to the people of East Lombok. Furthermore, this unity is realized because there are no significant differences between the two organizations. Salafi-Wahhabi groups are common enemies that NU and NW fight together (interview F, 2022). However, in terms of politics, the relationship between NU and NW is often different. As a result, when it comes to politics, relations between NU and NW can sometimes be strained.

3.4. The Emergence of Salafi-Wahhabi: Challenging Traditional Religious Authority

Kehadiran kelompok Salafi-Wahhabi di Lombok adalah bagian dari proyek salafisme global yang didanai Saudi. Pemerintah Saudi menyalurkan dana kurang lebih USD 90 miliar ke berbagai belahan dunia melalui lembaga Rabithah al-'alam al-Islami dan International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) untuk memperkuat gerakan globalisasi Salafi (Zargar, 2017). In Indonesia, the aid was distributed

by Rabithah al-'alam al-Islami and the International Islamic Relief Organization (IIRO) through the Indonesian Islamic Da'wah Council (DDII) and LIPIA. The funds are then channeled through both institutions to educational institutions, foundations, or individuals who support the spread of Salafi Islamic ideology in Indonesia (Kaptein, 2004; Zargar, 2017)

The Wahhabi presence in East Lombok began in the late 1980s, encouraged by Tuan Guru Husni. Salafi-Wahhabi has grown significantly in East Lombok over the past two decades. Indicators of the success of Salafi-Wahhabi da'wah can be measured along with the development of educational institutions managed in various regions of Lombok. Some well-established Salafi-Wahhabi boarding schools include: A Muslim Imam Islamic Boarding School was established in Bagik Nyake. In the 2011/2012 school year, this Islamic boarding school changed its name to Pondok Pesantren As-Sunnah Bagik Nyake. Abu Hurairah Islamic Boarding School in Mataram, Abuzar al Gifari Islamic Boarding School in West Lombok, Ma'had Islah Bina al-ummah, As-sunnah Islamic Boarding School in Bagik Nyaka, and Anas Bin Malik Islamic Boarding School in Wanasaba these pesantren are Salafi-Wahhabi forms that are widespread in Lombok. In addition to pesantren, Salafi-Wahhabi groups intensively build mosques in rural areas as an infiltration strategy to target rural communities with their da'wah. The distribution of Salafi-Wahhabi Islamic boarding schools in NTB is shown in table 2.

Table 2. Salafi Boarding Schools Data in Lombok

No	Regions	Salafi Boarding Schools
1	East Lombok	Pondok Pesantren Assunah, Bagik Nyake
		Pondok Pesantren Anas Bin Malik, Bebidas, Wanasaba
		Pondok Pesantren Tahfidzul Qur'an dan Dirasat Islam Ibnu Abbas, di Suralaga
		Pondok Pesantren Al-Islah Bina al-Ummah, Aikmel
		Pondok Pesantren Darul Palah, Toya
		Pondok Pesantren Wadi al- Qur'an, Suntalangu
		Pondok Pesantren Jamaludin al- Manar, Bagik Nyake
		Pondok Pesantren Utsman Bin Affan, Dasan Lekong
2	Central Lombok	Pondok Pesantren Arrisalah, Semparu
		Pondok Pesantren Imam Syafi'i, Praya
3	Mataram City	Ponpes Abu Hurairah, Mataram.
		Pondok Tahfiz Ubay Bin Ka'ab, Cakranegara

The table above shows that Salafi-Wahhabi organizations are growing rapidly in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara. East Lombok has the highest

population density of the Salafi-Wahhabi sect. According to research on the distribution of Salafi-Wahhabi Islamic boarding schools, East Lombok has the highest number of Salafi-Wahhabi Islamic boarding schools. There are two previously established Aswaja Islamic organizations in East Lombok, such as NU and NW.

The study found that there are several factors contributing to the acceptance of Salafi-Wahhabi in East Lombok. First, there is the humanitarian movement. Salafi-Wahhabi groups are increasingly adjusting their da'wah strategies and management; They no longer simply condemn the practices considered heresy and shirk of religious leaders. They gain public sympathy through philanthropic initiatives such as providing borewells, providing water pipes to those in need, providing assistance or compensation to disadvantaged families, and providing scholarships to children who wish to continue their studies in the Middle East. Second, health clinics are used to provide health services. Salafi-Wahhabi health clinics, when properly managed, provide medical assistance. As a result, the presence of the clinic is beneficial for many. Third, in remote villages, mosques are being built. These programs usually target remote rural areas with a few influential figures. As a result, they were able to persuade the locals to follow Wahhabi teachings.

As newcomers, Salafi-Wahhabi groups preaching Puritanism often cause conflict with mainstream society such as the Nahdaltul ulama, Nahdaktul Wathan, and Tarekat groups in various places. The people of Pringgasela, Pringgabaya, and Mamben Daya, for example, have recently rejected Salafi-Wahhabi ideology and banned the construction of mosques. Amid the tension of conflict and people's rejection of Salafi-Wahhabi ideology, they have become widespread. This shows that Salafi-Wahhabi groups in East Lombok are resilient in the face of repeated rejection. Because surviving and growing in the face of opposition is difficult.

The Salafi-Wahhabi controversy in Lombok has created the possibility of conflict. In Lombok, Salafi Ustadz lectures continue to target the religious practice of aswaja groups such as NW, NU, maraqit ta'limat, and tariqa. First, religious arguments must be based on the Qur'an and hadith. Secondly, the justification must be applied according to the valid text. Thirdly, there is no room for reason in the Islamic faith; it must be based on the arguments of the naqli (Qur'an and Hadith). Furthermore, Wahhabi da'wah content focuses on heresy, shirk, and superstition. They criticize mainstream Islamic groups in Lombok for ritual practices such as the maqam pilgrimage, tahlilan, spring safety rituals, sea safety, the Prophet's birthday, and Isra 'Mi'raj celebrations (Said, 2019).

In January 2022, Aswaja Islamic organizations and the general public in Lombok launched a wave of protests and rejection of Salafi-

Wahhabi ideology. The incident was triggered by a viral video clip of a lecture by Ustaz Mizan (a Wahhabi figure), which was deemed "insulting" to the tradition of visiting Sasak Muslim burial sites. The video clip mentions several tombs in Lombok which are important pilgrimage sites for the Sasak Muslim community. Ustaz Mizan later named one of the sacred tombs "Tain Acong" (dog dung grave). This statement angered the Sasak Muslim community and sparked massive protests against the Wahhabi group. This case made Aswaja Islamist groups such as NU, NW, Maraqit, and tariqa groups unite against Wahhabism as a "common enemy". Even the Sasak Customary Council responded to the video, claiming that Ustaz Mizan's words had insulted customs, traditions, and honorable figures in the grave pilgrimage tradition (interview with MB, 2022). The unity of all social groups in Lombok has shown that their confusion stems from two factors: ideological confusion and ethnic alienation – the Sasak people's disdain for their ancestral graves.

As a result of this case, an unknown mob attacked the main Salafi-Wahhabi headquarters, Pondok Pesantren As-Sunnah in Bagik Nyake, Aikmel, East Lombok. The incident occurred at around 2:10 a.m. The mob damaged six cars and set fire to one Avanza (MA interview, 2022). Hundreds of mobs went on a rampage and set fire to Islamic boarding school facilities. The mob also burned to build materials at the Sunnah Mosque in Mamben. The crowd also demonstrated against the East Lombok Regent building, demanding that the government dissolve Wahhabi ideology in Lombok. The case was reported to authorities by a group of people who identified themselves as anti-Wahhabi. As a result, Ustaz Mizan was charged with Article 14 paragraphs 1, 2, and 15 of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 1 of 1946 concerning Criminal Law Regulations and/or Article 28 paragraph 2 junction of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions. Article 14 of Law Number 1 of 1946 concerning the Regulation of Criminal Law regulates the problem of spreading fake news, which can cause a public uproar. As stated in paragraph 1, the maximum penalty is ten years imprisonment. Then, Article 28 paragraph 2 of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions, regulates hate speech that causes hatred or hostility towards individuals and/or certain groups of people based on ethnicity, religion, race, and intergroup relations (SARA). Article 45 paragraph 2 of Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 19 of 2016 concerning Amendments to Law of the Republic of Indonesia Number 11 of 2008 concerning Electronic Information and Transactions, with a maximum prison sentence of 6 years and a fine of Rp 1 billion. The

Wahhabi case shows that the new religious authority in Islamic da'wah in Lombok was established through the Wahhabi ideology, whose alliance is Saudi Arabia, specific graduates of the University of Medina. The presence of the Wahhabi Ustaz further challenged the superiority of NW, NU, Maraqit Ta'limat, and the Tuan Guru tariqa. Therefore, religious authority becomes fragmented.

4. Conclusion

An important finding of the study is that religious authority in Lombok is held by Middle Eastern alumni because of their special work in public da'wah. If someone is not a Middle Eastern alumnus, they will not be recognized. They were given less credit for their proselytizing ability. However, the religious authority may sometimes be recognized if one is connected to a Middle Eastern alumni group, either through a scholarly tradition or an Islamic organization, such as NU and NW. In addition, authority in da'wah in East Lombok is divided among Islamic elite groups (especially Middle Eastern alumni such as Madrasah Shaulatiyyah) Darul Ulum, alumni of Al-Azhar Egypt, and alumni of Madinah University. The presence of Wahhabi da'wah in East Lombok has an impact on social polarization. Salafi Wahhabi Ustaz emerged as the new authority winning the support of Lombok's Sasak Muslim community. As a result, the Wahhabi Ustaz challenged the authority of Tuan Guru from the NU, NW, and Tariqa groups. This phenomenon resulted in the polarization of religious authorities in Lombok.

A dynamic competition of Islamic religious authorities exists on the island of Lombok, Indonesia. However, it has some limitations in terms of respondents as some targeted interviewees are unwilling to participate in interviews. An informant is a person who is also the center of a particular group of Islamic organizations. Therefore, future studies may address this issue to gain better insight from studies on religious authority in Lombok Indonesia. In the same way, future studies may seek out those around him to examine their views regarding the ownership of da'wah authority among Islamic groups in the study. An important implication of the study is that fragmentation of religious authority can legitimize the power of preaching in the public eye. In addition, Islamic da'wah authorities in Lombok-Indonesia can provide insight for other religious authorities on the successful spread of Islam in the world.

Bibliography

Alatas, I. F. (2019). *A Ḥadramī Sufi Tradition in the Indonesian Archipelago*. University of Hawai'i Press.

- Alatas, I. F. (2020). Dreaming saints: exploratory authority and Islamic praxes of history in Central Java. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 26(1), 67–85. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9655.13177>
- Alatas, I. F. (2021). What is religious authority?: Cultivating Islamic communities in Indonesia (Vol. 85). Princeton University Press.
- Aniq, A. F. (2011). Lombok Islam in the Eyes of Anthropologists. *Alqalam*, 28(2), 197. <https://doi.org/10.32678/alqalam.v28i2.1372>
- Arsalan, S. (2014). Limaza Ta'akhar al-Muslimun Wa Taqaddama Ghairuhum. *Maktabah al-Funun wa al-Adab*.
- Aswasulasikin, Pujiani, S., & Ibrahim, D. S. M. (2020). Tuan Guru: A Leader of Rural Education Development. *Proceedings of the 1st Progress in Social Science, Humanities and Education Research Symposium (PSSHRS 2019)*, 464(Psshers 2019), 1026–1030. <https://doi.org/10.2991/assehr.k.200824.227>
- Bennett, A., & Elman, C. (2006). Qualitative research: Recent developments in case study methods. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 9(2001), 455–476. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.8.082103.104918>
- Black, H. L. (1960). The bill of rights. *NyUL Rev.*, 35(1), 865.
- Budiwanti, E. (2014). The Purification Movement in Bayan, North Lombok: Orthodox Islam vis-à-vis Religious Syncretism. In *Between Harmony and Discrimination: Negotiating Religious Identities within Majority-Minority Relationships in Bali and Lombok* (pp. 144–162). Brill. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271494_007
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Second Edi). SAGE Publication.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Eduful, M., Alsharif, K., Eduful, A., Acheampong, M., Eduful, J., & Mazumder, L. (2020). The illegal artisanal and small-scale mining (galamsey)'menace'in Ghana: is military-style approach the answer? *Resources Policy*, 68(1), 101732.
- Fadli, A. (2016). Intelektualisme Pesantren: Studi Geneologi dan Jaringan Keilmuan Tuan Guru di Lombok. *El-Hikam*, 9(2), 287–310.
- Fahrurrozi. (2018). Tuan guru and social change in Lombok, Indonesia. *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 46(135), 117–134.
- Hamdi, S. (2011). Politik, Agama Dan Kontestasi Kekuasaan Nahdlatul Wathan Di Era Otonomi Daerah Lombok. *Jurnal Review Politik*, 1(2), 130–147.
- Hamdi, S. (2015). Tuan Guru: Politik dan Kekerasan-Ritual dalam Konflik Nahdlatul Wathan di Lombok Nusa Tenggara Barat. *Teologia*, 26(2), 242–269.
- Hamdi, S. (2021). Wahhabism and the Shariah State in Indonesia. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3767226>
- Hamdi, S., & Smith, B. J. (2012). Sisters, militias and Islam in conflict: questioning 'reconciliation' in Nahdlatul Wathan, Lombok, Indonesia. *Contemporary Islam*, 6(1), 29–43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11562-011-0168-5>

- Hashim, C. N., & Langgulang, H. (2008). Islamic religious curriculum in Muslim countries: The experiences of Indonesia and Malaysia. *Bulletin of Education & Research*, 30(1), 1–19.
- Jamaluddin, J. (2016). Abdul Gafur: Keterlibatan Ulama Sasak Dalam Jaringan Ulama (1754-1904). *Al-Qalam*, 22(1), 49. <https://doi.org/10.31969/alq.v22i1.307>
- Kaptein, N. J. G. (2004). The voice of the “Ulamā”: Fatwas and religious authority in Indonesia. *Archives de Sciences Sociales Des Religions*, 125(1), 115–130. <https://doi.org/10.4000/assr.1038>
- Kingsley, J. J. (2012). Peacemakers or Peace-Breakers? Provincial Elections and Religious Leadership in Lombok, Indonesia. *Indonesia*, 93(1), 53–82. <https://doi.org/10.5728/indonesia.93.0053>
- Kingsley, J. J. (2014). Redrawing Lines of Religious Authority in Lombok, Indonesia. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 42(5), 657–677. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/15685314-04205010>
- Mack, N., Woodson, C., MacQueen, K. M., Guest, G., & Namey, E. (2005). *Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector’s Field Guide*. Family Health International. <http://www.fhi.org>
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. Revised and Expanded from “Case Study Research in Education.” Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Nahdi, K. (2013). Dinamika Pesantren Nahdlatul Wathan dalam Perspektif Pendidikan, Sosial, dan Modal. *ISLAMICA*, 7(2), 381–405.
- Neuman, W. L. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Seventh Ed). Pearson Education.
- Parhanudin, M. A. (2020). Analysis of Social Structure and Power Relations In NW Anjani Community. *Sophist: Jurnal Sosial Politik Kajian Islam Dan Tafsir*, 2(1), 1–37.
- Ray, D. I. (1996). Divided sovereignty: traditional authority and the state in Ghana. *The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law*, 28(37–38), 181–202.
- Said, M. (2019). Dinamika Wahabisme di Lombok Timur: Problem Identitas, Kesalehan dan Kebangsaan. *Fikrah*, 7(1), 167–194.
- Tanwir, M. (2007). *Pemberontakan rakyat Sasak terhadap kerajaan Bali di Lombok tahun 1891-1894*. Jakarta: Fakultas Adab dan Humaniora UIN Syarif Hidayatullah, 2007.
- Weber, M. (2019). Authority and Social Work. In S. A. Yelaja (Ed.), *Concept and Use* (pp. 65–76). University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/doi:10.3138/9781487575656-011>
- Zaini, A. (2022). Modernizing Islamic education in the most populated Muslim world. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 16(1), 175–196.
- Zargar, C. (2017). Origins of Wahhabism from Hanbali Fiqh. *UCLA Journal of Islamic and Near Eastern Law*, 16(1), 65–114. <https://doi.org/10.5070/n4161038736>