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Religion and Authority: The Role of Tuan Guru in Shaping the Islamic Discourse of Sasak Community in Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

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Abstract

Lombok's religious characteristics evolved concurrently with Tuan Guru's role as the primary knowledge source in the community. Tuan Guru plays a crucial religious role in domestic and public spheres, inspiring the Sasak people in Lombok. This article discusses Tuan Guru's role in generating religious knowledge through power and authority. The paper explores the relationship between power and knowledge possessed by Tuan Guru, examining the growing Islamic discourse. It adopts a hysterographic study approach, analyzed through the genealogy of Michael Foucault's theory of power and knowledge. This study aims to analyze and construct data from discourses, patterns, and public spaces related to the Tuan Guru phenomenon in Lombok. The findings highlight Tuan Guru's pivotal role in disseminating Islamic teachings in Lombok society, showcasing his awareness of the authority in producing, influencing, and contributing to the development of Islamic style. This socio-religious scientific development study portrays Tuan Guru's role in knowledge production, offering a significant development in understanding the Islamicity that has flourished not only in Lombok but possibly in other regions in Indonesia and the world.

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Karakteristik keagamaan di Lombok berkembang seiring dengan peran Tuan Guru sebagai sumber pengetahuan utama masyarakat. Tuan Guru memainkan peran keagamaan yang penting baik di ranah

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domestik maupun publik, serta menginspirasi masyarakat Sasak di Lombok Artikel ini membahas tentang peran Tuan Guru dalam menghasilkan pengetahuan agama melalui kekuasaan dan otoritas. Tulisan ini mengeksplorasi hubungan antara kekuasaan dan pengetahuan yang dimiliki oleh Tuan Guru, serta mengkaji wacana Islam yang berkembang. Kajian ini mengadopsi pendekatan studi histerografi yang dianalisis melalui genealogi teori Michael Foucault tentang kekuasaan dan pengetahuan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis dan mengkonstruksi data dari wacana, pola, dan ruang publik terkait fenomena Tuan Guru di Lombok. Temuan ini menyoroti peran penting Tuan Guru dalam menyebarkan ajaran Islam di masyarakat Lombok, serta menunjukkan kesadarannya akan otoritas dalam memproduksi, mempengaruhi, dan berkontribusi terhadap pengembangan gaya Islam. Kajian pengembangan keilmuan sosio-religius ini menggambarkan peran Tuan Guru dalam produksi ilmu pengetahuan, serta menawarkan perkembangan signifikan dalam pemahaman keislaman yang berkembang tidak hanya di Lombok tetapi mungkin di wilayah lain di Indonesia dan dunia.

Keywords: authority; discourse; Sasak Islam; Tuan Guru

Introduction

Islam has come to Indonesia since the 8th century AD. The development of Islamic civilization began around the 13th century AD, including the development of the Ṭarīqa organization (Dhofier, 1985). The growing thesis strengthens data related to Sasaknese Islam. Three external influences existed in Lombok and affected Sasak people in the 19th century: 1) The influence of Javanese culture was strong from the 15th to 16th centuries; 2) The combination of Balinese political influence in the 17th century; and 3) Consolidation of Balinese political control from the early 18th century. Javanese influence develops in the fields of culture and religion, evidenced by the title *Nagara Kertagama*, a lontar manusscript that tells the history and the grave of the brother of King of Majapahit in the valley of Sembalun (Kraan, 2009).

During this time, Islam Sasak tribes were grouped into Islam "*Wetu Telu*" [1] and Islam "*Wetu Lima*". This categorization has been popularised

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[1] "The term "*Wetu Telu*" consists of two words, namely "*wetu*" which means to appear/come out, and "*telu*" which means "three". From this meaning the *Wetu Telu* community constructs their cosmology that this universe is realized through three processes; "*menganak*" (give birth),

by Erni Budiwanti (2000), who stated in the *Wetu Telu* Islamic community (three times) that the obligation to perform prayers (prayers) is addressed to *kiai* (religious leaders) and *penghulu* (Islamic wedding officiate), where according to their believes, those who are not *kiai* or *penghulu* are not obliged to pray (*salat*). Followers of the "*Wetu Telu*" doctrine are also said to only recognize the three pillars of Islam: *syahadatain*, prayer, and fasting during Ramadan. Another Sasaknese Islam community is "*Wetu Lima*", which is defined as the Sasak Muslim community who adheres to the Islamic *sharī'a* based on the Qur'an and Hadith (Budiwanti, 2000) .

Some of the Tuan Guru figures who lived around the 18th century namely Tuan Guru Umar, *Buntimbe* (Central Lombok) Tuan Guru Amin, *Sesela* (West Lombok), and Tuan Guru Mustafa *Sekarbela* (West Lombok) (Jamaludin & Fakhriati, 2011). Those three Tuan Guru were predicted to be with the ulama' of another archipelago when studying in Mecca, from these three Tuan Guru. The next generations of Tuan Guru were born, forming a network of Tuan Guru, adherents of Sufism, and spreaders of ṭarīqa teachings throughout Lombok.

The students of the three early Tuan Guru then continued the Naqshabandiyah-qadiriyah Ṭarīqa in Lombok (Jamaludin & Fakhriati, 2011). At least three prominent figures contributed significantly to spread ṭarīqa in Lombok: Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, Tuan Guru Sidik Karang Kelok, and Tuan Guru Mustafa Pejeruk. These three figures received diplomas directly as caliph of the Naqshabandy order of Shaykh Abdul Karim Banten while studying in Mecca (Jamaludin & Fakhriati, 2011; Telle, 2016). Through these three figures, the teachings of the ṭarīqa were almost evenly distributed and became the dominant religious pattern on the island of Lombok.

Along with the times and social changes, around the 1930s, there was a backflow of Lombok students from Mecca, thus presenting new teacher figures. One of the most prominent is Tuan Guru Zainuddin Abdul Madjid[2]

"*menteloq*" (lay eggs) and "*mentioq*" (grow). Based on that view, the Wetu Telu communities always build harmony with creatures, nature, and God" (Wacana, 1979).

[2] Tuan Guru Zainuddin is the grandfather of TGB Zainul Majdi (the former Governor of West Nusa Tenggara Province 2008 - 2018).

(founder of *Nahldaltul Wathan*); he was known as the most influential Tuan Guru on the island of Lombok in the 19th century. Early in his career, since his return from Makkah, Tuan Guru Zainuddin founded an al-Mujahidin school in Pancor Village as a place for religious education for youth. The background of the establishment of this *Pesantren* is his dissatisfaction with the religious reality of the Sasak ethnic group at that time, where many Tuan Guru teaches religion using books Malays such as *Bidāyah al-Mubtadi' wa Umdah al-Awlād*, Communion of Languages Malay by Shaykh Muhammad Irsyad Banjar, *Sabīl al-Muhtadīn li al-Tafaqquh fi Amri al-Dīn*. In addition, he sees the religious reality of the model ṭarīqa that deviates from the *sharī'ah*. On that basis, Tuan Guru Zainuddin started to carry out the Sasak Islamic reform movement. According to him, some practices of the ṭarīqa group had "deviated" from the *sharī'ah*. He firmly refers to specific groups of ṭarīqa as "devil orders" and "heretics" (Madjid, 2002).

Later, the backflow of Lombok students from Mecca gave rise to another type of religion, Wahhabism. This understanding first appeared in East Lombok. This group continued to grow and become the new identity of Sasaknese Islam. As well as immediately established mosques and institutions of Islamic education; even more so, they also used radio da'wah, Facebook fan pages, the web, and YouTube to spread his teachings. Wahhabis with the Designation "*Al-rujū' ila al-Qur'ān wa al-Sunnah*" and the spirit of protecting purity of Islam, has undergone many changes. Government of Saudi Arabia of the 1940s did not allow radio, the radio antenna that was installed at that time in the city of Medina (Soekarno, 2005). The presence of this group strongly contradicts the two models of the previous religion, ṭarīqa and *fiqh-sharī'a*. According to this group, there have been many deviations from the two religious' models, such as grave pilgrimage, *tahlilan, barzanji* reading, and other rituals that are not a basis in the Qur'an and Hadith.

Some articles discussing the role of Tuan Guru include The religious role of Tuan Guru, which illustrates that Tuan Guru plays a role in spreading Islam in Lombok so that it gets the nickname of a thousand mosques (Mawalidin, 2021). According to Fitriani (2016), the Tuan Guru, as a religious symbol, plays a role in social change in Lombak society. This is

reinforced that Tuan Guru has charismatic leadership authority in shaping religious culture (Safinah & Arifin, 2021). However, in the presence of a new religious model, the Wahhabi circles question Tuan Guru's authority as the sole source (Saparudin, 2022).

This article looks at Tuan Guru's role in spreading Islam in Lombok, arguing that the early Sasak Islamic identity was the tarekat model of Sufism, not "*Wetu Telu*" Islam. Because da'wah and early Islamization on the island of Lombok cannot be separated from the role and activities of the tarekat leaders, it cannot be denied that the dominant feature of Indonesian Islam in the early days was the tasawuf-tarekat version of Islam (Steenbrink, 1984).

This article is field research taken in East Lombok, especially Wanasaba and Aikmel Districts. This location was chosen based on the reason that the three religious sects were growing rapidly in the area. The data collection method is by observation. The observation stage was carried out by participating in observation and extracting information from informants consisting of community groups, such as Tarekat leaders, leaders of Islamic organizations, leaders of Islamic boarding schools, leaders of Salafi-Wahhabi groups and Islamic ummah (Sasak community) spread across the two sub-districts. This article uses Focault's theory of power and knowledge which states that power is understood as a strategy and is not detrimental and repressive. On the contrary, it is positive and productive. On the one hand, discourse is an instrument of power, but on the other hand, power also produces discourse. Power through the will to know will create discourse. Furthermore, through discourse, the will to know is formulated in knowledge (Foucault, 1980).

The Role of "Tuan Guru" Shaping Islamic Discourse in Lombok

The movement carried out by the Tuan Guru, who belongs to the ṭarīqa is religious-anthropological and combines beliefs, culture, and religion. The existence of a dialogue between the three elements in the religious expression of Tuan Guru, who is an homage to Sufism, can be said that animism is still strong but can dialogue with other factors, namely Islam. When Islam first entered Lombok, negotiations on the religious teachings and beliefs of the

Sasak people could be formed. The followers of the Kiai who still believe in the teachings of animism are still recognized as Muslims; this ṭarīqa group believes that it is the Sasak, particularly the Sasak people. Their religious practice still mixes animism, Islamic teachings, and Hindu culture, such as praying, cleaning the house, and placing women in position. The followers of this charity do not believe in prayers that must be performed five times a day because, for this group, the standard in serving and upholding teachings is its essence, such as believing in God, not only the practice of the *Sharī'a*. The Ṭarīqa-style from the Tuan Guru association appeared earlier, after the Islamization of Lombok. However, along the way, believing in the essence without having to carry out *fiqh-sharī'a* has become a new dynamic and discourse for the people of Lombok. There are several reasons related to the dynamics of ṭarīqa-Sufism, namely the use of ṭarīqa that is not in accordance with religious teachings, ṭarīqa practitioners are generally people who have not taught religion properly, the failure of cadres to continue the ṭarīqa, and the absence of authority in controlling the ṭarīqa.

The phenomenon of the practice of the Sufi orders that developed in the Sasak community received a response from the Tuan Guru, who came from Mecca. This is because the ṭarīqa model adopted by the Sasak people is considered to have deviated from the teachings of Islamic law (interview with young leaders NU Lombok in Bebidas Village, September 12, 2021).

One of the figures is Tuan Guru Zainuddin, a charismatic figure with strong religious abilities. Tuan Guru Zainuddin's criticism of the practice of ṭarīqa developed in the Sasak community because of using Malay books when studying Islamic teachings. The use of the Malay language in teaching Islam to the public does not illustrate the lack of religious references that use primary sources. In addition, the symptoms of using ṭarīqa are made for personal gain and sometimes to deceive the public (Madjid, 2002).

The inability of the ṭarīqa groups to understand religious teachings with primary language becomes a problem in teaching religious teachings; this reality also indicates the absence of Islamic teaching competence of the Tuan Guru. Likewise, the use of ṭarīqa for personal crimes is increasing. Therefore, to perfect the teachings of Islam correctly, Tuan Guru counters with moral

tasawuf, namely the ṭarīqa, which has a *sharī'ah* pattern by providing *Hizb Nadhlatul Wathan* and practices that have been perfected (interview with the caretaker of the Islamic Boarding School in Bebindas, September 12, 2021).

The Tuan Guru movement with a *fiqh-sharī'a* pattern found a new challenge, namely, when the wave of Wahhabism entered Lombok; this movement entered in 1987 and spread its teachings to the Sasak people. For the Bebinda community, the entry of Wahhabism in its place was brought by Tuan Guru's son, who has an affiliate of Nahdlatul Ulama, namely Tuan Guru Husni. Tuan Guru Husni was sent to Mecca to study as a successor to his parents, but on the way, Tuan Guru Husni became a follower of Wahhabism. In many cases, this Wahhabism movement attacks the two former religious styles, ṭarīqa, and *sharī'ah,* because both are considered to have deviated from the teachings of "pure" Islam. These two religious styles have been mixed with traditions, customs, and ancestral beliefs, so they cannot be said to be Islamic teachings.[3]

The people of Lombok believe that every Tuan Guru is a person who has qualified religious knowledge and becomes an agent of social change for the people of Lombok through religious authority. According to Foucault's theory (Foucault, 1980), the phenomenon of the Tuan Guru combining knowledge and power the role of Tuan Guru has three points, namely, Tuan Guru as a person who has religious policies, Tuan Guru as an agent of social change, and Tuan Guru as a political agent (Fogg, 2019). The three regions illustrate Tuan Guru's role in building power relations in their respective regions.

Power and Knowledge Foucault' 's Perspective

Michel Foucault interprets the term for the following reasons. Power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and

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[3] The research results at the Al-Mujahidi Mosque, Kembang Kerang, Lombok, Monday, September 13, 2021.

confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another, and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies (Foucault, 1977b).

From this definition, it is urgent to underline that power does not belong to a particular person or group. Still, it is a process or strategy in every social relationship, such as between the president-the people, employers-workers, doctors-patients, teachers-students, scholars-religious communities, parents-children, husband and wife, and so on. The process was not done through confrontation but instead made the parties involved to support each other.

Discourse becomes an instrument of power. According to Foucault, what is meant by discourse is something produced by a group of signs, as well as formulation provisions, sentences, or propositions. Another term, discourse, is defined as a group of statements closely related to a single formation system (Foucault, 2002). Discourse spreads throughout a series of relation-ships in social life in various forms, such as laws, norms, interrogations, consultations, autobiographical narratives, or letters recorded, written, posted in documents, published, and commented on by others, including religious fatwas (Foucault, 1977b). This discourse will regulate how to think, how to behave, how to speak, how to define, how to act, and so on. This shows that discourse contains power or is often known as power discourse.

Power is understood as a strategy that is not harmful and repressive; on the contrary, it is positive and productive (Rabinow, 1984). Bertens stated that power does not destroy but produces. Power produces reality as spheres of objects and rites of truth (Bertens, 2001). The fact that appears first as a product of power is the birth of productive, skilled, and valuable individuals. A Muslim society that obeys religious orders is an example of reality as a constructive effect of power.

On the one hand, discourse is indeed an instrument of power, but on the other hand, power also produces discourse. Power through the will to know

will create discourse. Furthermore, through discourse, the choice to know is formulated in knowledge. Indeed, between power and knowledge, there is a mutually developing relationship. There is no power without knowledge, nor is there knowledge that does not presuppose the existence of power at the same time (Foucault, 1977a). For Example, in the Islamic tradition, an authoritative cleric conveys his ideas or sometimes vice versa; religious people come to him to ask for a fatwa on an issue, and then the cleric gives his fatwa. The Muslim community will assume that what has been stated by the ulema is a true teaching, what God wills, and scientific, so they follow it. When the ulema gives their fatwa, and then the Muslim community follows it, it also means that through the fatwa, the ulema or clergy have hegemonized the thoughts and directed the behavior of the religious community, that is where there is a relationship of power and discourse-knowledge. That means that to control other parties, discourse knowledge is needed. Conversely, one will prevent other parties from knowing.

Tuan Guru as a Symbol of Religious Authority

The spread of religious teachings always involves internal and external elements that can strengthen the position of individuals in spreading religious teachings so that they can be believed. According to Komaruddin Hidayat (1996), four things can cause people to have the power and legality in spreading religious teachings: revelation, empirical evidence, the power of reasoning, and established traditions.

Tuan Guru is a central figure in the spread of religion in Lombok, NTB (Nusa Tenggara Barat/West Nusa Tenggara). Tuan Guru's role in spreading Islam is not only limited to teaching, which is cognitive, but also practical. The central figure of Tuan Guru in people's lives is awakened by community members' awareness of religious authority, so Tuan Guru is an honorary title for someone with specific criteria (Fahrurrozi, 2018; Jamaludin, 2007). A person who can be awarded the title of Tuan Guru must have expertise, such as having performed the pilgrimage, having religious competence, teaching at a *Pesantren* or *ma'had*, and having many followers (religious congregations, students). Some of these aspects bring charisma to Tuan Guru among the society.

This phenomenon gave rise to charisma in the form of karamah, a spiritual and religious authority born of the culture and traditions that developed in Lombok. As the birthplace and a center of early Islam, Arabia is considered sacred, apart from Arab Mecca and Medina- the mecca of worship for Muslims worldwide. For the people of Lombok, people who have completed their education or performed the pilgrimage in Mecca carry an authentic and competent religious message (Safinah & Arifin, 2021; Saparudin, 2022). The tradition that developed in the Tuan Guru's family is to send or ask successors to continue their studies in Saudi Arabia; such as Prayer or Ummul Qara University at Madina; Islamic University of Medina; and several other Islamic countries in the Middle East. This tradition is one of the strategies of the Tuan Guru family to strengthen and become a source of religious authority. However, in other aspects, authority is built from the institution, followers, and relations between Tuan Guru.

Tuan Guru is an essential aspect of religion for the Sasak Islamic community in Lombok. With expertise only cannot make someone be a Tuan Guru, but also needs to be someone who has studied or lives in Mecca and around Middle-Eastern countries. Not all Sasak Muslims in Arab countries receive education or deepen Islam well enough to be in Tuan Guru's position as the holder of religious authority in the Sasak Islamic community of Lombok.[4] For the people of Lombok, Tuan Guru is a religious, spiritual reference who can provide solutions. In addition, Pour Guru is a religious agent who provides enlightenment and enlightenment.

Tuan Guru and Social Change Agent

Tuan Guru's strategic position in the Lombok community in spreading religious teachings has many dimensions; besides the religious dimension, it also has consequences on the social dimension (Fahrurrozi, 2018). In spreading religious teachings, Tuan Guru makes full use of the area and religious competence as a paradigm in changing the social life of the Lombok people (Mawalidin, 2021).

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[4] Results of the Forum Group Discussion in Lombok, September 14, 2021.

Social change in the Lombok community occurs gradually because Tuan Guru uses a socio-cultural approach to change the community's social conditions and does not anarchically and sporadically spread infectious subjects (Fitriani, 2016). The socio-cultural approach practiced by Tuan Guru is commonly known as Da'wah *Ngamarian* (da'wah traveling from one place to another) in spreading religious subjects carried out in small communities, such as family and neighbors. This reality is effectively carried out by looking at the social conditions of the Lombok people, who still have strong historical beliefs. However, after successfully spreading and teaching the basics of religion to family and neighbors, Tuan Guru will expand the recitation to local villages, neighboring villages, and even cross-districts (interview with one of the caregivers of the Islamic Boarding School in Wanasaba, September 13, 2021).

In specific contexts, the position of the guru is like that of the *Kiai* in Java, namely as a culture broker or mediator. According to Horikoshi, a Kiai has the power of discretion to change social systems with a broad scope, not only for the students (Horikoshi, 1987). Tuan Guru's position is the religion's central figure and the social center of the Sasak Lombok Islamic community. Because of his concern and skill in religion, Tuan Guru can be accepted for spreading the subject of religion, which covers the scope of the da'wah area.

Jamaludin and Fakhriati explained that the process of spreading and social change was carried out diligently and painstakingly by Tuan Guru to change the social life of the Sasak Islamic community in Lombok, as follows:

> "In the beginning, Tuan Guru will get recognition from his loyal followers or the *jama'ah*, his community. This limited recognition will continue to expand along with the expansion of the area of the study, starting from his family, his village, neighboring villages, to outside villages that are more distant" (Jamaludin & Fakhriati, 2011, p. 146).

The model of the spread of Islam carried out by Tuan Guru as a response to social phenomena that occurred in the undercurrent of the Sasak Islamic community in Lombok in the early days - although this still exists - must be considered a religious model. In addition, such a model is seen as effective in solving socio-religious problems.

In spreading the teachings of Islam, the master does not do it alone but is usually formed by the *khādim* (trusted person) to remind and determine the area that will be the trip. Usually, after arriving at the destination village, the Tuan Guru does the recital by reading to us or lecturing. This model is adapted to the social conditions of the surrounding community so that the scope of Tuan Guru's da'wah is not limited to Islamic boarding schools. Still, it also has a broadside; the places where the recitation will be held are usually in the mosque, *muṣalla*, or Islamic school, which became the center of Sasak Muslim religious activities in the early and later periods.

Religious Discourse as Tuan Guru's Identity

Discussing the Tuan Guru in the religious discourse of the Sasak community cannot be separated from the status, competence, and authority built in the community because of every dynamic and journey of the Tuan Guru in gaining sympathy and producing knowledge along with religious endeavors. In this context, the discussion related to Tuan Guru discusses three aspects: genealogy science, religious discourse, and the stage in creating knowledge.

The public sphere will not be practical without proper discourse offered; the public space is more of a narrative mastery used by Tuan Guru to strengthen identity and existence. More critical than public space is the Tuan guru's discursive role as a religious discourse of each different style growing in Lombok (Telle, 2009).

For Sufi-ṭarīqa Islam, there is an essential point in producing discourse delivered by Tuan Guru about three main principles as the basis and spirit of religion: divinity, humanity, and nature (personal communication with informant in Babedas, September 12, 2021). This discourse is urgently considered because the Sufi-ṭarīqa style departs from theosophical epistemology, mysticism, culture, and ancestral beliefs. The Sufi-ṭarīqa school has a new meaning: completing (finishing) prayer by praying only at certain times. Likewise, fasting is only performed at the beginning, middle, and end of fasting (Z. Hidayat & Syahrul, 2017).

In contrast to the Sufi-ṭarīqa, the *fiqh-sharī'a* group has a different discourse as an anti-thesis to the beliefs of the Sufi-ṭarīqa, which is to return to the teachings of Sharī'a Islam because the Sufi style is considered to have deviated. The discourses offered are the practice of *Hizb of Nahdlatul Wathan*, *fiqh*, moral *taṣauwuf*, and organizational strengthening.

This discourse is spread as an argument to legalize and strengthen followers in the public sphere. In this context, the role of the Tuan Guru is vital because no one can do it. This pattern not only criticizes but also answers the anxiety of the Sasak Islamic community in Lombok. The capacity of Tuan Guru, who is believed to have competence and charisma, cannot be doubted by the fatwa issued. This discourse is usually spread at the recitation or when the Tuan Guru is doing da'wah in the village or village (Mawalidin, 2021).

In the late 1990s, Salafi-Wahhabi groups began to show their da'wah in various places, especially mosques. The discourse concerns theology, culture, practice, social behavior, and clothing. Each discourse is broadcast in an open space, which sometimes causes conflict, such as in Pringgabaya near the port of East Lombok, between Salafi-Wahhabi and *fiqh-sharī'a* due to differences in the way of worship, such as praying and *wirid* after praying.

The Stage in Producing Tuan Guru Knowledge

The complex role of the Tuan Guru in Lombok society illustrates that each Tuan Guru has responsibility and influence on his ideological basis. The phenomenon of the shift in the Islamic orientation of the Lombok people cannot be separated from the role of the Tuan Guru in teaching and educating the community. This chapter will explain the public sphere that Tuan Guru commonly uses to attract the masses, how the discourse developed in Islamic discourse, and strategies to avoid conflicts between communities.

The competence and breadth of the master's da'wah area have strong potential to discuss religious teachings in the public sphere. This potential allows Tuan Guru to openly produce, contribute, and distribute spiritual teachings. In Yudi Latif's study (2012), discursive practices as the production, distribution, and consumption of text or reality are seen as

important as a medium and instrument of power struggle, social change, and social construction. Power struggles take place both within and over discourse. Discourse transmits power, but it also weakens the ability, makes power fragile, and gives the possibility to hinder power. Therefore, discursive practice becomes essential in social change because discourse has three constructive effects. That is, contributing to the formation of social identities, the formation of social relations, and the construction of conceptual or social knowledge and belief systems.

In the context of Lombok, religious groups are good at using public space as a stage for discourse in producing, contributing, and influencing people to join in the sects and ideologies they believe in, such as the Sasak Islamic school in the early days, which used the stage of the Islamic boarding school to construct its Islam (Safinah & Arifin, 2021).

The use of public space by Tuan Guru is realized that it can recruit, invite, and influence the community to join and become participants. Each master has a strategy for utilizing public space, starting with individual and communal awareness. According to one informant, every religious sect and style in Lombok has and utilizes public space to produce and dominate, such as Sufi orders that use Santren (religious rites in front of the house, such as a prayer room) as a public space. For the Sufi sect, the *Santren* Order is an adequate public space for teaching and disseminating its teachings because of its open nature, which is easily accessible to every follower (Fitriani, 2016).

Tuan guru's awareness of utilizing the Islamic boarding school as a public space is based on spiritual meaning and open access. In the spiritual context, *Santren* is a place of religious rituals that can produce knowledge and religious sacredness, eventually giving rise to charisma. In the early days, knowledge production was only obtained by the surrounding community through Islamic boarding schools; after that, it spread to many people, as stated by Jamaludin and Fakhriati (2011).

> "Mystical stories are usually conveyed first by his close followers or "adjutant" Tuan Guru; many stories come from close people or "insiders", then to the family, then to other people; at a certain level, this will reach the public. When this becomes a public assumption, this kind of story will be increasingly "developed" and cross the boundaries of facts. Mystical stories

that reach the community are rarely denied by the community, especially from among their close students. One's fanaticism towards the master usually drives this fear, so it is as if believing in it becomes a belief that cannot be denied."

According to Tuan Guru Ali Ramitami, *Santren* is also the center of religious civilization, like the early Sasak Islamic community who followed the Sufi-ṭarīqa pattern, because *Santren* has open access to their followers so that followers do not feel ashamed in interacting with their masters. *Santren* became a symbol of the authority of the Tuan Guru, who has a Sufi-ṭarīqa pattern; every issue can be discussed persuasively in the *Santren* room related to theological and spiritual teachings (Tyson, 2013). In the context of theology, society makes theosophical arguments and practices in the public sphere more cultural (Hamdi, 2018).

In the next period, along with the return of the masters who studied in the Middle East. The existence of Tuan Guru Sufi orders began to be challenged and criticized regarding religion, starting from the perception and practice of religious teachings. The presence of a religious model of *fiqh-sharī'a*: this Islamic model is present as an anti-thesis to the ṭarīqa Islamic movement.

Ṭarīqa Islam is considered to deviate from pure Islamic teachings because it does not practice Islamic teachings in accordance with *fiqh* rules. As for the Islamic religious style, *fiqh-sharī'a* by Tuan Guru Zainuddin Abd Madjid after returning from Mecca (personal communication with informant in Aikmel, September 12, 2021). The religious style of *fiqh-sharī'a* is an effort to restore Islamic teachings that are in accordance with the *sharī'a* because the ṭarīqa school has distorted Islam for personal interests. TG Zainuddin's students continued the spread of the *fiqh-sharī'a* style through the Mecca *Shalatiyah* alumni network using public spaces, namely through religious activities such as reading the *Ḥizb Nadhlatul Wathan* which was held as institutionalization in Islamic boarding schools, madrasah, da'wah, and organizations.

The religious style of *fiqh-sharī'a* has a cultural face like that of the Sufi-ṭarīqa; what distinguishes the two is the emphasis on expression and belief. For Sufi circles, culture is the goal of religious expression. At the same time, the *fiqh* style only assumes that culture is a medium for spreading religion because this style emphasizes the Sufism-akhlāqī of Imam al-Ghazali (interview with an informant in Babedas, September 12, 2021).

At the end of the 1980s, the puritanical Islamic style began to enter the island of Lombok; this coincided with the number of young men and teachers who studied in the Middle East, especially in Mecca and Medina. According to one of the informants, the religious practice developing in Lombok, the Sasak Islamic community, has left the pure teachings of Islam and is not even compatible with Islam because it smells of animism and tradition (Tyson, 2013). The person who spread the Salafi-Wahhabi religious style in East Lombok was Tuan Guru Husni shortly after returning from Mecca.

According to one sympathizer, the Salafi-Wahhabi religious style of Islam taught is not pure, and Islam has been mixed with culture and the occurrence of *kurafāt*. In producing knowledge as an authority, Salafi-Wahhabi groups use mosques, prayer rooms, and Islamic center buildings as public spaces to get sympathizers and gain knowledge.

Conclusion

This article shows that Tuan Guru has a role in shifting Islamic identity in Lombok. The role of Tuan Guru has a central position in the traditional life of the Lombok people. The role of the Tuan Guru, which includes religious and social fields, has a logical effect on the religious style in Lombok. In the religious field, Tuan Guru is believed to be the sole authority holder that not everyone can fulfill and achieve, and to get the title, Tuan Guru must fulfill several requirements, such as having studied in the Middle East, especially in Mecca and Medina, having performed the pilgrimage, having strong religious competence, having followers and preaching to the community.

Tuan Guru has a powerful influence in the social area, which aligns with the religious competence achieved. Tuan Guru is a socio-cultural agent who can produce and manage any social problems that occur in society. The reason is that Tuan Guru is the first person closest to the community's problems through recitation/da'wah and immediately answers the ummah's problems.[w]

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