

Sasak People's Resistance Against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch Colonial Rulers: The Role of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu

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Abstract

This article discusses the Sasak people's resistance against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonial rulers in the 19th century in Lombok, Indonesia. It particularly focuses on Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu and his central role in the emergence of Sasak people's resistance which transformed into Sasak physical revolution local and global imperialism-colonialism. Using the historical method, this article collected data through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. The data analysis involved the historical methods of heuristics, verification or criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The findings show that Sasak people's resistance was not only caused by economic factors but also related to other factors such as social, cultural, and religious ones. Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu played a key role in the Sasak people's resistance in that it was under his leadership and influence that the resistance transformed into a physical struggle against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonialism as seen in Sakra War and Praya War which were led by his students and friends.

Key Words

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu, social-religious movement, Sasak people, Mataram-Karangasem colonialism, Dutch colonialism

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Introduction

It is known that community resistance movements are strongly influenced by local religious leaders. The emergence and development, either success or failure, of a community resistance are dependent on the community's religious leaders. The community members believe that their religious leaders preserve the community's tradition and provide a way to salvation in the afterlife. They are obliged to listen to the advice of their religious leaders for daily life so that it is not uncommon that they become fanatical and militant followers of their religious leader. As a result, these religious leaders have full control over religious, social, cultural, economic aspects of the community.

This holds also true for Sasak people in Lombok, Indonesia. The majority of Sasak people live in *desê-dasan* areas (villages) and strongly hold their tradition. Rituals are an important part of the community's lives to express and respond to the world around them to maintain order and stability in social relations. Sasak people's life is dense with ritual traditions which not influence their religious lives but also social, economic, and political activities (Kumbara 2008:321).

Agricultural products have played a vital role in Sasak communities for centuries ago. Rice, for example, is exported to the Philippines, China, Bourbon, Mauritius as well as some regions in the Indonesian archipelago such as Java, Madura, Maluku, and Makassar (Trisulistiyono *et al.* 2003). Even since the 18th century, Lombok has been an important part of open trade traffic between Australia, Singapore, and China (Agung 1992:187). The meeting of merchants from the Indonesia-Malay archipelago and traders from Europe made Lombok an important trade hub resulting in the business connection among islands in the archipelago and economic cooperation with some European countries.

However, this strategic geographical location attracted rulers in the archipelago to invade Lombok and exploit its natural resources. These include the rulers of Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and those of European countries like the Netherlands. This led Sasak people to fight these invaders in the forms of a large-scale resistance and wars, namely Sakra War, Praya War I and II, and Kalijaga War (Wacana 1988; Zakaria 1998).

This Sasak people's resistance was characterized by the fact that it was highly influenced by Sasak religious leaders known as *Tuan Guru* who traditionally exercised -even until now- a respected status and power over Sasak people. One of *Tuan Guru* who played a major role in the Sasak movement during the Mataram-Karangasem and the Dutch colonialism was Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu.

Based on the above background, this article examines the Sasak people's resistance against the Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and Dutch colonialism in the 19th century. It poses two main questions: What caused Sasak people to fight Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch occupation? and how did Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu play his central role in this Sasak people resistance?

To answer these questions, this article uses historical analysis. The required data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews, and documentation. Data analysis involved four stages: heuristics (source collection), verification (source criticism), interpretation (source interpretation), and historiography or history writing (Kartodirdjo 1982; Kuntowijoyo 1995; Priyadi 2011). The heuristic phase involved collecting historical sources in the form of written documents on Sasak resistance. The verification stage criticized the obtained historical sources as these sources have external and internal aspects. In the interpretation phase, collected data were interpreted to arrange related historical periods. Lastly, the historiography stage reconstructed history.

This article argues that various factors drove the Sasak people's resistance against the occupation of the Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and Dutch colonialism, which was finally manifested in wars through the central role played by Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu. In what follows, this article, first, describes the Sasak people's resistance against the Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and Dutch colonialism. Then, it explains the factors that caused the Sasak people resistance. Finally, the article describes how Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu played a central role in the Sasak people's resistance.

Sasak Resistance Against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch Colonialism

Sasak people's resistance occurred in the 19th century against Mataram-Karangasem invaders and the Dutch colonialism who wanted to control Lombok's natural resources and change the social order of Sasak communities. It was conducted in the forms of wars and upheaval on various scales by the followers of *Tuan Guru*, local charismatic religious leaders. They were driven by the theological goal of upholding *amr ma'ruf nahi munkar* (Islamic teaching of commanding right and forbidding wrong) and observing the holy war of *jihad fi sabilillah* (struggle in the path of God).

The Sasak resistance against the foreign rulers was a collective action to maintain the Sasak tradition as a collective identity. Sasak people viewed change introduced by the foreign rulers as a danger that could damage the

traditional consensus and local cultural values resulting in changes in one's social or collective mentality. This view affected the level of development of social movements resulting in a high sense of solidarity and idealism that focus on action in making changes to conditions that are understood as things that must be resisted for change (Broom & Selznick 1981). This means that social movements or popular resistance movements are collective activities in a dynamic social life of the communities in response to changes or dissatisfaction with unfair and oppressive conditions. This was the most decisive factor in the resistance of Sasak communities who wanted to free themselves from the invaders. The rule of the Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and Dutch colonial government brought in various pressures on Sasak people including the intervention on religious and cultural issues. This made Sasak communities not free to observe their Islamic beliefs.

Sasak people's resistance was not separated from the key role that *Tuan Guru* played as will be explained below. The term *Tuan Guru* refers to a religious leader among Lombok communities. It is attributed to those who are knowledgeable in Islamic traditional science such as the Qur'an recitation and memorization, *fiqh*, *tauhid*, *tafsir*, *hadits*, *tasawuf*, *tarikh*, *nahwu-sarf*, *ilmu falak*, *mantiq*, and *hikmah*. This title is similar to those of *kyai* among Javanese people and *anregurutta* among Bugis people in Sulawesi. Now, the term *kyai* is generally accepted to refer to Islamic religious leaders among many communities in Indonesia (Yafie 1997: 104).

Tuan Gurus have played a key role in the life of Sasak communities in Lombok. They have been culturally accepted and regarded to have determined the direction of Sasak people's life. They have played the role of advisors who have influenced political affairs, and as the elite group who have received public recognition in society (Dirdjosanjoto 2013:35). *Tuan Gurus* have held a strategic position due to their expertise in religious knowledge (Hasyim 1988). The function of *Tuan Guru* in the resistance of Sasak communities against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonialism has placed them in a central position in the life of Sasak communities as advisers, directors, mobilizers, and unifiers of fragmented groups (noblemen and non-aristocrats). All this made *amar ma'ruf* and *nahi mungkar* as theological basis of Sasak people got even stronger.

Why Sasak People Fought Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch Colonialism

The strategic position of Lombok in the international trade route in the 19th century caused Sasak people to collaborate with various kingdoms in Bali, Java, Sumatra, and other regions in the Indonesian-Malay archipelago.

The relationship between Sasak communities and those in other regions was not only in the form of trade relations, but also family relationships such as Sasak community' relationship with the Gowa-Tallo Makassar communities, Sumbawa communities, the Javanese communities, and Palembang communities.

Since the time of the Selaparang and Pejanggik Kingdoms, Sasak people have lived on agriculture. This was also true during the reign of Karangasem King of Bali in Lombok, especially in West Lombok. Prominent commodities from Lombok at that time were rice, cattle, horses, green beans, eggs, bird's nests, tobacco, and *tarum*. Imported goods to Lombok included silk, porcelain, salt, liquor, opium, and firearms (Agung 1992:189). According to records from the Dutch colonial, during the reign of Bali between 1870-1940, both export and import trade provided the King of Mataram-Karangasem with income, which was recorded in 1890 before the resistance from East Sasak, amounted to 50,650 rijksdaalder (ringgit) a year.

However, Sasak people's control of all resources -material, human, cultural, and moral ones- was eroded by the flow of foreign cultural waves that in turns infiltrated and dominated Sasak people's life. The imposition of foreign social rules caused the social structure of Sasak communities increasingly depressed. King of Karangasem Bali invaded Lombok to control the Lombok economy and spread Hinduism, which at that time began to be pushed by Islam out from Java. This economic domination and oppression continued during the Dutch colonial rule. This exploitation was manifested in, first, the system of land ownership, and second, the colonial communities' tax system.

This led to the Sasak people's resistance against economic exploitation. The political oppression and the economic policies of the rulers of Bali and the Netherlands in the form of very high tax burdened Sasak communities. During the rulers of Bali, the land tax was raised to 60% and for the sake of the contract to procure slaves with the Dutch, the authorities of Bali arrested many Sasak people and sent them to Batavia as forced labor. Also, the feeling that Sasak's dignity and pride were downgraded by the Bali and Dutch rulers triggered the Sasak resistance.

The resistance of Sasak communities was not only caused by economic factors but also related to social factors. Dutch colonial exploitation that was manifested in compulsory labour, taxes, and monopolies was not the only burden to Sasak economic life, but also a threat to Sasak's sacred cosmos. Under the leadership of religious leaders, as well as other figures, farmers in Lombok villages were involved in various forms of resistance.

Islam, which had long been a belief system of Sasak people, was regarded to have been uprooted from its localization process in Sasak indigenous communities, in which the indigenization of Islam (*pribumisasi Islam*) gave a room for an Islamic “particularization” or local Islam, namely Islam Sasak. It was an unavoidable process when Islam met a local culture. Islam had been believed to be originated by God, while culture was a product of human thinkings that continued to change. Indigenization of Islam is a transformation process of Islamic elements into local cultures, which involves a continuous process of acculturation (Nurdin dan Kharlie 2019: 34–35).

Like other resistance movements against the Dutch colonialism such as Aceh War and Banten War, the theological belief in *jihad fi sabilillah* drove the Sasak people to fight against the colonial rule of Bali kingdoms and Dutch government. It was common that religio-magical beliefs became a basis for social movements, rebellion and resistance. The spirit of religious struggle combined with elements of the local culture was a driving factor of Sasak resistance against foreign rule of Bali kingdoms and Dutch colonialism in the 19th century.

In addition, the Dutch East Indies government’s policy on Islam incited the Sasak people resistance. This was seen in identifying all teachers of *tarekat* (sufi brotherhood) and monitoring them. When they were considered a threat to the Dutch East Indies government, the tarekat teachers were arrested, killed and their schools were closed (Suminto 1985:64). This created unrest among the communities of Lombok because they were devout Muslims and observers of *tarekat* tradition. The socio-political conditions of the colonized Sasak communities and socio-religious pressure under Mataram-Karangasem rule led to a broader and better coordinated resistance movement led by religious leaders united by the spirit of Islamic ideology. During the resistance, Sasak leaders used religious symbols to recognize Sasak people against Bali and Dutch colonialism. This was seen, for example, in the popular belief that a Muslim was a Sasak person; if one was not a Muslim, one was an infidel and a Royal Hindu-Karangasem army (*Babad Praya Durma Pupuh 155*, n.d.: 27).

Therefore, Sasak people had difficulty in observing their religion as they were forced to work and lived under pressure and threat from foreign Balinese landowners and slave masters. They had difficulty in practicing Islamic laws in daily life such as performing *shalat* (prayers) and getting halal food, drinks and cloth. Then, motivated by Islamic teachings of the obligation of maintaining one’s life and property, Sasak farmers and

other community elements fought against injustice, exploitation and high tax imposed by the Balinese rulers and Dutch colonial government. So, ideology played a key motivating factor in the Sasak resistance. The Sasak protest movement in the 19th century was characterized with ideological bases as it had features of millennialism, messianism, nativism, and belief in holy war (*jihad fi sabilillah*). Ideology was the basis for resistance leaders to interpret the values and objectives of the protest movement.

Moreover, there were two factors that triggered Sasak people took the fight against the Balinese and Dutch rulers. These were structural conduciveness and structural tension.

Structural Conduciveness

Structural conduciveness, in the context of social movements, is certain structural characteristics that have the opportunity to support collective behavior. It is necessary to explain whether or not the socio-cultural structure of Sasak communities was conducive to the emergence and development of their resistance against Balinese and Dutch colonialism. The socio-cultural structure of Sasak communities was seen in the kinship system based on patrilineal relationships with patrilocal sedentary patterns. The extended family was common and even the main characteristic of Sasak people, especially in rural areas. Now, this differed from Sasak communities who lived the government centers where the pattern of *kuren* or *sekurenan* (nuclear family) began to appear. This phenomenon was inseparable from the influence of industrialization and modernization of the innate party of the invaders who tended to prioritize nuclear family in the kinship system.

A very strong kinship bond in the rural Sasak communities is the main foundation of the social structure of Sasak communities throughout the history of civilization and the culture they experienced. The history of the village in Sasak communities in Lombok consists mostly of a collection of branches. *Dasan* consists of huts, each *gubuk* (hut) is a genealogical union (relatives), between one hut and the other separated by *pengorong* (aisles). In each hut, there are several family units that have family ties due to one blood genealogy.

From a cultural point of view, the social structure of rural Sasak communities as described above is reflected in the values of the local wisdom of Sasak communities who describe the relationship among human being on earth as a microcosm and the universe as a macrocosm. Sasak communities's beliefs about the unity and relation of human life to nature gave birth to spatial cultural concepts, starting from the smallest, the

family (*bale langgak*), huts (*paer gubug*), village (*desa-dasan; paer desa*), to the greatest *paer Rinjani*, which is Gumi Lombok as a symbol in the socio-cultural and historical meaning.

Sociologically, the solidarity of Sasak communities is generally mechanical because it is created from the social structure of traditional societies that are communal and functional in a hierarchical manner. The solidarity of Sasak communities is reflected in the local wisdom and culture of mutual assistance (*beriuik-tinjal, besiru, and betulung*), helping a group outside one's group (*memait*), and cooperation in helping village leaders, especially in farming (*najen*).

Before the arrival of the Hindu-Karangasem communities in Lombok both in the early period of Sasak civilization and during the Majapahit expansion in uniting the archipelago, Sasak people already had a decentralized leadership system or distribution of power in each village. A leading member of the oldest family in each autonomous village, due to his services in clearing up an area and establishing a village in it, were trusted to be a village leader. Someone who was appointed a village leader because of his services or blood relationship with the king or *datu* was called *perwangsê* who had the highest social status among villagers.

Before the coming of Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonial rulers in Gumi Lombok, *perwangsê* were traditional political elites and local rulers who were highly respected, exalted, and obeyed by people. Sasak was not exception: *Perwangsê* had *previlege* and *prestige*, and controlled natural resources, especially land. They exercised political, social, economic and cultural authority among Sasak people.

Perwangsê exercised their traditional political leadership authority in their villages where they ruled, governed communities, managed the village's natural resources, maintained security, guaranteed welfare, and established kinship and cooperative relationships with *perwangse* in other villages. Therefore, the relationship among Sasak aristocratic groups was well established in that they practiced local wisdoms of *saling ajinang* (mutual respect), *saling engat* (mutual understanding), *saling ilingang* (reminding each other), *saling tulung* (helping each other), *saling tembung* (mutual reconciliation), *saling ayoin* (visiting each other), *saling wales* (being kind to each other), and *saling jot* (food sharing).

The above-described social structure of Sasak people started to erode when Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom and the Dutch colonial ruler competed and divided *Gumi Lombok*. The uprooting of this social structure caused the emergence of resistance among Sasak people. However, these social unrests were easily extinguished because they were sporadic and individualistic, and disputes occurred among Sasak groups.

Structural Tension

The 19th century was marked as a period of colonial political transformation in Indonesia. It was the century when people experienced a change from a traditional political structure to a modern one. As a consequence, traditional political structure declined due to pressure from the colonial political system. This also happened to Sasak communities during the rule of Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonialism for two centuries -from 1740 to 1942. The year 1740 was marked by the establishment of political power of Bali in Sasak districts taking advantage of hostilities between local Sasak elites, while 1942 was the end of Dutch colonial political power, which was then replaced by Japanese occupation. The political development in Lombok in the 18th and 19th centuries was strongly influenced by the colonial political systems both in Bali and Netherlands.

Internal Tension within Sasak People

After Sakra War 2 and Praya War 2 which predated Lombok War as a resistance of Sasak communities against the Hindu-Karangasem rulers on a large scale, several villages in East Sasak were occupied by warriors and fertile lands were seized. This caused a resistance, but it was well coordinated. Sasak leaders took part in this struggle including Mamiq Bangkol and Mamiq Sapian in Praya, Mamiq Mustiaji in Kopang, Mamiq Nursasi in Sakra, Mamiq Ginawang in Batukliang, Raden Wira Anom in Pringgabaya, Raden Melaya Kusuma in Masbagik and Raden Sri Banom in Rarang.

Perwangê as district heads in the seven main districts could not overcome this chaotic situation and were unable to meet the people's aspiration of getting their fertile lands back from Mataram-Karangasem rulers. This condition was further worsened by the tensions between Sasak leaders that had already taken place. Eventually, Sasak leaders agreed to ask for help from the Dutch colonial government to fight against Bali by sending a letter to the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies in Batavia with a consequence that Gumi Lombok might be free from the rulers of Mataram-Karangasem, but could fall into the hands of Dutch colonial ruler.

Tensions between Sasak Leaders and Mataram-Karangasem Invaders

Tensions and conflicts between Sasak leaders as traditional political elites and the kings of Balinese descent have been around for a long time. These were manifested in three wars: Kalijaga War, Sakra War I, and Praya War I, which occurred in Eastern Sasak. These were the seeds of the large

resistance from Sasak communities, which were driven by *perwangsê* against the ruler of Bali who wanted to strengthen his political power over Gumi Lombok.

After Mataram-Karangasem controlled the entire Lombok region, the autonomous villages led by Sasak noble were abolished so that throughout Lombok there were no more villages with prominent local leaders in Gumi Sasak. The centralized power approach adopted by Mataram-Karangasem and the abusive behavior of the royal dignitaries caused a chaotic government followed by the emergence of various Sasak resistance on small scales. Being united by Islamic teachings, Sasak people fought the unfair treatment of the Mataram-Karangasem kingdom and chaotic situation deliberately sprinkled to maintain political divisions and control.

Tensions between Sasak Leaders and Dutch Colonial Ruler

The Dutch colonial rule over Sasak people was more oppressive than that of Mataram-Karangasem. Sasak leaders, especially from among religious leaders who served to preach Islam to Sasak people, made Islam the ideological basis of their struggle to fight the infidel Dutch invaders. During the Dutch rule, *Tuan Guru* shifted their *da'wah* movements to local resistance with an ideological nuance of Islam. This resistance movement, led by *Tuan Guru*, gained followers from day to day and gradually reducing the influence of Sasak nobles who largely based their authority on local-traditional heritages.

The Dutch colonial ruler believed that the Sasak resistance against Mataram-Karangasem which was driven by *Tarekat Naqsyabandiyah* (Naqsyabandiyah sufi brotherhood; the Dutch called it *Sekte Naksybandrija*) could endanger the interests of the Dutch colonial government in Indonesia. Therefore, the actions that had be taken after the Dutch directly colonized Lombok were cleansing and hunting operations of the *tarekat*. The cleansing operation was carried out by arresting the followers of *Tarekat Naqshbandiyah* who was considered the most dangerous Islamic group in Gumi Lombok. Many of them were caught and tortured. In addition, *tarekat* activities such as *zawiyah* and *khalaqah* were forbidden and dissolved. The *tarekat* leaders (*mursyid*) in East Lombok, Central Lombok, and Mataram were enlisted for monitoring of their activities.

Like the Dutch colonial ruler's oppression of *tarekat* in other regions in Indonesia, tarekat in Lombok experienced an excessive unjust treatment. In the early 19th century, most of Lombok religious leaders (*Tuan Guru*) adhered to and taught *tarekat* in addition to their main task of preaching Islam to Sasak people. Among them were Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra and

Tuan Guru Siddiq Karang Kelok, the central figures within the *tarekat* of Naqshabandiyah and Qadiriyyah wa Naqshbandiyah in Lombok.

Witnessing and experiencing the Dutch invaders' cruelty that exceeded the oppression of Mataram-Karangasem, Sasak leaders including *hajjis* (Muslim who went on pilgrimage to Mecca) and Sasak noblemen who were fanatical to Islam and adhered to the teachings of *tarekat* rose up to resist the Dutch colonialists in all parts of Gumi Lombok. In East Lombok, wars broke up such as Pringgabaya War 1, Pringgabaya War 2 and the Gandor War; Mamelak-Praya War and Tuban War in Central Lombok; Sesela War in West Lombok; and Batu Geranting Bayan War occurred in North Lombok.

The Central Role of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu in Sasak Resistance

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu was born in Kelayu Village, Selong District, East Lombok Regency, West Nusa Tenggara to the couple Kyai Rātane (also known as Haji Abdullah and Amaq Umar) and Hajjah Siti Aminah (known as Inaq Umar). His father and mother were called Pu' Rais Mame and Pu' Rais Nine respectively. Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu himself was popularly called Dato 'Umar (TPMD-NTB 1977:85-86).

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu was born in circa 1827 AD (1242 H) and died in 1930 AD (1349 H) in the age of 103 years old or 106 years old according to Islamic Hijriyah calendar. He spent his lifetime in Lombok and Saudi Arabia. He studied how to recite the Qur'an and Islamic knowledge with his parents and religious scholars in Lombok during his childhood; studies further religious knowledge with great scholars in Mecca and Media; taught, preached in Lombok, and facilitated the construction of worship facilities (mosques) to strengthen his people's faith; learned, taught at *kholaqah* and *muzakarah*, and run a business (running a bookstore) in Mecca; and taught, preached, and led the Sasak people's resistance against Bali and Dutch colonial rulers in Lombok (Badri 2007:31-36).

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's genealogy can be traced to Kyai Rātāne, the son of Kyai Nurul Huda who was well-known as Dato 'Udā among Kelayu community, and to *Penghulu Agung* of Selaparang Kingdom. He had a noble blood lineage of Selaparang Islamic Kingdom who ruled Lombok island before it was conquered by Mataram-Karangasem Kingdom led by the kings of Balinese descent.

According to the charismatic leadership theory which is centred on the individual self-recognized by his community as to have power that can influence the views, patterns of thinking, and behavior of his community, a *Tuan Guru* has a full authority in his community. Charisma is ability that

a person has because he has been appointed by God (Mastuhu 1990:82). The leadership developed by a *Tuan Guru* is a form of leadership that is applied to a society that is developing towards certain fields or programs in accordance with changing conditions and the community's environment (Sukanto 1999:81).

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's leadership can be explained as follows: First, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu was the role model and his leadership role was seen in his daily behavior before families, students, and worshippers; second, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's leadership character was related to ways of thinking, behaving, and acting based on the principles of truth, honesty, *amanah* (trustworthy), and intelligence; third, the pattern of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's leadership in carrying out Islamic preaching showed his authority (charisma), an attitude of togetherness (collectivity), as well as his confidence before his students. The situational and conditional factors that influenced the pattern and character of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's leadership include the Lombok backwardness, the oppressed Sasak people, the Lombok traditions and culture that were still influenced by old traditions, and the religious behavior of Sasak people.

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu had a thorough knowledge in Islamic traditional sciences that affected his leadership pattern, which was firm, assertive, and even hard, but full of love as a form of his responsibility towards his community and nation in all parts of the island of Lombok. Therefore, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu became the central figure in Lombok. He coordinated the meetings of *tuan gurus* in Lombok in the Great Mosque of Pancor and Mosque of al-Umari Kelayu during the Lombok occupation by Mataram-Karangasem to discuss the problems of humanity, unite perceptions, build strategies and methods of *da'wah* as well as struggle against Mataram-Karangasem invasion and Western influences brought by the Dutch colonial rule.

The emergence of socio-religious movements in Lombok had to do with the that of Islamic movements in other parts of Indonesia and the Muslim world. Lombok's strategic position in the archipelago and international trade routes impacted on the socio-political and religious dynamics of Sasak people, especially the relationship between the descendants of local rulers in Lombok who went on pilgrimage to Mecca and studied in Saudi Arabia with *ulama* from various regions in the Indonesian-Malay archipelago and the Muslim world. Many pilgrims and *ulama* who returned to Indonesia realized that their nation was in struggle against local and global imperialism. Many of them became teachers (*murshid*) and members of *tarekat* (Van Bruinessen 1994:31) such as Tuan

Guru Umar Kelayu, Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, the leader of Sakra War II, and Guru Bangkol, the leader of Praya II War, who mobilized Sasak people to fight the invaders.

Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra (known as Haji Ali) was a charismatic religious scholar, a famous *murshid* of the *tarekat Naqshbandiyah* in Lombok, and a student and friend of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu. He was appointed by the king of Mataram as the ruler of Islam throughout Lombok. One day he was summoned to the palace by the king to mediate the kingdom and Praya under the leadership of Guru Bangkol and Mamiq Sopian who opposed the application of taxes to Praya community. Tuan Guru Ali found himself in a difficult position as he was the closest teacher to Guru Bangkol (Parimatha 2014:119).

Seeing the appalling condition of Sasak communities as they were oppressed and exploited by the invaders, Tuan Guru who had just returned from Mecca and were inspired by the upheaval that occurred in various parts of the Muslim world realized that they had a moral and social responsibility to release Sasak people from the oppressive Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch powers. As a result, resistance broke out in many *desa-dasan* in Gumi Lombok. The resistance to Mataram-Karangasem authority occurred since the issuance of various regulations by the kingdom aimed at establishing and enforcing its authority over Lombok. These regulations included abolishing the title “*raden*” for Sasak people, erasing inscriptions and pedigree for Sasak communities, expanding cockfight gambling, assigning the title “*jero*” for Sasak leaders, and extortion of labor for serving the king.

This was acknowledged by Snouck Hourgronje in his letter to the government of Dutch East Indies documented by Gobee and Andriaanse (Gobee and Adriaanse 1993: 693):

Regarding rank and title, ... there has been severe chaos due to various influences. As for this influence, it has been abused for a long time by many communities with the aim of gaining a higher place for themselves in indigenous communities compared to what is actually their right, thus the value of many titles is degenerating and undetermined.

In contrast to the earlier Sasak resistance social movements, the leadership of the Sasak resistance in 1890s was no longer in the hands of the traditional political elites of the aristocratic figures, but in religious figures such as Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, Tuan Guru Shaleh Lopan, Tuan Guru Siddiq Karangkelok and Tuan Guru Bangkol. This happened in Sakra War

II and Praya War II. All of these resistance leaders were Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's friends and students. The Sakra War II and Praya War II with Islam as the basis of resistance were able to unite differences and disputes in the *dasanas* into a force capable of inciting all Sasak communities. The death of Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra as the supreme leader of the Eastern Sasak's resistance against the Mataram-Karangasem rulers did not lessen the spirit of struggle bound by Sasak religious wisdom and principle of *segeleng-segulung-segiling* (we are at the same boat). After the leadership of Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, a new leader known as Tuan Guru Bangkol emerged replacing the central position of Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra. He continued the Sasak resistance with Praya as his basecamp. Under his leadership, Sasak resistance developed stronger and this eventually invited Dutch intervention to end the domination of the oppressive invaders of Mataram-Karangasem in Gumi Lombok in 1894.

Unfortunately, under Dutch rule, Sasak communities experienced a more oppressive rule than Mataram-Karangasem as they were watched and oppressed more severely. Sasak leaders, especially the teachers who used to focus on preaching Islam in the midst of Sasak society, finally made Islam as the basis of ideological resistance to fight the pagan Dutch invaders. Islam as an ideology and fighting spirit provided powerful means to express identity and enhance the sense of self-esteem of Sasak people before the Dutch colonial invaders (Bartholomew 2001:88). During the Dutch colonial rule, Tuan Guru shifted their *da'wah* movement to local resistance on the basis of Islamic ideology. The resistance movement led and driven by Tuan Guru with a source of authority on religious values gained more and more followers, along with the declining influence of Sasak noblemen who largely based their authority on local-traditional heritages (Budiwanti 2000:10).

Change in the leadership patterns of the Sasak people resistance from Sasak noblemen whose source of legitimacy was tradition to the religious leaders (Tuan Guru) whose source of legitimacy was religion showed a change in the strategy and orientation of Sasak people resistance. The main driving factor for the change was the ineffectiveness of previous resistance, which was easily beaten by the authorities. One of Tuan Guru who played a key role in Sasak struggle against imperialism-colonialism of Bali and the Dutch government was Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu.

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu had a central position in the fight against imperialism-colonialism in Lombok. His central role can be explained from the perspective of elite theory (Budiardjo 1984:120). Having elite status in the structure of society made Tuan Guru Kelayu 'elites' who

played an important role in his community' activities. This position was achieved through effort or achievement (achieved status) or through an attached social position (ascribed status) such as heredity. So, Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu belonged to elite in his society who exercised privilege and respected positions that were used to influence community.

From the value perspective (Budiardjo 1984:234), Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu belonged to the elite group who had ability to create values that were recognized and received with appreciation by community members. These values could be in the forms of power, wealth, knowledge, charisma or an opportunity to be able to combine them all. Laswell (in Budiardjo 1984:234) states that the elite is a group consisting of those who manage to achieve a dominant position in society due to the values they form or receive high appreciation from the communities. Furthermore, Michels (in Budiardjo 1984:238) argues that the elite does not only exist, but also its existence cannot be avoided due to its ability to make quick decisions and shape values in the wider communities. Communities who do not have a direction will accept the direction of value created by the elite.

Moreover, the central position of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu as a religious elite in the struggle of Sasak people against colonial rulers can be seen from his genealogy. He was a descendant of the King of Selaparang Islam so that he had a respectable lineage in Lombok society. In terms of economic capability, he was born to a wealthy family. His father, Kiyai Ratana, was rich but generous person who often gave alms to the poor and travellers in the form of money or rice, and donated land for the use of worship places.

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu was a religious and community leader who was able to create a value system based on Islamic teachings to foster and guide Lombok people to Islamic values and civil society. Here, religious doctrines and tradition were combined and the religious texts run functionally in a dynamic context. The key role Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu played in the Sasak resistance movement which transformed into Sasak wars against colonialism is clearly seen in Sakra War against Karangasem Kingdom which was led by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, a brave and charismatic leader, the student of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu. Under his leadership, almost all Sasak communities including Sasak noblemen were united by the bond of Islamic values and *tarekat* networks based on the spirit of *jihad fisisabilillah* -struggle for the cause of God- and *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar* -commanding right and forbidding wrong.

Conclusion

This article has shown that the resistance of Sasak people against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonial invaders in the 19th century was caused by economic factors in the form of high taxation on land and agricultural yields, compulsory labor, and trade monopolies that burdened and destroyed the joints of the Sasak economy. It was also caused by socio-cultural factors in that local culture and traditional values of Sasak which were regarded in high esteem as an ancestral heritage started to erode by the imposition of the culture of the colonialists Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch East Indies on the life and social structure of Sasak people.

In addition, the Sasak resistance was closely related to religious factors in that Mataram-Karangasem kingdom and Dutch colonial rulers strictly controlled Sasak Muslims's activities such as monitoring the hajjis, tuan guru, and teachers of *tarekat*. Led by Sasak religious leaders known as *tuan guru*, the Sasak resistance broke out in wider Lombok communities and became better coordinated and united by the spirit of Islam. This ideological factor made Sasak protest movement in the 19th century characterized with milleniarism, messianism, nativism, and belief in holy war (*jihad fi sabilillah*). It was clear that Islam was the ideological basis of Sasak resistance against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch colonialism.

Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu played a key role in this Sasak resistance movements. This is seen in his ability to transform small scale and sporadic Sasak resistance into a united physical revolution of Sasak people against Mataram-Karangasem and Dutch occupation of Sasak land. This resulted in Sakra War against Mataram-Karangasem, which was commanded by Tuan Guru Ali Batu Sakra, the friend and student of Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu. Under his leadership, Sasak people were united to fight colonial rulers. Another war led by *tuan guru* was Praya War II under the leadership of Guru Bangkol, a charismatic *tarekat* leader. During the relatively short period of Dutch colonial rule, resistance movements broke out in almost all parts of the island of Lombok, which were led by Tuan Guru Umar Kelayu's friends or students and driven by Islamic teachings of *jihad fisabilillah* and *amr ma'ruf nahy munkar*.

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