



The Land and Water Ritual in Toyomarto Singasari Malang: Genealogy and Social Praxis

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Abstract. This article discusses genealogy and social praxis and the possibility of discourse contestation in the water ritual of indigenous people in Toyomarto, Singasari of Malang Regency. This ritual merges previous rituals practiced in each hamlet called the water ritual, then centered in a cultural space at the end of rituals with the procession of the unification of land and water. This article does not intend to describe the ritual procession. However, this study traces the episteme of traditional rituals through discursive phenomenon and its constitution in social life praxis. This study compares Foucault's and Bourdieu's ideas about genealogy, discourse, and social praxis. In this context, indigenous peoples' habitus and cultural capital cause their social praxis, which was initially formed by discursive contestation between ancestors and today's society. The ritual is a manifestation of indigenous peoples based on their awareness of collecting traditional processes within geographical boundaries, but culturally, these rituals have similarities. The habitus of the Toyomarto people signifies water as the source of life and sustains them. The land becomes a new element philosophically as their life foundation. While discursively, Toyomarto people interpret 'land' and 'water' as in-between space that brings them as indigenous and village (administrative position) communities. The land and water ritual is a new cultural performance facing social, cultural, and geographical changes: it is a response to cultural changes that tend to be ceremonial (symbolic), the dynamics of village political movements, regional expansion, and the possibility of outside political or cultural penetration.

Keywords: Episteme, Genealogy, Social praxis, Ritual, Toyomarto indigenous people.

1 Introduction

So far, many studies have focused on traditional rituals in Java based on their meaning, value, and function to society. Java is a cultural location that researchers often choose. Some of the results of studies, such as Mulder's *Mistisisme Jawa* [1], Geertz's latest version of *Agama Jawa: Abangan, Santri, Priyayi, dan Kebudayaan Jawa* [2], Wahyana's *Sajen & Ritual Jawa* [3], Anoe-grajekti et al. *Ritual Agraris dan Bahari* [4], and other studies that are not mentioned provide a significant role in viewing Javanese rituals or traditions from various perspectives. The tendency of previous studies to

show traditional rituals structurally and functionally [5][6][7][8] and researchers such as Jonge [9], Brakel [10], Humaeni [11], and Saputra [12], who explore particular of the elements in a traditional ritual.

Geertz [13] has long previously shown a new direction in researching customary rituals through the possibilities of social change. Geertz tends to discuss the slametan in the broad contextualization of his earlier writings. None of these studies have discussed the discourse of traditional rituals from the episteme and genealogy of a tradition ritual to become a social praxis of society. For example, how the Javanese people who live around the mountain respond to the mountain; how coastal people respond to the sea; how hill people respond to hills; how they live in nature as part of their lives.

A tradition is formed by a collective memory convened by the local community. In addition, traditional rituals from time to time are not always static. Many possibilities cause traditional rituals to be contested with other discursive events. It moves based on how indigenous people perceive traditions based on their era. It faces the possibility of penetrations from outside cultures. He deals with the discourses that cover him, such as religious, economic, and political discourses, up to the point that the area undergoes geographical expansion following its administrative rules (as happened to the Tengger Tribe).

This article focuses on the movement of episteme and genealogies of traditional rituals to become the social praxis of society today. The cultural location of this research is Toyomarto Village in Singasari Malang Regency. Toyomarto is geographically on the slopes of Mount Arjuna. The existence of Toyomarto Village is surrounded by seven springs that direct the perception of people about the village's toponymy. The discovery of springs, especially at Sumberawan, one of the hamlets in Toyomarto, had existed before the Singasari Kingdom. This discovery is based on the dakon stones marker of the existence of Brahmin. Likewise, Ngujung Hamlet (Hujung) is estimated to exist in the 9th to 10th centuries. Toyomarto has a strategic location close to the historical heritage of Sumberawan Temple so that cultural heritage can still be tracked. Toyomarto also has excellent natural potential such as Wonosari Tea Plantation, The Cobek Industry, and The Kelompen (Sepon) Sandal Industry.

The Toyomarto people respond to water as water has become part of their life, both as a source of life and livelihood. It means that water has a function and economic value for them. The water ritual is held annually by each hamlet in Toyomarto. The hamlet that has the most influence on the existence of the ruwatan is the hamlet of Sumberawan. This hamlet has a special ritual called Tirta Amertasari on 1 Suro. Historically, Toyomarto has three hamlets: Bodean, Ngujung, and Sumberawan. Toyomarto Village currently is divided into seven hamlets: Bodean, Glatik, Wonosari, Ngujung, Sumberawan, Petungwulung, Sumberawan Putuk, and Boro Glatik villages. Toyomarto has ten springs. These are Kalimangun, Lombok Gambir, Sumberawan, Tembung, Kali Bulu Gedhe, Kali Jasemi, Kali Gento, Belik, Pentungan, and Pentungan Berek.

The expansion of the region is also not without reason. This complexity shows that Toyomarto Village is filled with a wealth of history and folklore stories developed in the community. The land and water ritual shows that there needs to be a unification of rituals at the end of the traditional procession to unite leaders and citizens as indige-

nous people (de jure) and villagers (de facto). It is a traditional community movement to revitalize traditional rituals that previously lost their sacredness. Based on the ongoing cultural dynamics, this article draws a common thread from ritual genealogy to social praxis. This paper seeks to trace historical traces to see the movement of the ritual episteme in Toyomarto village. Episteme is a fundamental structure that underlies the whole mindset of society in an era [14]. It is another term for Foucault's knowledge. This episteme controls how we perceive and understand reality without realizing it. Episteme only applies at one time. Thus Foucault's discourse cannot be imagined easily.

Storey explained that discourse is a means by which institutions use to power through definition and exclusion, clarity, and legitimacy. The point is that the discourse has a way of defining what might be said about specific topics. The discursive formation consists of a collection of unwritten rules and shared assumptions that regulate what can be written, thought, and followed up in specific fields [15]. Foucault offers two analytical methods called critical analysis and genealogy analysis to see the production of discourse in certain times. The critical analysis relies on the reversal principle, such as revealing forms of exclusion, restrictions, and appropriation related to how discourse is formed, responding to what needs, how they are modified and replaced, what limits they use effectively, and what is avoided [16].

The researcher then mapped the possibility of discursive events and battles that occurred outside to form a social praxis with a new cultural performance: the unification of 'land' and 'water.' Social praxis cannot be separated from the capital and habitus of the Toyomarto indigenous people in reflecting these two elements. Bourdieu explains that practice results from the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Practice is not determined objectively and is not a product of free will but by reflecting on the dialectic between structure and the way people construct social reality [17]. This reflective action is more accurately referred to as social praxis. Practice is also understood as a result of the dialectic between habitus and arena. Habits are Bourdieu's idea to explain the cognitive structure of humans related to the social world. People are equipped with schemes for perceiving, understanding, appreciating, and evaluating the social world [18]. Thus, this research is based on these two theoretical frameworks to reveal the genealogy and social praxis of land and water rituals in Toyomarto.

2 Method

Research "The Land and Water Ritual in Toyomarto Singasari Malang: Genealogy and Social Praxis" uses qualitative methods. The qualitative method is a research procedure that produces descriptive. Qualitative data are not in the form of numbers but in the form of statements regarding the content, nature, characteristics, circumstances, symptoms, or statements regarding the relationships between one thing and another, whether in the form of physical objects, behavior patterns, ideas, values, norms, or events that occur in society [19]. This method is also understood to explore and understand the meaning that several individuals or groups of people ascribe to

social and humanitarian problems. So far, many studies have focused on traditional rituals in Java based on their meaning, value, and function to society. Java is a cultural location that researchers often choose.

The object of this research is the traditional land and water ritual in Toyomarto Village, Singasari District, Malang Regency, right on the slopes of Mount Arjuna. The research subjects are cultural actors, including traditional leaders, traditional nurses (local adherents), and the general public. Data collection is done in three ways—first, field studies in the form of observations. Researchers seek to obtain information directly by conducting a direct review of the research location. Field studies are also helpful for observing various cultural activities carried out by the community. Second, field studies with interviews with several sources. The resource persons are traditional leaders and cultural actors. Interviews with several local cultural experts who have expertise in Malang culture are the next step to justify the results of observations in the field. Third, literature study by collecting and studying written sources related to the problems studied.

3 Finding And Discussion

3.1 The Genealogy of *Ruwat Air*: *The Episteme* and Discourse Contestation

The ritual of *ruwat air* is a local tradition that characterizes several regional characters in East Java, especially on the mountain slopes. The area geographically has a water source (*petirtaan*) and close to historical places from the kingdom in the past (temples). Toyomarto is an area that has abundant water sources with seven springs. This village is located right on the slopes of Arjuna Mountain. So, the people there appreciate water as a source of life and sustaining them. The researcher often uses this two term to show the function of water as a 'necessity' of life and economic value.

The symbiotic relationship between rural communities and nature leads them to be closely related to the Balinese religion, which upholds nature as a site [20]. Local people live the nature that has lived them by performing traditional ceremonies or rituals for reasonable goals and hopes for the future. That manifests how people who live on a mountain's slopes respond to water, how mountain people respond to mountains, how maritime people respond to the sea, how people who live on the hill respond to hills, and others. Traditional rituals are functionally a form of gratitude for the Javanese people for their abundance of fortune. Javanese people believe in power outside of themselves that helps facilitate their lives, including economic activities. Thus the belief system of animism and dynamism cannot be taken from their lives. Most Javanese people greatly respect their ancestors and supernatural powers beyond their knowledge.

This article will not discuss in detail about this issue. Researchers focus on the historical traces of the Toyomarto people so that they believe in and living 'water.' Foucault's genealogy provides a new alternative to dismantling assumptions about value. Foucault rejects the traditional view, which assumes that values have absolute truth and are independent of human intervention. According to Foucault, there is no final truth. A civilization 'exists' because there is a power that sustains it. Meanwhile, pow-

er is authority for those who have knowledge. This stage of civilization is an episteme area. Episteme questions anything or everything that lies beneath the surface. Genealogy operates in detail and in detail on historical archives obtained. Therefore, to reveal the genealogy of ruwat air, it is necessary to trace history through episteme and the discourses that form around it.

The land and water ritual is a form of community response initiated by the adat community or team of nine to re-cultivate the rituals in the village of Toyomarto. Socio-cultural movements make the ritual lose its sacredness because it is only practiced as entertainment. This issue shows a change from the 'sacred' to profanity. It is said that this phenomenon has occurred in the last five years, so there is awareness from the indigenous peoples represented by the team of nine to re-cultivating the ritual. The land and water ritual is a new form that was previously only a water ritual. 'Land' in this context becomes a new entity representing their territorial development, which is determined by traditional similarities and administrative records.

There are two main points to trace the episteme of the Toyomarto community. These are geographical and cultural. As people living on the slopes of Mount Arjuna, their natural thought was shaped by legends, myths, and tales that developed there. The Toyomarto people's mindset is undoubtedly shaped by who the village's ancestors are (sing mbawurekso or mbabat deso), the village's origin, myths, and fairy tales about danyang (village God), and their ancestors. These aspects will help trace the historical traces behind the emergence of land and water rituals. Toyomarto has a solid historical background because it is regionally part of the Singasari kingdom. In fact, there are stories showing that Sumberawan Village was once part of Kasurangganan [21]. Kasurangganan is one of the three places Hayam Wuruk visited during his Nawatirta (ancestral pilgrimage). It is said that Hayam Wuruk built the Sumberawan temple. This story shows that Sumberawan existed long before the existence of the Singasari kingdom [22].

Sukmawan explained that the people who live on the slopes of Arjuna have the power of oral traditions. The sub-culture of the people of the Arjuna slopes is the majority of the East Javanese people of the Arek ethnicity and a small part of the Pandalungan ethnicity. They are set against a mighty agricultural crocodile. The religious-cultural of the slopes of Mount Arjuna community are adherents of Javanese-Islam (Kejawen Islam), the monism-spiritual system (the farmer religion life), Shari'a Islam (Islam Sarengat), and local beliefs (one of which is the Esa Tunggal association) [23]. Every year, the people of the slopes of Mount Arjuna carry out village clean-ups right in the Suro month of the Javanese calendar, as Javanese people usually do. Bersih Desa is a form of slametan which is actualized in two rituals, namely ruwat desa and ruwat air, as both geographical and economical.

The cult of several things on the slopes of Mount Arjuna has a significant role. For example, through oral literature that developed there, including the legend of Ratawu Tampuono, the Legend of Eyang Semar dan Sepilar, the Legend of Makuto Romo, the Legend of Patuk Watu Kursi, the Legend of Sumberawan, the Legend of the Watu Tambak, the Myth of Betara Guru, the Myth of Antaboga, the Myth of the Dieng Market and the Three Caves at the Peak, the myth the stone cupboard and Dewi Madrim, the mythical statue of Eyang Semar, and fairy tales, such as Watu Ulo, Kura-

kura dan Rasiyan, Kancil dan Macan, Kancil dan Monyet, and Burung Engkuk dan Luwak. Folklore that developed in the Toyomarto community is the story of Buyut Sadirah from Pasuruan (Glatik), the story of a Dutch plantation worker settlement (Wonosari), the story of Buyut Kodok and the taboo myth of segoro getih (Petung Wulung), the story of Mbah Tosari, Mbah Gimbal, and the myth of peteran urung-urung (Ngujung), the story of Mbah Sino Barong or Macan Kombang (Bodean), the story of a wanderer looking for a place to live (Kampung Sumberawan Putuk and Boro Glatik), and the story of Nawatirta Hayam Wuruk (Sumberawan).

To simplify the description of episteme, Foucault reveals the similarities between his 'episteme' and Thomas Kuhn's 'paradigm' idea. The difference is that while a paradigm is an all-embracing collection of beliefs and assumptions that results in the organization of a worldview and scientific practice, episteme is not confined to science and provides the basis for various discourses [24]. The episteme refers to the 'epistemological unconscious' of an era. Foucault explains that in any given culture and at any given moment, only one episteme continually defines the possible conditions of all knowledge, whether expressed in theory or tacitly invested in practice [14]. Foucault defines episteme as an 'apparatus' that enables the separation, not of right from wrong, but of what is possible from what may not be characterized as scientific [25].

How the people of Toyomarto respond to water as part of their life is to see how they respect the water. The Toyomarto people has carried out the traditional ritual of ruwat air, only it is held in a particular way by each hamlet. The Tirta Amertasari ritual in Sumberawan is more widely known because of its strong cultural history. It is, of course, supported by the existence of springs in the Sumberawan Temple area. The existence of this historical place makes the sacredness of water trusted by people even though in other hamlets, the ritual of ruwat air is also carried out. In 2022, the 37th ritual implementation by the Sumberawan community will be counted. It means that 1985 was the beginning of the ritual held by the community.

However, in recent years, rituals have experienced a shift in cultural practice from what was originally sacred to something profane. Why can it happen? The main suspicion is, of course, caused by the possibility of political or cultural penetration from outside. Ritual becomes something festivalistic, ceremonial, and profane. The villagers prefer to call it a carnival rather than a ritual. These possibilities often occur in indigenous peoples in Indonesia because of the tendency for rituals to be only 'spectacle' or 'entertainment.' A kind of celebration to commemorate certain crucial moments. There is no sacred appreciation so this phenomenon has the potential to be practiced from generation to generation. The awareness of the indigenous community in 2022 tries to reclaim this sacredness by organizing the ruwat tanah-air ritual. Apart from functioning as ecological awareness, this ritual is a moment for people to gather to appreciate water as part of their lives.

The land and water ritual certainly shake the ritual concentration known so far in Sumberawan. The Toyomarto community is a unit that, in particular, does occupy not only Sumberawan but also other hamlets. Therefore, the land and water ritual is a peripheral movement that should not be centered on one sub-region. This concentration is undoubtedly influenced by the solid historical legitimacy of the Sumberawan hamlet. Slametan "Grama Tirta Cara" answers various cultural challenges experi-

enced by Toyomarto Village, ranging from village political upheaval to cultural and political penetration from the outside. Pranata-Praja [26] calls this ritual a peripheral movement to contribute a critical “other voice” to the central government. Therefore, conversations at the reality stage can broadly impact survival, human relations, community teaching, learning, and simple but meaningful village ways.

The issue shows that foreign things outside of it influence the discourse on society. Profane culture occurs because of such outside solid penetration. The peripheral movement referred to by Praja is a form of shaking over the power of the local government, which lacks attention to traditional rituals. What is felt by the community is the loss of their 'cara berdesa' (way to be a villagers). Toyomarto, as a cultural-historical legacy of the Singasari Kingdom, should be able to maintain its characteristics as a traditional village. However, this will go through a long process considering the location of Toyomarto, which has moved towards the urban culture. Toyomarto, although geographically, is on the slopes of Mount Arjuno, its existence is also not far from the city of Malang, which has been identified as urban culture. In addition, there is difficulty in uncovering the purity of customs in the village because religious syncretism has entered almost all the traditional traditions of Indonesians.

This phenomenon is fairness as a marker of age. Modernity has brought humans into the non-single discourse and contestation. The cultural movement in Toyomarto developed along with its social change. If we sort the movement of the cultural episteme in Toyomarto Village, each round has a decision. Sumberawan, Ngujung, and Bodean are thought to have existed before Toyomarto existed. All three still maintain historical sources to examine their lives. Sumberawan became a major civilization because of physical and historical evidence, Sumberawan Temple. Another thing that makes it *legitimised* is the two sources of springs located in the temple region. In addition, the capital of the historical story about the journey of Hayam Wuruk's *Nawatirta* contained in *Nagarakertagama* (Rhym: 35) legitimized the power of Sumberawan as the center of civilization worship and evidence at that time. Therefore, in its current praxis, the *Tirta Amertasari* ritual is a moment that is considered sacred because of the power and legitimacy of history that shapes it.

While Ngujung Hamlet is strengthened by discovering ceremony *dakon* stones. The *dakon* is a marker of the existence of Brahmin, so Ngujung Hamlet is estimated to have existed from the 9th to 10th century. Bodean Hamlet existed before the 1900s was strengthened by the story of Mbah Singo Barong (Macan Kumbang), who was ancestor of the village (sing mbabat alas). The community's myth about Mbah Singo Barong symbolizes the King of Forest. It is said that the story when mbabat alas, a tiger, had accompanied Mbah Singo. The area is believed to be used by kings as a center of royal government in ancient times. In its development, Bodean Hamlet became the main center of the spread of Islam in 1923 by the *ulama* from Kudus, Central Java. These three hamlets were then united by the Village Stakeholders (Village Heads) at that time: Mbah Umar (Bodean), Ki Buyut Poninten followed by Ki Buyut Manab (Ngujung), and Ki Buyut Saleko who was replaced by Mbah Tosari (Sumberawan). This phenomenon then made the story of the Toyomarto hamlets attached to the elders who led the hamlet.

Based on the description above, the civilization in Toyomarto experienced a very complex development, so the traditional rituals in the village continued to look for the right formula following the historical data they had. The existence of village leaders became central to triggering public consciousness in search of new elements to symbolize them. They, Tim Sembilan, the formulating of culture chooses land as a new element to symbolizes the existence of Toyomarto Village. Land and water are a marker that Toyomarto Village is formed from complex history involving historical data on the history of the kingdom of the past and the history of the development of the village geographically. Thus, land and water rituals indicate that the Toyomarto civilization is at a reasonably complex point dealing with village political dynamics, regional expansion, cultural changes towards ceremonial-symbolics, the entry of cultural and political penetration from the outside, and its existence is close to urban culture from Malang City itself.

3.2 Cultural Capital and Community Habitus

Capital is an accumulation of sources of power and power that is used to map relationships in society [27]. The capital owned by the Toyomarto people is cultural and symbolic capital to reshape their traditional sacredness. Sumberawan Temple makes an excellent contribution to the cultural capital of society. The origin of Toyomarto has physical evidence of historical heritage so that it can legitimize their existence as part of the royal territory at that time. In its development, part of the Toyomarto village, namely the Wonosari hamlet, also has a pre-independence history, which is physically proven by the existence of a Wonosari tea garden. At least their historical line did not disappear even though various discursive phenomena influenced the formation of a new culture.

This capital can develop as their symbolic capital to strengthen the land and water traditional rituals. The historical complexity of Toyomarto became a capital system to build a civilization as an indigenous people. Historical data makes it easier to trace back their traditional identity so that historical sources can still be referenced in the process of forming land and water rituals. The cultural and symbolic capital of the Toyomarto people is inherently mutually exclusive. For example, the existence of ten springs indicates that the water fully lived in the life and cultural system of the community symbolically has a form. Folk stories, both legends and myths from the slopes of Mount Arjuna and local stories of Toyomarto, are still well documented and remembered by the community. That is, something that can reduce the sacredness of adat is external power.

The land and water ritual process, which was held on 1 Suro and coincided with the general calendar on August 27, 2022, underwent a very long process. Tim Sembilan formulated the ritual by tracking empirical evidence to represent the village of Toyomarto, such as symbols of water, endemic plants, traditional elements, documentaries, names of elders, and pulling the red thread of local stories between hamlets so that the closest truth symbol is obtained. There is no absolute truth in this process because, apart from the discovery of archaeological traces, it is related to the people's oral stories. The written story can be ascertained starting from an oral story. Here the

researcher does not negate the oral stories that developed in the community. The truth has its own version at some point in time. Various discursive phenomena and historical contexts also confront the collective memory and knowledge of the community at that time.

Community relations that were initially excluded by the practice of particular traditional rituals can melt and merge into land and water rituals so that people have the same feeling of ownership of Toyomarto. This feeling embodies the village way of the Toyomarto community [26]. The cultural and symbolic capital in the village of Toyomarto displays a complete specificity and a unique wholeness. Why? The seven hamlets have characteristics that represent Toyomarto's potential. Bodean-Puthuk hamlet has hills, so the toponym of puthuk is the Sanskrit word for hills. Bodean-Puthuk also has a spring in Lombok Gambir, which functions as a place for farmers to clean themselves. Bodean-Krajan or Bodean-Rojo hamlet is the toponym of the kingdom (krajan) and king (rojo). It is said that the government center of Toyomarto Village is in the hamlet and has never moved. Bodean-Krajan is also a place for spreading Islam because there is a mosque built around 1923. Bodean-Rojo has a Kalimangun spring, a source of drinking water, and land drainage (about 600 houses have water).

Glatik Hamlet has actors of the cultural arts. Their ancestor, Buyut Sadira, comes from Glatik Pasuruan. The community trusts Buyut Sadira as Dhanyang, who lives in the Pentungan Sari. Sari clubs are now swimming pool tourist spots. Wonosari Hamlet is the source and center of Toyomarto's economy because there is a tea plantation; it is said to have been a part of Dutch power. Ngujung and Sumberawan Hamlet became the historical capital for the Toyomarto community. If Bodean is the center of the village governance (present), Ngujung and Sumberawan become past historical places. Ngujung Hamlet is one of the oldest hamlets before Singasari proved to be told in the Book of Negarakartagama. Sumberawan became the place of the seven places to be intended on the journey of Nawatirta Hayamwuruk. The Sumberawan spring is the most famous source in Toyomarto for side-by-side with the temple.

Petungwulung Hamlet has the most springs, namely the tembung, Gedhe Bulu Kali, Kali Jasemi, and Gento Kali springs. Petungwulung Hamlet has strong folklore than other hamlets. Petungwulung community forbids their children from marrying residents of one hamlet, sealing that they believed in Mbah Kodok's house to eliminate the danger. Two villages are remotely located by the Sumberawan springs, namely Sumberawan Putuk and Boro Glatik Village (where people wander). A few people inhabit these two places because of their remote places. The existence of the seven hamlets is a capital owned by Toyomarto. Each hamlet has its characteristics that complement the integrity of Toyomarto. Mapping the cultural potential can develop the culture and potential of the Toyomarto region.

Traditional rituals question their aesthetic existence and survival in the currents and penetration of culture or politics from outside. How do traditional rituals still 'exist' as a villagers' way of living'. Traditional rituals can be maintained by internalizing socio-cultural values in the community. Habitus in a society is the result of long-lasting collective life. Habitus can last a long time but can change at any time. The people of Toyomarto have lived with water as a part of their life for 37 years de facto

through ritual practices, but de jure, it has been a part for 11 centuries (about 1117 years) since the hamlets of Sumberawan and Ngujung were discovered. Their appreciation of water becomes an ingrained daily habitus carried out repeatedly through commemorating traditional rituals.

The habitus of the Toyomarto people still characterizes the same pattern, although new elements are added to the traditional rituals. The habits of indigenous peoples are strengthened by folklore and folklore that develops. Oral literature in rural communities is not an easy thing to pass. Rural communities tend to hold firmly to oral traditions and myths. One form of protection for the objects they live in is by sacrificing. Mystification is a process of perpetuating ancestral power, so social change is not easily eroded. Social change is standard, but there are strategies that the Toyomarto community can take. In the name of religion and politics, fanaticism is usually a stumbling block for indigenous peoples. Therefore, the habitus of the community as indigenous peoples should be significant.

Likewise, the village government needs to seek negotiations to give more space to traditional rituals. Traditional rituals continue to run and are not burdened with burdensome administrative matters. It can be a gap for indigenous peoples, so customary issues must be distinguished from administrative issues. These efforts prevent the emergence of fanaticism hiding behind politics. If these two things cannot be prevented, between religious and political fanaticism, the practice of local traditions among indigenous people will be reduced. Political elements can shake the power of adat. It means the traditional rituals are vulnerable to extinction because they are in the vortex of politics and religious fanaticism.

Toyomarto people's habitus, at least they have experienced water first. The land element becomes a new performance that one day will be inherent in their life and social praxis. A habitus requires a repeating pattern. If there is no pattern, it cannot be said to be a habitus. However, what is new about the land and water ritual is its performance so that people still see water as the main element. This ritual is also based on old stories traced and re-researched to strengthen cultural capital. With that, the community also launched udeng with a typical Toyomarto motif. Water is manifested in objects that someday become archaeological traces in the future. In addition to the udeng motif, the community has opened a swimming pool tour where the water flows directly from the batten sari spring. The community is also still trying to find endemic plants to strengthen the existence of Toyomarto both historically, culturally, and geographically.

3.3 From 'Air' (water) to 'Tanah-Air' (land and water): The New Cultural Performance

In Sijil Manunggal Toyomarto¹ stated that “Kami haturkan dan persembahkan kepada masyarakat untuk bakti kami sebagai anak kepada ayah langit dan ibu bumi. Langit yang mengucurkan (air) dan bumi yang menyuburkan” (We offer and dedicate to the community for our service as children to the father of heaven and mother of the earth.

¹ the document to determine the anniversary of Toyomarto Village.

The sky pours out (water) and the earth fertilizes) and tim sembilan as the formulator and cultural guardian agreed “(3) memperkuat hubungan baik antar masyarakat dengan selalu mengedepankan Musyawarah, Gotong Royong, dan Manunggal; (4) senantiasa merawat ingatan masa lalu, peninggalan leluhur, dan memperjuangkan cita-cita luhur; dan (5) menjaga keseimbangan semesta, memakmurkan tanah (bumi) dengan terus menanam, menjaga kelestarian air sebagai kekayaan sumber daya alam” ((3) to strengthen good relations between communities by always prioritizing Deliberation, Mutual Cooperation, and Manunggal; (4) always take care of memories, ancestral heritage, and fight for noble ideals; and (5) maintaining the balance of the universe, prospering the land (earth) by continuing to plant, preserving water as a wealth of natural resources) [28].

The document is the result of the Tim Sembilan formulation as a statement form on the anniversary determination of Toyomarto Village. The land and water ritual is not a cultural change but a new cultural performance. So the addition is not in the form of addition but more towards syncretism and deculturation. The addition adds elements of the old culture to the new culture so that structural changes appear or not at all. Syncretism and deculturation are the most appropriate term. It is because there is a combination of elements without leaving their respective identities in forming a new culture (syncretic) and new cultural elements grow to meet new needs due to changes in the situation (deculture) [29].

This deculturation does not imitate the unification of land and water in IKN recently. The Toyomarto people have their performance because they live in hilly areas with fertile fields and agricultural land. The land here does not refer to 'homeland' but is interpreted as 'land,' which gives them a foothold in life and sustains them. The form of cultural syncretism in traditional rituals is a combination of traditional elements, modernity, and specific religious systems. Most of the Toyomarto people understand traditional Islam, and in practice, the rituals are lived as a culture according to their beliefs. The methods used reflect the traditions spread by Walisongo. This gave birth to an understanding called traditional Islam. This society usually adheres to Javanese traditions such as Javanese calendar calculations, taboos, myths, and some cultural practices and beliefs as Javanese.

The syncretistic situation is not the potential claims of the surviving constitutive elements. Syncretism must be distinguished both from mixtures and from synthesis. Synthesis tends to imply that a new conclusion is reached out of various possibilities. A syncretic situation contains many possibilities in a coherent tension. The syncretic situation in history or the current state of religion is not a mixture of the two. Syncretism still considers a purity of tradition. The syncretic pressure point is a combination, not mixing or synthesis. The combination indicates an in-between space to accommodate both without reducing the old and exaggerating the new [30].

The space is fluid and not final; as Foucault explains, nothing is truly final. The earth-water element is a representation of evidence of a new civilization along with the knowledge possessed by humans. If the traditional view places value as the final truth, in this postmodern context, values have been dismantled to obtain new alternatives and possibilities. The ritual of land and water becomes a new cultural performance because there are continuous efforts by the tim sembilan (local associa-

tion/cultural formulator) to find the most identical or nearly identical about their culture.

The old episteme deals with new discourses, especially the emergence of public awareness of the shift in traditional rituals towards festivals. This consciousness trigger people to continue to find out through research on primary or secondary sources, from historical archives, oral stories, and tracing archaeological traces around the village. Knowledge of the accumulated data becomes the capital to legitimize the new form. Soil and water rituals cannot be used as a benchmark for the habitus of the Toyomarto community. However, as explained, this ritual is a form of syncretism and deculturation that does not reduce, ridicule, or reject the old rituals. This ritual is a form of the final process as an effort to re-unite and re-cult the time-honored traditions of the Toyomarto people.

The land and water ritual is a new cultural performance for the Toyomarto indigenous people facing social, cultural, and geographical changes. First, cultural changes tend to be ceremonial (carnival). Traditional rituals are different from carnivals. Today, most people in Java, especially in East Java, commemorate 1 Suro with a carnival. Sacred rituals are only held in a reasonably short time, which will certainly reduce one's appreciation. Likewise, in Toyomarto, the ritual of ruwat air has turned profane, festivalistic, and ceremonial for the past six years. There are no special rituals practiced by residents other than in some hamlet communities such as Sumberawan, Ngujung, and others. The land and water ritual is the community space to realize how mountainside people who lived by water re-live the water. Land as a new performance aims to accommodate all new possibilities, namely the representation of village leaders and communities. Water, as an old entity, represents traditional leaders and indigenous peoples.

Second, the dynamics of village political movements. Village leaders and traditional leaders substantially have different job descriptions. The village leader is the person who de facto leads the village community and is registered in state administration. Traditional leaders are de jure and trusted to lead the traditions and culture of indigenous peoples. This difference needs to be emphasized because rural communities have a unique traditional system that is impossible to accommodate by the state administration. Differences in understanding between the two positions often justify local traditions that change, are abandoned, or lead to conflict. Thus, village and traditional leaders need to know the division of these tasks.

Third, regional expansion. Previously, traditional rituals took place in each hamlet. For example, Sumberawan hamlet organizes Tirta Amertasari, which is said to have been held 37 years ago. Traces in the Sumberawan and Ngujung areas confirm that Toyomarto's predecessors practiced the Hindu-Muslim traditions that have become their habits. Traditional rituals before the 1980s have been carried out but are not as popular as after the existence of Tirta Amertasari. The expansion of the region marks the diversity found in Toyomarto Village. For example, the Bodean Hamlet, which consists of Bodean Krajan and Bodean Putuk, has different characteristics. The people of Bodean Krajan Hamlet are famous for their people who embrace devout Islam. Bodean Krajan is also the administrative center of Toyomarto village. Unlike the

Bodean-Krajan hamlet community, the Bodean Putuk community tends to like something related to Javanese customs and arts [22].

Fourth, political or cultural penetration from outside. Malang, as an urban city, has moved towards an urban culture. The cultural location is also close to industrial areas. One of the most visible characteristics of urban society is individualization. This characteristic differs from rural communities, which tend to be more open and promote cooperation. The culture of urban society tends to be more modern. Most traditional rituals still exist in the Malang area and are located in the southern region near Mount Bromo and the southern coast. Toyomarto, although close to the slopes of Mount Arjuno, is geographically also close to Malang City and industrial areas. Political or cultural penetration from outside is possible. This event allows traditional rituals to be excluded from cultures that come from outside, even though historically, Toyomarto is very close to historical places.

The change in cultural performance from water to land and water is not a form of addition or reduction to Toyomarto's traditional rituals. This change is the attitude of the Toyomarto people to provide space for local traditions and culture to continue to live during social, cultural, and political changes. The land and water also does not express a specific political stance. This ritual is a peripheral movement carried out by the community and villagers. It is reinforced by the community's habitus that appreciates water as part of life and a simple but meaningful 'village way.' As their passion for building a peripheral network that contributes 'another voice' to the center. With that, they can broadly impact survival, the tradition of 'srawung' between humans, and teaching behavior as a village community.

4 Conclusion

The land and water ritual is centered ritual in a cultural space with the unification process of land and water. As a new cultural performance of the ruwat air ritual, the land and water ritual has a very complex historical trace. These traditional rituals underwent a paradigm shift in society to re-cultist traditions that had collided with social, cultural, and political changes. The episteme of the Toyomarto people is geographically who live on the slopes of Mount Arjuna; their nature of thought is formed by legends, myths, and fairy tales. Toyomarto people is also formed by beliefs, folklore, and existing historical sources. They highly respect water as a part of their lives. However, social, cultural, and political changes make local traditions of the community experience profanity. Rituals that were initially a form of appreciation of their relationship with nature shifted towards ceremonial ones. This change was also motivated by discursive phenomena and other factors, such as the dynamics of village politics, regional expansion, and penetration of culture or politics from outside (urban culture). The land and water ritual is a new performance to face these challenges and as a form of syncretism and deculturization of previous traditions.

The habitus of the Toyomarto people animates water as the source of life and sustains them. Meanwhile, land became a new element philosophically as the foundation of the life of the Toyomarto people. As Sijil Manunggal Toyomarto stated, this ritual

is an appreciation of oneness (kemanunggalan), the relationship between human to God, human to human, and man to nature. This ritual is a form of community consciousness to care for memories and ancestral heritage, maintain the universe's balance, prosper the land, and preserve water. This ritual aims to maintain the simple but meaningful 'way of the village' for the Toyomarto people. Then these actions in the future will become a new capital and habitus for their social life.

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