

Mosques for All: Philanthropic Spirit, Ideology Contestation, and Islam Cassette in the Context of Islamic Locality in Lombok

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Abstract

This paper tries to explore the phenomenon of local religiosity which is reflected through mosques, both theologically and socially, as well as how mosques become a space for the struggle of ideological basis, and authority between cultural Islam and the Salafi-Wahhabi movement. The mosque is not only a place of worship but also transformed into a concentrated public space and philanthropy has begun to emerge which was adopted from mosques outside Lombok. This philanthropic spirit has become an effort to criticize the massive construction of mosques but lack spirituality or the social welfare of the community around the mosque. Unlike the case with the massive Wahhabi movement which gave rise to the dynamics of Islamic development in the Sasak community, one of which was the massive construction of mosques from Saudi Arabian donors. However, it is undeniable that it also gave rise to contestation in the Sasak community. How the mosque became the basis for the spread of Wahhabi ideology was quite successful with the development of the Wahhabi in to hinterland. The last discussion in this paper is related to the sounds that come out of the mosque as a culture which is inevitably sometimes quite disturbing with the noise that is generated and is often associated with Islam Cassette. The mosque as God's House should not be selfish with the noise, and there it needs to be a negotiation to agree on sound boundaries that are in accordance with the environmental conditions around the mosque.

Keywords: *Mosque; Ideology; Philanthropy; Identity; Culture; Wahhabi movement.*

Introduction

The name of the island of a thousand mosques for the Lombok island is not just an analogy for the number of mosques, more than that, people who really like to build mosques. Every year, even for years, the Sasak people seem to be competing to beautify the mosque even though no one has organized such a competition at all. A mosque that can be said good enough to be used as a place of worship, there are some part which want to be overhauled under the pretext of beautifying God's house.

Mosques on the edge of the highway that are passed by many vehicles there must be people waving charity boxes for construction, even calling them through loudspeakers with various accompaniment songs. The pretext of beautifying the House of God is of course also legitimized with religious arguments that are read over and over again to strengthen the congregation's (ummah) belief to always giving charity for mosque

construction.

It's reasonable if it's a new mosque built from the beginning. However, there are a lot of mosques in Lombok that are already quite good for worship, but because of the congregation's desire to beautify, many mosques have been completely overhauled, renovated, even though it took quite a long time and a lot of funds.

Charities of development funds that have been collect by the ummah for years are indeed intended for the construction of mosques and their operations. The mechanism can be dues every Friday, or with class standards for development charities that are given freedom to ummah to choose according to their financial condition. In addition to general charity every day or collected from people passing by on the highway. Charities from the congregation are sometimes only piled up in the bank or mosque committee, there are also cases where mosque funds are loaned out first because they feel it will take a long time to start construction.

This paper tries to explore the religious context of the Sasak people which is reflected through the mosque. How mosques promote the spirit of philanthropy which is transmitted from mosques outside Lombok is also becoming popular nowadays, building mosques as a culture in traditional societies has recently beendynamic with the massive Wahhabi movement trying to scramble congregations through mosques. Likewise, the physical transformation of Wahhabi mosques, which are different from community mosques, has become a questionable ideology in the mosques of the Wahhabi movement. And lastly, about the noises from the mosque which increasingly shows the stretching of Islam Cassette which is increasingly confining today's religious life in the context of the locality of the Sasak community.

Studies on mosques have emerged as formal objects in Islamic studies, including Abdul Wahid's writings about mosques as intellectual centers of Muslim scholars from Islamic campuses who were actually eliminated by the Tablighi Jamaat or Wahhabi Jamaat movements which were more aggressively controlling mosque. Muslim scholars with doctoral degrees from Islamic campuses in the country or the Middle East are only listeners of sermons (khutbah) in mosques which should be their base for spreading their intellectuality. The exclusion of these Muslim scholars according to Wahid is very unfortunate in the control of the At Taqwa Mataram Grand Mosque by the Tablighi Jamaat which is used as their headquarters.

Another study that is no less interesting about Islamic authority constructed through mosques is quite broadly described by several authors in the book *Mosques and Imams, Everyday Islam in Eastern Indonesia*. In the context of Islam in Bima Adlin Sila, in that book reviews how the struggle for authority constructed from the mosque between Lebe (marbot) and the Sultan or local authorities who approved of it recently emerged a new authority in the mosque that was raised by Islamic organizations such as NU

and Muhammadiyah is also fighting for influence in controlling the mosque. In Farid F. Saenong's study, Village Imam (Imam Desa) who has authority in mosques is also often a problem solver in marginalized communities in Indonesia. According to Saenong, in the Bantaeng community of South Sulawesi, the mosque is an arena for religious mediation and disputes in the context of adat. Therefore, the Village Imam is not just anyone appointed or elected, but one who is truly qualified in religious matters as the authority holder in the mosque.

In addition to mosques as centers of religious authority, Aminah Oktarina's study on the development of productive waqaf models through mosques explains that mosques as religious institutions that are quite close to the community should be a solution to overcome poverty and economic inequality in society. In her study, samples were the Agung Syuhada mosque in Yogyakarta which was considered to have been quite successful in implementing the productive waqf pattern with various kinds of businesses around the mosque.

The study in this paper also tries to explore how mosques should apply these patterns to the welfare of the people around the mosque, not only mosques that constantly absorb people's finances to be wasted on projects that are not really needed, and that can be transferred as waqf or baitul mal.

Building the Strength of *Ummah*

The construction of mosques is almost always ongoing in all areas on the island of Lombok. There are always those who want to remodel for renovation, beautify the mosque, or just to channel the use of development charities. If our society is willing to be content with the condition of the mosque which is already good enough to be used for worship, then the funds collected can be diverted for other things in the development of the community.

For example, for recitation events, the procurement of a mosque library, the provision of free food for travelers who rest in the mosque, to the provision of business funds for the people with the baitul mal mechanism from the charity funds collected by the mosque. Of course, there are many other things that are more useful for distributing mosque funds than just for renovations to fulfill the desire of dissatisfaction with the condition of the mosque which some people find uncomfortable.

Mosques are not only built to beautify the eyes of the viewer, more than that, the comfort of worship which is the goal must also be accompanied by the spirit of the congregation to come prosper the mosque. Charities for mosques that are issued throughout the year can actually also be an economic solution for the congregation. With the charity mechanism, of course, not only for physical buildings, but also for building the strength of the

congregation, it should be a big agenda in the mosque.

The splendor of the mosque building that is not accompanied by the strength of the congregation will only make the mosque a lonely monument. It was built on the hard work of the congregation, but the souls of the congregation actually think that it is enough to prosper it with the support of physical buildings. Even though the most important thing about prospering the mosque is not just that, but when religious activities make the mosque the center of the congregation's strength, it is a necessary thing to start together.

Do not let the efforts to build a physical mosque that cost the ummah's funds ignore the economy of the ummah, who are often hit by hunger, are in debt, even the sick cannot afford treatment, and the children cannot go to school. The sufficiency of the hearts of the people should begin with the realization that the comfort of worshiping in the House of God is not merely by boasting to build it. But when a comfortable heart is based on a sincere intention to worship sincerely, the physical building of a place of worship is not a problem.

But what is happening now is that people are competing to build mosques, collecting year-round charity from ummah, while the collected funds actually benefit other parties when stored in banks, or cases when mosque funds are borrowed by the management or congregation for personal interests. Loans from congregational charities collected by the mosque are not a problem if they can be repaid as soon as possible, but many are complicated when it comes to repaying them and there is nothing that can be guaranteed to repay loans from mosque funds. The mosques also collecting zakah from ummah and made it as fund which saves in bank or the committee of mosque. While as we know that zakah can be the social religiosity for welfare of ummah, and we understood that the distribution of Zakah has two important dimensions, the first relating to compliance in carrying out the commands of Allah (Hablumminallah) and the second creates a sense of fairness and concern among fellow Muslims (Hablumminannas). Specifically in the social dimension (Hablumminannas), the distribution of Zakah can be an important factor in the process of social and economic development of society.

Through mosque funds, it is not too difficult if wanted to build a baitul mal, because the contribution of income from the ummah every Friday and even every day through the charity box. As Mention by Wahibur Rokhman (2013) on his research baitul mal as the Islamic microfinance plays important role on improving income of house hold, as well as improves access to children's education and also supports in improving business for poor people. The mosque can be a pioneer of the community movement without usury (Riba) by borrowing business funds through the baitul mall, there is no set of bank interest. Even if necessary, mosque funds can also be used for

cooperation in the concept of *muzara'ah* for poor farmers, or *mudarabah* for those who have businesses but have difficulty getting capital. The principle of mutual trust in the community is an important thing to build the economic bases of the people who are pioneered through mosques. Many people echo the anti-usury movement but they have no solution to prevent people from usury, especially from conventional banks or high-interest loan institutions with only a motorcycle Book of Owned as a guarantee. Mosques could play a bigger role in starting with non-interest-bearing loans that could be encouraged.

It is time for mosques in Lombok not only to focus on physical construction, but the main thing is to build a solid congregational strength with good values in society to be echoed. Likewise with efforts to build mutual trust in the community regarding the management of mosque funds for mutual benefit, transparency on this is very necessary to prevent congregants' suspicions about the charities they have spent on mosques. With this, the social engagement of the congregation becomes the starting point for building community civilization starting from the mosque.

Innovation of Mosque

These efforts are certainly not to underestimate the charity for the construction of mosques. But this the mechanism for mutual awareness that the magnificent physical appearance of the mosque, which is not accompanied by the strength of the congregation to prosper, is the same as wasting the large funds that have been spent on the building. In addition to boasting of physical buildings, mosques can also be creative with better facilities to attract the congregation so that they are always adrift to come to prosper the mosque. Able place of worship, the availability of a garden that soothes the eyes can be an option to beautify the mosque.

Charities for the construction of mosques are not only spent on physical buildings, there are many other things that can be sought from the people's funds. Like many mosques that have been creative in providing food for travelers, resting places, or being distributed to help orphans and poor people. Innovations with funds collected from mosque construction charities can be started from simple things, if the mosque is no longer under construction, more precisely, the desire for construction is eliminated. For example, a mosque that has agricultural waqf land can allocate funds on the land, carried out by poor worshipers, later they can earn income from it. Or also the mosque becomes a provider of business loan assistance for people who have businesses, of course with strict agreements and the principle of mutual trust, as well as sanctions if the congregation who is given loan assistance reneges on the agreement.

If all mosques in Lombok can innovate more than just boasting physical

buildings, of course the strength of the Sasak Islam community on the Thousand Mosques Island is not just a name. But building the strength of the congregation is the capital to build a civil society that emphasizes the spirit of prospering the mosque, which will also spread to make the community prosperous. When the physical building of the mosque is magnificent, it must be accompanied by the splendor of the spirit to build the strength of the congregation through the mosque .

The physical construction of the mosque is not just a project for distributing congregational funds, more than that, there is a responsibility for the funds that should be able to be cultivated more for the development of the community. When the desire for the physical construction of the mosque is no longer there, of course it also does not dampen the desire of the congregation to give charity to the mosque. But charities for managing other needs are also something that should be supported together.

The consciousness to the ummah that charity is not only for the needs of physical buildings, but the building of the congregation which is always attached to the mosque is also an important agenda that must be started from now. Maybe with an agenda like this, we will no longer see community mosques with large physical projects abandoned. The congregation will focus on efforts to prosper the mosque, as well as with charities that can be enjoyed together. Not just spending billions of charitable funds to fulfill the desire for a magnificent physical development, but after that it was abandoned, and the congregation was deserted. Even now in the digital era we found that charity for the mosques also collect from digital philanthropy such as *Kitabisa.com*, *sedekahonline.com*, it was mentioned by Dony Arung Triantoro as soft capitalism in his research about the practice of giving among middle to upper class- muslim That the increasingly significant development of the media has changed people's religious practices.

The mosque is the house of God as we believe. God does not need these splendors, as our desire is never enough for that splendor and always wants to build even more magnificent. What we need to revolutionize from the mosque now is to build the strengths of the congregation. Including economic power, politics and especially the intellectual strength of the congregation.

Then the island of a thousand mosques, will get an accompaniment pin behind it. A thousand mosques, millions of worshipers. This is the point of the mosque revolution, and starting it also requires mental support from all congregations. We certainly don't want as the Prophet SAW said, they are hungry, sick, you are busy building a mosque. The mosque revolution must begin, the strength of the congregation must be upheld, and above all, piety is the first and most important capital.

Philanthropy and Welfare of Ummah

On the one hand, we often hear mosques announcing the remaining

hundreds of millions of cash that can be collected from community charities, on the other hand, there are mosques where every day the remaining cash is 0 rupiah. The Jogokariyan Mosque in Yogyakarta had gone viral with the identity of its 0 rupiah cash balance. It's not that no one is donating, but the daily donations are played for the welfare of the people who come to worship. No wonder every prayer time, the rows are always full until the second floor. For the size of the mosque in the middle of the city, the Jogokariyan Mosque is quite small when compared to the mosques in Lombok which are quite spacious even though they are in remote villages. However, the size of the mosque in Lombok is undeniable, sometimes it is not accompanied by a great desire for spirituality as well as the size of the building.

The Jogokariyan Mosque, although small, has managed to become a model for ideal mosque management. Finances that are rotated every day to prosper the people, the comfort of worship, to providing a resting place for pilgrims who come from far away. Every prayer time is also provided for consumption for those who come in congregation. Especially in the month of fasting, there are no less than 3,000-5,000 portions of food every day for breaking the fast and also prepared for sahur for those who are doing i'tikaf.

The thing that the Jogokariyan mosque wants to echo is what its *takmir* said, namely an effort to return the donations of the benefactors to be directly enjoyed by the people who come to worship, instead of being piled up and exhibited by being announced or posted on the bulletin board. The management of the Jogokariyan mosque by prospering the surrounding community is an attraction for more and more worshipers who come to prosper the mosque. We can find quite a number of mosque philanthropy like this in Jogja, imitating the spirit transmitted from the Jogokariyan mosque.

In the neighborhood where the writer lived during his study in Jogja, there is also the Al Hidayah Purwosari mosque, Sleman in a residential area which can be said to have a fairly well-established economic level of the congregation. Every Friday food is provided for Friday congregations from residents' donations. Every Sunday at dawn there is also a recitation until the sun rises followed by breakfast together. The concept of philanthropy of this mosque was also reviewed by Muhammad Irham who used the Al Hidayah Mosque as a sample, that efforts to prosper the community from mosques become the spirit of civil society.¹⁴ The mosque is not just a place to collect charities that are left piled up, but it needs progressive steps so that all people or anyone who worships there can immediately enjoy the charity issued by the congregation.

In recent years mosques in Lombok have also begun to promote such philanthropy. The *takmir* of the mosque usually provides a table or display case which is written on the glass "anyone can take it, anyone can fill it". This means that in that place provided free consumption for those who are interested. Of course, it is actually more intended for travelers who happen

to stop praying at the mosque. One of them can be found at the Qubbatul Islam mosque in Seganteng, Mataram City, for example. At the Mataram University campus mosque there is also a storefront like that, with the same inscription. However, in campus mosques it is more often seen that the contents of the storefront are empty. Of course, because students need more, moreover it's free consumption. On the terrace of the campus mosque, gallons and dispensers are also available, but they are the same, they are often empty. This should be a concern for philanthropists on campus to support the philanthropic movement at the campus mosque.

At the Qubbatul Islam mosque mentioned above also provides a place to sit and relax made of old tires. A gas stove is even provided for those who are interested in cooking hot water for coffee or boiling noodles. The mosque's administrators who are entrusted are part of the Tablighi Jamaat. The spirit of prospering the mosque, inviting worshipers to pray in congregation in the mosque seems to be a characteristic that is implanted as their da'wah doctrine. They also encourage philanthropists to be part of the mosque's prosperity efforts, one of which is to donate consumption provided at the mosque.

In addition to the mosque mentioned above, a place of worship that echoes the philanthropic spirit of the Muslim community is the Olivia Mushalla which is on the side of the Lombok Airport Bypass road. From the description of the cleaning manager of the Olivia Mushalla, it was stated that the Mushalla was built by a philanthropist from Saudi Arabia who bought land for waqf by building a place of worship which was intended to commemorate his deceased wife. The mushalla is always kept clean even though every day it is always full of worshipers who rest after traveling. In the mushalla also provided free consumption for worshipers who visit. Starting from coffee, noodles, rice, and also snacks available from generous donations.

The founder of the Olivia Mushalla also often comes to visit and provide food for the congregation who comes without anyone knowing that he is the benefactor. The Olivia Mushalla is also often a stop for travel that brings tourists. They also enjoy the dishes provided there. The concept that is echoed is also the same, anyone can take it, and anyone can fill it.

The fasting month is also usually a very busy moment for mosques that provide iftar consumption. The concept of mosque philanthropy is really lively during the month of Ramadan, especially in mosques that are close to educational centers. Even in Lombok, mosques in villages also follow this philanthropic trend. The provision of menus for breaking the fast (takjil) in mosques in the month of Ramadan shows the stretching of the philanthropic spirit which has become a trend that is quite successful in bringing a positive impact in efforts to prosper mosques.

This continues until Ramadan is over, but is usually limited to providing consumption after Friday worship, for example. The philanthropic spirit that

follows the trend of other mosques is of course also accompanied by efforts to improve the spirituality of the congregation, one of which can be initiated by the proclaimed scientific assemblies. When mosque funds are sufficient for operational matters, there is no harm in using these funds as capital to support mosque agendas that are more directed at the intellectual development of the congregation.

Mosques are no longer only focused on physical development by relying on congregational donations throughout the year. But now mosques also need to build an atmosphere that strengthens the congregation, especially by increasing the relationship between congregations, one of which is by increasing the agendas of the knowledge assembly in the mosque. This includes how mosques should portray themselves in the midst of strengthening religious conservatism, issues of intolerance, and radicalism in the midst of the growth of a multicultural society.

Mosques and the Salafi-Wahhabi Movement

It is different with the so-called Islamic transnational movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwanul Muslimin*) that developed in Egypt, it was also this current which later formed new intellectual movements based in campus mosques such as the Salman ITB mosque, the Arif Rahman Hakim UI Mosque, and the UGM Salahudin mosque¹⁶. We cannot deny that there is a Wahhabi-salafism movement through mosques which has also developed quite a bit in Lombok since the last two decades. This ideology developed along with the massive Arabization targeting people to the hinterland of Lombok which is claimed to be an ideal perspective in religion. Initially, the mention of Wahhabi was not an issue for those who followed this understanding. As the public is increasingly open to access to understanding about the schools in Islam, then the term Wahhabis is considered to have a negative connotation or pejorative labeling. Because it is not considered that the characteristics that exist in them in the mention of Wahhabi. However, the use of the word Wahhabism is already popular in academic circles as a study that refers to Muslim groups who follow the reformist teachings of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab and other Saudi scholars.

Abdurrahman Wahid (2009) also explained that Wahhabism is a hard-line Islamic sect that performs absolute religion based on the principles of *Ar ruju' ila al Qur'an* and Hadith. This understanding makes it easy for Wahhabis to accuse other Muslim communities of infidelity whose practices are different from theirs. The Wahhabi group also rejects religious practices which are the acculturation of Islam with culture.

This Wahhabi terminology is also explained by Noorhaidi Hasan (2002) who wrote "With their puritanical spirit, the Wahhabis set out to fight against the superstitions prevalent in Arabian society and to attack those who claimed to be Muslim but whose behavior was, in their view, un-Islamic."

That their puritanical spirit becomes the justification for opposing groups that are considered to claim to be Muslims but in their daily life, in the view of the Wahhabis, they look un-Islamic.²⁰

The term for Wahhabi ideology then transformed into As Sunnah or Salafi, referring to the concept of salafiyun or the previous generation of salafus salih. The salafi generation in Islam is three generations which are called the best generation (*khairul qurun*), including the generation of companions, *Thabi'in*, and *thabi'u tabi'in*. While the current salafi understanding of calling itself salaf is analogous to taking the spirit of the salafus salih.²¹

The massive Wahhabi da'wah in East Lombok adds to the dynamics Islamic life of the Sasak community. On the other hand, their da'wah movement with a purification mission raises contestations with the Islamic understanding of the community that is already established in religious traditions which are the result of acculturation of Islam and local culture. The claim of pure Islamic identity displayed by the Wahhabi group with religious symbols is a strategy to differentiate themselves. Sasak local Islamic understanding is considered to have been contaminated by resembling Hindu culture in several established traditions. This contestation causes division in society which was originally a unified identity.

The da'wah movement by multiplying mosques to spread Wahhabi ideology was quite successful in attracting more and more people who joined. The Sasak people who are Muslim are culturally criticized harshly called *bid'ah* and even shirk when practicing religious traditions that are considered to have no basis from the Qur'an and Sunnah. Continuous criticism through lectures by cornering the Islamic way of society beyond their understanding creates friction that is unavoidable. The convention strategy between Wahabi groups and the Sasak community in general with a moderate religious understanding without anyone dominating can be constructed by allowing Wahhabi da'wah to run as usual, and they also stop cornering the Islamic ways of people outside their group. Moderation of religion in the context of a homogeneous society needs to be addressed, including moderation in dealing with Shia groups, Ahmadiyah, or even local beliefs.

The relationship between the salafi-wahabi movement in the context of the mosque can be seen that the mosque is an infiltration medium for the spread of religious doctrine, which according to them is the most correct. They also spread the Islamic ideology through any kind of media such as TV, Radio, and social media. Masduki et. al called this the struggle for salafism through Islam on the air²². When they enter an area, initially the usual recitation is in the mushalla or even in the existing village mosque. Then after

many people are interested, they will build their own mosque to form exclusivity. Donors for the construction of mosques will be realized very quickly because of the direct support from Saudi Arabia at that time for the sake of spreading the doctrine of Wahhabism.

However, what is often a problem is when the doctrine considers their way of worship the most correct and considers others wrong, and mentions that there is no evidence for ways of worship (bid'ah) performed by others. Salafi-Wahhabi figures are still practicing such religious doctrines. Mosques become centers of religious indoctrination that they spread by assuming that what is well understood in society is wrong.

The concept of Capturing in the study of political economy makes the Wahhabi movement inevitably face to face with an established society with cultural and Islamic accuracies in religious traditions. With the economic stability of Saudi Arabian donors, they can easily be built mosques and educational centers as an effort to spread Wahhabi ideology. The concept of symbolic dominance from Pierre Bourdieu (2015) is carried out by the Wahhabi community by spreading authoritative da'wah on reading texts. Meanwhile, how people outside the Wahhabi community are resisting the increasingly massive Wahhabi movement in the bases of Islamic organizations is quite an interesting thing to explore further. How is the da'wah strategy with the mission of purification of the dominant Islamic teachings, and how is the resistance of the people who are still establishing traditions in religiosity.

Before the Islamic Center Mosque Hubbul Wathan NTB was inaugurated, the salafi-wahabi movement already had an Islamic Center in Gomong, Mataram. The mosque was named the Al Hunafa Islamic Center as a center for the Salafi- Wahhabi movement to spread their religious understanding. The mosque is without a terrace, without a pulpit, and without a carpet as a base. Maybe things other than that are considered not to imitate what the Prophet had done, that the Prophet's mosque was without it. The mosques of the Salafi-Wahhabi movement are quite easy to identify, because they are built without terraces, and operate when it is time for prayer.

The salafi-wahabi movement to build mosques even though there is already a mosque in their midst is a phenomenon that we often encounter in Lombok today. According to them, the mosque is a center to invite worshipers to understand religion better with their slogans returning to the Qur'an and Sunnah, but not infrequently by blaming cultural religious practices that have been established in society. It is not surprising then that many consider the lectures of salafi-wahabi figures as provoking and even leading to radicals. They also began to introduce the study model in every lecture attended by salafi-wahabi figures. Meanwhile, in the local context, the Sasak people are actually more established as recitations.

The mosques built by the salafi-wahabi movement are quite different

from the mosques in general in Lombok. Usually their mosque is without a terrace, full of buildings, and inside there is no carpet, no pulpit like the Islamic center mosque. Efforts to build a movement to spread salafi-wahabi understanding more widely from mosques often also trigger conflicts in the community. Because the doctrine they instill that their understanding is more correct in the procedure for worship or criticize the traditions that have been established in the Sasak community.

Wahhabi's Authoritative Da'wah

The criticisms made by the Wahhabi community preachers to the Sasak people who still carry out the tradition wrapped in religious rites caused conflict in society. Until there were cases of burning and destruction of Wahhabi places of worship in the villages of Pringgasela and Kabar villages of East Lombok, and most recently (2021st) in Mamben Daya, and Bagik Nyaka, as well as the expulsion of their figures. Even the criticisms made also tend to be underestimated by laughing at the deeds done by the community outside their Islamic understanding.

They say that there is no need to recite the intention when going for ablution or prayer because the intention is in the heart, which God knows for sure. Wahhabi figures oppose people who bring "peseraq" to the village kyai when a family member dies. They also regard tahlilan as futile because there is no evidence. According to them, Tahlilan by feeding so many people present will actually cause trouble for the families affected by the disaster. There was even an incident where one Wahhabi figure H. Mizan Qudsiyah accidentally hit the trays provided for the 9-day tahlilan congregation of the family who died.

The absolute meaning of the text causes a narrow understanding of the Wahhabi community in viewing religious practices in the Sasak community. Da'wah which is echoed with the principle of returning to the Qur'an and hadith does not seem to require interpretation by ijtihad or ijma' and qiyas in contextual fiqh products. They assume that when there is no evidence in the Qur'an and Hadith for a hatta case that is carried out by reading the sentence tayyibah praising Allah SWT, it is considered not accepted/rejected.

They also view the public's understanding of Islamic law as contaminated with understandings outside of Islam that cause it to be impure. The way of religion practiced by the Wahhabi community is considered the most correct, and considers others wrong. This view in the study of Cultural Studies becomes a project of affirmation of identity as self (self) and others as other (the other).

The form of dominance displayed in the Wahhabi community's da'wah is a strategy for spreading ideology that is increasingly massive targeting ordinary people. This is quite successful with many people who are increasingly interested in joining the study of Wahhabi figures. In addition,

the da'wah movement by building mosques at various strategic points also makes the Wahhabi community wider and creates a strong and inherent social identity for the group. Likewise, the generosity of their figures who have a well-established economy has attracted the Sasak people to join the Wahhabi congregation.

Da'wah by building educational places also targets generations of Sasak Muslims who are increasingly being included in their schools. The cost of education that is borne, and even their parents are given capital for a business further adds to the attractiveness of the Sasak community to join. In the beginning the people who join the Wahhabi Community start wearing niqab and protest to the people with no covering her aurah especially women. This case was mentioned as the salafization of Indonesian Islam that the niqab as a protest movement and an instrument of regeneration (salafization) for Salafi Muslim women in Indonesia. The niqab also has been one of the important symbols in the Salafi Islamic movement and has been the main dress for salafi-wahhabi muslim women. It is not surprising that in villages with NU and NW bases, which were once militant, now there are already many Wahhabi communities. This is because the NU and NW mass organizations do not pay much attention to the interests of the congregations below them, who always ask for support at the top. NW elites are busy fighting for power in the contestation of legitimate management claims. Meanwhile, the congregation below was quite bored with such conditions, with the dryness of spirituality because there were less and less recitations in their place.

Under such conditions, Wahhabi figures took on the role of preaching their ideology by appealing to people's hearts to return to the Qur'an and Hadith. After that, the Wahhabi understanding doctrines were crammed into the community, that the community's practice of Islam so far was wrong. Efforts to blame Islam in society are wrapped in logics of convenience in religion according to their understanding. Wahhabi figures preached their understanding of the way of religion as final, no caliphate was raised. Ways of worship outside of them are considered heresy, baseless.

However, people with a moderate understanding of Islam taught through recitations of NU, NW, or Maraqitta'limat figures think that what Wahhabi figures preach is wrong. People under the auspices of these Islamic organizations continue to carry out religious traditions as usual. Meanwhile, the Wahhabi community, which is already well-established with extreme Islamic doctrines, is still aggressively cornering the religious ways of traditional Islamic societies.

The case that happened was in Pringgasela village, East Lombok. Initially, one of their residents who followed the salafi-wahabi sect held a recitation (*pengajian*) at the village mosque. Because he is also part of the community, no one has a problem with him being a preacher in the recitation.

However, the content of the recitation began to sound provocative by criticizing established religious traditions in society. For example, consider the heresy of the *tahlilan* tradition of up to 9 days for the person who dies, is considered futile. Then pray at the grave also during the funeral procession, laugh at people who say their intentions (*niat*) in prayer or when performing ablution, and others who are considered never to be exemplified by the prophet.

People initially thought it was normal to have different understandings in worship procedures. Even those who understand the comparison of the 4 Madhabs see it as a common thing. However, when the doctrine of the salafi-wahabi movement is actually more and more people are interested and start blaming people who don't agree with them, this is where a conflict arises with people who think that the doctrine carried out by the salafi-wahabi movement is excessive.

After their congregation increased, they began to build their own mosque even though it was close to the existing village mosque. From there, the salafi-wahabi doctrines became more intense and emphasized their distinct identity from the general public. The identity markers of the salafi-wahabi movement began to be highlighted, for example with a black forehead, a robe with pants above the ankles, where women began to wear the veil with a large headscarf, robes that were not patterned or were more dominant in wearing black for women, and even tended to be good in terms of friendship. clothing and language, for example, Wahhabi figures who often give recitation are called Ustadz Abu, the recitation is changed to *liqo'* (study), or cycles, and others.

The peak of the conflict was when people who had become part of the salafi-wahabi movement began to actively carry out doctrinal activities by blaming things they considered heretical or things that were not in accordance with their understanding. Like the religious traditions in the community that have been mentioned above. They consider the 9 nights of remembrance for the dead as a waste, *maulid* as well as a heresy that the prophet never exemplified, to the funeral procession of the corpse that was planted without any prayer procession and so on.

This is often expressed in recitations at their mosques, which also use heretical devices in the form of a Toa or similar loudspeaker which is played loudly to the public. People outside the salafi-wahabi movement feel that there is no respect from the salafi-wahabi congregation for the differences that are actually considered normal by the community. However, the Salafi-Wahhabi congregation still echoes the blame for the people's understanding that is not the same as them.

The society that was split into two camps between cultural Islam and the salafi-wahabi movement eventually made the conflict more widespread. The mosque of the Salafi-Wahhabi congregation in Pringgasela was burned, and

even its leaders were expelled from the village because they were considered to be spreading provocative religious ideas. People who have entered the salafi-wahabi movement do not directly face each other when a conflict occurs. They remain part of the salafi-wahabi which later transformed again as As Sunnah. There are even more schools with the As Sunnah label in East Lombok, which later became the center of the Salafi-Wahhabi movement. Bagik Nyaka village, Aikmel sub- district with their mosque called Markaz regularly continues to hold studies by bringing in salafi-wahabi figures with transnational Islamic networks.

Salafi-Wahhabi congregations who later widely labeled themselves As Sunnah every Wednesday and Sunday night will crowd the Markaz mosque in Bagik Nyaka. They came from various parts of Lombok to listen to the studies of salafi-wahabi figures which they considered sufficient according to the content of the study and what they needed in a religious context. The As-Sunnah movement is also expanding, even reaching bases that used to be strong enough for the ideology of Ahlu Sunnah wal Jamaah, be it NU or NW/NWDI, Maraqitta'limat. In the interior of East Lombok, the As-Sunnah movement has become a fairly well- established ideology marked by the massive number of veiled women, and men wearing Hisbal (cingkrang pants) with black foreheads and long beards.

The massive salafi-wahabi movement that has reached the bases of NU and NW is a note for both organizations that the fluid cultural Islam that should be understood by the public has now been suppressed by harsh religious doctrines with increasingly widespread Arabization. The established religious traditions in society have even diminished because there is no longer any echoes of them. This makes it easier for the salafi-wahabi doctrine to infiltrate the arid society of recitations that echo moderation (wasatiah) in carrying out religious law.

Likewise, the Nahdhatul Wathan (NW) organization which is the gatekeeper of Wasatiah Islam in Lombok has been trapped in a dualism conflict for a long time, leaving congregations who no longer receive the recitations that were previously routinely filled by their teachers. This has made it easier for the Salafi-Wahhabi movement to enter areas of established traditionalist Islam. Then the people transformed into puritanical Islam with donors from Saudi Arabia who intensively built them mosques or schools which had not been obtained from the state.

The salafi-wahabi movement with religious doctrines that are fully supported by Saudi Arabia also influences their nationalism. Religious institutions or social institutions supported by donors from Saudi Arabia have caused some elite circles to feel they have no obligation to pay respect to the state or state symbols.

The Markaz Mosque in Bagik Nyaka as the center of the Salafi-Wahabi

movement is now rapidly growing into a favorite institution of choice for parents who want to send their children to school. In it there are As Sunnah educational institutions ranging from PAUD-SMA levels, as well as Mahad (equivalent to Diploma II colleges). Mosques of the salafi-wahabi movement are also quite a lot now being built at strategic points in the community, which are getting bored with Islamic organizations that are more focused on the center.

The Salafi-Wahhabi movement coupled with the massive construction of mosques is their effort to increase the number of congregations. Meanwhile, the intellectuals of the Islamic campus, which should promote moderate Islam, are actually far from the mosque, as if they do not have the opportunity to voice this through the mosque, and are even alienated. It is possible that this will make traditionalist Islamic circles even more narrow in their scope of movement. Puritan Islam which is echoed by the slogan of returning to the Qur'an and Hadith does not seem to provide space for religious traditions to exist. In fact, it is through these established traditions that the value of alms is not understood by the salafi-wahabi movement which clearly denies things that are not in accordance with their understanding. It is reproduced continuously to the congregation until it becomes the status quo which is considered established. Then it seems that there is no room for dialogue on traditions that are considered heretical. Not even a few of the salafi-wahabi figures easily forbid, or disbelieve in things that are considered to deviate from their religious understanding.

The mosque terrace seems to have become a culture in its physical context. So when a salafi-wahabi mosque builds an identity marker with a mosque without a terrace, it is solely to differentiate itself and emphasize the identity of that difference to others. Achmad Fawaid (2019) on his research showing that the architecture of mosques he called as contested field where is sacred and profane. The architecture also represent the ideology such in this case of Wahhabi mosques in Lombok.

They say that the practice of heresy is rejected as if it were God's representative who was whispered about it. Returning to the context of the mosque which was built for salafi-wahabi congregations, it is true that donors from Saudi Arabia are very aggressive in waking them up. But as long as they consider their religious understanding to be the most correct, and it is still echoed through the mosque, then there is nothing wrong for the public to be wary of the divisions among the Muslims that could occur. Even though it is at the local level that Sasak are attached to traditionalist Islam, that tradition that is closely related to Islam is an established integration in forming an Islamic Sasak community, and always strengthens the relationship.

Mosque and Islam Cassette

In addition to building mosques as if it were a culture in the Sasak community, making loud noises is also a tradition of our mosques. For example, when waking up for sahur, or when there is a mutual cooperation event no matter at night, the sound of loudspeakers from the mosque becomes an accompaniment for the working community. The phenomenon of noise from the mosque was once discussed by Gus Dur in his article "*Islam Kaset dan Kebisingannya*" which was published in Tempo magazine in 1982³⁹. Gus Dur considered that the voices that came out of the mosque actually all wanted to call for worship, such as the call to prayer, iqamah, or the reading of the Qur'an. However, the voices calling for goodness should not interfere with the rights of other people who need peace, such as small children, the sick, the elderly, non-Muslims, and even women who are not praying.

Likewise with other sounds from the mosque, the sound of the call to prayer has been replaced with cassettes, especially the sound of the Qur'an as a marker of the arrival of prayer time, all of which are even played from cassettes or from radios connected to loudspeakers. The mosque is like playing a recording repeatedly rather than chanting it directly. In roadside mosques there are usually people who are tasked with collecting charity from passing motorists. Not to forget the accompanying music is usually played from loudspeakers to accompany the charity collectors.

The problematic thing about the noise from this mosque is that there is no agreed reasonableness limit to the extent to which sound can be heard from the mosque's loudspeakers. Having a house close to the mosque was originally an advantage because it was close to a place of worship that could be in congregation at any time. However, what would happen if the noise generated would become an unavoidable noise pollution, because if they protested, they would be blasphemed.

Aris Setiawan, a lecturer in ethnomusicology at ISI Yogyakarta wrote about the sound of loudspeakers from this mosque in his article "Toa Masjid and Cultural Sounds" published in the Nusantara Institute. Generally. Although the Minister of Religion in his 1971 circular letter stated the standardization of the sound from mosques, the public considered that the louder the sound, the better so that it could be heard from the farthest house

In fact, if we think about the current crowds and the distance from houses is getting denser, even though many mosques are close to one another from one settlement to another, the noise from the mosque should be minimized. Because every time the prayer time comes, almost every mosque will also turn on the loudspeaker to set the Koran tape or at least the tarhim prayer tape before the call to prayer. Even worse, some mosques in Lombok,

1 hour before the call to prayer, they start playing the tapes for the Koran, it doesn't matter if the people are sleeping soundly enjoying the night.

Even though the loudspeaker noise from this mosque is a culture, it should get the attention of the whole community regarding mutual comfort. Many of our people whose houses are close to the mosque, maybe they are sick, or have small children, or the elderly who need peace, they should need awareness from the mosque manager so that they are not selfish when turning on the noisy sounds from the mosque even though it is the sound of the call to prayer or the Koran. Maybe they are embarrassed to protest the noise, this is where the role of mosque managers is to be sensitive to the surrounding environment, to what extent the noise generated can interfere with the rights of other people who also need peace. Do not let the noise problem caused by this mosque cause antipathy to the Muslim community who are actually reluctant to come to the mosque. A soft, flowing sound, neither loud nor too small, may penetrate the listener's heart more than a deafening loud sound. A mosque that calls for goodness should not interfere with the noise it makes, and be more accommodating to the rights of others.

Conclusion

The mosque should be the center of the development of the community, not just for physical boasting, but the intellectual development of the congregation is also an important thing that must be a sustainable agenda. The spirit to prosper the people through the mosque is also finding its way through the various forms of philanthropy that are presented. The provision of free consumption for the congregation, good management of mosque funds, are progressive efforts to return the mosque to truly the house of God, as we believe in the jargon.

The mosque as the center of civilization must also become a democratic public space when faced with the diversity of worshipers around it. There are many phenomena when a mosque is controlled by a certain group, it becomes an arena that dominates discourses that are exclusive to their group, without giving room for other people who also need the mosque to stay in touch, or spread moderate Islam.

The mosque's big agendas in building community and philanthropic spirit are not only by providing consumption or holding monthly recitations. However, the provision of an inclusive reading room and regular religious discussions should also be carried out. Community enthusiasm is also an important factor in supporting mosque movements that present Islam that is friendly and open to all. Not only trapped by one group or one new Islamic organization followed by the community. But building egalitarianism from

mosques is appropriate for the sake of creating a strong friendship in society.

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