

## The Meaning of Bantengan Art in Moslem Communities in Indonesia

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### Abstract:

This research aims to examine the meaning of *Bantengan* art in the Moslem community of Leban Hamlet, Tawangargo Village, Karangploso District, Malang Regency, Indonesia. This research uses a descriptive ethnographic approach with the theory of symbolic interactionism and ritual communication as an analysis theory. The data collection methods used were in-depth interviews, participant observation, and documentation. The sampling technique used non probability sampling with seven informants. The results of this study show that *Bantengan* art as a form of ritual communication functions as a gathering place, affirmation of mutual trust, respect for dhanyangan, request for safety and keep away from danger. The people of Leban Hamlet still maintain the art as a form of maintaining ancestral heritage, although in practice most of them only follow *Bantengan* art activities without knowing the philosophical basis of the art. This research also found that there are symbols that are full of meaning. In the process, there are different interpretations from each individual depending on their background. Nonetheless, there is an effort to respect the understanding that has been mutually agreed upon.

**Keywords:** Bantengan; Ethnography; Moslem community; Ritual Communication; Symbolic Interactionism

### Introduction:

Ritual ceremonies are still closely recognized as part of Javanese society. Ritual ceremonies carried out by Javanese people contain sacred meanings that aim to fulfill spiritual and social needs (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). One of the ritual ceremonies that still maintains its existence until now is the *Bantengan* art. *Bantengan* art is a performance art that combines elements of dance, music, martial arts, kanuragan sports, and mantras/songs recited by the handler controlling the *Bantengan* game so as to form an art that is very thick with magical elements (Radhia, 2019). It is called *Bantengan* (*Banteng* in English is bull), because people use artifacts resembling bulls. The *Bantengan* art performance becomes more interesting if the players have entered a trance.

*Bantengan* as a form of entertainment has become a part of life in various life cycle ceremonies, from circumcision celebrations to weddings, many people in Malang Regency present *Bantengan* art performances. In addition, *Bantengan* has also become mandatory in the form of secular activities such as festivals, independence commemorations, and carnivals.

In Leban Hamlet, Tawangargo Village, Karangploso District, *Bantengan* art is a form of sacred ritual that is favored by the community and also contains magical elements. There are two *Bantengan* art groups in Leban Hamlet, namely Garuda Putra Jaya and Kisdam Mulya Jaya. Every year, the people of Leban Hamlet organize *Bantengan* art during the commemoration of

*Bersih Desa* (Village cleaning activity together) and Indonesian independence. Leban Hamlet is a strategic area because it is on the axis road and directly adjacent to Batu city. In terms of religion, the majority of the population is Muslim and there are only five people who are Christians. Based on this background, *Bantengan* art is an interesting topic to study because of the mystical elements that are inherent in *Bantengan* art with the majority of the population of Leban Hamlet being Moslem.

On the one hand, the *Bantengan* art that still exists in Moslem communities reinforces that the spread of Islam cannot be separated from the cultural approach. God Almighty has sent prophets and apostles to spread Islam by approaching the culture of their society. When Islam spread to Indonesia, religious leaders also took a cultural approach because at that time Hinduism and Buddhism were the most widely practiced religions. Through acculturation, Islam could be accepted by the Indonesian people. On the other hand, it is interesting to study the meaning of *Bantengan* art in Moslem communities because Muslims are strictly taught not to associate with God (shirk). *Bantengan* art, which is a legacy of art before Islam spread, has elements that allow pros and cons among Muslims related to the issue of associating partners with God.

*Bantengan* art by the people of Leban Hamlet as a ritual is equipped with a series of rituals, namely *uluk salam*, *nyuguh*, *ngujup*, and *nyuwuk*. *Uluk Salam* is the initial stage carried out by the *Banteng* handler to ask permission or farewell to *the dhanyangan* (spirits of ancestors or village founders who have passed away) before the performance. This greeting ritual appears to be related to Islamic teachings that instruct Moslems to honor and pray for deceased parents and family members. Moslems believe that the merit of praying for one's parents is one of the three merits that one will bring to God when one dies. The other rewards are charity and beneficial knowledge. Furthermore, *the nyuguh* stage is by preparing various offerings addressed to *the dhanyangan* who are present at the *Bantengan* art performance. This is followed by the *ngujup* stage, which is the

summoning of *dhanyangan* through the recitation of spells by the bull handler. And the last is *the nyuwuk* stage which aims to restore the consciousness of the players who are in trance.

The connection between *Bantengan* and religion can happen because communication in a ritual perspective is not only aimed at sending or transmitting messages, but is seen as a representation of shared community beliefs (Handayani, 2018). This idea is parallel to what Carey (2009) stated that ritual communication is less precise if it is interpreted as an activity of transferring signals or messages from the communicator (sender of the message) to the communicant (recipient of the message), but ritual communication is interpreted as an activity of producing and exchanging a meaning and presenting efforts to share beliefs that aim as a medium for maintaining the community from time to time.

As a means of maintaining community culture, ritual communication cannot be separated from the symbols that make it the hallmark and identity of a tradition. *Bantengan* art itself contains symbols that are realized through the form of dances, games, rituals and spells recited by the handler. The use of unique symbolic language in each series of rituals cannot be interpreted alone but based on the meaning and mutual agreement of the cultural community and passed down from generation to generation according to the prevailing traditions and culture (Prihastuti & Laturrahmi, 2017).

In relation to meaning, through Symbolic Interactionism Theory teaches that humans carry out activities to interact with other humans over time to share the meaning of each term and certain actions and understand events at certain times. Furthermore, Littlejohn & Foss (2019) state that symbolic interactionism provides meaning to the interactions carried out by other fellow humans that occur throughout time, the interactions they carry out will produce understanding of certain terms and actions used in interpreting certain events in certain ways. Highlighting symbols, *Bantengan* art contains various kinds of symbols, both symbols

used as performance equipment such as masks and ritual symbols such as offerings.

Several studies exploring ritual communication and symbolic interactionism in the meaning of tradition and culture have been conducted, such as Prihastuti & Laturrahmi (2017) on the meaning of the Seblang Banyuwangi dance. Then, Handayani (2018) who studied the communication patterns of slametan rituals in the rice planting season by the people of Ngemplak Village, Sambikerep, Surabaya. Similarly, Dewi, Safitri, and Scorviana (2022) attempted to describe the meaning of the implementation of the Keduk Beji tradition in the era of modernization by the people of Tawun Village. The three studies examined the meaning and symbols of a tradition with ritual communication and Symbolic Interactionism as an analytical knife. The novelty of this research lies in the object of research, namely by examining *Bantengan* Art from the point of view of ritual communication.

Exploring further the meaning of *Bantengan* art which is still preserved by the people of Leban Hamlet, Tawangargo Village, Karangploso District, Malang Regency. This research is to explore the symbolic meanings of *Bantengan* art that reveal local wisdom values using a descriptive ethnographic approach. Kriyantono (2015) explains that descriptive ethnography describes the reality of groups or groups through analysis, disclosure of patterns, creation of topologies and categories, and the researcher's goal is to describe in detail and holistically about how the characteristics of certain cultural behaviors.

The selection of *Bantengan* art as the object of research is based on the lack of communication research that examines the art of *Bantengan* Greater Malang with a communication perspective, so that research on this *Batengan* art becomes interesting amid the many symbols contained in the art. This research uses the perspective of local people so that it can help researchers in further examining the symbolic meaning of community behavior in the interpretation of *Bantengan* art in Leban Hamlet. Basically, the focus of this research uses descriptive ethnographic analysis, namely

ethnography which describes the reality of groups or groups through analysis, disclosure of patterns, creation of topologies and categories, and the researcher's goal is to describe in detail and holistically about how the characteristics of certain cultural behaviors (Kriyantono, 2015).

Data collection methods used participatory observation techniques, documentation and in-depth interviews. Observations were conducted for approximately six months while interviews were conducted with seven informants who were native residents and had witnessed *Bantengan* art in Leban Hamlet and had the ability to describe or describe the cultural experiences they experienced. Data were analyzed using iteracy analysis techniques which include the stages of data collection, data condensation, data presentation, and conclusion drawing/verification (Kriyantono, 2022).

This study uses seven research informants who are the people of Leban Hamlet. The research informants are based on certain criteria that have been determined by the researcher to support the research objectives and based on scientific reasons, including: (1) is the Head of Leban Hamlet; (2) is the head and *Bantengan* handler in the *Bantengan* group in Leban Hamlet; (3) is a religious figure in Leban Hamlet; (4) is a community that was born and grew up in Leban Hamlet; and (5) has seen or knows (experienced directly) the art of *Bantengan* in Leban Hamlet.

## **Results and Discussions:**

### **Leban Hamlet Community in *Bantengan* Art Performance:**

*Bantengan* art is one of the arts favored by the people of Leban Hamlet. Every year, *Bantengan* art is always held and held by the people of the hamlet, whether it is for the purpose of Clean Hamlet, Indonesian independence celebrations, or for gebyakan events. The enthusiasm of the people of Leban Hamlet for the *Bantengan* art has grown from previously *Bantengan* art was only entertainment for martial arts performances to now *Bantengan* art is the most anticipated art by the community.

There are two systems of purpose in *Bantengan* performances by the people of Leban Hamlet, namely *Bantengan* to fulfill invitations and *Bantengan* for hamlet celebrations. When *Bantengan* art is held for hamlet celebrations such as *Bersih Desa* when commemorating of Indonesian independence, the community support in the *Bantengan* art performance is quite large. The community helped a lot in the process of *Bantengan* art performance, such as to prepare for the event and after the performance was held. The community voluntarily helps so that the *Bantengan* art performance can still be carried out, one of the ways is that the Leban Hamlet community collects money in terms of financing. Of course, in this case there is no element of coercion and instead the community voluntarily helps to revive and maintain the *Bantengan* art in Leban Hamlet.

The uniqueness of *Bantengan* art is the reason why *Bantengan* art is very popular with the people of Leban Hamlet. The view of life of the people of Leban Hamlet, which is still influenced and thick with kejawen cultural customs and the belief that when the *Bantengan* art is held there are ancestors of the predecessors of Leban Hamlet, or what is often called *dhanyangan*, is the main cause why *Bantengan* art, which has existed since ancient times, is still maintained today.

***Bantengan* Art Ritual Series**

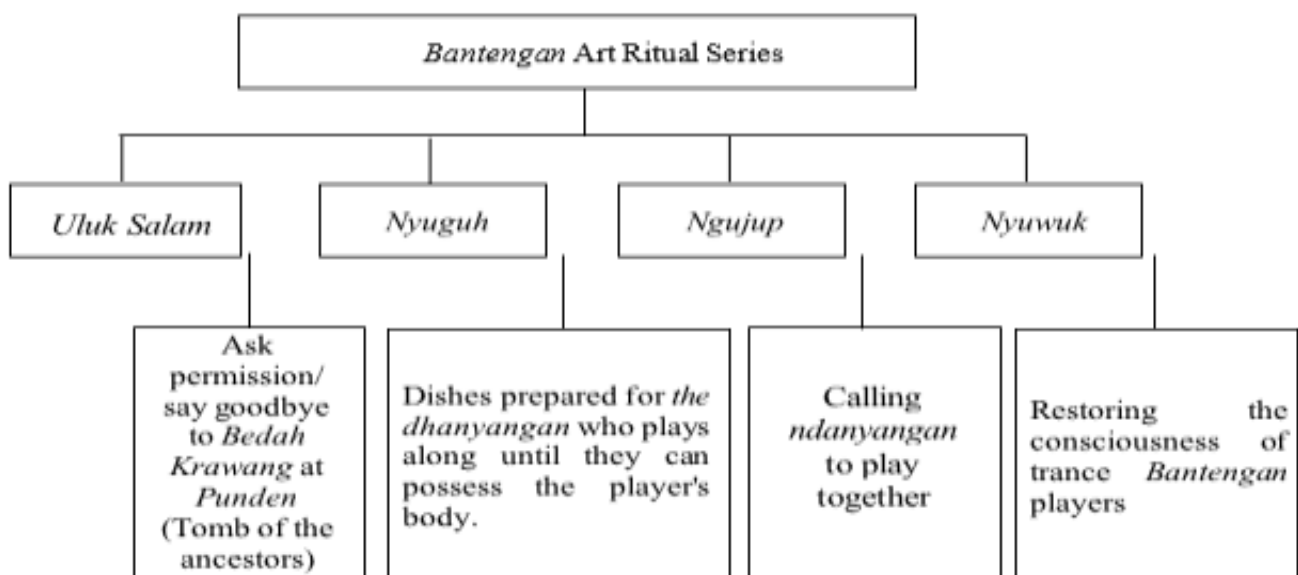
In the *Bantengan* art performance, there are several ritual series which are a form of manifestation of

ritual communication. This is related to the ritual series contained in the *Bantengan* art as a process of producing meaning as well as maintaining and upholding shared beliefs. The series of rituals contained in the *Bantengan* art are briefly explained through the following chart: The series of rituals performed in the *Bantengan* art performance by the people of Leban Hamlet consist of “*uluk salam*”, “*nyuguh*”, “*ngujup*”, and “*nyuwuk*”. The ritual stages are based on the results of the initial observation of the research and also confirmed by the seven research informants. The series of rituals in question is a process of producing meaning as well as maintaining and upholding shared beliefs.

The forms of rituals performed in *Bantengan* performances as a form of expressive communication are a way to honor and respect the ancestors in Leban Hamlet, request for prayers and smoothness during *Bantengan* performances, keep away from danger and a form of preservation of *Bantengan* art that has been passed down continuously from their ancestors. Ritual communication is often associated with expressive communication carried out collectively. The expressive nature referred to in this ritual communication can be realized as expressing one's deepest feelings (Mulyana, 2013).

Chart 1

*Bantengan* art ritual series





There are three times in carrying out a series of rituals, namely before the performance (uluk salam), the opening of the performance (*nyuguh & nyujup*) and the ritual performed after the *Bantengan* performance (*nyuwuk*). Performing a series of rituals in the *Bantengan* art performance will bring a feeling of calm without any anxiety about the arrival of negative things. This was expressed by Fakhri as the Head of Leban Hamlet who said that when *Bantengan* art is not held in the clean village celebration, it will cause bad feelings, feel that something is missing, and a feeling of blocking.

Based on the narrative of the *Bantengan* chiefs, performing rituals in the *Bantengan* art performance will bring a feeling of calm without any worries about negative things coming. This was also expressed by Fakhri who said that when *Bantengan* art is not held in the clean village celebration, it will bring bad feelings, feel that something is missing, and a feeling of blocking. Mulyana (2013) revealed that carrying out rituals will bring calm and orderly feelings when carrying out something and if the ritual is not carried out, there will be a feeling of chaos or confusion.

Referring to the Asian perspective of communication, another purpose of the communication function is spiritual (Dissanayake, 2011). Understanding spiritual processes provides benefits in providing insights into the contemporary use of communication especially in Asian countries. The purpose of spiritual communication is to achieve harmony between nature and humans (Kincaid & Cushman, 1987; Kriyantono, 2017). In other words, humans must put aside ego and prejudice to be in harmony with nature so that the value of togetherness will be achieved, which is harmony (Miike, 2002). Communication in the Asian perspective has three main instruments, namely ritual, myth, metaphor, and reflection of imagination. This is different from the Western perspective which emphasizes self-analysis, audience analysis, national reflection, and message adaptation (Kincaid & Chusman, 1987; Kriyantono & McKenna, 2017). In this study,

rituals became one of the main instruments of research.

Ritual communication sometimes has a mystical nature, and only the people involved in the ritual are able to understand the meaning of holding these activities, so it is not uncommon for people from outside the community to find it difficult to understand these activities (Mulyana, 2013). In *Bantengan* art, there are mystical rituals such as the ritual performed before the *Bantengan* performance is held, namely uluk salam. The uluk salam ritual for ordinary people who are unable to understand it will feel strange, because in its implementation it will be carried out at the punden by bringing among and burning incense. The form of the ritual has the aim of asking permission from the ruler of the Leban Hamlet area or the person believed to be the surgeon of the krawan who is believed to be buried in the punden. According to their beliefs, it is important to perform the ritual to express respect to the person believed to be the Bedah Krawan, Mbah Kisdamu. Another purpose of holding the ritual is to pray for Mbah Kisdamu to be accepted for all his practices and forgiven for all his sins. The symbols used in the *Bantengan* art ritual are among and incense. Among, which consists of white water and coffee water, is meant to ask permission from the dhanyangan or ancestors who inhabit the neighborhood before performing *Bantengan* art.

After the greeting, it is continued with a form of *nyuguh* ritual by preparing offerings or *sandingan*. The ritual is carried out in the place where the *Bantengan* art is held which is carried out at the opening of the *Bantengan* art. The form of *nyuguh* ritual activity has a meaning as a form of invitation to dhanyangan to play together in the *Bantengan* art performance so that it can possess the bodies of *Bantengan* players. The next ritual is *ngujup* which is performed by the *Bantengan* handler by reading prayers and mantras to invite the dhanyangan to play together. The prayers and mantras uttered by the *Bantengan* handler are secret so that they cannot be revealed carelessly. They can only be said by *Bantengan* handlers who are believed to have a high understanding of science. The *nyuguh*

and ngujup rituals have a strong connection, because the pairing of the nyuguh ritual is a complement to the ngujup ritual. The last ritual is nyuwuk, which is performed by the *Banteng* handler to cure the players who are in a trance. The series of rituals are always led by *Banteng* handler, because he is believed to be the person who understands the most, understands and is the elder in the *Bantengan* paguyupan. *Pawang Banteng* (*Banteng* handler) is also believed to be the one who best understands the meanings contained in each form of ritual performed.

Based on its implementation, the rituals above are closely related to mystical things, such as *dhanyangan* and other supernatural things. Therefore, the ritual stages of *Bantengan* art are closely related to the study of ritual communication. Ritual communication is often mystical, and is believed to be understood by people within the community who do it and will be difficult for people outside the community to understand (Mulyana, 2013). The implementation of various forms of rituals at any time will remain a human need, although over time the form of implementation can change, and its implementation is a form of fulfillment of the identity of individuals who are members of a cultural community or group and also as a fulfillment of one of the elements of the universe (Mulyana, 2013).

### **Symbols in *Bantengan* Art Ritual Series**

One of the characteristics of ritual communication is the selection of communication symbols rooted in the community's own traditions that are unique, original, and new to them (Carey, 2009). The existence of this has the aim that communicants are involved in the communication process. Symbol is defined as a sign that shows the relationship between signifier and signified. Every symbol contained in the *Bantengan* art performance is believed to be passed down from its ancestors, such as sandingan, incense, incense, and among.

*Sandingan* or offerings consist of jambe suro, Javanese sugar, powder, glass, native chicken eggs, badeg, flowers wrapped in banana leaves, and

bananas. Although most informants have little understanding of the sandingan in the *Bantengan* performance, they still understand the implied meaning of the sandingan as a form of respect for the ancestors. Sandingan in the *Bantengan* art as a whole is a medium for supplication to a higher being when the *Bantengan* art will be held so that safety is given away from danger. *Sandingan* also functions as a companion to puja, mantra, and prayer in *Bantengan* art. *Sandingan* is a form of embodiment of *bopo angkoso* (father sky) and mother earth. The symbol of the embodiment of mother earth is all things that can be enjoyed and come from the wealth of the earth, such as fruits and flowers. While *bopo angkoso* (sky) which can be symbolized by incense and incense.

The second ritual symbol is incense and frankincense. Even though incense and frankincense have different forms, they both have the same meaning, namely as an intermediary medium for offering prayers to the Almighty. Burning incense during the ngujup ritual has the aim of providing focus and devotion to the person praying as a result of the fragrant smell of the burning process. Meanwhile, the smoke generated from burning incense and incense is interpreted to mean that the prayers that are said can be accepted and granted by God Almighty, like smoke that always points upwards. Third, the meaning of the among symbol. Among the *Bantengan* arts performances in Leban Hamlet are only water and coffee. Among is a condition that must be met when carrying out the uluk salam ritual in Punden. In Leban Hamlet, punden and petren are the same thing because the person who tripped the base or founded the hamlet is believed to be buried in the punden too. So in any ritual, always ask permission first from the punden, one of which is by bringing among. The aim is as a medium for offering prayers to God Almighty so that the person who is the first to clear away his sins will be forgiven and all his good deeds will be accepted.

It can be said that the spread of Islam in Indonesia cannot be separated from cultural acculturation. *Bantengan* has existed since the Hindu era and the propagators of Islam (the saints) used it so that

Islam could be more easily accepted. Some of the rituals contained in the art of *Bantengan* are contrary to Islamic values, such as drinking alcoholic beverages, were removed. Prayers were replaced with Islamic prayers. Culture became a means for Islam can be accepted and prevent radicalism (Kriyantono, 2019). Penggunaan tradisi budaya juga bisa mengurangi atau menghindari konflik yang terjadi karena pertemuan tradisi lama dengan inovasi baru (Picasso & Kriyantono, 2024; Widjowati et al., 2018). Tradisi budaya bisa digunakan untuk strategi komunikasi pada masyarakat yang sebagian besar Muslim (Ida et al., 2024; Kriyantono & Sa').

The meaning of the symbols in *Bantengan* art is the result of a process of interaction with other people. The process of spreading information by word of mouth produces a shared understanding of meaning. According to Buhari, the chairman of Banteng Garuda Putra Jaya, it will be difficult to understand and interpret the meaning of each symbol contained in *Bantengan* art if you just look at it. For this reason, social interaction is needed by asking people who are believed to have a better understanding of *Bantengan* art. Based on the conclusions from the research findings, it is revealed that only people have a fairly high inner connection with Javanese concepts. Informants with a Javanese background have a deeper understanding of the symbols found in *Bantengan* art. Carrying out the process of asking other people who have a deeper understanding is what is called a process of social interaction with other people.

The emergence of two different categories of society, firstly people who fully understand the meaning of *Bantengan* art, secondly, people who only see *Bantengan* art as a medium of entertainment and ancestral heritage. These two categories of society cannot be separated from social influences, one of which is related to the level of direct communication regarding the meaning of the values and symbols of *Bantengan* art. Confirmed by Mead's thoughts (in West & Turner, 2017), the theory of Symbolic Interactionism states that meaning is created through the process of social interaction. And the

existence of these two categories certainly cannot be separated from the social interaction process carried out.

Furthermore, the symbols used during *Bantengan* art performances are a form of cultural construction to represent the objects used and not as a form of representation of the physical objects. For this reason, there are informants who do not know exactly the philosophy and meaning of each symbol used, but all participants have the same feeling about what they are doing. In this context, it can be said to be meaningful. Furthermore, *Bantengan* art is an art that has sacred value for the people of Leban Hamlet. *Bantengan* art has important meanings in the implementation process which also influences trust in the method of implementation. From an Asian perspective, meaning in communication studies is a process towards self-awareness, truth and freedom (Dissanayake, 2011), and in *Bantengan* art, meaning is not only limited to the attributes used during the performance but also lies in the basic self and without the element of coercion in the performance of *Bantengan* art, especially in performances held for village activities. Apart from that, this element is also reflected in the actions taken by the community in assisting the implementation of the *Bantengan* arts performance which can be seen both before the performance and during the performance..

### **Mystical Meanings in *Bantengan* Art:**

The people of Leban Hamlet really respect the hamlet's ancestors. This respect means that the arts and several traditions in Leban Hamlet are firmly ingrained from one generation to the next and continue to be preserved. On this basis, the people of Leban Hamlet really respect their elders and ancestors or older people. The *Bantengan* art performance is carried out based on the meaning they share and believe in together. Another reason for the preservation of *Bantengan* art is the belief that *Bantengan* art provides something good and brings benefits to Leban Hamlet.

*Bantengan* art is believed to be very close to mystical elements. But now this view has shifted,

because Bantengan art does not only involve magical elements, namely tranquility, but there are artistic elements that are full of meaning. As depicted during the performance to clean up the village or *gebyakan*. This shift in interpretation of Bantengan art is the result of a process of social interaction carried out from another point of view so as to gain a different understanding of the meaning. This is also related to the overall understanding of Bantengan art by the community, the lack of public understanding regarding Bantengan art will result in errors in its interpretation.

In connection with the mystical things contained in the ritual process, there are symbols in the form of offerings which are one of the means of ritual ceremonies that cannot be abandoned. In connection with offerings, the things that come to mind are related to animism-dynamism beliefs and beliefs. Furthermore, the offerings in the Leban Hamlet community that are used in the ritual process have meaning as a form of respect for the *dhanyangan* or ancestors.

Symbolic interactionism in the next theme is related to the relationship between the freedom of individuals who are members of a social group. Mead (in West & Turner, 2017) states that the thoughts and actions carried out by individuals are influenced by social forces. Individuals are part of a group that contributes to the formation of ideas from the literature studied and contributes to group thoughts.

Mujib, who is a religious figure in Leban Hamlet, stated that although Bantengan art is closely related to its mystical elements, it is basically not prohibited by religious teachings as long as there are no elements that associate partners with Allah SWT. He added that the existence of Bantengan art can be a forum for children to express their existing culture. Furthermore, Mujib also said that one had to believe in supernatural realms, but he said that there was nothing significant or impactful due to the presence of mystical things in Bantengan art. Another view was conveyed by Rianto, who is the *Kisdam Mulya Jaya Bull Handler*, with the

statement that everyone has their own rights and beliefs and must continue to respect each other.

Even though there are different understandings in viewing Bantengan art, the people of Leban Hamlet have the same agreement in viewing Bantengan art, namely as an effort to preserve cultural heritage. These forms of adjustment will ultimately create uniformity and agreement of opinion in the traditions and arts that exist in society as well as harmony within a group.

In the theory of symbolic interactionism there is an assumption which states that the norms and values that are determined and mutually agreed upon in society will influence individual actions and behavior and will limit them in doing certain things. The existence of norms and values that apply in society requires individuals who are members of that society to act in accordance with agreements that have been made and mutually agreed upon based on the values of decency and appropriateness that apply within the group, even though sometimes there are values that are contradictory or incompatible. with the will, desires or principles adhered to by each individual (West & Turner, 2017). Even though Mujib had different principles, both of them agreed to adapt the principles adopted by the people of Leban Hamlet in the hope of not causing conflict within the group they lived in. These forms of adjustment will ultimately create uniformity and agreement of opinion in the traditions and arts that exist in society as well as harmony within a group.

The importance of symbolic interaction in the interaction process must be real because a society or community, whatever its form, consists of many people in which interactions occur with each other who use various symbolic actions, whether they are individuals acting individually or as part of an organization, group or society. Life in a community is a process of interpreting and making decisions about what to do because all actions are based on their behavior in the community.

### **Conclusions:**

This research has described the meaning of Bantengan art by the people of Leban Hamlet based



on studies of ritual communication and symbolic interactionism. This research confirms that the community's background influences the understanding of *Bantengan* art, resulting in the conclusion that not all people understand the exact and specific meaning of *Bantengan* art, and only key actors such as the *Banteng Pawang* can understand with certainty the meaning of each symbol and ritual. *Bantengan* art.

The findings from this research have also proven that the series of rituals in *Bantengan* art in *Leban Hamlet* are a form of confirmation of shared beliefs and expressions of gratitude to God Almighty, as a medium for connecting with ancestors, as a form of preserving culture or traditions in *Leban Hamlet* which were passed down from grandmothers, ancestors or previous generations to future generations, as well as as a medium of entertainment for the local community.

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