

The Central Role of Tuan Guru in the 19th Century Social Revolution Movement in Lombok

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Abstract

This research discusses the central role of Tuan Guru in the social revolution movement of Sasak people against colonialism in Lombok island in the 19th century. This research was combined research (blended research) in qualitative research and used social movement theory as a collective action that offers change or resistance to bring about new life. The Sasak social revolution movement was motivated by the prolonged commonality of the fate suffered by the annexation of local and global colonialism-imperialism. The central role of Tuan Guru in the social revolution movement of Sasak people in the 19th century in Lombok began with the unification of social stratification between the ruling aristocratic group and the ruling non-aristocratic group, bound by a specific fraternity, the fraternal brotherhood (shufi brotherhood). The religious fraternity which transformed into tarekat communities in Lombok, especially Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah Congregation and Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah reconstructed themselves into a religio-political system in moving social revolution against colonialism which gave birth to rebellions and tyranny which contradicted Islamic doctrine in general and the teaching of tarekat in a religious way special.

Keywords: Colonialism in Lombok; Sasak People; Social Revolution; Tuan Guru.

Abstrak

Kajian ini membahas peran sentral tuan guru dalam gerakan revolusi sosial masyarakat Sasak melawan penjajahan di Pulau Lombok pada abad ke-19. Kajian ini menggunakan penelitian gabungan (blended research) dalam penelitian kualitatif dan menggunakan teori gerakan sosial sebagai aksi kolektif yang menawarkan perubahan atau perlawanan untuk memunculkan kehidupan baru. Gerakan revolusi sosial masyarakat Sasak dilatarbelakangi oleh kesamaan nasib yang diderita secara berkepanjangan akibat aneksasi kolonialisme-imperialisme lokal dan global. Peran sentral tuan guru dalam gerakan revolusi sosial masyarakat Sasak pada abad ke-19 di Lombok diawali dengan penyatuan stratifikasi sosial antara kelompok bangsawan yang menguasai dengan kelompok non-bangsawan yang dikuasai, diikat oleh persaudaraan spesifik yaitu persaudaraan kesufian (sufi brotherhood). Persaudaraan kesufian yang menjelma menjadi komunitas-komunitas tarekat di Lombok, terutama Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah dan Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah merekonstruksi diri menjadi sistem religio-politik dalam menggerakkan revolusi sosial melawan penjajahan yang melahirkan kemungkaran dan kezaliman yang bertentangan dengan doktrin Islam secara umum serta ajaran-ajaran tarekat secara khusus.

Kata Kunci: Kolonialisme di Lombok; Masyarakat Sasak; Revolusi Sosial; Tuan Guru.

INTRODUCTION

Tuan Guru in the general view of Sasak people in Lombok Island, West Nusa Tenggara, is a figure who plays a role as an enlightenment of communities or the main perpetrators of Islamic propaganda. On the other hand, Tuan Guru are a role model who is highly respected and emulated because they are believed to be the heir of the prophet as understood by all Muslims. The title of Tuan Guru are given by the

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community or people to certain people with extensive and profound religious knowledge and good character. On this basis Tuan Guru has a great influence and occupies a very strategic position in Sasak communities (Alfarisi et al., 2016). Theologically, Tuan Guru in Lombok is the same as a religious figure in another area who in Islamic teaching is believed to be the heir of the prophets. This position certainly gives the legitimacy of authority to Tuan Guru, especially in the field of religious science. This causes the role of scholars throughout the history of Islam throughout the world is very large, because the teaching of Islam put science at a very high and noble degree (Ulum, 2015).

Aside from Lombok, the term 'Tuan Guru' is also found in Banjarmasin, Sumatra, Makassar, Pattani (Southern Thailand), Malaysia, and Mindanao (Philippines). The terminology of Tuan Guru is used for those who are clever and fluent in reading or memorizing the Qur'an, good at reading and understanding the yellow book, having extensive and in-depth knowledge about Islamic sciences such as *tauhid, fiqh, tafsir, hadits, tasawuf, tarikh, nahwu-sharf, ilmu falaq, mantiq, hikmah*, and others. The next development of the term 'Tuan Guru' in Lombok today is getting additional hajj pilgrimage to become *Tuan Guru Haji* (TGH), although in the oral tradition of Sasak people, the mention of Tuan and haji contains the same meaning as sosioreligius respect for those who have performed the hajj pilgrimage.

Before getting to know the term of Tuan Guru, Sasak communities recognized Islamic religious figures or leaders as Kiai adopted from the Javanese term, although the presence of kiai in Lombok in the past did not always begin with the birth of a boarding school. Kiai is the most essential element of a pesantren. *Kiai* is often the founder of the boarding school, it is only natural that the growth of a pesantren depends solely on the personal abilities of kiai. Furthermore, Dhofier explained about the origin, the words of kiai were used for three different types of titles, namely: (1) as an honorary title for items that were considered sacred, for example "Kiai Garuda Kencana" was used for a golden train in Yogyakarta palace, (2) the honorary title for the elderly in general, and (3) the title given by the community to an Islamic scholar who owns or becomes the leader of a pesantren and teaches classic Islamic or yellow books to his students (Dhofier, 2011). In addition to the title of kiai, he is also often called a pious (a person whose knowledge of Islam is very deep).

In Lombok, the term Kiai is used in 2 (two) terms, namely the mention of an expert (understanding) of Islam and the mention of a traditional figure who leads a traditional ritual. The mention of Kiai in the first context means being a religious leader, someone who understands religion, where people ask questions about religious laws, even in daily life has the function of marrying citizens according to Islamic law and being a leader in religious rituals, and others. The second context, kiai functioned to lead traditional rituals, as happened to the Bayan community in North Lombok and Sembalun community in East Lombok. The term Kiai in the first context is more dominantly used by the communities of Lombok who are interpreted as religious leaders or preachers who carry out the function of da'wah. It was Kiai in the first context that in the development of Islam and his figures in Lombok became Tuan Guru to this day. Some of Sasak communities who performed the hajj pilgrimage and studied in Mecca during the colonial period, after returning to Lombok to preach in the midst of the community called *Tuan Guru*, such as Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu, Tuan Guru Muhammad Ali Batu Sakra, Tuan Guru Lalu Muhammad Shaleh Lopan, Tuan Guru Muhammad Shaleh Hambali Bengkel, Tuan Guru Muhammad Siddiq from Karangkelok, and others.

The departure of Sasak sons to Mecca both to perform the hajj pilgrimage and study religion, so that requires them to live in a long time in Mecca. During They stay in Mecca, they heard a lot and then talked about political developments in other Islamic countries, especially in the 1880s was a period of massive upheaval in several parts of the Islamic world. The upheaval was like a revival in Morocco and Algeria

against France, and the rebuilding of Libyan society and government which was largely carried out by members of *Tarekat Sanusiyah*. In North Africa Sheikh Uthman and Fobio, a member of *Tarekat Qadiriyyah* led a jihad movement against the Habe rulers who failed to govern according to Islamic law, excessive taxation, corruption, oppression, and overthrowing Islamic morals at the level of the people and the court. Ahmad al-Mahdi, member of *Tarekat Tsamaniyah* successfully opposed the British colonial rule in Sudan, a similar phenomenon occurred in the East, for example *Sufi Naqshbandiyah* and Syah Waliyullah opposed the British colonial rule in India (Thohir, 2002).

Seeing the condition of Lombok at that time which was under the rule of Hindu-Karangasem and then also the Dutch colonizers, these religious leaders initiated social movements in the form of resistance which were generally driven by factors of people's suffering such as poverty, underdevelopment and oppression due to Balinese control and Dutch colonialism. Meanwhile the local rulers (Sasak elites) were more submissive to Balinese rulers and the Dutch invaders and even became accomplices of the invaders. The oppression of colonialism-imperialism is indeed not directly confronting the people, but by using the nobles who were pro to colonialism from Hindu-Karangasem era to the Dutch colonizers. As one proof, the social status of Sasak aristocracy was strengthened by establishing the title of nobility and given to lead Sasak communities in their respective regions, then they were tasked with drawing tribute to the peasants who gradually aroused the spirit of breaking away from the clutches, especially during the Dutch colonialism (Macdougall, 2007).

Social movements from a historical perspective are a historical phenomenon in which there is a dynamic process of social groups being mobilized by ideological goals, especially in the phase when the movement has not yet been institutionalized as a formal organization (Kartodirjo, 1993). Social movements, or people's movements, generally constitute popular resistance in the form of violence or acts of protest against the authorities in a region, have an orientation towards change, and are a response to something considered incorrect or not by what is idealized. Social movements, from a sociological perspective, are an essential form of collective behavior in the form of many actions by many people who are organized and prepared to support and fight for (or conversely, fight) social change. Revolutions and reforms are common types of social movements; most people's participation in social movements is generally informal or indirect. Usually, many sympathizers support and identify themselves with the movement and its programs without joining any formal organization related to the movement (Indonesian National Encyclopedia, 1997). A social movement is called revolutionary if it shows large-scale indicators at a fast tempo, involves large numbers of people, and is based on a fundamental goal.

There have been many studies on Tuan Guru in Lombok. Tuan Guru study and social change in Lombok (Fahrurrozi, 2018), Tuan Guru and the Sasak Community Social Revolutionary Movement (Alfarisi, Tohri, Habibuddin, & Hanapi, 2018), a typical form of moderate Islam in Indonesia and dialectical phenomena among cultures and religions in the Muslim community in Lombok (Mutawali, 2016), including those related to the role of the religious elite in Indonesia (Burhanudin, 2012), the elite power of Tuan Guru in Lombok (Jamaluddin, 2011). The study specifically does not provide a complete explanation of Tuan Guru's role in the social revolution movement, especially in the frame of the social history of Lombok in the 19th century. Therefore, this study takes the historical setting of master teachers in social movements in Lombok in the 19th century.

Tuan Guru's strategic position in the social revolutionary movement is related to the religious awareness of the Sasak people in Lombok, the majority of whom are Muslim. The Sasak people realize the importance of tuan guru leadership to bring them out of conditions of oppression and backwardness due to colonialism. The rise of awareness of the Sasak people in Lombok was marked by the emergence of

many resistances in the early 19th century such as the Sakra War I & II, the Kalijaga War, the Praya War I & II, and the Lombok War against the Balinese Hindu-Karangasem rulers, namely the Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom. Gandor War, Pringgabaya War I & II, Batu Geranting Resistance, Tuban Resistance, Sesela Resistance, and Mamela' Resistance against the Dutch colonialists. All the Sasak people's resistance to colonialism-imperialism, both Balinese and Dutch, was driven by tuan guru and other community figures who had been made aware and united by the tuan guru.

Based on the background above, a brief conceptual explanation is needed about Tuan Guru and the social revolution movement of the Sasak people in the 19th century. The main question of this paper is why the role of Tuan Guru very central in the social revolution movement of the Sasak people against colonialism in the 19th century in Lombok? To be able to answer the main question, it is necessary to answer three derivative questions as follows: first, what is the background of Sasak social revolution movement against colonialism in the 19th century in Lombok? second, what is the first step in the social revolution movement of the Sasak people against colonialism? and third, what is the binder of Sasak social revolution movement against colonialism in the 19th century in Lombok? From these three derivative questions, it can be traced the central role of Tuan Guru in social revolution movement of Sasak people against colonialism in the 19th century in Lombok.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was combined research (blended research) in qualitative research, this was done to study the historical events and the central role of Tuan Guru in the social revolution movement in Lombok, so that it can be identified the central role and function of historical events and relationships contained therein, such as the background of the social revolution movement against colonialism, leadership, capacity, and networking. This research was carried out on the island of Lombok, the selection of this region was based on the reasons: (1) Tuan Guru Sasak had a strong and broad influence on the people of Lombok before independence, this is one of the potential to develop their role in carrying out social revolution movements, (2) Tuan Guru Sasak in the social revolution movement have scientific, ideological, and theological networks in all corners of Lombok.

The analysis used a variety of unlimited resources in accordance with the needs of the research, because it involved the use and collection of various empirical materials (such as case studies, personal experiences, life history, interviews, observations, interactional historical texts, and visuals that describe individual and collective life (Salim, 2001). In addition to capturing very complex information, a multidimensional approach is needed which has implications for the disclosure of dimensions that require a more complex approach (Kartodirdjo, 1993). This can sharpen the blade of analysis and avoid a high level of subjectivity from researchers and more towards objectivity as a consequence of borrowing concepts from other disciplines that are relevant to research and will seek to use the parallelization of facts recorded in the form of research data, to be compared, to find equations and differences, so that the relationships between facts will found links (Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

Historical context, social movement (Kartodirdjo, 1993) is a historical phenomenon in which there is a dynamic process of social groups that is mobilized by ideological goals, especially in the phase when the movement has not yet been institutionalized as a formal organization. Social movements, in this context are called popular movements. The emergence of the popular movement is based on a reaction to the imbalance in social life and at the same time becomes a motivator to carry out social movements by hoping for a better direction in the sphere of people's social lives that are fought for. The nature of the

movement that is local, brief, traditional, and revolutionary, and every social movement has the same ideological features that are milleniarism, messianism, and nativism.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Tuan Guru and Social Revolution Movement of Sasak People in the 19th Century

Theoretically and empirically social movements have a causal relationship with social change in various social spheres of people's lives. As stated by Karsidi, (Karsidi, 2005) that: "social change can occur quickly or slowly, depending on the environmental situation or other interrelated factors. Social change can occur at various levels of human life. The space for change is in layers, starting from the smallest group or starting from the level of individuals, families, to the world level.

These social changes, both rapidly and slowly, have an impact on the level of individual mental-analysis, impacting on the reaction of the community, especially Sasak communities towards change, that is to refuse, because the orientation of their outlook on life is always focused on the past. Rejection based on a religio-magical view of life, which is radical in nature, can turn into a movement full of violence. This can happen if there are charismatic leader who are able to act as a mobilizer of the masses, in addition to being able to direct the goal of the movement (Kuntowijoyo, 1994).

A movement is always associated with various actions taken to provide a response or reaction to social conditions (social reality) in the community. Response to a situation, is the response by certain parties in the community who want a change (Mahardika, 2000). The parties referred to here are certainly not individuals or individuals, but certain groups or one power, such as farmers, laborers, and other groups that are part of the people. Social movements have a common goal, a form of solidarity and continuity that clearly distinguishes between movement and crowd (Tarrow, 1994).

Social movement as a collective action offers a change or resistance to a change or group that becomes its role. The collectivity of the movement is a group with members, with indeterminate division, and with leadership whose position is determined more informally than members who have formal procedures to legitimize authority (Direnzo, 1994). The meaning is, the pressure point in understanding the communities' movement is the form of collective action which requires the division of tasks and leadership among its members.

Sasak social revolution in Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonial times could be interpreted as a form of resistance against the rulers at that time. Sasak social revolution movement is a collectivity of the desire to change circumstances and maintain the traditions held as collective identity. The social revolution movement is not just an action, but also to change conditions in a new condition that is seen as more meaningful. The movement was carried out in response to the political opportunity to make changes, so the social revolution movement was a variety of efforts to change an unjust order, towards a new order that gave more guarantees to the realization of justice, prosperity, and public welfare.

Tuan Guru is a local term for the communities of Lombok. Tuan Guru for the communities of Lombok is attributed to those who are clever or fluent in reciting, memorizing Al-Quran, reading the yellow book, and have extensive knowledge of Islamic science, such as *fiqh*, *tauhid*, *tafsir*, *hadits*, *tasawuf*, *tarikh*, *nahwu-sarf*, dan *ilmu-ilmu falak*, *mantiq*, *hikmah*, and others. The mention, has similarities in other local forms, such as Kyai (Java), anregurutta (Bugis), while the Kyai designation has become commonly used throughout Indonesia (Yafie, 1997).

The social position of Tuan Guru like Kyai in their community is a huge social capital. Nevertheless, to make a social change that is revolutionary, Kyai are unable to work alone. *Kyai*'s ability to build relation

with social actors such as village heads, community leaders, leaders of village organizations, and other Kyai who are willing to make a movement, because They are a public figure who has social capital to mobilize the masses through various traditional socio-religious activities such as *mujahadah*, *istigosah*, and other ceremonial activities (Ubaidillah, 2016).

Tuan Guru really gives color to Sasak communities' life in Lombok, meaning that Tuan Guru is not only culturally accepted, but has participated in determining the direction of community life that has taken place since the royal era, such as being an advisor and influencing political affairs (state), even as elite groups receive public recognition and as a strategic potential in society (Dirdjosanjoto, 1999). This is reinforced by the opinion (Hasyim, 1988) that *Tuan Guru's* strategic potential (Java: *Kyai*) is quite basic, functional, and potentially related to his religious expertise and abilities.

Background of Social Revolution Movement of Sasak People Against Colonialism

Before the arrival of large-scale Balinese migration to Lombok, the condition of Lombok was a rice field and a rice barn or rice warehouse in West Nusa Tenggara region, even Lombok rice was among the best rice in the world at that time. Sasak Community and Balinese who settled in Lombok are farmers who are active in cultivating rice fields. The fertile land producing rice is in the middle and north which borders with Gunung Rinjani. The ownership of paddy land in Lombok is not evenly owned by the population, because there are some people from many landowners owning rice fields up to almost 1,000 ha., And they directly exploit poor village farmers (Hakim, 1961).

Most of Sasak communities are farmers, while some who live on the coast work as fishermen, and a small number work as traders. Trade in Lombok society is carried out in a closed economic system in the sense of taking place within their internal circles. Buying and selling does not always use a currency exchange tool, but is also done by barter before there is *Uang Kepeng* (money made from copper in the middle of a hollow hole).

Uang Kepeng was used at that time after trade relations with the outside world in Nusantara and also the world. Traders from various regions such as Bali, Java, Sumbawa, Makassar, Kalimantan, Sumatra and other islands in Nusantara were carried out because they relied on agricultural products, especially Lombok rice. In ancient times based on the Chronicle of Selaparang, in Lombok known types of *pare bulu* or *pare beaq ganggas* (a type of red feathered rice, high, and 6 months cropping period). Production of this type of rice is able to meet the basic needs of Sasak communities, even experiencing a surplus so that traders export it abroad, such as China, Champa, to Mauritania (Azhar, Widiani, Yaningsih, Surenggana, & Dalin, 1996).

In addition to rice exports, Lombok communities also carry out trade relations outside the area by exporting livestock, such as cattle, buffaloes and horses. Major traders consisting mostly of foreign nations sent cattle, especially horses from Lombok, among them to Java and Singapore. Lombok horse is bigger and more beautiful than the Balinese horse. In Lombok communities, people who raise animals hand over their livestock to herders, with an agreement in the distribution of livestock products in Gumi Lombok called *ngadas* or *mekadasang*. The agreement applies for an indefinite period of time stipulating that the shepherd gets a share of the outcome, usually half of the calves (Hakim, 1961).

The greatest potential of Lombok Island's influence on socio-economic conditions and the fate of Sasak Communities is agriculture on the basis of its production of land, which is not only very fertile as agricultural land, but also very potential for plantations and animal husbandry. The land has indeed written the long history of many nations throughout the world through the green revolution and the agrarian revolution in the social dynamics of the class struggle, whatever the underlying ideology or

traditions that legitimize it, including Sasak people under the rule of Mataram-Karangasem and the Netherlands.

Since the time of the Selaparang Kingdom, Sasak communities followed by Pejanggik Kingdom, live on agriculture. Likewise, during the reign of Karangasem king of Bali in parts of Lombok, especially in the West Lombok area. One of the King's motivation of Karangasem Bali to control Lombok until there were many wars was to dominate the economy, in addition to expanding the area of the spread of Hinduism which began to be pressured by Islam from Java.

Prominent products of Lombok island of at that time were rice and cattle and horses, along with green beans, eggs and bird nests, and tobacco and tarum as the main commodities. Whereas imported goods that fill the markets in Lombok are industrial goods such as silk cloth (what is special is called Chinese's silk and there is special silk that only exists in Lombok called Sasak silk), porcelain, salt, liquor, opium and firearms (Agung, 1992, p. 189). According to records from the Dutch colonial government, during the reign of Bali between 1870-1940, the results of both export and import trade that became the income of the King of Mataram-Karangasem recorded in 1890 before the massive resistance from East Sasak amounted to 50,650 *rijksdaalder* (ringgit) a year.

The economic conditions of Sasak Communities during the oppression of Mataram-Karangasem rulers continued during the exploitation of Dutch colonial rule. Two categories of instruments of oppression and exploitation are: first, the system of land ownership, and second, the colonial people's tax system. Important notes that need to be known before the arrival of the Balinese in Lombok, there are forms of social coating in each village, namely: (1) *perwangsa* (aristocracy) Sasak who were originally prominent villagers, such as traditional leaders and community leaders, (2) 'free' farmers, known as *kawulabala* in Sasak language, and (3) farm laborers (Sasak term: *panjak*). The social stratification of the Sasak community in their respective villages determines ownership rights or management of village land individually and collectively (Agung, 1992).

The main cause of Sasak people's resistance is related to economic factors. The economic conditions of the oppressed Sasak communities and the economic policies of the rulers of Bali and the Netherlands in the form of very high tax collection that burdened the people. During the Balinese rulers, the land tax was raised to 60% of production, and for the sake of the contract of procuring slaves with the Dutch, the Balinese authorities arrested many people and were subsequently sent to Batavia as forced labor. During the Dutch period, a yield tax of 180 bundles of rice per 300 bundles was imposed, resulting in more than half of the yield. In addition to exploitative economic policies, unfair treatment, arbitrariness, and the arrogant attitude of the Balinese and Dutch rulers, the honor and dignity of Sasak communities felt that they were trampled as triggers.

Sasak people's resistance is not only caused by economic factors alone but is related to social factors. Penetration of colonial power, which among others manifested in various types of compulsory labor and taxes and monopolies, does not merely burden economic life, but is a threat to the sacred cosmos, so conditions and situations like these are not surprising if the people want a change. Under the leadership of religious leaders, as well as other figures, farmers in Lombok villages were involved in various forms of resistance. The condition that led to the resistance by Campbell (Campbell, 1994, p. 136) was stated as the emergence of social contradictions that can only be resolved by force or the seizure of force over the means of production which are privately owned or which have been dominated by dominant ideologies so as to open the way to egalitarian and true life.

It should be noted in tracing the cause of Sasak communities' resistance that is a cultural condition, because in order to understand social movements one must pay attention to the cultural climate at the

time the resistance occurred. How the Sabil War in Aceh, Banten War, and other popular resistance that occurred in Nusantara was known when they performed the hajj pilgrimage to the Holy Land of Makkah capable of arousing and arousing to fight against the colonial, then in Lombok *jihad fi sabilillah* against the rulers who became the basis at the same time the goal of Sasak communities' resistance movement, both against the Balinese and Dutch colonial rulers at the time. The relation between religious religio-magical beliefs and social protest movements can be seen in almost every case of rebellion or resistance that has ever existed. The spirit of religious struggle and elements of the local culture of Sasak communities is a very adequate condition for the birth of an upheaval of resistance.

In addition to the above factors, the Dutch East Indies government in particular also implemented policies in the field of religion. The concrete form of this religious policy is to list teachers of *tarekat* in Lombok, then monitor them closely and if they are considered to endanger the survival of the Dutch East Indies government, teachers of *tarekat* will be arrested, killed and their schools closed (Suminto, 1985, p. 64). This has caused unrest among the Lombok communities because they are adherents of Islam and practicing strong orders. In addition, the socio-political conditions of the colonized Sasak people, and socio-religious pressure under Hindu-Karangasem rule led to the outbreak of a broader and better coordinated resistance movement, led by religious and community leaders united by the spirit of Islamic ideology. During the resistance Sasak leaders used religious symbols to recognize Sasak people or Balinese. This dichotomy is emphasized, if a Muslim is a Sasak person, if not a Muslim, then he is an infidel and an Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom (*Babad Praya Durma, Pupuh 155, n.d.*).

Sasak communities have difficulty carrying out their religious orders well, because every day and all the time they are forced to work under pressure and threats from the landowners (as pioneers) or the owners (as *panjak* or slaves), namely the king and family palaces, courtiers, and Balinese aristocracy who need the results of their work, as well as the services they provide whenever requested. It is very difficult for the Sasak Muslim community to implement Islamic laws that are more detailed on *halal-haram*, ranging from food, drink, clothing, to the place to carry out ritual worship or social worship, even the oppressed Sasak communities must steal the opportunity to be able to carrying out worship especially prayers, and even then done in secret.

Injustice has not yet fully recovered, Sasak communities are suffering even more because oppression is increasingly apparent before their eyes. Such circumstances revive the memory of those who suffer from past history and yearn for the glory of Selaparang and Pejanggik Islamic Kingdom. As a result, every Muslim from any ethnic group, as long as they are brave and show some privileges (supernatural powers) immediately get followers and be praised by many people. Because according to the myths in the beliefs of Sasak communities, such a person is none other than the King of Selaparang or Pembani Pejanggik who has been lost (Wacana, 1988, p. 100).

The resistance made by Sasak communities was based on religious awareness that emerged in the form of efforts to preserve their lives and possessions. Life and property owned in the view of Islam is one of the five cases that are guaranteed and must be protected in addition to religion, property, reason, and dignity. In a life that is difficult and full of suffering, it is considered natural that the farming community with all its simplicity is trying to find a way out. Because the masses of farmers are Muslim, they are looking for a way out as an alternative to difficulties by glancing at Islamic teaching.

In order to understand well the nature of the social revolution movement that took place among the peasants, it must be seen that there is a developing ideology and the existence of the figure of leaders who are in the movement. If one of these two things does not exist, then it is difficult for a movement to develop. Sasak communities' resistance against the authorities (both Bali-Dutch) usually shows an

element of protest, initially the problem of tax collection, extortion, injustice, and arbitrariness. The protest was an explosion of tension and hostility that occurred, this was possible because of the existence of religious ideologies that were able to arouse mutual awareness in shaping the solidarity of the rural people in collective and massive actions. Social movements require justification for goals that will strengthen group inspiration and motivation.

For this reason, ideology is needed as a basis for movement. The ideology functions and has the potential to explain the desired situation (Abdullah, 1979, pp. 9–15). Ideology is a kind of future projection of phenomena that will occur in the future based on the existing system, which involves various guiding principles to legitimize goals or goals. Sasak communities' protest movement that occurred in the 19th century, there are similarities in ideological features in every movement that is millenarism, messianism, nativism, and belief in holy war (*jihad fi sabilillah*). Ideology is the basis for resistance leaders to interpret the values and objectives of the protest movement.

The Integration of Social Strata as the First Step of Social Revolution Movement of Sasak People Against Colonialism

In general, the social strata in Sasak communities can be mapped as follows. The first or highest social strata are occupied by *mēnak* group. According to Leeman, the upper *mēnak* community is believed to be a direct descendant of the kings that once existed in Sasak community and was also a direct descendant of Majapahit and *raden* title (Harnish, 2014). The second layer is an intermediate *mēnak* consisting of aristocrats born from cross-marriages or between other strata and with the title of *lalu-baiq* and *gede-lale*, the last layer is a community of *jajar karang* identified as ordinary people or ordinary people without titles, only called by the term *amaq* and *inaq* for those who already have children, which is the same understanding as the call of the father and mother in today's society.

Perkanggo (upper aristocrat), *Perbekel* (middle aristocrats), and coral ranks (non-aristocrat) are what actually constitute a grouping into three classes or social strata in Lombok community called the social stratification trilogy of Sasak communities, namely the classification of Sasak communities into three layers, equipped with their respective social attributes, such as status and role, privilege, titles and titles or vocation, supporting norms and values, and legitimate traditions.

In addition to the above social stratifications based on descent, power, honor, and the political consequences of the colonial divisions that had prevailed in Lombok, there was also a classification system given to people who had performed the hajj pilgrimage. The awarding of the title of Hajj to Muslims was allegedly a political step by Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia such as in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. In addition to pleasing them, the awarding of the title of Hajj was also intended to facilitate the data collection and identification of this group by the invaders. Because, many movements against the colonial period were led by pilgrims, especially for Tuan Guru.

The birth of a ruling elite group based on certain strata in community is generally also supported by the birth of an authoritative structure, not just a power relationship. This is in line with the view of Dahrendorf, (Dahrendorf, 1959) that certain means of production, profession, social strata will have institutionalized control and not domination based solely on power. The authoritative structure is contained in Sasak religious belief system, in this case Islam with Tuan Guru agent as the central figure.

The arrival of invaders both Bali and the Netherlands to Lombok had positioned the *perkanggo* and village head in strategic political positions, while the pilgrims and Tuan Guru who reflect the Islamic-Sasak community become religious leaders who only take part in the field of propaganda alone. But gradually in

its development the role of Tuan Guru was increasingly central by diverting their da'wah from religious studies in mosques and pesantren to the social revolution movement as a form of resistance to colonialism.

In line with the transition of the power of Islamic Makassar and Balinese Hinduism, a new authority emerged from the community, namely Tuan Guru, both through *mubaligh* East Java (Sunan Prapen) and the Islamization of Makassar (Wacana, 1979). This authority was assumed to be a charismatic authority, because he is present as the queen of justice (Zakaria, 1998), a helper for the caste, pioneers in war, giving advice to his fellow men. But from the long process of power change that resulted in the birth of the *panjak* (followers, messengers) in Sasak communities. This also happened in the era of Tuan Guru, until the arrival of the Dutch who were invited by Sasak *perkanggo* to expel Mataram-Karangasem rulers, but the Dutch were like "snakes that pegged their masters", took control of Mataram-Karangasem and colonized Lombok.

During the transition of colonial power from the power of Mataram-Karangasem to the Dutch in Lombok, the informal authority of Tuan Guru increasingly strengthened, while the authority of *perkanggo* increasingly eroded that before the power of Mataram-Karangasem came to power, Sasak *perkanggo* held a high position (Parimartha, 2014). Up to the style of the colonial government of the Dutch, Japan and modern Indonesia with legal-rational authority that is marked by the rules and agreements that they hold approaching what is meant by the legal-rational bureaucracy model.

Tuan Guru occupy a central position in Sasak communities and are legitimized to provide advice, guidance and advice in all aspects of community's life, including in the realm of culture and political commitment. The existence of Tuan Guru as a counseling agent and a guide for the cultural patterns and behavior of Sasak communities in carrying out their routine of life has given rise to a new social system. Therefore, Tuan Guru is demanded to be able to resolve socio-political dialectics with religious law in certain aspects, including the ideal view of Islam towards social stratification. Tuan Guru gives a new enlightenment to the change in people's understanding in interpreting and positioning social status in their lives.

Tuan Guru's view towards the social stratification in the midst of Lombok communities is reflected through how Islam views social stratification in general which refers to the teaching and values contained in the holy book of the Qur'an. The Qur'an talks a lot about community, this is because the main function of the holy book of the Qur'an is to encourage the birth of positive changes in community, or in the language of the Qur'an: "*litukhrija an-nas mina al-dzulumati ila al-nur*, (removing humans from complete darkness towards bright lights) (Shihab, 2007). There are several words used by the Qur'an to refer to communities or groups of people, among others: Qoum, Ummah, Syu'ub and Qabail (Nurdin, 2011). In addition, the Qur'an also introduces communities to certain characteristics such as; *al-mala'*, *al-mustakbirun*, *al-mustadhafun*, and others (Shihab, 2007).

The vacuum of leadership of Sasak community after *perkanggo* figures (elite Sasak nobles) no longer occupy strategic political positions as a result of defeat after defeat experienced every time the resistance did not last long, because of the emergence of new leaders namely Tuan Guru with a new social system Sasak era in Tuan Guru era based on the values of Islamic universality, succeeded in taking over the leadership relay, guarding the fires of the struggle that ignited the communities' resistance so as not to die out in the middle of the road, before achieving the goals aspired by the whole society regardless of status and position, namely independence, freedom, justice and welfare.

Tuan Guru's success took over the transition of Sasak communities leadership is determined by the following factors: (1) charismatic authority possessed, religious spirit as a source of legitimacy and ideology of resistance, (3) recognition and acceptance of a society that is rooted and spreads through

barriers social layers of society, (4) the union of Sasak *perkanggo* elites who are in power in their respective autonomous villages under the leadership of Tuan Guru. Because of the four factors above, or for other factors, Sasak social movement found the right momentum through the unification milestone of all groups of people, both on the basis of their position as elite and mass followers of the group of *perkanggo* and *jajar reef*, under the leadership of Tuan Guru, such as Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra in East Lombok, Tuan Guru Shaleh Lopan and Gur Bangkol in Central Lombok, Tuan Guru Siddiq Karang Kelok in West Lombok-Mataram, and *Tuan Guru* or other Islamic-Sasak figures.

Considering that Sasak communities are very thick with obedience to their religion and are very loyal to the character of Tuan Guru, fanaticism towards Tuan Guru's personality becomes a powerful weapon and ammunition that is never used up to continuously carry out social revolutionary movements against the invaders. Historical fact which clearly proves this analysis was the decision of the Dutch East Indies colonial government to send *De Lombok Expeditie*, because Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom was considered unable to stem the rapid development of Islam in Lombok which would greatly endanger the survival of Dutch colonialism. This Dutch colonial political policy found the right reasons for the massive resistance of the entire Sasak communities which was difficult to crush by the Mataram-Karangasem rulers. The battle took place over four years, starting in the flames since 1891 under the leadership of Tuan Guru Ali Batu. After he died in 1892, resistance was led by his students such as Haji Abdurrahman Kopang and Haji Husen Sumbek.

In the same year the resistance of Sasak communities in Praya erupted again under the leadership of Guru Bangkol (Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra's student or Tuan Guru Siddiq Karang Kelok), along with several religious figures and other Sasak community leaders, the Resistance occurred for years until 1894, where the Dutch ensured themselves to intervene by sending an expedition to Lombok and ending the Hindu-Karangasem rulers who had colonized the Sasak people for almost one and a half centuries (Ricklefs, 2007). This historical event of the Sasak people's resistance to Mataram-Karangasem authority was often referred to as the Lombok War.

The shift of colonialism over Lombok from the kingdom of Mataram-Karangasem to the Dutch colonials did not dampen the spirit of resistance of the Sasak people, even resistance after resistance took place in almost all regions of Lombok. The leaders of various Sasak's resistance against the Dutch invaders were mostly religious figures, community leaders who had performed the pilgrimage, *perkanggo* leaders who were fanatical Muslims or cooperation among the figures by jointly leading the resistance. This fact about the leadership of the resistance of Sasak community justifies or at least proves the conclusion of Karel Frederik Hole, an advisor on indigenous affairs of the Dutch Indies Government, that the pilgrims and Islamic religious teachers are a great danger that threatens the continuation of the occupation. Among those most dangerous are the spreaders of the Islamic brotherhood known as *tarekat* or *sekte* (Zakaria, 1998).

The narrative or description of the sub-themes above is logical and also empirical to conclude about the important role of Tuan Guru who not only enlightens Islamic understanding, upholds *i'tikad*, straightens and perfects the understanding of Islamic teaching, but is also able to unite all social strata of Sasak community in under the charismatic authority to rise from the oppression of leading the resistance against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonial rulers, igniting the fiery of *jihad fii sabilillah* struggle with the shout of *Allahu Akbar* was greeted with echoes of remembrance and wirts of Sasak forces in the face of pagan and pagan Islamic enemies.

The Religio-Political System of *Tarekat* as a Binder of Social Revolution Movement of Sasak People Against Colonialism

In 19th century, the Islamic world was faced with increasingly difficult challenges of Western (European) imperialism. Armed with the power of weapons trying to cripple the power of Islam by using other Islamic forces in Asia-Africa. Western imperialism, both Protestant and Catholic, namely Britain, Italy, Germany and France, tried to control North Africa and Egypt, which were left behind by the Ottoman Turks, so the Western colonialists were dictated by political divisions to be controlled, leaving Muslims with Islamic insights (Suryanegara, 2013).

Under these conditions ulama did not respond by building a weapons factory physically, but rather prioritizing building human beings behind weapons (man behind the gun), while strengthening Muslim solidarity tied to the awareness of Islamic law. Therefore, obedience and increase in the loyalty of the ummah to the leadership of ulama in dealing with the tempest of Western imperialism which oppressed the people by arousing the communities' fighting spirit in Sufi and Imam Mahdi movements, such as in Libya under the leadership of Ali as-Sanusi in 1787-1859, and in Sudan led by Muhammad Ahmad in 1840-1845.

The impact of oppression on Muslim farmers can certainly evoke social protest movements or armed resistance. They were village heads, lurahs, courtiers, dukes or regents, *taoke*, *residen*, and *controleur* who were the targets of the anger of the oppressed Muslim farmers. In the midst of the oppression that afflicted the communities, *ulama* (tuan guru) rose to lead the social protest movement or armed resistance, which was influenced by the armed resistance movement against Western imperialism that occurred in the Middle East. Ulama built resistance organizations through *tarekat* movement.

Tarekat movement was chosen because the physical weapons requirements for resistance were not possessed, so the choice was a moral requirement as capital to arouse enthusiasm and courage to fight. The views of *Sufi*, war is an obligation in answering the challenges of sleaze, winning or losing was not the goal, even if you have to die in a war to uphold the truth, judged as a martyr, that is, death that is truly noble and beautiful (Steenbrink, 1984).

By most people, at first glance *Sufi* movement is considered a non-political movement, the reality is that when the holders of Islamic political power were powerless, *Sufi ulama* (*mursyid tarekat*) take over the leadership of the armed resistance. To answer the challenge of Western imperialism which bases its imperialistic movement on Catholic and Protestant teaching, *ulama Sufi* answer it with the Islamic religio-political movement (Suryanegara, 2013) or rather the religio-political movement of *tarekat*.

The social revolution movement of Sasak communities against imperialism-colonialism was strongly influenced by one of the determinant factors, namely the social organization of the movement called *tarekat*. As for the entry and development of *tarekat* in Lombok historically along with the spread of Islam. The arrival of traders from Java, Palembang, Banten, Gresik and Sulawesi in the 15th and 16th centuries through the port of Lombok was not solely for commercial purposes, but also carried a missionary mission. Many traders have a dual role as mubaligh Muslim. These Muslim traders were followers of Sufi's teaching from certain *tarekat* school which in the 13th to 16th centuries were the dominant Islamic teaching throughout Nusantara and other Islamic worlds.

Of the many *tarekat* that developed in Indonesia, there are three *tarekat* which have a great influence in Lombok to date, namely: *Naqsyabandiyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, and *Qadiriyyah wa-Naqsabandiyah*. This can be seen from the effort to spread *tarekat* in Lombok Island which is estimated to be around the 19th century, namely after the return of a number of people studying in Mecca (Masjid al-Haram) such as; Haji Muhammad Amin Mataram Ampenan Pejeruk, Muhammad Siddiq Karang Curok Mataram, Haji

Abdurrahman , Haji Usman , Haji Abdurrasyid , and Haji Abdullah from East Lombok Kelayu, Haji Usen from Sombe Sakra and Haji Mohammad Ali from East Lombok Sakra (van Bruinessen, 1992).

Integration and social solidarity that was bound by a sense of togetherness and obedience in the direction of the spiritual leader (*mursyid*), makes the institution of tarekat potential to be transformed as a socio-political movement such as resistance to the political reality of the colonizing and despotic rulers. History had proven that throughout the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, tarekat as a socio-religious institution in Lombok demonstrated its political function, which was to become a container for the aspirations of Sasak communities who subsequently became a vehicle for the resistance movement against the injustice and oppression of Mataram-Karangasem as well as the Dutch colonizers.

Repressive measures implemented by the Dutch and Japanese invaders led *tarekat* figures to take to the streets to fight, one of which was led by Raden Wiresasih and Mamiq Mustiaji. Resistance that occurred in 1897 began in the village of Gandor, so famous for the Gandor War. After the Gandor War, many resistance erupted in each area of Lombok Island, the characters of which were master teachers Tuan Guru with their capacity as tarekat guru. This resistance by the Dutch is called a resistance made by the people of Lombok which was a reflection of the call for a holy war with religious themes to fight infidels (Zakaria, 1998).

At first glance it seems difficult to find the reason why tarekat can deal with social and political movements such as the struggle against the rulers or invaders both local and global. However, if we parse a bit of the dynamics of Islamic history, the emergence of *tarekat* movement cannot be separated from the social and political mosaics that surround society in an era or place. On the one hand *tasawuf*, was a response to the depravity of society in one era, on the other hand at the same time the form of religious diversity can give peace of mind to its adherents.

Like most religious institutions, institutions of tarekat invite salik (students) to drown themselves (*berkhalwat*) to the Creator to obtain peace of mind. *zikir*, *manakiban*, *khataman* is their daily routine, both by themselves and in congregation. However, along with the colonialist policies that increasingly made the poor community miserable, such as slavery, forced labor, the imposition of plant taxes and revocation of land rights for farmers who were unable to pay their taxes, the concentration of *tarekat* movement was disturbed.

As it is known, that most of the congregation in Lombok, both *Naqsyabandiyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, and *Qadiriyyah wa-Naqsyabandiyah*, starting from the beginning of its development until now are small community, farmer, laborer, manual worker (ordinary people or *jajar karang*), so that it is impossible for them to stand still. Especially with the realization that colonialist policies almost always lead to oppression, poverty, underdevelopment, and ignorance of the people, as well as ruins of social order (tradition) of the community and religious values maintained by Tuan Guru of *tarekat* teacher as role models they highly respect.

Departing from the social, economic, political and religious conditions of Sasak communities above, *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* and *Qadiriyyah wa-Naqsyabandiyah* in Lombok were transformed into a religio-political system, where *Tuan Guru* was positioned as the center of the circulation of the system. From then on, the activity of the congregation was not just a centric afterlife, but shifted itself to the centric socio-political sphere. They improve themselves to become the main power of social and political movements in the effort to oppose imperialism-colonialism, while still referring to Islamic norms in their teaching and traditional patterns of Sasak communities.

The religio-political system in the context of *tarekat* can be interpreted as a system of religious understanding and belief (ideological transcendence) that is fused and integrated (integrated) with socio-

political actions or behavior (immanence of action). Religion or religious institutions are not merely instruments of justification of political power or the politicization of religion for the sake of power, such as in the period of dynasty, empire, and Islamic empire in the past which *tarekat* group shunned. Religion is also not diametrically separated from politics (religious secularism), as in the era of civilization of European nations after industrialization and globalization.

Tuan Guru in the religio-political system of tarekat in Lombok in Sasak era of Tuan Guru, which intersected with the colonial era of both Mataram-Karangasem and the Netherlands in the 19th century, showed their strategic position and central role in every social, religious, social political movement and even social economy of the Sasak people. In the socio-religious context, Tuan Guru is a source of knowledge that enlightens and strengthens beliefs and becomes a role model for the community in practicing Islamic teaching, in other words Tuan Guru as a scholar in general is the heir to the prophetic treatise. In the social political context, Tuan Guru is an intellectual actor who is also a leader in every social and political movement. In the socio-economic context, genealogically and sociologically Tuan Guru is the economic axis of the traditional rural community and the circle of production where material resources are accumulated and distributed.

During Mataram-Karangasem rulers and the Dutch colonizers, tarekat organization was used by pilgrims and Tuan Guru to propagate *jihad* and the militant spirit against colonialism. The ideology of struggle is strengthened by utilizing the ideologies of local struggle, such as nativism (teaching that expect the past to return), *milleniarisme* (teaching that expect a better future to come soon), and the queen of justice (*mahdiisme*). Furthermore, the local ideology is wrapped and repackaged with transcendental content, *jihad fi sabilillah* which is equipped with magico-mysticism as a binder and trigger for social psychology in the community.

The characteristic of tarekat that should not be ignored in the context of tarekat as a religio-political system such as students' tradition who have been *bai'at* to maintain a special relationship with their teacher and also with fellow students. If the teacher's residence is not too far away, students regularly join in *zikir* and also tend to get along more with fellow members than others. A great mursyid usually has several representatives (*khalifah, badal*), through whom the mursyid can lead tens of thousands of students who are widely spread. The network of the mursyid with their representatives is an informal organization that is often very influential on social and political movements.

The mastery of Tuan Guru in the religio-political system of *tarekat* in Lombok which is supported by charismatic leadership patterns facilitates the creation of social solidarity as the basis for community integration from all stratification. The unification of Sasak communities by Tuan Guru through *tarekat* institution explains that the basis of community unification is the spirit of Islam and the spirit of *jihad fi sabilillah*, if not the only factor, then it is a determinant factor. This means that the integration of Sasak communities against colonialists, especially the Dutch, was based on moral-immaterial rather than economic-material. Precisely economic-material factors and other factors are complementary, reinforcing, and triggering the action of social movement. From another perspective but in the same sense, objectified Islamic values through *tarekat* organization are superstructures, while traditional values, social norms, and economic principles are the infrastructure in Sasak social movement.

The character and success of Lombok Tuan Guru in the past in leading the social movements of the Sasak communities as a leader (*imām*) who had extraordinary influence. The strong influence of Tuan Guru or on Sasak people as his followers is more due to personal power owned (personal power), not because of the position or position occupied (positional power). The sources of leader power that comes from personal power are: (a) expert, (b) referent power and (c) charisma. (Yukl, 1998) So if the source of

the teacher's influence is described, namely expertise in the field of religion possessed near the nature of plenary (expert), has something that makes followers amazed so that they feel sympathy and even empathy (referent power), and charisma, namely authority. Authority is divinely inspired gift or *al-mawahib alilahiyyah* (gift of Divine inspiration) whose existence is a combination of: (a) nature, character, characteristics, (b) behavior and (c) situation.

Other indicators of *tarekat* organization as a religio-political system can be traced from the events of Sasak resistance against Mataram-Karangasem rulers in Lombok War led by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra and Praya War led by Guru Bangkol. This event is a manifestation of the ideology of protest against colonial rule which illustrates that *tarekat* have formed a strong solidarity force. This happens because the leadership of *tarekat* which relies on charismatic authority appears in the pattern of "patron-client" relations between the murshid and students in a strong manner. As Bruinessen (2015) concluded, fanaticism towards *Tuan Guru* in *tarekat* circle can easily turn into political fanaticism. So that if there is a tension between *tarekat* teacher and the ruler, then the conflict of the adherents with the socio-political order that has been established by the ruler cannot be avoided.

The status of Tuan Guru as mursyid causes him to be able to carry out the role of patron perfectly before his students neatly gathered in *tarekat* community, is a central proof of Tuan Guru's position in the religio-political system, so that it is easily even automatically, anti-oppression or colonialism attitude indicated by Tuan Guru will be followed by all students or congregations regardless of background social status carried. *Kawulabala* and *perkanggo*, traditional leaders and community leader, *panjak* and rulers, free farmer and *pengayah*, all united under the charismatic control of Tuan Guru. It is on this basis that the position and function of Tuan Guru as a priest means that the leader of the Sasak social movement in Gumi Lombok is worthy of being pinned.

Tarekat as the knot of Sasak social movement against the oppressive Mataram-Karangasem rulers and the exploitative Dutch colonizers were able to unite all the power of the community determined by the following factors: first, Sasak communities in general were already familiar with mystical or magical life, this condition was already became a deep-rooted tradition because long before the entry of major religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam, Sasak communities had known and believed in mystical or magical powers in their daily lives. So that the arrival of *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah*, *Qadiriyyah*, and *Qadiriyyah Wa-Naqsyabandiyah* brought and taught by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, Guru Bangkol, Tuan Guru Siddiq Karangkelok and another *Tuan Guru* were not rejected, it was believed to bring extraordinary blessings.

Second, the practice of Islamic teaching experiences many deviations, tends to ignore or leave the Shari'a, and many religious ideas that teach mystical-speculative thinking are opposed by pilgrims and Tuan Guru who have just returned from deepening Islam in Mecca, so most of Sasak communities turn to religious leadership in the era of religious education which is more enlightening, liberating, and changing religious beliefs and behavior for better. Third, the anxiety of Sasak communities due to the oppression of Mataram-Karangasem rulers and the Dutch invaders had caused a reaction for the people to look for containers and figures who could provide shelter both spiritually and practically to channel their aspirations. Tuan Guru with the community they build with the community are the most appropriate meeting places.

Fourth, *tarekat* developed by Tuan Guru is not too rigid in teaching occult sciences (*ilmu magribi*). The psychological impact of this activity is quite large, especially in attracting people who are being frustrated in facing the rulers of Mataram-Karangasem and the Dutch invaders, and have even fostered an attitude of courage to act radically. Fifth, the persistence and charisma that lay behind Tuan Guru as *tarekat*

developer in conveying Islamic teaching and spiritual doctrines in *tarekat*. Moreover, since Lombok-Mecca relationship in the mid-19th century, it was increasing due to steamship facilities and the opening of Suez in 1869.

The Central Role of Tuan Guru in the 19th Century Social Revolution Movement in Lombok

The leader in the context of Sasak community in the past was not merely the first and highest person in the social structure. In addition to having extensive knowledge, leaders also have the ability to manage every resource in the context of a social organization and government organization. The principle of this leader is also found in Sasak communities' understanding about Tuan Guru. From the perspective of local cultural wisdom, Sasak communities also recognize their leader as *penjuluq*, that is someone who not only has high knowledge and has a strong character in leading. But someone is said to be a leader because he is always ahead in all things good (teaching and inviting virtue), he is also the first in initiating change (preventing munkar and breaking down ignorance).

The concept of *penjuluq* can be understood as a theoretical framework that is connected with the history of change, awareness, politics, and identity of Sasak community who compile the plot that Tuan Guru as the first person to recognize Sasak national identity is positioned as a low class in his own hometown. For this awareness too, Tuan Guru can conclusively be said to be the first person to strengthen identity awareness, initiate social change, and call for resistance to colonialism. Tuan Guru was also the first of all Sasak communities to recognize the outside world through the Hajj and study Islam in Mecca or the Middle East (Alfarisi et al., 2018).

The scientific dynamics of the Islamic religion, nationality, and politics that occurred in Mecca or the Middle East and other Muslim countries were used as material for deep reflection to examine more comprehensively the social and political conditions of the oppressed Sasak communities. This situation caused Tuan Guru to be the first Sasak to connect Lombok with the international world in the context of social movements and political resistance. Through a network of scholarship and spiritual attachment that reaches almost the entire Islamic world because they also become a teacher (*mursyid*) and students of tarekat, (van Bruinessen, 2015) whose incubation center is in Hijaz land especially Mecca and Madinah, Tuan Guru moves the awareness of Sasak communities to see critically speaking of their oppression, it is very appropriate to say that Tuan Guru as *penjuluq* (in the sense of the center of leadership) from all aspects of the changing Sasak communities.

The social movement in the form of political resistance of Sasak communities mentioned above, the main mover is Tuan Guru. Many pilgrims and prosecutors returning to their homeland realize that their nation lived in a period of turmoil between Islam and imperialism both locally and globally. Awareness of the fate of the nation and its people that moved the hearts of Tuan Guru in Lombok such as Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu, Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, Tuan Guru Shaleh Lopan, Tuan Guru Siddiq Karang Kelok, and others, began to instill collective awareness in Sasak communities to rise up and move in a social movement in the form of resistance that is revolutionary and also more massive.

On the basis of the socio-political situation of Lombok community at that time, Tuan Guru was called to be the initiator of the resistance against the authorities at that time. On the one hand theologically, the social movement of Sasak communities' resistance to the invaders driven by Tuan Guru gained religious legitimacy as a moral resource of the movement, on the other hand politically found political momentum as the community's trust shifted from the leadership of Sasak local elites to the leadership of religious leaders namely Tuan Guru.

The influence power of Tuan Guru in Sasak communities is not merely carrying out religious functions by teaching Islam in the sense of carrying out worship rituals, but also carrying out social, economic, political, cultural and other functions by making people aware of their identity ke -Sasak-an and oppression conditions, thus calling for a social movement against the rulers of Mataram-Karangasem and the Dutch colonizers as a common enemy of all strata of Sasak community. It was from this time that Sasak era of Tuan Guru began to determine the direction of the historical pendulum of the struggle of Sasak communities which was the second wave of the history of Gumi Lombok, with Tuan Guru as the center of the movement. It is known that the first wave of the history of Lombok Gumi occurred in the 16th century when King Rangkesari King Lombok as *primus inter pares* succeeded in building political unification and religion under the auspices of the Islamic Selaparang Kingdom, which later developed into a large kingdom in Gumi Lombok (Jamaluddin et al., 2011).

It is a common understanding and belief in Sasak communities, especially for Tuan Guru, that preaching is an endless endeavor in life. This encourages Tuan Guru to spread the teaching of Islam in all political situations and conditions. Even though the Mataram-Karangasem authorities and the Dutch colonizers suppressed, restricted, and supervised Sasak communities in implementing their religious beliefs did not reduce their tenacity in preaching Islamic teaching, instead it even became a motivator for Tuan Guru to carry out the revolutionary struggle through social movements in the form of resistance to colonialism, oppression, and injustice which are concluded in a concept of *jihad fii sabilillah*. For Tuan Guru preaching is an autonomous activity that is totally immune from the influence of the ruling or colonial regime whatever the arguments and justifications used.

The religious and ideological foundations of Sasak Tuan Guru who remained steadfast in carrying out da'wah and persevering in their struggle *fii sabilillah* with the community were *Asy'ariyah* theology which developed and became more established when a number of *ulama* studied in the Middle East, especially in Mecca and Madinah, returned to Lombok since the end of the 18th century. They are socially and intellectually included in the network of Middle Eastern scholars, and it is strongly suspected that they studied and followed *Ash'ariyah* theology and subsequently taught it through the books of the priests of this school and the books they wrote themselves, to Sasak communities in the assembly recitation of Tuan Guru.

In an effort to instill the creed and beliefs of monotheism, Tuan Guru used the book which developed the understanding of *Ash'ariyah* Islamic theology. *Indikatomya* are books that are used as a reference in giving the study are books that develop understanding of Islamic theology of *Ash'ariyah*. The understanding of *Ash'ariyah* sect is the understanding of Islamic theology of the majority of Lombok people who believe that humans only get the results (deeds) given by Allah. Even though humans have the potential to realize their desires and actions, but to make them happen depends very much on God's will and power (Azra, 1999).

The concept of *kabs Ash'ari* actually does not deny human actions and does not eliminate the motivation to do actions. That is why the people of Lombok have a strong motivation to fight against the oppression of the invaders. They struggle while surrendering to Allah (God). The value of the struggle and the principle of relying on Allah which is instilled by Tuan Guru into a social-spiritual awareness is a strong benchmark of nationalism for Sasak communities to eradicate the invaders.

In line with the development of *Asy'ariyah's* theological understanding, the practices of *tarekat* in Lombok communities also developed. figures of *tarekat* in Mecca can be sure to have many students from Indonesian studying in Mecca from all over Nusantara such as: Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Bali and Lombok (van Bruinessen, 1992). *Thariqah* is an Arabic *lafaz* which means a way. The term *Thariqah* besides being

used in the context of obligations intended for specific purposes based on ritual and group structure is also used in the context of social organization. So that Sufi group or *Thariqah* covers a broad spectrum of activities in history and Muslim societies (Esposito, 2002).

The context of social movement of Sasak community, the leadership of Tuan Guru that was confirmed by spiritual leadership as *mursyid* and *Khalifah Tarekat* undisputed regarding the great role and strategic position in consolidating and mobilizing resistance to imperialism that was happening in Lombok. Sasak resistance from 1891 to 1894 led by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra (*mursyid* of *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* charismatic), then continued by Guru Bangkol (teacher of *Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah*) ended the colonialism of Hindu Karang Asem ruler who had ruled for centuries in power in Gumi Lombok and invited the involvement of Dutch imperialism to become the new invaders in full control of Sasak communities throughout Lombok island.

During the Dutch colonial period, Tuan Guru shifted their da'wah movements to local resistance with religious jihad to drive the Dutch away. The resistance figures were Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra's students, Guru Bangkol and other tarekat teachers who led the direct resistance to Hindu Karang Asem ruler. They are powerful figures who fuel the spirit of anti-colonialism and oppression from any party, so that the anti-colonial and anti-oppression movement becomes a movement that evokes the spirit of fighting against the invaders and oppressors (Gerdin, 1982).

From the events of 1891-1894, growing strong suspicion of the Dutch towards *tarekat*. The Netherlands has the conclusion that tarekat threatens its power. This awareness led the Dutch to hunt for tarekat figures and actively seek information about tarekat activities. In Praya, for example, Tuan Guru Makmun Karang Lebah of Central Lombok, one of the leaders of *Tarekat Qadiriyyah Wa-Naqsyabandiyah*, Tuan Guru Siddiq Karangkelok's student and also Khalifah did not escape his target, but when he arrived in front of his village (Karang Lebah) he only passed by him and back and forth. many times, eventually becoming bored with fatigue and unable to meet him (Makmun, 2001).

CONCLUSION

Social revolution movement of Sasak people in the form of resistance to colonialism-imperialism in the 19th century on Lombok island is inseparable from the central role of Tuan Guru, motivated by the same sense of unity on the basis of unity of identity as a nation with all the gifts of nature, beliefs, culture, tradition, dignity, and dignity that is Sasak people as the native inhabitants of Gumi Lombok. Background of the similarity of fate suffered in a prolonged period due to the annexation of local and global colonialism-imperialism gained a solid foothold in the beliefs of Islamic spirituality whose seeds were planted in the era of early Sasak in Tuan Guru and its development and care for one after another.

The central role of Tuan Guru in social revolution movement of Sasak people in the 19th century began with the step of unification (social integration) of all social layers of Sasak communities that sociologically created a distance between strata with other strata, with the further impact of inequality between group of Sasak communities themselves at that time. The community's understanding of social stratification which has been quite strong in tradition is slowly being changed by Tuan Guru through the approach of spiritual wisdom, cultural languages, and local knowledge of Sasak communities who are in line with universal Islamic values in all places and all ages. This narrative is illustrated in the general proposition "Sasak people must be Muslims, Muslims are not necessarily Sasak people", "if there are residents of Lombok who are not Muslims, surely they are not genuine Sasak people, and if he is a Sasak person wherever he lives it is still Islam".

The central role of Tuan Guru in the social revolution movement of Sasak people in the 19th century was bound by a specific kinship that functioned as social capital and a catalyst for change, the fraternal brotherhood (*shufi brotherhood*) resulting from the development of the semantic meaning of the term *thariqah* or *tarekat*. The religious community in social facts is transformed into *tarekat* communities as there are more and more congregational congregations in various schools. *Tarekat* community spread throughout the Islamic world, including in Lombok, is what reconstructs itself into a religio-political system in order to respond to the spirit of the times and challenges of life through the social revolution movement against Mataram-Karangasem colonialism and Dutch imperialism which gave birth to munkar, oppression, and ugliness. other vices that are contrary to the teaching of Islam in general and the practices of *Tarekat* in particular.

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