

Cultural Interpretation: The Meaning of Metu Telu Wedding in the Local Tradition of Tanjung Community in North Lombok Regency

Wiwik Setiyani, Nurhairunnisa Tasrif

Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia

Setiyaniwiwik10@gmail.com, nisatasrif@gmail.com

Abstract

Marriage is a complex step in human lifecycle. This is not only a form of obligation to fulfill religious orders, but part of the culture and social layers of society that still need to regenerate and improve community development to stay vibrant. This article reveals the uniqueness of the Metu Telu tradition, which strongly upholds the values of marriage. There are two important points in interpreting the marriage tradition of Metu Telu; [1], how is marriage in the Metu Telu tradition prevailing in Tanjung, North Lombok Regency? [2], how is the marriage tradition of Metu Telu interpreted as a local tradition that has aesthetic values? Clifford Geertz, in his work 'The Interpretation of Culture' become an analytical tool in interpreting the wedding traditions of the Metu Telu community. This study uses qualitative methods in deepening and strengthening the data analysis. The result of the study shows that; tradition is a social action that includes symbols and gives birth to community identity. The meaning of tradition has historical value that will not be eroded by time. The meaning of wedding tradition of Metu Telu is a symbol of the cultural strength of the local community that is not affected by modern culture. Subjective meaning can lead to inter-subjects that have universal value if the interpretation process is based on local wisdom.

Keywords: Marriage, Metu Telu, Local Traditions, Tanjung

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/infl3.v17i1.87-106>

Introduction

Marriage (Stopes, 2004) is a complex step in human lifecycle. However, to build a household, a process, and stages are needed according to the cultural system (Aman et al., 2021). Marriage is not only a form of obligation to fulfill religious orders, but part of the cultural and social layers of society that still need to regenerate and improve community development to stay vibrant.

Indonesia is blessed with a diversity of cultures and traditions. There are types of marriages to be found in every area of the various tribes and ethnicities (Ambarwati & Mustika, 2018) scattered throughout the archipelago. Lombok Island, which is located in the western part of the Nusa Tenggara region, precisely in North Lombok, is an area inhabited by adherents of *Metu Telu*, namely the indigenous people of the *Sasak* ethnic group. The *Metu Mehu* community has a unique and structured way of carrying out the marriage system.

The local community interprets *Metu Telu* (Ariadi, 2017) wedding tradition as a sacred tradition that is not only solemn in its implementation but as a phase of life that teaches moral values and spirituality. The *Metu* community upholds the customs of the marriage tradition, where background and social status determine who is worthy of marrying the person, whether the marriage is carried out attractively or not, and how much customary and social law is borne by a person (Budiwanti, 2017) if he/she violates customary law.

This study aims to see the interpretation of the Tanjung community in North Lombok in interpreting marriage. The wedding tradition is one of the complex ceremonies that take a long process (Ariadi, 2017). Everyone has their reasons for carrying out a wedding, so it is interesting to study what makes it different from other wedding traditions in the archipelago.

The following research question has been formulated for two points; *first*, how the marriage in the *Metu Telu* tradition applies in Tanjung, North Lombok Regency? *Second*, how the *Metu Telu* marriage can be interpreted as a local tradition that has aesthetic value.

Several studies conducted by several academics are used as references in studying the differences and similarities of the *Metu Telu* wedding traditions in Tanjung and other areas. Ilmalia, Putu Budiarta, and

Gayatri Sudibya (2021) talked about the wedding traditions of the *Sasak* people in East Lombok. Although both of them studied the *Metu Telu* marriage, it was different from this study which talked about marriage in Tanjung, North Lombok. *Metu Telu* marriages in East and North Lombok are practically different.

M. Najamudin Aminullah (2017) highlighted the *Sasak* wedding tradition that took place in Central Lombok. It is interesting how Islam and the local traditions of local communities are acculturated, a phenomenon that also occurs in other areas where Islam is one of the most massive in the archipelago, including on the island of Lombok. Islamic acculturation does not only focus on the marriage traditions of the lower classes but also on the noble *Sasak* community where they still adhere to their locality.

On the one hand, Mohammad Nur Yasin (2008) explained how the traditional law of marriage in the Islamic community of the *Sasak* tribe has been acculturating between local culture and Islam and bringing about changes in it. The marriage is no longer authentic but has been modified. Although Islam is not fully believed in, but still part of their identity.

Prasetyo (2018), alluded to underage marriage which still often occurs among Indonesians. This phenomenon is not something new for nowadays society. The oldest still conducts this type of marriage. And it happens to the *Metu Telu* community (Ilmalia et al., 2021) in Tanjung.

Meanwhile, Hamidiyanti et al., (2018) support the intervention of religious leaders and traditional leaders of *Metu Telu* in West Lombok in young marriages. The decline in the *Sasak* tradition could increase the number of young people who could have early marriages. The intervention carried out by stakeholders aims to reduce the number of underage marriages, especially in West Lombok Regency.

Methods

This research used the qualitative method as a prerequisite of research methods, a technical qualitative-descriptive method used in collecting data that uses several instruments, such as interviews, observations, documentation, reviews of existing records, recording from natural settings, and the last step is data analysis. Data analysis technically moves through several phases, such as identifying, collecting, cleaning,

exploring, and interpreting the data. This step aims to extracting important data and implementing decisions leveraging the analysis.

The number of informants for this study was ten. Those informants (Anggiton & Setiawan, 2018) are people who have important roles in society and are directly involved in the wedding ceremony, including; elders, traditional leaders, community leaders (*kiai* and *ustad*), local government, cultural observers, and academics who have insight and knowledge about the *Metu Telu* marriage tradition. Habermas' qualitative analysis simplifies the process of data analysis by carrying out the process of displaying data, reducing data (Silverman, 2020), and conclusions. Phenomenological approaches will help provide an overview of the concept and process of the wedding tradition (Gultom, 2021).

Clifford Geertz becomes a reference to analyze this research (Cultural Interpretation: The Meaning of *Metu Telu* Marriage in the Local Tradition of the Tanjung Community, North Lombok Regency). Geertz's analysis of the sociocultural phenomena of society is appropriate for studying the uniqueness of the *Metu Telu* marriage tradition. In his work, the Interpretation of Culture, Geertz (2005) focuses on the development of a traditional culture that has typologies of society.

Result and Discussion

The *Sasak* Tribe, particularly those who are the adherents of *Islam Metu Telu*, practice *Metu Telu* marriage. This marriage is generally performed traditionally. Customary law has become a reference in regulating the marriage process. Customary elders, *Kiai* and *Ustad* are vital in leading the course of every stage of its procession. Among the types of marriage, this traditional marriage is the most complicated one as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Type of Traditional Marriage of *Islam Metu Telu*

Type of Marriage	Meanings
<i>Merariq (kawin lari)</i>	When a man takes his dream girl away before marriage
<i>Nyerah Hukum</i>	Inter-tribal marriage
<i>Mepadiq Lamar (Melakoq/ Ngender)</i>	When a man asked permission from the woman's parents
<i>Kawin dengan cara menculik</i>	Marriage by Kidnapping

Type of Marriage	Meanings
<i>Kawin Ngijwet</i>	A marriage by taking away someone else's legal wife
<i>Kawin Tadong/Kawin Gantong</i>	Early Marriage
<i>Metikab Buaq Lekoq</i>	Marriage of forgiveness (conducted after <i>Merariq</i>)
<i>Nikah Negara (KUA)</i>	State Marriage (Marriage Laws by State)

On one hand, there are types of fines that must be paid when someone is about to get married or when they violate the conditions of marriage that have been determined by customary law. In general *Islam Metu Telu* can be divided into two variants as shown in Figure 1.

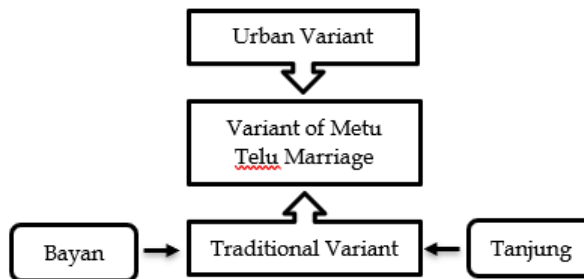


Figure 1. Variant of *Metu Telu* Marriage

In some aspects, they believe that both conceptually and practically, the *Metu Telu* Tanjung marriage is different from other tribes such as the Bayan tribe and other variants. And what is most striking is the difference in interpreting the concept of marriage tradition with those who come from urban variants that have undergone social construction with modern culture. These changes occur in all aspects of marriage.

The Metu Telu Tradition

To understand the *Metu Telu* must be seen from the socio-historical aspect (Aksa & Nurhayati, 2020) of the *Sasak* tribe as shown in figure 2. The wedding tradition has undergone social deconstruction throughout its journey to the present. The local tradition of *Metu Telu* has systematic relevance to the Islamic concept that developed in Tanjung (Aminullah,

2017). In Javanese society, Islam adapts and acculturates well to Javanese culture. Meanwhile, in Lombok society (Ricklefs, 2013), it only applies to adherents of Islam who pray 5 times a day (*Islam waktu lima*).



Figure 2. People of *Sasak* Tribe

Photo Source: Raka Wiryawan

Accessed on: <https://lombok-sweet.blogspot.com/p/history-of-lombok.html>, 23 June 2023

Different from the *Metu Telu* community where Islam is not immediately embraced (Rendra, 2022). It took a long time for Islam to be accepted by the *Sasak* people. The community has a local belief called “*Metu Telu*” or “*Wetu Telu*” (Quddus & Ariadi, 2015) by the common society. Several factors make the *Metu Telu* community exclusive. One of them is a local belief that is deeply rooted in its adherents. Scholars and academics such as Koentjaraningrat (Komaruddin & Muliadi, 2019) and Erni Budiyanti (2005) agree that the local tradition of *Metu Telu* is a perfect combination of animism and dynamism. An informant explained that:

“Some of them still make offerings using common symbols such as incense, offerings, and so on, it’s a normal thing because that’s what we believe, usually it is aimed at ancestors or holy people such as *kiai* or traditional elders who have died” (Saprudin, Interviewed, 2023).

This means that the *Metu Telu* community adheres to a mystical sect that still believes in the spirits of the ancestors, sacred objects, myths, and magic (Mahendradhani, 2017, p. 47). Belief in ancestral spirits is a form of devotion and respect for their blessings and services in the past (Woodward, 1995, p. 12). For the *Sasak* tribe, ancestors are mystical and

sacred figures. For this reason, the respect given to them is carried out symbolically. The complexity of the *Metu Telu* tradition is a form of belief that is partially interpreted. *Metu Telu* is a way of life for the people of Tanjung. It contains the values of life, human values, ritual values, moral values, social values, intellectual values, spiritual values (Ibad, Interviewed, 2023), and divinity.

Geertz explained that traditional community beliefs have evolved into cultural facts as they are in the culture and traditions of an exclusive society (Geertz, 1963) that has animism and dynamism DNA (Deoxyribose Nucleic Acid: DNA is a vitally important molecule for not only humans but also most other organisms) contains magic and mysticism (Suparno, 2020). Ancestral spirits have an esoteric dimension that mediates in conveying one's wishes. Ancestors have a mystical function in the old belief. The concept is embedded in the tradition of the *Metu Telu* community.

Religious experience encourages the community to believe in the power of "other spirits" (Hartadi, 2023) in this universe. This belief is still deeply rooted as part of the Tanjung people's lives. The provision of worship practices such as certain rituals is a form of respect for the souls of people (ancestors) who have died (Raihan, 2023). Saints in the *Metu Telu* social strata, such as traditional stakeholders and religious leaders, are seen as authorities with an interest in the implementation of traditions, including the *Metu Telu* wedding (Setiyani, 2016). Another informant said:

"Religious leaders and traditional elders determine the course of a marriage. The *kiai* not only acts as a *penghulu* but also as an extension to those who marry, for example, when someone pays a marriage fine, it must be paid through the *kiai* (intermediary). We usually use customary law, there is a procedure that must be obeyed" (Saprudin, Interviewed, 2023).

It can be concluded that customary elders hold an important role in ensuring the course of a wedding ritual. Traditional figures are an extension of God's hand by presenting the spirits of the ancestors as a connector. Because Tanjung people believe that customary elders and ancestors are sacred (Datu Danuwinata, Interviewed, 2023) and they are at an esoteric level (Farhan, Interviewed, 2023). Traditional societies build relationships with the transcendent; God, ancestral spirits, holy figures, and other spirits as animist human nature (Lan & Manan, 2011).

The concept of culture has a broad and substantial meaning. This is about the universe and all objects in it, about creation, nature, and the supernatural world, mysticism, and includes philosophical values (Syakhra-ni & Kamil, 2022). Many traditions originating from their roots (predecessors) are still believed by the *Sasak* people, especially adherents of Islam *Metu Telu*. Indeed, some of them have undergone evolution (Saprudin, Interviewed, 2023) and construction but have not completely changed the purpose, function, and meaning of their local traditions.

The Typology of Metu Telu Wedding Tradition

Marriage traditions in the *Metu Telu* community have differences in each region. The traditions in North Lombok are (Sukri, 2014) different from those in East Lombok or Central Lombok. Practically, the difference is not that big. In general, the *Metu Telu* marriage tradition has similarities between one region and another (Ilmalia et al., 2021). The interesting thing about the *Metu Telu* community is the diversity of wedding traditions that can be found. Indeed, the marriage of the *Metu Telu* people, including the Tanjung tribe, is dominated by local nuances combined with Islam (Saladin, 2013). An informant said that:

“The main thing is the customary marriage because it is important in our tradition if the customary marriage has been fulfilled, it means that it is legal as husband and wife, then continued religiously, and finally the state marriage” (Datu Hartadi, Interviewed, 2022).



Figure 3. *Sorong Serab Sajikrama* (One of Marriage Process)

Photo Source: Ikhwan Daily (Indonesia.go.id)

Accessed on: <https://www.detik.com/bali/nusra/d-6600592/mengenal-islam-wetu-telu-kearifan-masyarakat-bayan-lombok>, 23 June 2023

There are stages and long processes that are passed by the bride and groom who will get married. This type of *Metu Telu* marriage is prac-

tically carried out in different ways according to its function, purpose, and use. The typologies of *Metu Telu* weddings include:

Merariq (kawin lari)

Merariq is a term that comes from *Merariqan*, which means “running”. *Merariq* is a verb, namely *melariq* or *melaiq'an*, which means “runaway” or carry away. In short, *merariq* is a marriage process carried out in a unique way, where a man takes his dream girl away (Renda, 2021). In *Metu Telu*, *Merariq* is another alternative to carry out the marriage process. Partially, this is the man’s way of “respecting” the woman and her extended family. For *Sasak* men, *merariq* is a sacred moment to show an attitude of their manliness and self-respect because they had succeeded in bringing away the girl they loved (Datu Danuwinata, Interviewed, 2023).

Nyerab Hukum

Nyerab Hukum is a type of marriage carried out by *Sasak* women with men who come from outside. In *Sasak* society, there are no prohibitions or laws against inter-ethnic or racial marriage (Khaldun, 2020). However, in its implementation, it is different from other types of marriage in which the entire procession or wedding arrangement is left entirely to the *Sasak* woman’s family.

Mepadiq Lamar (Melakoq/ Ngenden)

A marriage is carried out because the man and woman have made an agreement or commitment (Rachmadhani, 2011) to marry through deliberation with their families. On that occasion, a man asked permission from the woman’s parents. Before the application ceremony, the man is obliged to fulfill two requests from the woman using cash payments through religious leaders (this is based on requests submitted by women which generally vary, and are usually adjusted to the level of social status and education of the woman. The higher the social level, the more expensive the amount paid, and vice versa if the social status of the woman is low, the amount paid is also low) (Erwin, Interviewed, 2023). The payment is a form of compensation for the violations committed.

Marriage by Kidnapping

In contrast to *Mepadiq Lamar*, *kawin dengan cara menculik* is marriage by carrying out the kidnapping process first. This step is carried out when the couple has received approval from their respective families. If *merariq* loves each other, then marriage by kidnapping is based on

one-sided love, the woman did not even know the man before (Hartadi, Interviewed, 2023).

Kawin Ngiwet

A marriage by taking away someone else's legal wife (Muslimah, Interviewed, 2023). The purpose of taking away someone's wife is to marry her. When the escape is known by the legal husband and their respective families, the previous marriage also ends, and the prospective new partner is also separated. An ex-wife who is taken away is obliged to pay a fine to her ex-husband which is twice the cost of her previous marriage. The prospective new husband is required to pay compensation through the *kiai* kampung (Raihan, Interviewed, 2023) to the ex-husband.

Kawin Tadong/Kawin Gantong

This marriage is a unique tradition practiced by the *Sasak* tribe. *Tadong* means arranged marriage by parents since those kids (he/she) are at a young age (Sazhalya, 2020). This process aims to bind or mark the children so they do not love others when they grow up. When the time comes, the two children who have been betrothed in the future will be legally married according to the religion and customary law of *Metu Telu*.

Metikab Buaq Lekoq

Metikab Buaq Lekoq is a marriage of repentance or marriage of forgiveness which is carried out after three days of *merariq*. After the *buaq lekoq marriage* process is complete, traditionally the bride and groom can have sexual relations.

Nikah Negara (KUA)

After repenting, the bride and groom perform a state marriage which is carried out at the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA). After the traditional marriage is completed, then the state marriage process can be carried out (Haslan, Dahlan & Fauzan, 2021).

The stages of marriage are continued with the following process; first, *Mesejati Selabar* (the Process of informing local government and families about the woman who was taken away and where she was hidden). Second, *Ajikrama* (a process of deliberation for the families of the two prospective brides to discuss the amount of *ajikrama* that must be fulfilled by the groom's family. The amount depends on the agreement between both parties). Third, *Sorong Serab Sajikarma* (the process of

handing over the *sajikrame* where the amount is according to the customs of each village or *gubug*) as shown in figure 3. Fourth, *Nikah Terang* and *Metobat* (asking the *wali nikah* to a woman's family according to Islamic teachings). Fifth, *Pesta Tampak Wirang* (the culmination of the entire series of wedding processions, marked by the process of slaughtering buffalo or cows by the bride's family). Sixth, *Nyongkolan* (visiting the bride's parent's house after the marriage is over). Seventh, *Baliklapak* or *Bales Ones Nae* (handover of the property to the bride by her parents and returning to the groom's house) (Khaldun, 2020).

Metu Telu as Local Wisdom (National Identity)

Metu Telu wedding tradition is a local identity that should be preserved as the wealth of the people of Lombok. Tanjung is one of the epicenters of the *Metu Telu* Islamic community in North Lombok, besides Bayan (Syakhrani & Kamil, 2022) as one of its centers. Some people and academics still misinterpret the meaning of "*Metu Telu*", which is associated with 'time' (three times of prayer). The concept of belief in the *Metu Telu* tradition is considered different from the teachings of Islam brought by the Prophet. Where the concept is still believed by the people of Lombok in interpreting the community (Saprudin, 2021).

The Tanjung community shows its identity through local wisdom which is an ancestral heritage. Values and customs are poured out through symbols, such as traditional houses and places of worship (Sirnopati, 2021), as well as symbols of rituals as in the wedding tradition. Every element in culture has a symbol and a philosophical meaning behind its existence (Rendra, Interviewed, 2023). This cultural element functions as the center for integrating existing elements so that they are maintained.

According to Geertz, society tends to prioritize its socio-historical elements (Teng, 2017), this aims to keep the cultural roots growing so that they do not deviate from their original history, meaning, and value. The purpose of the controlling mechanism is to maintain the habituation pattern and prevent chaos (Rosana, 2017; Lawelai, al el., 2022) and anomalies. The tradition of *Metu Telu* marriage has different characteristics because, in practice, it has characteristics that distinguish it from other ethnicities and tribes. One of the informants explained that;

“A marriage is determined by the way it carried out, for example,

for those who marry through *merariq*, the process to overcome the problem is also different, besides that, *merariq* is different from marrying by escaping a girl, and fines paid to the woman are also different” (Raihan, Interviewed, 2023).

The wedding tradition is a national asset that distinguishes it from other regions. However, the challenge for traditional stakeholders is how to direct the young generation (Datu Danuwinata, Interviewed, 2023) in continuing the local heritage. Young people not only learn and maintain the wedding tradition but also understand the meaning of the symbols, instruments, and values. Local traditions contain philosophical meanings from many things, including philosophy and spiritual education (Yusrifa et al., 2016).

Instilling national identity not only through education based on local cultural values (Fikri Ys, 2021) but also through direct experience; both verbal and non-verbal interactions. Art attractions, performances, and traditional cultural carnivals can be a means of cultural strategy in the determination of modernization (Zaitun, 2018). Local traditional education should be managed as an alternative multiverse by stakeholders and actors to form a spirit of nationalism and love of local culture, especially by the younger generation of *Metu Tehu*.

Young people are reinforcers of local traditions, so it is important to make *Metu Tehu* a basis for identity development (Hayati, 2017). The government has a role in actualizing the potential of noble cultural values so that local traditions develop and serve as the basis for action and one’s moral. Indonesian national identity is based on internalization and actualization. The Tanjung community has the authority to regulate social order and the future of their local traditions (Funay, 2020).

By quoting Weber, Geertz reveals that “humans are animals trapped in webs of meaning (significance) that they spun themselves” (Ortner, 1999). This means that studying and maintaining a culture is not an easy task, so it requires microscopic actions from actors and society. While the social theorist, Berger, expresses his view that social construction emphasizes human action as a creative actor and its social reality (Berger, 1991). Social reality is a construction created by individuals because once again, individuals are social beings.

The actor has the authority to regulate deconstruction according to his will. The Tanjung community can form a variety of sociocultural activities, such as art performances and cultural carnivals (Yunitasari, 2015). Local traditional innovations are still not realized by the local government. An informant stated that: “In activities such as cultural performances, it has not been held, because of social conditions and stereotype (justification) from outside is still looming” (Ibad, Interviewed, 2023). On the other hand, the KLU (North Lombok Regency) government paid little attention to this issue.

Subjective and Intersubjective to the Local Traditions of Metu Telu

Cultural dilemma (Lio, 2017) in the *Metu Telu* community is the result of disculture. Nowadays society is faced with confusion in the middle of a crossroads. Whether to maintain local traditions or accept and follow a modern culture that offers inclusivity, hybridity, and flexibility (Affan, 2016). The people of Tanjung *Metu Telu* are aware of the effects of modernization that are starting to infect young people.

These conditions will encourage the people of Tanjung that local traditions must accept and adapt to the new culture. In the end, it will bring young people to a subjective (Pereira & Reddy, 2016) and intersubjective (Fuch, 2020) view of the local tradition of *Metu Telu* itself. The wedding tradition is a local practice that still maintains its authenticity. Another informant said that; “some people who live in urban areas have different concepts of the *Metu Telu* wedding, many things change, so they don't go out of style” (Muchtar, Interviewed, 2023).

Urban society is shaping a new interpretation of the wedding tradition by making it simpler. They assume that “local traditions can also adapt and assimilate into modern culture” (Datu Hartadi, Interviewed, 2023). In practice, the *Metu Telu* community does not realize that this action is a form of degradation of local traditions (Göttler, 2021) to the *Metu Telu* wedding which is known to be unique and not found in other tribes.

For Geertz, culture has a general complexity. Sometimes in other communities, culture often overlaps with religion (Pals, 2011), local beliefs and Islam in the *Metu Telu* community have been assimilated where local traditions are still dominant so that *Metu Telu* is considered to deviate from Islam (Saprudin, Interviewed, 2023). Cultural interpretation has passed, traditional cultural analysis is not experimental science (Lightener

et al., 2021), but interpretation to find meanings.

In the first stage, the local tradition of *Metu Telu* has experienced subjective misinterpretations and is assessed intersubjectively (Ibad, Interviewed, 2023). Misinterpretation of local (wedding) traditions cannot be separated from the way people see, hear, and imitate social reality so that new conceptions are formed. Yuval Noah Harari differentiates reality into three points: *First*, objective reality (Bellinsky, 2020) which can be captured by sensory instruments that can be felt, seen, heard, and so on. This means that reality can be predicted, manipulated, and determined by scientific measurement and logic. *Second*, subjective reality is the human perception of an object where the object seen is subjectivity (Purves, 2021) which does not exist at all in the object. Judgments that value subjectivity to the objects encountered are only in one's imaginative perception and reality. Everything subjective cannot be measured. In contrast to objective reality, subjective reality cannot be manipulated (Marko & Vorcová, 2020) and engineered by others because it is personal. *Third*, intersubjective reality (Pereira, & J. Reddy, 2016), is a reality that is not determined by the existence of a particular object but is agreed upon by many people.

The local traditions of the Tanjung people in general are remnants of primitive cultural beliefs (Matusove, 2020). Other evidence shows that interpreting local traditions requires an objectification process in responding to social realities (El-solh & J. Mabro, 2020). From the beginning, people considered the *Metu Telu* marriage tradition as a product of animism and dynamism, formed through a dialectical process between individuals or intersubjectivity.

Conclusion

The wedding tradition is a complex ceremony that takes a long process. Everyone has their reasons for carrying out a wedding. Demographic factors cause misinterpretation of the *Metu Telu* tradition. Misinterpretation also occurs in the Tanjung community and threatens their existence. The tradition of marriage is traditionally interpreted by the people of *Metu Telu* Tanjung. In some aspects, they believe that both conceptually and practically, the marriage tradition of the *Metu Telu* Tanjung is different from other tribes. The implementation of wedding traditions in Tanjung is more traditional, authentic, and exclusive compared to urban areas (Mataram city) or the Bayan Variant. In Tanjung, traditional

marriage was not contaminated by the outside world. All processes are conducted under customary law without limiting the meaning of marriage itself. The *Metu Telu* marriage can be interpreted as a Local Tradition that has aesthetic value. Aesthetic value can be seen through the beauty and coherence of the community while practicing tradition. The *Metu Telu* marriage is a characteristic of the people of Lombok and has become a national identity. It is felt that it is not necessary to construct and follow the changing times which will injure the originality of the *Metu Telu* wedding tradition. This will remove the original meaning of the tradition. As a national cultural asset, the *Metu Telu* marriage tradition must be preserved by maintaining its original practice and meaning. Customary elders, religious leaders, local actors, and the younger generation can become weapons to fight modernity and protect local traditions to maintain their authenticity.

Bibliography

- Affan, M. H. (2016). Membangun Kembali Sikap Nasionalisme Bangsa Indonesia dalam Menangkal Budaya Asing di Era Globalisasi. *Jurnal Pesona Dasar*, 3(4). <http://202.4.186.66/PEAR/article/view/7542>
- Aksa, A., & Nurhayati, N. (2020). Moderasi Beragama Berbasis Budaya dan Kearifan Lokal pada Masyarakat Donggo di Bima (Tinjauan Sosio-Historis). *Harmoni*, 19(2), 338-352.
- Aman, J., Abbas, J., Lela, U., & Shi, G. (2021). Religious Affiliation, Daily Spirituals, And Private Religious Factors Promote Marital Commitment among Married Couples: Does religiosity help people amid the COVID-19 crisis?. *Frontiers in psychology*, (12), 657400. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2021.657400
- Ambarwati, A. P. A., & Mustika, I. L. (2018, October). Pernikahan Adat Jawa sebagai Salah Satu Kekuatan Budaya Indonesia. *In Prosiding Seminar Nasional Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia (SENASBASA)*, 2(2). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22219/v2i2.2214>
- Aminullah, M. N. (2017). Akulturasi Islam dengan Tradisi Perkawinan Masyarakat Bangsawan Sasak (Studi di Kecamatan Kopang Kabupaten Lombok Tengah). *Palapa*, 5(1), 109-137. <https://ejournal.stitpn.ac.id/index.php/palapa/article/view/38>

- Anggito, A., & Setiawan, J. (2018). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif*. CV Jejak (Jejak Publisher).
- Ariadi, L. M. (2017). ISLAM SASAK: Sebuah Manifestasi Fikih-Budaya. Schemata: *Jurnal Pasca Sarjana IAIN Mataram*, 6(2), 155-166. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.20414/schemata.v6i2.842>
- Belinsky, A. V. E. (2020). Wigner's Friend Paradox: Does objective reality not exist?. *Physics-Uspekhi*, 63(12), 1256.
- Berger, Peter L. (1991). *Capitalist Revolution*. Basic Books.
- Budiwanti, E. (2000). *Islam Sasak; Wetu Telu versus Waktu Lima*. LKIS Pelangi Aksara.
- El-Solh, C. F., & Mabro, J. (Eds.). (2020). *Muslim Women's Choices: Religious belief and social reality*. Routledge.
- Fuchs, T. (2020). Delusion, Reality and Intersubjectivity: A phenomenological and enactive analysis. *Phenomenology and Mind*, (18), 120-143. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/751756/summary>
- Geertz, C. (2005). *Clifford Geertz by his colleagues*. University of Chicago Press.
- Göttler, A. (2021). Ethnic Belonging, Traditional Cultures and Intercultural Access: The discursive construction of older immigrants' ethnicity and culture. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 1-20. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1954893>
- Gultom, Parlaungan. (2001). *Pendekatan Fenomenologis terhadap Teori Penciptaan*. Yogyakarta: Pbm Andi.
- Hamidiyanti, B. Y. F., Faiqah, S., Sulanty, A., & Ristrini, R. (2018). Intervensi Tokoh Agama dan Tokoh Adat pada Tradisi Menikah Suku Sasak Dalam Rangka Menurunkan Kejadian Pernikahan Usia Dini di Kabupaten Lombok Barat Provinsi NTB. *Buletin Penelitian Sistem Kesehatan*, 21(3), 152-162. <http://ejournal2.litbang.kemkes.go.id/index.php/hsr/article/view/166>
- Hayati, U. (2017). Nilai-Nilai Dakwah; Aktivitas Ibadah dan Perilaku Sosial. *INJECT (Interdisciplinary Journal of Communication)*,

- 2(2), 175-192. <https://inject.iainsalatiga.ac.id/index.php/INJECT/article/view/1324>
- Ilmalia, R. M. A., Budiarta, I. N. P., & Sudibya, D. G. (2021). Pelaksanaan Tradisi Perkawinan Merariq (Besebo) Suku Sasak di Lombok Timur. *Jurnal Interpretasi Hukum*, 2(3), 479-483. <https://ejournal.warmadewa.ac.id/index.php/juinhum/article/view/4123>
- Indrianingsih, I., Nurafifah, F., & Januarti, L. (2020). Analisis Dampak Pernikahan Usia Dini dan Upaya Pencegahan di Desa Janapria. *Jurnal Warta Desa (JWD)*, 2(1), 16-26. <http://www.jwd.unram.ac.id/index.php/jwd/article/view/88>
- Khaldun, R. (2020). "Konstruksi Tradisi Perkawinan pada Masyarakat Islam Wetu Telu Lombok," *Disertasi*. Universitas Islam Negeri Sunan Ampel Surabaya.
- Komarudin, D., & Muliadi, M. (2019). Simbol Budaya Agama Islam Wetu Telu.
- Lailisna, N. N. (2018). Perempuan dan Rumah Tangga: Miniatur Negara Menyiapkan Regenerasi Bangsa. *An-Nisa'*, 10(1). DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.35719/ansa.v10i1.641>
- Lan, T. J., & Manan, M. A. (Eds.). (2011). *Nasionalisme dan Ketabahan Budaya di Indonesia: Sebuah Tantangan*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Lawelai, H., Suherman, A., Ferdi, F., & Seit, M. (2022). Politics Multiculturalism of Minority Religions in Demanding Freedom of Worship. *INFERENSI: Jurnal Penelitian Sosial Keagamaan*, 16(1), 43-62. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18326/infl3.v16i1.44-62>
- Lightner, A. D., Heckelsmiller, C., & Hagen, E. H. (2021). Ethnoscience Expertise and Knowledge Specialisation in 55 Traditional Cultures. *Evolutionary Human Sciences*, (3), e37. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/ehs.2021.31>
- Lio, Z. D. (2017). Upaya Memahami Dilema Transformasi Budaya Dayak. *Gaudium Vestrum: Jurnal Kateketik Pastoral*, 76-77. <https://ojs.stkpkbi.ac.id/index.php/jgv/article/view/35>

- Mahendradhani, G. A. A. R. (2017). Animisme dan Magis EB Tylor dan JG Frazer (Sebuah Analisis Wacana Agama). *VIDYA SAMHITA: Jurnal Penelitian Agama*, 3(2). <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/291674789.pdf>
- Markos, A., & Svorcová, J. (2020). Cutting down the Porphyrian tree: Objective reality as created by the innerness of living beings. Gatherings in Biosemiotics XX, *University of Tartu Press*, 24-36.
- Matusov, E. (2020). Pattern-Recognition, Intersubjectivity, and Dialogic Meaning-Making in Education. *Dialogic Pedagogy: An international online journal*, (8). <http://dpj.pitt.edu/ojs/dpj1/article/view/314>
- Ortner, S. B. (Ed.). (1999). *The Fate of "culture": Geertz and beyond (Vol. 8)*. Univ. of California Press.
- Pereira, C., & Reddy, J. (2016). Science, Subjectivity & Reality. *Journal of Consciousness Exploration & Research*. <http://scireprints.lu.lv/319/>
- Purves, D. (2021). Objective and Subjective Reality. In *Why Brains Don't Compute* (pp. 9-13). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-71064-4_2
- Quddus, Abdul, and Lalu Muhammad Ariadi. (2015). Gerakan tarekat dan pertumbuhan budaya berfilosofi di Lombok. *TEOSOFI: Jurnal Tasawuf dan Pemikiran Islam*, 5, 321-345. <https://garuda.kemdikbud.go.id/documents/detail/1455349>
- Rachmadhani, A. (2011). Perkawinan Islam Wetu Telu Masyarakat Bayan Lombok Utara. *Analisa: Journal of Social Science and Religion*, 18(1), 59-74. <http://blasemarang.kemenag.go.id/journal/index.php/analisa/article/viewFile/124/79>
- Rahmawanto, S. (2016). Peran Tokoh Agama dalam Mewujudkan Keteraturan Masyarakat. *An-Nidzam: Jurnal Manajemen Pendidikan dan Studi Islam*, 3(1), 118-134. <http://www.ejournal.iainu-kebumen.ac.id/index.php/An-Nidzam/article/download/12/7>

- Renda, R. (2021). Model Dekonstruksi Metafora Naskah Merarik Kodeq Menyoal Pernikahan Dini: Model of Metaphor Deconstruction of The Merarik Kodek Manuscript Concerning Early Marriage. *Jurnal Bastrindo*, 2(1), 57-68. <http://bastrindo.jurnal.unram.ac.id/index.php/jb/article/view/134>
- Ricklefs, Merle Calvin. (2013). *Mengislamkan Jawa*. Serambi Ilmu Semesta.
- Rosana, E. (2017). Dinamisasi kebudayaan dalam realitas sosial. *Al-Adyan: Jurnal Studi Lintas Agama*, 12(1), 16-30. <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsla.v12i1.1442>
- Saladin, B. (2013). Tradisi Merari'Suku Sasak Di Lombok Dalam Perspektif Hukum Islam. *AL-IHKAM: Jurnal Hukum & Prana-ta Sosial*, 8(1), 21-39. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.19105/al-lhkam.v8i1.338>
- Sazhalya, S. (2018). Deskripsi Tumbuh Kembang Anak Usia Dini Pada Orang Tua Pasangan Menikah Dini Suku Sasak. *Doctoral dissertation*. Universitas Mataram.
- Setiyani, W. (2020). The Exerted Authority of Kiai Kampung in The Social Construction of Local Islam. *Journal of Indonesian Islam*, 14(1), 51-76.
- Silverman, D. (2020). Qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 1-520.
- Sirnopati, R. (2021). Agama Lokal Pribumi Sasak (Menelusuri Jejak "Islam Wetu Telu" di Lombok). *Tsaqofah*, 19(02), 103-112. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.32678/tsaqofah.v19i02.3656>
- Stopes, M. C. (2004). *Married Love*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Sukri, M. (2014). Tuturan Ritual Komunitas Wetu Telu Masyarakat Adat Bayan di Kabupaten Lombok Utara: Kajian Berdasarkan Pendekatan Pragmatik. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.20961/pras.v0i0.448>
- Teng, H. M. B. A. (2017). Filsafat kebudayaan dan sastra (dalam perspektif sejarah). *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, 5(1), 69-75. <https://journal.unhas.ac.id/index.php/jib/article/view/2360>

- Yasin, M. N. (2008). *Hukum Perkawinan islam sasak*. UIN-Maliki Press.
- Yunitasari, Y. (2015). Komodifikasi anak dalam pentas budaya populer. *WACANA: Jurnal Ilmiah Ilmu Komunikasi*, 14(3), 266-273. <http://journal.moestopo.ac.id/index.php/wacana/article/download/121/65>
- Yusrifa, F., Ikhsan, M. F. N., Junaedi, R. A., & Khair, M. R. (2016). Meneropong Strategi Kebudayaan Melalui Kesadaran Historis “Pantang Melupakan Leluhur” Islam Wetu Telu. Gadjah Mada University.
- Zuhdi, Muhammad Harfin. (2019). “Local Wisdom of Sasaknese Society as A Model of Conflict Resolution.” *In ASEAN/Asian Academic Society International Conference Proceeding*, 521-527. <http://aasic.org/proc/aasic/article/view/527>