

ULUR-ULUR TRADITION: NEGOTIATIONS ON LOCAL ISLAM AND TULUNGAGUNG CULTURE

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ABSTRACT

This study was made to construct the Ulur-Ulur tradition that emerged during the Majapahit period. The Ulur-Ulur tradition has passed through several periods of time, it is certainly interesting to study why it is still existence until now. The Ulur-Ulur tradition was still existence until the time of Islamic domination. What is the preservation of the Ulur-ulur tradition related to his ability to read discourse in each period? So that it has a different discourse in each period? or the existence of the Ulur-Ulur tradition due to the tolerance of the predominantly Islamic local community towards the previous culture? On the other hand, did the Ulur-Ulur tradition also negotiate itself from Islamic domination? This research uses historical and ethnographic methods. Heuristics involves gathering historical sources through interviews and literature studies. Criticism compares sources so that it is found that the Ulur-Ulur tradition originated from the Hindu-Buddhist era. Finally, the interpretation of sources results in the statement that the Ulur-Ulur tradition is currently experiencing additional functions and meanings. This study has three findings, first: the existence of the Ulur-Ulur tradition because of its ability to read discourse in each era, so that the Ulur-Ulur tradition has various meanings. Second, the tolerance of the majority Islamic community also maintains the existence of the Ulur-Ulur tradition. Third, the negotiation between the Ulur-ulur tradition and Islam, is also the key to the existence of tradition, the form of negotiation can be seen from the meaning of the offering.

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INTRODUCTION

Javanese society is the term for the Javanese tribe, who inhabits the regions of Central Java and East Java. One of the identities of the Javanese tribe that still exists today is ritual. There are various reasons for Javanese people to carry out rituals and traditions in their lives (Susanti & Lestari, 2021). Preserving ancestral cultural heritage is one of the reasons often used by people. Feith said that Javanese people who still use ancestral traditions are Javanese (Hering & Feith, 1963). Javanese society is generally

characterized by syncretism, because what is done is a combination of Islam and ancestral culture in several previous periods. As a result, the syncretic Javanese society is a characteristic of Javanese culture which is open and tolerant of new cultures or religions in society (Suseno, 2001).

One form of Javanese tradition that still exists today is the Ulur-ulur tradition. Ulur-ulur is considered a tradition because it is related to the magical-religious customs of the local community (Lehman & Sztompka, 2001). In essence, the Ulur-ulur tradition is an ecological tradition in the form of material rituals with several processions as thanksgiving for the fertility of agricultural land and the preservation of water sources in Buret Lake, Tulungagung (Santoso et al., 2021). The Ulur-ulur tradition has been going on for a long time and is passed down through every generation. Anthropologist Dwi Cahyono said that the Ulur-ulur tradition has existed since the Majapahit era. This is proven by the discovery of the ruins of a temple door, artifacts, and a statue of the goddess Sri on the west side of Telaga Buret (Hartono, 2022). Cahyono in Hartono's writing concluded that Ulur-ulur is an agricultural tradition that has existed since the Majapahit era. If this conclusion is correct, then it would be very interesting to see the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition as a Javanese syncretic tradition that existed from the 14th to the 21st century.

By looking at the age of the Ulur-ulur tradition, which is around 7 (seven) centuries, it is certainly interesting to ask: what makes this tradition continue to exist? Borrowing the law of cause and effect, an event occurs because there is a previous cause. So there is a cause that makes the Ulur-ulur tradition continue to exist today. The historical narrative records that after the classical Hindu-Buddhist period, it continued into the Islamic period. Of course, Islam at that time had a dominant context, but it was developing and looking for space. This condition made Islam, which had just developed in Java, accommodate itself to Javanese culture. This made Islam syncretize itself with Javanese culture. When Islam syncretized itself, automatically the Ulur-ulur tradition, which is Javanese culture and emerged in the Majapahit era, remains sustainable until now. Ricklefs said that the syncretism of Islam and Javanese culture means that those who are Muslim and hold Javanese are not a problem (Ricklefs, 2012).

In essence, Islamic tolerance or negotiation of local culture was the beginning of the existence of traditions in Java. Furthermore, when you look at the Tulungagung area with its large distribution of Majapahit cultural heritage, it is certain that this area was once Majapahit territory. On the other hand, the existence of the Tawang Sari, Majan, and Winong perdikan in Tulungagung (Islamic Mataram period) further strengthens the argument that Islam at that time negotiated itself over previous beliefs and cultures, namely: Hindu-Buddhist. As a result, the Ulur-ulur tradition with several typical Hindu-Buddhist processions or rituals, such as: *sesajen* (flowers, food, and incense), traditional clothing, the art of reog kendang, and other incantations is still preserved to this day,

which is in fact the period of Islamic dominance (Tricahyono & Sariyatun, 2021). The existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition shows that this tradition is accepted by society and is one of the characteristics of the syncretism tradition.

In fact, if you look at the long life span, of course the Ulur-ulur tradition has gone through various kinds of new cultural invasions. During colonialism, the development of dance culture through *societeit* and *concordia* in fact still allowed the Ulur-ulur tradition to survive. (Saraswati, 2013). In the 1970s and 1980s, when the hijab culture entered Indonesian Islamic society, this was followed by Islamic arts, which in fact were puritanical, which also entered and became a dream in society, such as: *hadrah* and *gambus* (Khasanah & Afiyanto, 2017). The inclusion of *hadrah*, *gambus*, etc., also does not make the Ulur-ulur tradition disappear in the culture of the Tulungagung people.

Of course, the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition, apart from the ability to read discourses in every era, is also the local community's tolerance for this tradition. According to the latest statistical data, 99% of Tulungagung people are Muslim (BPS Kabupaten Tulungagung, 2023). This means that Islam is the religion and culture that dominate the lives of the people of Tulungagung. So if the Ulur-ulur tradition continues to exist today with the majority of people being Muslims, then the local community has a high level of tolerance. From the explanation above, it is interesting to formulate the first problem, related to the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition. Is the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition due to its ability to read changing times, thereby carrying out a negotiation process with new elements that enter? The second problem formulation, is the preservation of the Ulur-ulur tradition also influenced by the Tulungagung community's tolerance for ancestral culture? so that in the period of existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition, there has never been any conflict in society regarding processions that deviate from Islamic law? It should be noted that the majority of Tulungagung people adhere to Islam; of course as a whole, they do not have the same concept of tolerance. Third, regarding the meaning contained in the Ulur-ulur tradition, Talking about meaning, it is also relevant to the function of the Ulur-ulur tradition in each era. Does the Ulur-ulur tradition have different functions in each era according to the needs of society? Is the Ulur-ulur tradition just a ritual of giving thanks to God? Or does it have entertainment and economic significance for the local community?

Tulungagung was chosen as the spatial research area because this area experienced a period of strong Hindu-Buddhist influence (Nainunis Aulia Izza, 2014). Several Majapahit cultural heritage remains can easily be found in the Tulungagung area. Of course, it is also related to the traditions and customs left behind, some of which are still preserved by the community. On the other hand, the existence of fief areas from the Islamic Mataram era means that Islamic influence is also strong in Tulungagung. Several oral traditions record that figures such as Abu Hasan Mansur,

Kyai Mimbar, Kyai Ilyas were Islamic figures who helped develop Islam in Tulungagung. In the era of colonialism, Islamic boarding schools were also established as places to study Islamic knowledge. The uniqueness of the Tulungagung region makes it interesting to analyze the Ulur-ulur tradition in more detail and comprehensively.

Of course, studies related to the Ulur-ulur tradition have been written by previous researchers, such as: Danan Tricahyo's article entitled "*Tradisi Ulur-Ulur Ditinjau Dari Pendekatan Konstruktivisme Sebagai Upaya Penguatan Pendidikan Nilai Dalam Pembelajaran IPS*" (Tricahyono & Sariyatun, 2021). This study concludes that the Ulur-ulur tradition can be used as local teaching material for social studies subjects. Through constructivist learning, positive values can be found that support social studies learning. Next is the article title "*Local Wisdom Ulur-Ulur Telaga Buret Ceremony In Tulungagung*" (Santoso et al., 2021). This study focuses more on the procession of the Ulur-ulur tradition, from processions to statues. Of course, the difference between the two writings and the author's study lies in their different substance. This study focuses more on the tolerance of the Islamic religion with ancestral culture, giving rise to the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition. Furthermore, it also discusses the addition of the social function of the Ulur-ulur tradition, as well as messages regarding the preservation of Tulungagung Buret Lake.

METHOD

To strengthen the analysis in this study, theory and methods can be used as analytical tools. The discourse analysis put forward by Foucault can be used to answer why the Ulur-ulur tradition, which emerged in the Majapahit era, has exist until now. In essence, Foucault's discourse theory contains three) important elements, namely: history, power, and discourse in society (Dhona, 2019). These three elements can be the key to why the Ulur-ulur tradition is able to exist. The Ulur-ulur tradition may be able to read the discourse that is currently in power in society. Its ability to read the power of discourse in society has made the Ulur-ulur tradition change its function in society in every era.

Foucault's discourse focuses more on power and authority and generally relates to the relationship of power to society. The relationship between power and society forms statements that become trends in society (Purbani, 2005). In the future, these trending statements will become the theme of public communication. This will later be called the discourse that dominates the communication theme or headline in public conversation. So according to Foucault, through the domination of discourse, humans will have a frame of mind or view of the world. This framework of thinking becomes material for the Ulur-ulur tradition to adapt to the needs of society in a certain period.

The Ulur-ulur tradition's ability to read people's needs allows it to live a long time. Through dominant discourses, the Ulur-ulur tradition is able to negotiate itself

with developments over time. As a result, people will accept the Ulur-ulur tradition in every period and consider the Ulur-ulur tradition as a tradition that is always in harmony with the current era. The use of discourse theory as an analytical tool can also help to see the meaning of the Ulur-ulur tradition. Discourse theory can record invisible meanings, such as: how does society view the Ulur-ulur tradition? What was the use of the Ulur-ulur tradition in that era for society? Can the Ulur-ulur tradition compete with contemporary traditions at that time, or is it just surviving? Furthermore, you can also see the details of every change in the function of the Ulur-ulur tradition in accordance with the dominant discourse. Is there negotiation and tolerance for this change in function in society?

Methods are also important to assist in the process of analyzing the Ulur-ulur tradition. This study uses historical and ethnographic methods, each of which has a different role. The historical method is used to analyze the Ulur-ulur tradition that emerged in the past dimension. It is known that the Ulur-ulur tradition has emerged from classical times (Hindu-Buddhist) to contemporary times. So the use of historical methods can help in relation to the narrative of the Ulur-ulur tradition in each period in the past. Is the Ulur-ulur Tradition just a ritual, or has it had other meanings in the past? Ethnography is also used to help see the interpretation of the Ulur-ulur tradition today. Does the Ulur-ulur tradition currently being performed have anything in common with the Ulur-ulur tradition of the past? Or are there several processions from the Ulur-ulur tradition currently being reduced as a form of negotiation and tolerance?

In essence, the historical method is a process of critically examining and analyzing records and the past through several stages, such as heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historical writing (Louis Gottschalk, 2010). The first step in the historical method is collecting historical sources (heuristics). The heuristic process attempts to collect historical sources in the form of documents or oral forms. In general, written sources from micro and local history are rare, but as an alternative, they can be replaced with oral history, even though the document has a higher degree of validity. In studying the Ulur-ulur tradition, the oral history section is mostly used because Ulur-ulur tradition activists can still be found. Oral history sources were chosen as the main source in this research because the problem period studied has a time span that is close to the present, so it can be obtained through interviews. Simultaneous interviews can be conducted, for example, with Heri Setiyono (chairman of Pagyuban Sendang Tirto Mulyo) and Karsi (chairman of Pokdarwis Telaga Buret).

For documentary or written sources, only scientific articles and information from the media are acceptable. The scarcity of documents related to the Ulur-ulur tradition is also due to the limited number of scientists and academics who study this tradition. To help with analysis related to the Ulur-ulur tradition that still exists (contemporary), you can use ethnographic methods. Ethnography has unique

characteristics, namely the full involvement of the researcher with the culture of the community being studied and the depth of data collection (Windiani & Farida Nurul, 2016). The first step was to determine the informants—the informants used by Ulur-ulur tradition activists in Tulungagung. Second, is the process of interviewing informants: how did the Ulur-ulur tradition emerge, what is the purpose of the community still carrying out this tradition, and why is this tradition still sustainable? Taking ethnographic notes is the third procedure after interviews. Ethnographic notes are the main points that will later be asked of the resource person. The purpose of making note points is to develop question patterns without going outside the paradigm. For example, why do the people of Tulungagung, who are generally Muslim, accept the Ulur-ulur tradition, which in fact in ritual processions is contrary to Islamic law?, etc.

Lastly, there is the analysis of the results of the interview process. When using the ethnographic method, the results of the analysis cannot be separated, meaning that the explanation of the sentence still comes from the results of the analysis. The results of the analysis come from data obtained through in-depth participation in the culture being studied. If applied to the Ulur-ulur tradition that will be studied, it must combine historical and ethnographic methods. As a result, by using library methods, ethnography, and document techniques, more comprehensive results were obtained and could answer the problems raised.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Ulur-ulur Traditional Ceremony

Discussing Tulungagung, it cannot be separated from the greatness of the Majapahit empire. Several Majapahit relics in the form of objects, such as temples, stupas, statues, and inscriptions, are found in several villages in Tulungagung that were actually built during Majapahit's golden era (Safrijal, 2022). In fact, Majapahit's strong influence is not only limited to material or concrete heritage. Several traditions that are still carried out by the people of Tulungagung also indicate strong ancestral (read=Hindu-Buddhist) rituals. Ritual processions still show the syncretism of ancestral culture with Islam as the dominant religion. Traditions such as: Ulur-ulur, Manten Kucing, and several other traditions in some parts of the ritual also reflect Hindu-Buddhist traditions. The strong tradition with a ritual model in the style of ancestral culture has survived to this day amidst the domination of Islam.

The Ulur-ulur tradition, as an ancestral culture that still exists today, also has rituals that are typical of the Hindu-Buddhist tradition. The Ulur-ulur tradition is an ecological or agricultural ritual as a way of giving thanks to local communities for water sources and maintaining natural balance (Wicaksono, 2018). This tradition takes place in Campurdarat Tulungagung sub-district and is carried out every month of Selo in the Javanese calendar on *Jum'at Legi* (Pamungkas, 2022). Ulur-ulur comes from the word

Hulu Air; then it becomes Hulus. This is interpreted as an irrigation effort from the source of Lake Buret to the residents' agricultural lands. This tradition comes from the myth of Mbah Jigang Jaya (guardian of Telaga Buret) and the goddesses Sri and Jaka Sedana.

Local people believe that Mbah Jigang Jaya still has genealogy with Islamic Mataram and is a figure who contributed to the formation of Telaga Buret so that its water brings benefits to the community to this day. As an expression of thanks from the people of Campur Darat to Mbah Jigang Jaya, the Ulur-ulur ritual is carried out every year (Hakim, 2020). In contrast to public perception, Cahyono said that Ulur-ulur is a Hindu-Buddhist tradition that originates from the Majapahit era. This tradition is an expression of the community's gratitude for water sources and fertile agricultural land. Of course, this is proven by the discovery of two (two) statues identified as Vishnu and Dewi Sri. The local community believes that the Vishnu statue is Jaka Sedana, while Dewi Sri remains Dewi Sri. Of course, Dewi Sri is a symbol of fertility, so the discovery of this statue on the west side of Telaga Buret confirms that this tradition has existed since the Majapahit era and is agricultural in nature.

The ritual begins with a procession that starts at the house of the Sawo village head. The front row of the procession carries the Jodang, which functions as a place for *sesajen* and bathing of statues. Jodang consists of four pieces as a symbol of the number of villages that follow this tradition. Some of these villages include Sawo, Gamping, Gedangan, and Ngentrong. The second row is filled with bearers of offering equipment, such as: torches, bowls, and wedding clothes for the two statues, etc. The third row is filled with people who bring the necessities for *sesajen*, such as seven kinds of flowers, perfumes, and agricultural products. The last line is followed by traditional elders who will lead the procession and prayers in the Ulur-ulur traditional ritual.

In essence, the ritual in the Ulur-ulur tradition is a tribute to the god Vishnu, whom the people believe is the statue of Jaka Sedana. Vishnu, or the Vaishnava Hindu sect, has existed since the Majapahit era and developed as one of the Hindu religious sects in society. In fact, the Majapahit empire had a Shiva-Vishnu Hinduism, which is known from several remains in Tulungagung, such as turtle and garuda statues in the Pasir cave and several Shiva statues. This means that the ritual of bathing the Jaka Seda statue is a way of honoring the ancestors towards the god Vishnu. The process of bathing the Vishnu statue is also carried out by providing offerings in the form of agricultural products, such as: rice, coconut, candlenuts, shallots, garlic, chilies, nuts, and other agricultural products. Followed by bathing the Dewi Sri statue, followed by prayers by traditional elders.

The ritual continues by placing the *sesajen* into a gold bowl. The *sesajen* contain flowers of seven kinds, perfume, combs, mirrors, etc. These *sesajen* are used to decorate

the two statues after they have been bathed. After being bathed in seven kinds of flowers, the statue was combed and given perfume to pay tribute to Jaka Sedana. During this procession, prayers were also read by traditional elders (read: Kajat), which began with thanksgiving to God for having given lake water and fertile agricultural land (Santoso et al., 2021). The ritual in the Ulur-ulur tradition ends with a prayer to nature to provide goodness, peace, and prosperity to the four villages that take part in the Ulur-ulur procession.

After the closing prayer was read by Kajat, the two statues that had been bathed were shown to the public, who saw the Ulur-ulur procession. The water in the gold bowl as a result of bathing the statue is placed into small containers. This water is then mixed with Lake Buret water as an identity, so that the Lake Buret water gets blessings from the prayers that have been read during the procession. So when the water from Lake Buret becomes a blessing, it will bring prosperity to the people who use the lake water as a means of irrigating their agricultural lands. Seven types of flowers resulting from the process of bathing the statue are also distributed in several parts of the lake. The agricultural products used as sesajen in the Ulur-ulur procession are given to the community to receive blessings from the ritual. Of course, the rituals of the Ulur-ulur tradition are interesting because they have existed since the Majaphait era and exist now. Ulur-ulur as a Hindu-Buddhist tradition can even continue to be implemented today when Islam dominates.

Ulur-ulur Tradition: An Identity

Discourse analysis helps this study see the discourses that dominate in society. The discourse that society needs must, of course be ideal and related to society's needs. If you look at the ideal discourse of the Ulur-ulur tradition, it must be able to accommodate what society needs in accordance with the spirit of the times. Seeing the enthusiasm of the community when implementing the Ulur-ulur tradition shows that this tradition still has high interest (Yohanes, 2018). Several people also saw rituals from the Ulur-ulur tradition. Diki said that he wanted to see the Ulur-ulur tradition because it was a means to refresh his mind. Apart from seeing the ritual procession, according to him, the view of Buret Lake is also an added value for refreshing the mind. By using Foucault's discourse analysis, it can be seen that the ideal discourse that society needs is entertainment. The Ulur-ulur tradition must be entertainment for the community, so that it continues to exist and is popular with the public. Entertainment as an ideal discourse needed by society is manifested in small symbols, such as: cultural tourism, natural tourism, local economy, and identity.

The development of social media in the 4.0 era increasingly shows the Ulur-Ulur tradition as a medium of entertainment in society. The easy dissemination and exchange of information actually makes the Ulur-ulur tradition easier to reach market opportunities. In essence, when people have busy activities in their daily lives,

entertainment is a means of healing for them, which can increase their energy for their activities. According to Foucault, entertainment as a discourse gives rise to several symbols, which can also be understood as small discourses. Some small discourses that society needs are, of course, ideal small discourses, such as: ideal traditions are those that entertain; the ideal tradition is the modern one. So the Ulur-Ulur tradition still exists today, essentially because of its ability to capture entertainment discourse in contemporary society. When the Ulur-ulur tradition sees a change in the dominance of discourse, it immediately creates a new concept for its change. Activists of the Ulur-ulur tradition in Tulungagung should make a new breakthrough by presenting the Ulur-ulur tradition that can be enjoyed by all people. For example, by using social media platforms as a means of dissemination.

Furthermore, the large number of viewers of the Ulur-ulur tradition is an indicator of the success of the local community in reconstructing the Ulur-ulur tradition outside of its comfortable space. If previously the Ulur-ulur tradition was only a ritual as an expression of gratitude, then with the procession of *sesajen* and the art of reog kendang, it has made it more flexible and able to communicate socially more widely. The existence of wider social communication within the community allows the Ulur-ulur tradition to continue to exist because the millennial generation will recognize it as a tradition and entertainment displayed through social media. Of course, the success of the Ulur-ulur tradition in opening up communication space for the younger generation through social media is the ability of the local community to read the changes in discourse that are needed. This can be seen by the highest number of viewers of the Ulur-ulur tradition on the YouTube channel, reaching 3 (three) thousand viewers. This number is much larger than the live audience for this tradition at Telaga Buret.

Seeing the public's need for entertainment, the Ulur-ulur tradition is currently adding to its discourse as a tourist destination. The addition of this discourse is an opportunity for the Ulur-ulur tradition to remain popular and exist. Of course, the development of the Ulur-ulur tradition as a new tourist destination in Tulungagung must pay attention to, among other things, improving the economy, social and culture of the community, religious values, customs, and local views of the community, cultural and environmental sustainability, as well as the sustainability of tourism. With this, tourism attractions will become focused and sustainable (Setioko, 2019). The emergence of tourism discourse for the Ulur-ulur tradition is part of the East Java provincial government's Nawacita program to develop the cultural tourism sector in order to increase the variety of tourism destinations for the community (Gusfif, 2019).

The cultural tourism discourse that has been initiated by the provincial government has certainly been actualized by the Campurdarat community in presenting the Ulur-ulur traditional ritual. The local community already understands that this is a moment for them to revitalize their traditions. Several social media channels have been

prepared by the community as a means of open access for people outside the area to be able to view the live ritual procession. Processions from the Ulur-ulur tradition were also added, not just the ritual of bathing statues and scattering flowers in Lake Buret, but also Tulungagung artistic processions, such as: Reyog Kendang and art performances. To grow the local economy, food and drink traders are also allowed to open stalls to meet the consumption needs of the audience. As a result, the success of developing regional tourism is related to improving the people's economy and regional development (Agus. W. Soehadi, 2011).

Making the Ulur-ulur tradition a tourist destination is part of the regional government's program to use it as regional branding. Of course, this is an opportunity for the Campurdarat people to better care for the traditions passed down by their ancestors. The regional government's efforts actually want to make the Ulur-ulur tradition not only a tourist destination, but also the identity of the Tulungagung community as a whole. The implication of this goal is the participation of local governments in preserving the Ulur-ulur tradition. Several times when the Ulur-ulur tradition was held, regional officials, from regents to village heads, participated in the tradition. Another proof of seriousness from the regional government is, of course, inviting national figures, such as: Kofifah Indar Parawansa, to participate in the Ulur-ulur tradition. Of course, inviting national figures is a way to introduce the Ulur-ulur tradition, with the hope that these national figures will act as a medium to inform the wider community.

Furthermore, to further increase the popularity and identity of the Ulur-ulur tradition as part of Tulungagung and Indonesia, the regional government submitted it as an intangible cultural heritage to UNESCO. This effort was successfully carried out by making the Ulur-ulur tradition an intangible cultural heritage of Indonesia. This certainly makes the Ulur-ulur tradition even more existing, because all Indonesians must preserve it (Tulungagung, 2022). As a result, every year the Ulur-ulur tradition procession continues to grow. Visitors not only come from Tulungagung, but also from several other districts, such as: Trenggalek, Blitar, Kediri, Malang, Ponorogo, Pacitan, and Nganjuk. Several regional officials are also increasingly regularly participating in the Ulur-ulur tradition. The people of Tulungagung are increasingly aware that the Ulur-ulur tradition is part of Tulungagung culture.

Tolerance and Negotiation in the Ulur-ulur Tradition

Several explanations state that the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition is due to its success in reading discourses that dominate in every era. If we analyze it more deeply, the reading of the discourse will fail if the local community does not have a sense of tolerance. Different from other traditions in Tulungagung, such as *Manten Kucing*, which raises problems in society, especially by the MUI (Pitakasari, 2010). So

the Ulur-ulur tradition does not cause any problems at all in society, especially Campurdarat. By looking at statistical data for 2018, around 25,500 residents of Campurdarat subdistrict are Muslim, and only 92 people have religions other than Islam. This data shows the dominance of Islam in the religious context of the population in Campurdarat sub-district. The great dominance of Islam has in fact given rise to tolerance, not friction, in society.

There are several reasons why tolerance developed and became a big factor in the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition. According to Setiyono, chairman of the Sendang Tirto community, the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition is because people are aware that this tradition is an ancestral heritage that has many positive values. Also as thanksgiving to nature, which has preserved nature. According to him, these positive values continue to develop following changing times, such as: tourism and economic value for increasing local income, the value of education because it teaches community mutual cooperation, and the value of awareness of local culture for the younger generation. Because by maintaining traditions and culture, we will be able to filter out ethical degradation as a negative impact of globalization (Suryono, 2008).

Furthermore, the tolerance of the Campurdarat people, who are Muslim, towards the Ulur-ulur tradition is because the Ulur-ulur tradition is an intangible cultural heritage from UNESCO. As a result, the Ulur-ulur tradition was elevated to Tulungagung's national identity. Of course, this is in accordance with the discourse that is developing in society regarding radicalism. So the Campurdarat community, which is inherently tolerant, adds to the discourse of the Ulur-ulur tradition, which is a Hindu-Buddhist tradition, with a message of nationality, unity, and oneness. One of the reasons for the emergence of this discourse is also due to the influx of popular culture from abroad. This culture manifests itself in songs, films, and products, making the people, especially Tulungagung, afraid of the loss of national and local identity.

One response to the need to place the national spirit above division is to prioritize tolerance of the Campurdarat Islamic community over the Ulur-ulur tradition. The Ulur-ulur tradition is also made more flexible, for example by presenting dances from various regions in Indonesia, before the ritual procession is carried out. The gambyong dance and traditional clothing procession are the opening performances in this tradition. Syncretic prayers can also be heard being recited, which is a sign of society's tolerance. To collaborate with pupils and students in carrying out the procession as a form of revitalization through cultural inheritance towards the sustainable Ulur-ulur tradition.

The existence of social tolerance has been around for a long time, this can be actualized in the form of negotiations between the Ulur-ulur tradition and the newly introduced Islam, both as a religion and culture. If you analyze some of the *sesajen* as

part of the Ulur-ulur tradition more deeply, you will find out what the form of these negotiations are. The form of negotiation can be found in jenang sepuh (jenang tua) in the form of food made from sticky rice which is addressed to an older entity, in this case Allah SWT as an expression of gratitude. Next is sekul suci ulam sari in the form of tumpeng rice with one chicken. Generally, sekul suci ulam sari is a typical Javanese food when celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Specifically, sekul suci ulam sari is addressed to the prophet Muhammad SAW, his wife, children and four companions. Prayer for sekul suci ulam sari means that the surrounding community will be kept away from danger. Next is cok bakal or tampah which contains kitchen spices, such as: tobacco, order, coconut, injet, chili, garlic, shallots, dadap leaves, rice, eggs, red jenang, white jenang, candlenut flowers, money, etc. Prayers for cok bakal be addressed to Sheikh Subakir as a figure of Islamization in Java, Nini Budho-Kaki Budho, Nini Kawak-Kaki Kawak who are the embodiment of entities outside of Islam. In general, cok bakal mean blessings and a symbol of getting rid of difficulties (Margiyono et al., 2023).

Another form of negotiation in sesajen is jajan manca warni songo, or nine-colored snacks, in the form of tubers of different colors brought by each villager. Prayers for the colorful Songo snacks were addressed to Mbah Jigang Jaya, the ancestor who started the Ulur-ulur tradition. The purpose of *sesajen* jajan manca warni songo is, of course, to ask for safety when using the water in Telaga Buret. Another negotiation in sesajen is sekul punar (yellow rice) and sekul brok (white rice). Sekul punar is intended for Jaka Sedana and Dewi Sri, while sekul brok is for the guardian of Telaga Buret and the four villages. The aim is to ask for blessings, safety, and fertility of agricultural land from the residents of the four villages. Lastly, there is jenang sengkala, which is made from white and brown red rice. Prayers for Jenang Sengkala are addressed to the residents of the four villages, the regent, and regional officials. The purpose of the prayer, or kajat, is to ensure that the residents of the four villages, the regent, and regional officials are provided with safety and health.

CONCLUSION

The use of Foucault's discourse analysis is very helpful in explaining why the Ulur-ulur tradition has had a long life. Of course, the main factor is the tolerance of the local community, which is dominated by Islam. When society has high tolerance, society's mindset becomes more open to changes and developments over time. An open mindset creates synergy between society and the preservation of ancestral traditions, such as Ulur-ulur. This sense of tolerance, open mindset, and synergy enabled the Ulur-ulur community and tradition to be open and see the discourse that dominated at that time. The ability to read dominant discourse means that this art is always accepted by the people of Tulungagung. The result of his ability to read discourse is an increase in the social function of the Ulur-ulur tradition. The increasing social function of the Ulur-ulur tradition can be seen from the varied functions of this tradition in society. The

Ulur-ulur tradition has gone from being just an agricultural ritual to becoming a medium of entertainment for the community, a local tourism facility, and a regional identity.

The success of the Ulur-ulur tradition in reading the discourse that dominates society means that this tradition can be labeled as an adaptive art. Adaptive art is certainly for society as art that is able to adapt itself to changing times. At the final point, the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition carried out by the people of the villages of Ngentrong, Sawo, Gamping, and Gedangan shows the high level of Islamic tolerance towards ancestral culture. On the other hand, the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition also shows the tradition's ability to negotiate changing times. As a result, the existence of the Ulur-ulur tradition is essentially related to the tolerance of the Tulungagung people and the ability of the Ulur-ulur tradition to negotiate with the times.

Overall, there are three conclusions in this article: first, that the Ulur-Ulur tradition still uses equipment like the Hindu-Buddhist period. This can be seen in the prayers, offerings, and even the procession in the tradition. Second, the sustainability of the Ulur-Ulur tradition is due to the local community and local government making it a local identity of ancestral heritage that must be preserved. Third, the sustainability of the Ulur-Ulur tradition is also due to the tolerance of the local community towards the Hindu-Buddhist tradition, even though the majority of them are Muslim. In the future, this research will try to take a tourism perspective to see other factors in the sustainability of the Ulur-Ulur tradition.

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