

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

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Abstract

Indonesian government recognizes six official religions: Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. This diverse recognition is evident from the way the Indonesian government establishes national holidays based on important religious ceremonies, events and celebrations. The Indonesians' multi-religious atmosphere is emphasized further by official recognition of three kinds of new year as public holidays .ie: i) Islamic New Year, falling on the first of Hijri, ii) the Hindu-Balinese New Year of Caka, iii) New year in the Gregorian calendar (Tahun Baru Masehi). The 1945 constitution provides further legitimate recognition over Indonesians' religious diversities as stipulated in its article number 29, stating: "the state guarantees all persons the freedom of worship, each according to his/her own religion or belief. As far as diversity is concerned, this article focuses on the inter-religious relationship in a ritual setting. It looks more specifically at Hindu Balinese' ritual procession, Ogoh-Ogoh display, held a day before Nyepi in the midst of Muslim spectators in Lombok. This ritual procession raises important findings: i) that religious expression of a certain group requires the extension of its values boundary beyond its own membership, and demands the tolerance upon others, ii) confronted with external stimulation, a religious group may show persistence and partial tolerance in different contextual settings, iii) the importance of inclusive public sphere for strengthening religious identity. Here public sphere comprises of Hindu-Balinese as the main ritual players, Sasak Muslims as the major spectators, and the main roads of Mataram city where a set of ritual conduct is demonstrated.

Keywords: *Hindu-Balinese, Sasak Muslims, Ogoh-Ogoh, Nyepi, partial tolerance, extended religious restriction.*

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

Introduction

Identifying Lombok's population based on ethno-religious groupings is important to expose where exactly the Hindu-Balinese position in the midst of other ethnic and religious groups. Sasak Muslims are the indigenous¹ people who consists of almost 90% of the entire population of Lombok (3,500,000), while Hindu Balinese are the largest ethno-religious minority, covering around 7%, and the rest, around 3%, are migrants coming from Java, Sumbawa, Bugis, Chinese and Arabic.

A long history of migration contributes significantly to the formation of socio-cultural pluralism as well as acculturation in Lombok. Pluralism is reflected in the sustained diversity of languages, religious and cultural rituals of each ethnic group. Intense inter and cross-cultural contacts in plural society produce a mixed cultural traits and similarity. The Balinese influence in the Sasak culture, for example, is noticeable in the use of traditional clothing, traditional musical instruments (*gamelan*), food, water management in rice cultivation (*subak*). The Sasak's collective influence on Balinese is also reflected in their fluency in Sasak vernacular, but not vice versa. Balinese people generally speak Sasak when they face and interact with *semeton Sasak*². They speak Balinese in the family and when they meet with other Balinese colleagues.

Balinese have lived on this island for more than 4 centuries. Early migration was marked by the arrival of the Gelgel Kingdom and its troops in 1616 & 1624 to seize power from the original Lombok ruler, King Selaparang, but was unsuccessful. Only when Karangasem was under Anak Agung Ngurah Karangasem, he defeated the native kingdom of Selaparang in 1675 and took control over West Lombok, and part of North and Central Lombok region for more than two centuries.

In 1894 the Dutch defeated and ended Balinese rule in Lombok through a bloody battle, called Puputan. The Dutch became new ruler, replacing Balinese in Lombok. After the defeat, most of Balinese did not return to their homeland, Bali, and remain

¹Sasak's claim over their indigenosity is obvious from the native terminology they use i.e. "*Gumi Sasak*" to name the island of Lombok. *Gumi* means the earth or land, thus *Gumi Sasak* refers to the ancestral land. Another term that they create referring to Lombok isle is "*Gumi Selaparang*". Selaparang is the original Sasak kingdom that ruled Lombok before the arrival of Balinese empire.

² *Semeton*, in Sasak means brothers or sister. This means that Balinese consider that the Sasak are close relatives. On the other hand, Sasak Muslims call "batur Bali". Batur means friend. The terms *semeton* and *batur* represent that both groups claim congenial relationship.

staying in Lombok. Up until now they have been living in Lombok for more than four generations. Some of them controlled fertile agricultural and plantation plots given by the King of Bali in West Lombok, such as in Narmada, Lingsar, and Suranadi. Pak Ketut Toya, one of the religious leaders of the Punikan hamlet, Lingsar village, Lingsar sub-district, proudly mentioned: "our village area is named 'madura', which stands for mangga (manggo), durian, rambutan.". His grandfather was the army personel of King Anak Agung Ngurah, gurdning the King when making his journeyi to Lombok.

Under the rule of Karangasem dynasty, Cakranegara was built and became the epicentrum of royal government and the Hindu-Balinese settlements at the same time. The Raja built housing complex in grid patterns which in Balinese language is called *karang* (see Harisanti, 2013). Each *karang* was given a name according to the place in Karangasem where the Balinese originally belong to, such as Karang Blumbang, Karang Bengkel, Karang Jasi, Karang Sampalan, Karang Medaing. These names are collective reminder on the original place of their ancstor. Type of work was put after the name Karang, such as *Karang Bedil* meaning the residential complex of weapon maker, *Karang Tape* meaning the housing settlement of people whose daily work was making fermented cassava.

In addition to settlements, the Balinese King also built house of worship equipped with royal gardeas landscape. Pura Meru, the largest temple in Lombok and the symbol of unity for the Balinese migrants spread across Lombok. Other temples located in <Linsar, Suranadi, and Mayora.

The eruption of Mount Agung in 1963 was another reason for Balinese to migrate to Lombok. Many Balinese rescued themselves to the village of Sedayu in South Kediri, Kediri sub-ditriect of West Lombok. Fifty four years later Mount Agung again showed an increase in volcanic activity and erupted for the second time on Tuesday 21 November 2017. The Social Service office of NTB reported that there were more than 300 Balinese fled temporarily to Lombok after the spread of volcanic ash, and rumor on the big explosion of this Mountain. The Balinese refugees were worried on the repeating massive explosion of 1963. However most of them returned to Bali after the volcanic activity ceased.

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

Briefly to say, Lombok is one of Bali's closest neighboring island providing safety valve for Balinese people from the threat of natural disasters. Besides that, the fertility of this island is an attraction for migrants seeking new plot to till outside Bali.

Nyepi in Bali and Lombok: Extended Outer Boundary

There are four important religious events, celebrated by the Hindu-Balinese: Galungan, Kuningan, Saraswati, and Nyepi. Nyepi is the biggest celebration marking the change from the old to the new year. Nyepi day marks Çaka new year, which falls a day after the tenth month (Kesada). The year of 2019 marks the 1941 of Çaka for the Balinese. On their New Year, Hindus carry out a full day of fasting, and in fasting they refrain themselves from making any activities (working), switching on the lights, making any noise or loud voice. According to Suidiana, Chair of PHDI (Parisada Hindu Dharma Indonesia) Bali:

“The ritual activities carried out simultaneously in all traditional villages (desa pakraman) are intended to purify the universe and all of its contents, and the practice of Tri Hita Karana by improving relations, and harmony amidst fellow humans, between humans and their environment and humans with God”.

During Nyepi, all activities in Bali are stopped within 24 hours (starting from 6:00 am to the same time on the following day). All of the traffics stop working. No people nor any vehicles to operate on the roads and streets. Except when there is an emergency, an ambulance and fire engine are allowed to pass the road. The atmosphere is completely quiet, all office buildings - both government and private one - banks, shopping arcades and malls are closed. Street lights and traffic lights are turned off. Inside the house, every one must turn off the lights too, stay quite, and is not allowed to go outside unless in an emergency situation. The pecalang (guardians of adat) takes surveillance in every housing complex to make sure that every body stays at home without lights and noises.

Not only transportation and activities on land are stopped. All water activities on the seas as well as at the beaches, sea ports, and docks are temporarily suspended. There are no ships entering and leaving Bali. Fishermen do not work either. Flight routes to and from Ngurah Rai are closed. No immigration service during the day of silence, no

planes are allowed to take off or landing at Ngurah Rai. The airport is deliberately kept in the darkness and quiet to honour the day of seclusion. The closure of airport services during Nyepi resulted in around 482 foreign and domestic flights being canceled. Yunus, one of the operators of Ngurah Rai airport revealed: "We have coordinated with the Indonesia Air Navigation in Denpasar to notify all the airlines and the airports here and abroad about the closure". The sea and air port stopped for 24 hours, and only opened at 6:00 am on the next morning. The traffic connections on the land, sea, and air of Bali are temporary and deliberately kept silent in the darkness for honouring Nyepi.

The Ngurah Rai International Airport policy that stopped operations during the Nyepi celebration on March 17, 2018 had also made the closing flight services at the LOP - Lombok Praya International Air Port - especially for the Lombok-Bali-Lombok flight route and schedule.

Nyepi has provided an opportunity for its adherents to contemplate, creating a spiritual atmosphere for self-reflection, self-evaluation to improve the quality of spiritual life and happiness throughout fasting and staying at home for a full day without lighting, working, traveling outside home, and enjoying all sorts of entertainment. Not only is the movement of people, goods and services ended, the internet line is also disconnected to mark and respect Nyepi. "Many Hindus are addicted to gadgets, instagram, facebook, twitter, whats up, and all sort of multi-media hashtags, I hope that during Nyepi they can become more introspective.", said the head of Parisada Hindu Darma Indonesia for Bali Province, Gusti Ngurah Sudiana. Starting from the year of 2018 the request of the religious, traditional, and community leaders to end the internet network during Nyepi was approved by the regional government officers. As a result there was no more communication through viral networks for 24 hours. On the previous years, they had had made the same demand to stop the internet usage on the day of silence, but no agreement was given by the local officials.

Unlike in Bali, daily activities in Lombok does not completely stop when Nyepi was celebrated. Public services in some places such as hotels, cafes, restaurants, shops and shopping malls, cinemas operate as usual. Only government and private offices were closed because the government recognises Nyepi as a public holiday. Traffic activities on the land, sea and air running all the time. All marketing activities remain

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

alive. In short, Nyepi in Bali and Lombok represent a stark contrast of living atmosphere in which, unlike the first mentioned one, for the second one, the city remains busy with all sorts of socio-economic activities . "Business runs as usual." Only in the hamlets or kampong with major Balinese occupants, Nyepi was carried out solemnly . They remained staying in the house, conforming their attitude to *tapa brata penyepian*. The differences of population number by religious faith underlies the reason why Nyepi in Lombok is not celebrated as it is in Bali. The majority people of Lombok are Muslims (90%) while the Hindu Balinese comprise of only 7% (around 300.000 people) of the entire population (3.5 million). Those celebrating Nyepi are a small portion of the Lombok inhabitants.

Sasak Muslims as the major religious groupings in Lombok let the Hindu-Bali people to celebrate Nyepi within a limited vicinity around their residential complex only. Especially in places having a considerable number of Hindu-Balinese living concentration, such as Cakra, Suweta, Karang Bayan of West Lombok and Tanjung of North Lombok, Nyepi is celebrated quite enthusiastically here. The Pecalang guarded every Balinese housing complex, more specifically at the village front gates, and patrolled the surrounding villages to make sure that all inhabitants abide by the rules of Nyepi.

During Nyepi, Bali turned into a "dead" island, where almost every activity was stopped for one day, tourists were asked to remain stay in the hotels without lights, internet, tv, and noises. This reality exhibits that the rule of *tapa brata penyepian* is extended further to the non-Hindus as well. This situation triggers them to seek for another touristic object and destination outside Bali. Lombok and Sumbawa happen to be the closest areas which adjacent to Bali to the east. The seclusion day becomes one among many factors contributing to the increasing number of tourists to leave Bali for Lombok. Hundreds of tourists flock to Lombok to find another attraction outside Bali. Some of them visited Senggigi in West Lombok and Pemenang in North Lombok which has three Gili: Gili Trawangan, Gili Meno, and Gili Air by using a speed boat. This phenomenon is justified by the hamlet head of Gili Trawangan, Lukman, stating: "Every year Gili Trawangan welcomes tourists from Bali prior to the Nyepi celebration. On the day of seclusion where outdoor activities are strongly unrecommended, it has incited

some tourists in Bali to search another source of attraction outside Bali. And Lombok is the closest tourist destination that offers its nature and culture which are not less interesting than Bali. In Lukman's words:

“Since in Bali there is not so much thing you can do during Nyepi, they try to look for Lombok as an alternative to still have an outdoor fun. Of the around 1,000 rooms available on Gili Trawangan hotels, tourists who will spend their vacation time on this island are estimated to reach 3,000-4,000 people” (See Septiati, Kurnia. Kompascom).

The Pakraman Village Main Assembly (MUDP) in Bali Province even, once, on March 28, 2017, asked tourists from various regions of Indonesia and abroad not to go to Bali, when Hindus were conducting *tapa brata penyepian*. This request was made clear by his suggestion to make a trip to the island before or after Nyepi, as revealed by Jero Gede Suwena, Chair of the MUDP of Bali Province in Denpasar, as follows:

"Since all the transportation system will be halted during Nyepi, foreign and domestic tourists, planning a vacation to the Island, are expected to come before or after the Nyepi” (Https://www.antaraneews.com/berita/620075/majelis-utama - village-pakraman-bali-ask-tourists-not-come-on-28-March).

In fact, many tourists still visit Bali before Nyepi, and when the day of seclusion comes, they travel to Lombok, and come back again to Bali after Nyepi. Nyepi in Bali with no outdoor tourism activities, has made Lombok - the closest neighboring island of Bali to the east— as an alternative of destination. Nyepi also represents the typical Balinese characteristics taking priority more on religious commitment than worldly benefits from tourism.

Some people involving with tourism business promote another version of "Nyepi escape" in Bali, by creating special indoor programs, so that the hotel guests can enjoy their time within the hotel vicinity. Westin Resort Nusa Dua Bali Hotel, for example, offered a cultural journey by watching the Ogoh-Ogoh parade, prior to Nyepi. Exploring various elements of Balinese culture through a learning experience, such as arranging fruits and food for ritual offering (*banten*), making *canangsari* by carving coconut leaves (*janur*) filled with flower and with burning incense (*dupa*).

Other indoor activities offered by the hotel, that would expectedly make the hotel guests remain staying conveniently in the hotel, among others are: a refreshing yoga

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

class in the morning, facial care and body message, having spa and sauna, offshore swimming in Nusa Dua. The hotel manager also indulged tourists with a variety of culinary choices ranging from traditional Balinese, Chinese, and Western cuisines, prepared as a buffet menu for breakfast, lunch and dinner.

Touristic image of “Nyepi escape” has been given different meaning for different location. For those doing tourism bussness in Lombok it means an outdoor sight seeing and actively engaged in eco tourism such as; snorkeling, surfing, canoing, swimming in the three Gilis or any other beaches, as well as traditional festivals. While for tourism marketer in Bali, it means promotion of self indulgement and various indoor activities within the hotel vicinity as mentioned above.

Bali is competing against Lombok in marketing tourism during Nyepi. With the ban of staying outside the hotel during Nyepi, this creates tourism activities within the scope of the hotel (indoor activities). Indoor tourism is a temporal option when the day of seclusion is conducted solemnly, eplacing the out-door tourism activities. Both of domestic and foreign tourists abide by the customary and religious rules of the Balinese while simultaneously enjoy a variety of pleasant entertainments within the hotel.

Pecalang and The Customary Tradition

Pecalang is a Balinese customary police. Their main duty during Nyepi is to guarantee no body is out of the house, sets a light, creates a commotion and keeps the situation quiet and tranquil. They are placed to safeguard the Balinese housing complex, patrolling around the vicinity of the Balinese especially on the entrance gate of the neighborhood where people usually come and go. In Bali, they also control other strategic public areas, such as the main roads, markets, shopping centers and malls to make sure that nothing operates and no one works. For those who dare to violate *catur brata penyepian*, they will face the pecalang, and bear the risk of paying customary sanctions and fines (*denda adat*). Pecalang in Bali are scattered in 1,480 indigenous villages, eight regencies and one city. Customary security officers in each of the Pekraman villages coordinated with the local adat village to supervise the implementation of the catur brata which generally took place solemnly and smoothly.

For safeguarding Nyepi the Pecalang team was equipped with operational vehicles for emergency purposes. In emergency situations and urgent needs, through permission from the *bandesa* or the village head of Pakraman, pecalang uses a car or motorcycle to deliver the sick or those giving birth to the nearest clinic or hospital. People who are sick are allowed to use private vehicle as long as they are escorted by the pecalang and get permission from *bandesa*.

Pecalang is also required to know what was the patient suffering from. If the patient has had to stay overnight, Pecalang can immediately leave him to continue his task. On the other hand, if the patient does not require hospitalization, pecalang must wait to accompany him to the way home, before he could continue his work to guard the event of Nyepi.

Almost the same as in Bali, Pecalang in Lombok work to guarantee Nyepi runs safely and peacefully. The difference is that the number of pecalang in Lombok is much smaller, considering that Balinese settlements are concentrated in certain areas, mostly in Mataram and in West Lombok.

Pecalang is working partner of the police to maintain peace and order in the society. They work not only for safeguarding Nyepi, but also for other ritual events, such as during the Ogoh Ogoh parade, *Ngaben* (cremation) procession, and *Nyongkolang* when the bride and the groom are brought into procession along the road leading to the parents' bridegroom house for the wedding party.

In addition to traditional and religious events, Pecalang also provides cross-religious security services. Pecalang together with the National Police, Indonesian national army (TNI) and the banser³ of NU of NTB province participated in securing the celebration of 2016 Chinese New Year (*Imlek*), which was centered in the city of Mataram. Likewise, when NTB hosted the 2016 National MTQ-Musabaqoh Tiliawatil Qur'an , Pecalang helped the police to safeguard this national event, by patrolling around Islamic Center where it took place. In relation to the joint squad involving both the traditional functionaries and the police guards, the Governor of NTB, TGB, stated

³ , **Banser**, standing for Barisan Ansor Serbaguna, is an Islamic militia organization based in Indonesia. It is a military wing of the youth movement, Gerakan Pemuda Ansor, affiliated to Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic mass organization in Indonesia.

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

that the beauty of mutual tolerance can easily be found when various elements of religious bodies meet together and are engaged in a joint cooperation to succeed and secure the program. He mentioned further:

“Pastors sent letters to me, saying: Tuan Guru what can we contribute to enliven the atmosphere (*memeriahkan suasana*). The Chinese citizens has had also donated a thousand of lanterns to decorate the city of Mataram. Uniquely, the lanterns are decorated with the script of *Asmaul Husna* (the 99 of Allah's beautiful names). Hindu's *pecalang* also keep on watching the surrounding environment while the competition on Al Quranic reading was going on. All participants, notwithstanding of their religions are, feel that this is "our celebration". This exemplifies that tolerance and peace are kind things. Humans expect three kind things in this world: peace, prosperity and justice. When the first one is not fulfilled, the next two things are bland”.

Extension of Religious Restriction

In 2008 when Nyepi exactly fell on the day when Muslims conducted Friday prayers in congregation, the Regional Government of Bali Province issued a handbill establishing rules of conduct for Muslims i.e Surat Edaran Gubernur Bali No. 003.2 / 15.743 / Dishub In 2008. This bill regulated, among other things, the prohibition of using the loudspeakers and vehicles to the mosque. Consequently, Muslims were not allowed to echo the *adzan* (a call to prayer) outside the mosques. Without amplifier, the sound of prayer call was limited inside the mosque only. It cannot reach especially Muslims living quite a distant from the mosque. Since all kinds of vehicles were ban during that day, including bikes and motorcycles, Muslims had to walk to the mosque. These prohibitions aimed at protecting the solemnity of Nyepi requiring a situation of no loud sound, and no travelling by any vehicle. Sound of vehicle was regarded as producing noise.

For those living in a relatively homogeneous environment with Muslims majority, and possessed mosques inside their residential complex, they did not experience difficulties in performing Friday prayers together. But for Muslims who did not have their own mosques within their neighborhood, they had permitted to travel outside their residential area to find mosque on foot. Sometimes they needed to walk for quite a distant to reach the nearest mosque from where they lived. This shows that Nyepi rules are not only directed to its own religious members, but to the non-members alike. An extended religious boundary has been carried out to uphold the belief system.

As a minority group, Muslims in Bali had no other choices but to abide by this rule. During Nyepi in Bali the mosque was heavily guarded by *pecalang* and the police. Islam in Bali is a minority religion which has around 520,224 people (13.37%) out of the 3,890,975 inhabitants. The greatest concentration of Muslims is in the city of Denpasar with more than 200 people. The composition of the majority and minority is influential in determining rules and policies. On the one hand, the Governor's handbill on Nyepi strongly represents and maintains the Hindu Balinese religious tradition. On the other hand, this regulation limits freedom of religious expression of the Muslim minority in Bali to a full extent.

The extended religious rules and restrictions occurred when Nyepi coincided with *Takbiran* night. *Takbir* is glorifying Allah's name by uttering *Allahu Akbar*. At night prior to Ied, Muslims in Bali especially those living in urban areas held *takbir* around the city by driving a mini truck carrying dozens of men. They used the loud speaker to echo the *takbir*, while passing throughout the city's main streets. While those living in rural areas such as Pegayaman, Sukasada Sub-District, Buleleng, men holding the torches walking around the village while uttering *takbir*. In 1991, *takbir* was banned since it coincided with Nyepi. On the eve of Ied Al-Fitr (*malam lebaran*), the Muslim was not permitted to emit sound of *takbir* at public places, since it would mean to break the Nyepi's rules.

One's death at Nyepi day had caused problem in the Muslim village of Pegayaman, Sukasada sub-dist, Buleleng Regency. Without electricity and all markets and shops were closed, the deceased family members faced difficulties getting equipment for the corpse such as: flower petals, shroud, camphor, incense. However, they could get them from neighbors, and relatives who kept this equipment long time before. When they wanted to contact other family members outside the village, they had to get a letter of permission from the Kadus-Kepala Dusun (head of hamlet), and Kepala desa (village head). These letters was passed to *Pecalang* guarding around villages. At that time (1986) there was no mobile phone, and thus they needed to travel to inform this news to the close and distant relatives living outside the village.

Social restrictions based on certain religious values or teachings applied to different religious believers prove that religious rules sometimes are exceeded and thus

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

are forced to the non-adherents alike. The boundaries that were originally intended for in-groups, were expanded and imposed to the out-groups (see Barth 1969, Budiwanti 1995).

On one side, extended boundary brings to the reinforcement of Hindu-Balinese identity. On the other side, it restricts the Muslims' freedom to express their faith to a full extent. The tolerance they show to carry out all the provisions set up by the Governor's handbill seems to be something that has been enforced from the top to the bottom or from the outside, rather than genuinely coming from the inner heart of the Muslims.

Similarly, Muslims' religious restrictions are also applied to the Balinese living within the Muslim vicinity. The Pegayaman Muslims community prevented the Balinese, settling within their neighborhood, from raising pigs, holding cockfights, making and selling tuak (a type of liquor made from fermented sap water), building cemeteries and temples.

In Lombok it is the majority of Sasak Muslims who set up boundary and restriction with regard to Nyepi celebration. Especially during the Ogoh-Ogoh parade as one of the ritual series of Nyepi, the Hindu Balinese were not permitted to play the *gamelan* (traditional musical display) at the same time with the call to prayer. When the prayer time is over, the *gamelan* was allowed to be played again.

When the Ogoh Ogoh parade coincided with Friday prayer, Mataram Tourism Board Office set up a rule allowing Ogoh-Ogoh marching procession only after the Friday prayer finished. The physical mobility of Pecalangs in Lombok, safeguarding the Nyepi, was limited around the housing complexes where Balinese mostly live. Some other socio-religious curtailments, exemplifying the control of Balinese religious life in public sphere also includes the establishment of the house for worship. The NTB Provincial Government refers to the Joint Ministerial Decrees on the Construction of Houses of Worship⁴. And the ban on selling non-halal dishes or menus, raising pig farm in any public spots in all over Lombok.

⁴ Balinese are allowed to build new houses for worship as long as they are able to fulfill certain requirements as stipulated in the Article 14 of the 2006 decree: a permit for constructing a house of worship should issue when the applicant obtains: a list of 90 members of the proto-congregation, signatures from 60 local households of a different faith, a written recommendation from the regency or

In a specific social setting where the majority people play a determinant role in public sphere, minority religious groups are not only expected to show tolerance, but experience the expansion of religious rules and restrictions belonging to the majority people. All shops in Bali have to be closed during Nyepi, the ones owned by Muslims were no exception. However, on Ramadhan (fasting month) there is no obligation to close all restaurants and food stall during the day time in Bali.

On the contrary, it is impossible to create a total atmosphere of Nyepi in Lombok exactly like the one held in Bali. All food vendors, food courts, restaurants in Lombok have to be closed on the day time when Ramadan comes, notwithstanding the ones owned by the Balinese. Bali and Sasak impose both a mutually religious restriction in different contextualisation of religious setting.

Ogoh-Ogoh Parade: Sacralisation of Public Space

The day before Catur Brata Penyepian, the Balinese held an Ogoh-Ogoh parade in long procession. Ogoh-Ogoh comes from the Balinese language "*ogah-ogah*", meaning "to shake", and a symbol representing an evil spirit or negative force that needs to be pacified. In the ritual procession of Ogoh-Ogoh display, members of the Banjar community marched and shook Ogoh-Ogoh. Ogoh-Ogoh was carried on the shoulders moved around in a circle. The process of making Ogoh-Ogoh and its ceremonial procession is intended to purify humans and its natural surrounding from everything – visible and invisible one – that potentially could endanger them.

Every banjar contributes one Ogoh-Ogoh, and it is made from bamboo, colored paper, broken glass, tinsel fabric. It is designed in various shapes and sizes. Ogoh-Ogoh is not just an ordinary giant doll but represents a variety of symbols from the black world representing the *buta kala*. The Ogoh Ogoh parade in Lombok, held prior to Nyepi, is a popular attraction for the Sasak Muslims, the indogenous people of Lombok, and the tourists as well. In some of Hindu-Bali kampong, members of the banjar family were busy making this giant doll, taking around 1-2 month prior to its display known as *Upacara Tawur Agung*. The Ogoh-Ogoh display is also a moment of performing dance

municipal religious affairs office, a written recommendation, from the local interfaith harmony forum (FKUB^[6]), and an approval from the subdistrict head of government.

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

on the main roads by shaking and encircling them in the parade. Every banjar competes to make the biggest and the best Ogoh-Ogoh, and the winner of the best Ogoh-Ogoh maker would be announced at the end of the ritual procession by the Tourism Office Board of Mataram city.

In one of the Ogoh-Ogoh ritual procession held on Friday, 16th of March, 2018, I witnessed a total of 128 ogoh-ogoh were brought into display to welcome the 1940 Saka New Year. They consisted of 108 Ogoh-Ogoh from the city of Mataram, 16 from West Lombok, and 4 from Central Lombok. The acting Mayor of Mataram, H. Mohan Roliskana, officiated the procession of 128 Ogoh-ogoh from its starting point of embarkation on Pejanggik toward Selaparang street of Mataram City. In this relation, Chairperson of Paris Dharma (PHDI) of Mataram city, Ida Made Santi Adnya, quoting Deputy Chairperson of the World Organization for Al Azhar Graduates, stated that NTB gives the best example of religious tolerance in the world and advocates to other Muslim countries to follow this example. Ida Made Santi explained further that the Nyepi commemoration in 2018 was centered in the city of Mataram. Starting with the ritual of Melasti, held 3 days before Nyepi, taking place at the beach of Loang Baloq. Melasti is also held at Melase Beach, Batu Layar, Ampenannof West Lombok. Since 2018, Melasti has been centered in Loang Baloq and was officially opened by the acting Mayor of Mataram.

Each of the giant doll represents the banjar group. The front row carried a banner mentioning the banjar name. Behind the row of banner bearers, a group of young men carried the Ogoh-Ogoh giant doll on their shoulders, walking along the street. The gamelan players were at the last row. In this event carrying and parading the giant dolls, symbolizing butakala, was the core of the event. Each doll was erected on a rectangular bamboo stretcher, and was carried on by dozens of teenage boys. Besides the giant dolls, the musical instruments were also brought along the Ogoh-Ogoh procession. One group brought a set of traditional gamelan accompanying the giant puppet procession. Another group carried modern music equipment. Ogoh-Ogoh religious display is a religious expression that represents Hindu-Balinese beliefs as well as performing arts in public spaces.

Mutual Tolerance: Sharing Public Sphere

In the beginning Habermas' conceptualization of public sphere referred only to the context of European age of enlightenment. This concept, however, can be contextualized into a multi-religious and multi-cultural society (see Supartiningsih, 2012). How public sphere can be used to channel collective interests and needs, to express collective identity and values that vary greatly. Public sphere is a tool to channelize and promote public aspirations, as said by Habermas

public sphere is an area that appears in a specific space within "bourgeois society". This is a space that mediates between civil society and the state, where the public organizes itself and where "public opinion" is built. In this space individuals are able to develop themselves and engage in debates about the direction and purpose of society. Public sphere is a domain in our social life where public opinion can be formed among citizens dealing with matters that are concerned with the public interests they have and face together, without the state (government) pressure to express and publish their views (Habermas, 1997: 105 in Alan McKee, 2005: 4).

The public sphere that forms a public opinion is very conducive to the growth of democracy, where public debate which ultimately shapes public opinion can be socialized and published to realize common interests. This public sphere is not only limited in terms of an abstract conceptualisation, a kind of discussion forum, but can also be contextualized in terms of physical and tangible world in addition to viral or intangible ones.

Public sphere in Habermas' thought is not limited and applied within the political domain only. It can be reinterpreted and applied in a broader domain that includes cultural sphere or space. The cultural sphere becomes a locus to express local religious and cultural values. The Ogoh-Ogoh Parade demonstrates the function of the main roads, those carrying these giants dolls accompanied by gamelan orchestra, the spectators as public sphere where the jubilee of religious spirit and emotion, as well as entertainment are mixed. For a day the public sphere is utilized to strengthen the Hindu-Balinese identity in the island of Lombok, known also as Pulau Seribu Masjid since the majority of its inhabitants are Muslims. The control over public sphere by Pecalang ("customary

Religion and Public Sphere: Revisiting Balinese Religious Tradition in the Island of Thousand Mosques

police") to safeguard Nyepi strengthens further the notion of Balineseness, their particular Hinduism and adat .

Conclusion

Islam is not the only representation of Lombok's multi-cultural face. Lombok's multi-cultural and multi-religious traits is symbolically represented, among other things, by unique socio cultural and socio religious expression of the Balinese in the public sphere. The nuances of Bali inside the thousand holy mosque of Lombok develop touristic images of mutual tolerance and harmony among religious groups. Although Sasak are the dominant religious grouping in Lombok, they provide and share public sphere with Hindu-Balinese especially in the Ogoh-Ogoh ritual procession that becomes an integral part of Nyepi. Habermas' thought on public sphere can be applied further in a religious context. Public sphere facilitates to the empowerment of religious expression of Hindu-Balinese people. Even though they are a minority group which consists of about one-tenth of the indigenous people, the Sasak Muslims, this position does not make them lose the opportunity and access to the use of public sphere for religious purpose. It could even be said that they controlled the public sphere even only for one day. It is when the procession of ceremonial display of hundreds of Ogoh-Ogoh with thousands of ritual participants and spectators are permitted occupying the main roads.

Ogoh-Ogoh and Nyepi produce a double edge of analysis. On the one hand Ogoh-Ogoh is a sacred expression of Hindu-Balinese religion in the public sphere. On the other hand, this ritual procession also becomes touristic image and attraction that withdraws public attention across religions from varied ages -- young and old, male and female. There is a sacralization or religiousization of public sphere while at the same time it is also a process of profanization in which the ritual display of Ogoh-Ogoh in public is commoditized for tourist consumption. Ogoh-Ogoh ritual display is not merely a sacred activity in public, at the same time it is also a widely commercialized or commoditized activity for tourism.

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