



## The Dynamics of the Inkung Suran Tradition in Marriages among Kuwarisan Descendants in Kebumen: An Analysis of Cultural Acculturation and 'Urf

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### Abstract

The Inkung Suran tradition in Kuwarisan, Kebumen represents a sustained local cultural practice, particularly among individuals who marry into families of Kuwarisan descent. This tradition reflects a complex interplay between Javanese culture, Islamic values, kinship systems, and customary legal practices within a local Muslim society. This study aims to analyze the relationship between cultural acculturation, cultural assimilation, and the concept of 'urf in Islamic law within the practice of the Inkung Suran tradition. This research employs a field research design with a descriptive-qualitative approach and a socio-religious perspective. Data were collected through observation, in-depth interviews with community leaders and participants, and documentation, and analyzed using data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing techniques. The findings reveal that the Inkung Suran tradition embodies a process of cultural acculturation, where Javanese cultural elements are maintained while being reinterpreted through Islamic meanings, such as the symbolism of submission to God and collective prayer. In the context of marriage, the tradition also reflects cultural assimilation, as non-Kuwarisan spouses integrate into the local kinship and cultural system. From the perspective of 'urf, this tradition can be categorized as 'urf ṣaḥīḥ, as it contains socio-religious benefits and does not contradict Islamic principles, provided it is not regarded as a religious obligation. This study contributes to the discourse on Islam Nusantara by demonstrating how local traditions, marriage, and Islamic law dynamically interact within contemporary Muslim communities.

**Keywords:** Inkung Suran; Cultural Acculturation; Cultural Assimilation; 'Urf; Islamic Law

### Introduction

Local traditions constitute an essential component of social life in Indonesian society, as they embody historical values, cultural identity, social norms, and belief systems transmitted across generations. In Javanese society, traditions are not merely understood as social customs but also as symbolic spaces that connect individuals with religious values, ancestral heritage, family

ties, and the broader community. As such, traditions play a significant role in maintaining social cohesion while preserving cultural continuity. One of the traditions that continues to be practiced today is the Inkung Suran tradition in Kuwarisan, Kebumen. This tradition is performed during the month of Sura (Muharram), in which community members bring offerings of ingkung (whole cooked chicken) and tumpeng to the Banyumudal Mosque to be collectively prayed over by religious leaders and community figures. This practice reflects not only a ritual activity but also embodies strong spiritual, social, and cultural values. The استمرار of this tradition demonstrates the community's strong commitment to preserving its cultural heritage while simultaneously using it as a medium for spiritual expression and social solidarity.<sup>1</sup>

The Inkung Suran tradition is particularly closely associated with marriage and lineage within the Kuwarisan community. In prevailing practice, individuals who marry into families of Kuwarisan descent are socially expected to observe this tradition. It is understood not merely as an expression of gratitude, but also as a symbolic affirmation of one's affiliation with the extended family, ancestral heritage, and the spouse's community of origin. The ingkung chicken used in this tradition carries a profound philosophical meaning, representing submission, devotion, and obedience to God, as reflected in the posture of prostration (sujud) in Islamic prayer. Accordingly, the tradition functions not only as a customary ritual but also as a medium for the internalization of religious values, the reinforcement of familial ethics, and the preservation of local cultural norms.<sup>2</sup>

Studies on local traditions within Muslim societies indicate that the relationship between religion and culture often operates in an accommodative manner. Soerjono Soekanto argues that customs constitute an integral part of the social system, functioning to regulate social behavior and maintain social order. In the context of Javanese Muslim communities, local traditions frequently undergo a process of Islamization, whereby cultural values are preserved as long as they do not contradict the fundamental principles of Islamic teachings. Practices such as slametan, sedekah bumi, nyadran, and rituals associated with the month of Sura illustrate how communities integrate religious values with cultural expressions. Accordingly, the Inkung Suran tradition can be understood as a form of cultural acculturation that reflects the

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<sup>1</sup> M Zainal Abidin, "Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal Dalam Perspektif Multikulturalisme," *Millah: Journal of Religious Studies* 8, no. 2 (2009): 297-309, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol8.iss2.art6>.

<sup>2</sup> "Ribuan Inkung Dalam Tradisi Suran Di Kuwarisan - Website Resmi Pemerintah Kabupaten Kebumen," accessed April 28, 2026, [https://www.kebumenkab.go.id/index.php/web/news\\_detail/7/767](https://www.kebumenkab.go.id/index.php/web/news_detail/7/767).

interaction between Islamic teachings, local values, and the social structure of the Kuwarisan community.<sup>3</sup>

Studies on the Suran tradition have been conducted by several scholars with varying analytical focuses. The study by M. K. Pasha<sup>4</sup> emphasizes the functions and meanings of the Suran tradition in Kuwarisan as a cultural practice rich in symbolic and social values within the local community. Meanwhile, research by Notriska Karumetta Hapsari et al.<sup>5</sup> examines the Suran tradition from a cultural tourism perspective, highlighting its potential as a sustainable tourist attraction in terms of economic development and cultural preservation. In addition, the study by A. A. D. Shinta<sup>6</sup> focuses on the forms, meanings, and functions of the Suran tradition in Gunung Kawi through a local cultural approach grounded in linguistic and symbolic analysis. Despite their differing perspectives, these studies share a common view of the Suran tradition as a cultural phenomenon embedded with symbolic and social significance. However, they do not specifically address its relation to marital dynamics and kinship integration.

Unlike previous studies, this research situates the Inkgung Suran tradition within a more specific context, namely as a cultural practice directly associated with marriage, particularly among individuals who marry into families of Kuwarisan descent. The primary focus of this study is not merely the meaning and function of the tradition, but the relational analysis of cultural acculturation, assimilation within the kinship system, and normative legitimation through the concept of 'urf in Islamic law. Thus, this study is positioned at the intersection of cultural studies, sociology of religion, and Islamic law, seeking to address a gap in previous research by offering an integrative analysis of the relationship between local tradition, the institution of marriage, and Islamic norms within a local Muslim community.

Based on the foregoing discussion, the study of the Inkgung Suran tradition in Kuwarisan, Kebumen is significant because it reveals a complex relationship between local culture, acculturation processes, social assimilation through marriage, and the concept of 'urf in Islamic law. This study does not merely aim to describe the history and implementation of the Inkgung Suran tradition; rather, it focuses on analyzing how Javanese cultural elements and

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<sup>3</sup> Joko Tri Haryanto, "Relasi Agama Dan Budaya Dalam Hubungan Intern Umat Islam," *Jurnal SMART (Studi Masyarakat, Religi, Dan Tradisi)* 1, no. 1 (2015).

<sup>4</sup> MUSTAFA KEMAL PASHA, "Tradisi Suran Di Dusun Kuwarisan Kelurahan Panjer Kecamatan Kebumen Kabupaten Kebumen (Studi Tentang Fungsi Dan Makna)" (UIN SUNAN KALIJAGA YOGYAKARTA, 2015).

<sup>5</sup> Notriska Karumetta Hapsari, Agus Subandi, and Mugiyo Mugiyo, "Suran Tradition as A Tourism Attraction in Traji Village: A Continuous Tradition of Welcoming the Javanese New Year," *JURNAL PENDIDIKAN DAN KELUARGA* 16, no. 01 (2024): 65-71.

<sup>6</sup> Ayu Alif Dewi Shinta, "Tradhisi Suran Gunung Kawi Desa Wonosari Kecamatan Wonosari Kabupaten Malang (Tintingan Kajian Bentuk, Makna, Lan Fungsi)," *Jurnal Online Baradha* 3, no. 3 (2018).

Islamic values are acculturated within the practice, how marriage with Kuwarisan descendants generates cultural assimilation within the kinship system, and how this tradition may be positioned within the framework of 'urf as a custom containing socio-religious values. Through this analysis, the study is expected to provide a deeper understanding of how the Kuwarisan community preserves local tradition, builds social integration through marriage, and maintains customary practices within the normative boundaries of Islamic law.

### Research Method

This study employs field research,<sup>7</sup> conducted directly at the research site to obtain empirical data on the practice of the Inkung Suran tradition among the Kuwarisan community in Kebumen. It adopts a descriptive-qualitative design, as it seeks to provide an in-depth description of social realities, symbolic meanings, and belief constructions embedded in the tradition without testing quantitative hypotheses. The study applies a socio-religious approach,<sup>8</sup> examining the tradition as a social practice that simultaneously contains religious dimensions, particularly by exploring the interaction between local cultural values and Islamic teachings. Data were collected through participatory observation, in-depth interviews with community leaders and tradition practitioners, and documentation. The data were then analyzed using an interactive model consisting of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing to produce a comprehensive and contextual interpretation.

### Cultural Acculturation and Assimilation

The theory of cultural acculturation refers to a process of intensive interaction between two or more cultures that results in changes in certain cultural patterns without eliminating the fundamental identity of each culture. In classical anthropological studies, Melville J. Herskovits and Robert Redfield explain that acculturation occurs through continuous social contact, leading to the adoption of cultural elements such as values, symbols, practices, and systems of meaning.<sup>9</sup> The scope of acculturation encompasses various aspects, including language, belief systems, religious rituals, patterns of social interaction, as well as arts and traditions. The dimensions of acculturation can be observed through levels of acceptance, adaptation, and integration among interacting cultures. However, this process does not always proceed smoothly;

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<sup>7</sup> Sulaiman Tripa, *Penelitian Lapangan* (Pale Media Prima, 2023). 15.

<sup>8</sup> Wardatul Karomah, "Implementasi Pendekatan Sosio Religius Untuk Aktualisasi Nilai 'Adalah Dan Amanah Pada Kegiatan Pembiasaan Bakti Sosial Sedekah Beras Di MA Mazroatul Ulum,'" *Darajat: Jurnal Pendidikan Agama Islam* 8, no. 2 (2025): 109-19.

<sup>9</sup> Limyah Al-Amri and Muhammad Haramain, "Akulturasi Islam Dalam Budaya Lokal," *KURIOSITAS: Media Komunikasi Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 10, no. 2 (2017): 87-100.

common challenges include cultural resistance, sharp differences in values, and concerns over the potential loss of original cultural identity.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile, the theory of cultural assimilation refers to a process in which two or more cultures merge to form a new cultural pattern, often accompanied by a gradual diminishing of the distinct identities of the original cultures.<sup>11</sup> From a sociological perspective, Milton M. Gordon explains that assimilation involves several stages, ranging from cultural assimilation (changes in behavioral patterns), structural assimilation (integration into social institutions), to identificational assimilation (the diminishing of original group identity). The scope of assimilation extends to broader social systems, including education, economy, politics, and power structures. Its dimensions include the intensity of interaction, the level of social acceptance, and the willingness of individuals or groups to adopt the dominant culture. However, the process may encounter obstacles such as discrimination, social segregation, and a strong desire among certain groups to maintain their cultural identity.<sup>12</sup>

Conceptually, the key distinction between acculturation and assimilation lies in the degree of cultural identity change. Acculturation is selective and adaptive, allowing the incorporation of new cultural elements without erasing the original culture, whereas assimilation is more total and integrative, often leading to the diminishing of the original cultural identity. In practice, both processes may occur simultaneously within plural societies. For instance, in Indonesian Muslim communities, Islamic values often acculturate with local traditions without eliminating their cultural identity, while in certain contexts—such as urbanization or globalization, assimilation may become more dominant due to pressures toward cultural homogenization.<sup>13</sup>

However, both acculturation and assimilation are not without structural and cultural challenges. Major obstacles include value conflicts between tradition and modernity, power imbalances between dominant and minority cultures, as well as the emergence of stereotypes and social prejudice. In addition, internal factors such as educational level, cultural awareness, and individual openness also influence the success of these processes. Therefore, an understanding of acculturation and assimilation theories is essential for analyzing the dynamics of cultural change in society, including how local

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<sup>10</sup> Rina Setyaningsih, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa Sebagai Strategi Dakwah," *Ri'ayah: Jurnal Sosial Dan Keagamaan* 5, no. 01 (2020): 73-82.

<sup>11</sup> Hari Poerwanto, "Asimilasi, Akulturasi, Dan Integrasi Nasional," *Humaniora* 11, no. 3 (1999): 29-37.

<sup>12</sup> Agus Fakhrina, "Dhundhunan: Asimilasi Budaya Dan Pergeseran Nilai," *Jurnal Penelitian* 13, no. 1 (2016): 15-26.

<sup>13</sup> Khomsahrial Romli, "Akulturasi Dan Asimilasi Dalam Konteks Interaksi Antar Etnik," *Ijtima'iyya: Jurnal Pengembangan Masyarakat Islam* 8, no. 1 (2015): 1-13.

traditions persist, adapt, or even transform in response to external cultural influences.<sup>14</sup>

### Urf in Islamic Law

In Islamic legal studies, 'urf is a key concept referring to customs and practices that are widely recognized and accepted within a society as part of its social life. Etymologically, 'urf derives from the Arabic root 'arafa-ya'rifu, meaning something that is known, acknowledged, and considered good by the community. Terminologically, it is defined as a commonly practiced and repeatedly performed custom within a particular community that eventually becomes an established pattern of behavior. From the perspective of uṣūl al-fiqh, 'urf holds a significant position as a source of legal consideration, provided that it does not contradict the explicit texts (naṣṣ) of the Qur'an and Hadith and does not involve elements prohibited by Islamic law. Therefore, 'urf functions as a bridge between normative legal principles and the social realities of the Muslim community.<sup>15</sup>

Classical scholars classify 'urf into several categories, most notably 'urf ṣaḥīḥ (valid custom) and 'urf fāsid (invalid custom). 'Urf ṣaḥīḥ refers to practices that do not contradict Islamic principles and, in fact, promote public interest (maṣlaḥah), such as social traditions that strengthen kinship ties, customary practices in transactions (mu'āmalāt), and local customs that do not violate Islamic law. In contrast, 'urf fāsid denotes practices that conflict with Islamic teachings, including those involving immorality, injustice, or beliefs that deviate from the principle of tawḥīd. Accordingly, not all customs can serve as a basis for legal consideration; rather, they must undergo normative evaluation in light of the principles of Islamic law.<sup>16</sup>

The position of 'urf in Islamic law is reinforced by the legal maxim al-'ādah muḥakkamah, which means that custom may be considered a basis for legal judgment. This maxim reflects the adaptive and responsive nature of Islamic law toward social dynamics. In practice, 'urf is frequently utilized by ulama and judges in deriving legal rulings, particularly in matters that are not explicitly regulated in the Qur'an and Hadith. Therefore, 'urf functions not merely as a supplementary source of law, but also as an instrument for

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<sup>14</sup> Nur Fitriyani Nur Fitriyani and Fauzia Nur Aeni Fauzia Nur Aeni, "Metode Dakwah Di Nusantara (Vernakulasi, Akulturasi, Asimilasi, Akomodasi)," *Jurnal Komunikasi Dan Media* 1, no. 1 (2024): 134-44.

<sup>15</sup> Dar Nela Putri, "Konsep Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Islam," *Jurnal El-Mashlahah* 10, no. 2 (2020): 14-25.

<sup>16</sup> Rijal Mumazziq Zionis, "Posisi Al-'urf Dalam Struktur Bangunan Hukum Islam," *Jurnal Falasifa* 2, no. 2 (2011): 131-50.

contextualizing Islamic legal principles so that they remain relevant to the changing conditions of society.<sup>17</sup>

Within the framework of *uṣūl al-fiqh*, the applicability of 'urf is supported by specific pillars and conditions that must be fulfilled. The pillars (*arkān*) of 'urf include: (1) the existence of a practice or custom that is repeatedly performed, (2) the presence of a community or group that observes and maintains the practice, and (3) general acceptance, whereby the custom is recognized as a social norm. Meanwhile, the conditions for 'urf to be considered a valid basis for legal reasoning include: (1) it must not contradict the explicit texts (*naṣṣ*) of the Qur'an and Hadith, (2) it should be widely practiced or dominant within the community, (3) it must be continuous and consistent over time, (4) it should not involve elements of harm (*mafsadah*) or detriment, and (5) it must not conflict with the consensus (*ijmā'*) of the *ulama*. When these criteria are met, 'urf may serve as a legitimate basis for the formulation of Islamic legal rulings.<sup>18</sup>

In the context of diverse Muslim societies such as Indonesia, the concept of 'urf is highly relevant for understanding the relationship between religion and local culture. Many traditions practiced within communities can be accepted as part of Islamic practice as long as they meet the criteria of 'urf *ṣaḥīḥ*. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding of 'urf, including its pillars and conditions, is essential to ensure that local traditions are positioned proportionally within socio-religious life without contradicting the fundamental principles of Islam.<sup>19</sup>

### History of the Inkung Suran Tradition in Kuwarisan, Kebumen

The Inkung Suran tradition represents a form of socio-religious cultural practice that has developed within the Kuwarisan community in Kebumen District, Kebumen Regency. Historically, this tradition is believed to have originated during the spread of Islam in Java, particularly associated with the *da'wah* activities of Syekh Ibrahim Asmorokondi, a prominent figure in the dissemination of Islam along the northern coastal regions of Java, including Kebumen. In local narratives, he is not only credited with establishing religious centers such as the Banyumudal Mosque, but also with introducing culturally embedded religious practices as a means of Islamic propagation.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Sunan Autad Sarjana and Imam Kamaluddin Suratman, "Konsep 'Urf Dalam Penetapan Hukum Islam," *Tsaqafah* 13, no. 2 (2017): 279-96.

<sup>18</sup> Agung Setiyawan, "Budaya Lokal Dalam Perspektif Agama: Legitimasi Hukum Adat ('Urf) Dalam Islam," *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 13, no. 2 (2012): 203-22.

<sup>19</sup> Irfandi Irfandi, "Peran Dan Penerapan 'Urf Dalam Pembaharuan Hukum Keluarga Islam Di Indonesia," *Iuris Studia: Jurnal Kajian Hukum* 6, no. 2 (2025): 611-21.

<sup>20</sup> "Tradisi Inkung Di Masjid Banyumudal » Budaya Indonesia," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://budaya-indonesia.org/Tradisi-Inkung-di-Masjid-Banyumudal>.

The Inkung Suran tradition developed as a result of an acculturative process between Islamic values and the local culture of Javanese society. The ingkung chicken, which serves as the central symbol of this tradition, carries profound philosophical meaning, representing the humility and devotion of a servant to God, as reflected in the posture of prostration (sujūd) in Islamic prayer. This indicates that, from its inception, the tradition has not merely been ceremonial, but has also embodied significant spiritual and educational values. Over time, the tradition has been transmitted across generations and has become an integral part of the cultural identity of the Kuwarisan community. Furthermore, its development has been shaped by local kinship systems and social structures. The Inkung Suran tradition is not solely an individual practice, but rather a collective responsibility of extended families with Kuwarisan lineage, thereby functioning not only as a cultural practice but also as a symbol of the continuity of genealogical and social identity.<sup>21</sup>

### Implementation of the Inkung Suran Tradition in the Context of Marriage

The implementation of the Inkung Suran tradition has its own distinctive characteristics, particularly in relation to marriage. Within the social practice of the Kuwarisan community, an individual who marries a person of Kuwarisan descent is automatically bound by a social obligation to observe this tradition. This obligation is not formally regulated by state law, yet it possesses normative force within the community's social system. In this sense, the tradition becomes part of the social consequences of marital relations.<sup>22</sup>

This tradition is performed annually during the month of Sura (Muharram), particularly on the 12th day when it coincides with Friday Kliwon. If Friday Kliwon does not occur in that month, the ritual is shifted to Friday Pon. Each family bound to this tradition is socially expected to prepare a whole ingkung chicken along with accompanying dishes, such as tumpeng and other traditional side dishes. These offerings are then brought to the Banyumudal Mosque to be collectively prayed over by local religious leaders and community figures.<sup>23</sup> The procession usually begins with a parade from the village hall to the mosque, symbolizing communal togetherness and collective celebration. After the prayer ritual is completed, the blessed ingkung is taken back to each

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<sup>21</sup> "Kebumen.Com: Suran Syekh Ibrohim Asmara Kondi Kuwarisan Kebumen," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://lowongankerjakebumen.blogspot.com/2013/11/suran-syekh-ibrohim-asmara-kondi.html>.

<sup>22</sup> "Ribuan Warga Dusun Kuwarisan Kebumen Rayakan Tradisi Inkung | Republika Online," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://rejogja.republika.co.id/berita/rgllye399/ribuan-warga-dusun-kuwarisan-kebumen-rayakan-tradisi-inkungan>.

<sup>23</sup> "Tradisi Inkung Dusun Kuwarisan, Tak Pernah Mandek Meski Pandemi - Laman 3 Dari 3 - Kebumen Update," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://www.kebumenupdate.com/news/tradisi-inkungan-dusun-kuwarisan-tak-pernah-mandek-meski-pandemi/3/>.

family's home and then distributed to relatives and surrounding community members. This practice reflects values of social solidarity and the spirit of sharing embedded within the tradition. Even families residing outside Kebumen may continue to participate by sending funds to relatives in their hometown to represent them in carrying out the tradition. This demonstrates that attachment to the tradition is not severed by geographical distance, but is maintained through kinship ties.<sup>24</sup>

### **Social and Normative Meanings in the Implementation of the Tradition**

In the context of marriage, the Inkung Suran tradition functions as a mechanism of social integration between newcomers and the Kuwarisan community. Through this tradition, an individual who marries a person of Kuwarisan descent is symbolically "accepted" as part of the community. Thus, the tradition serves as an instrument of social legitimation and the reinforcement of collective identity. At the same time, its implementation also carries a strong normative dimension. The community believes that once this tradition has been performed, it should be continued consistently every year. If an individual or family bound to this tradition fails to observe it, undesirable consequences are believed to occur. This belief reflects a culturally based system of social control that functions to maintain the continuity of the tradition. Nevertheless, from the perspective of Islamic law, such beliefs must be positioned proportionally so that they do not lead to interpretations that contradict the principle of *tawhīd*.<sup>25</sup>

Overall, the implementation of the Inkung Suran tradition does not merely reflect a cultural practice, but also embodies complex religious, social, and symbolic values. This tradition serves as a meeting point between local culture, Islamic teachings, and the community's kinship system. Therefore, its existence is significant not only as a form of cultural heritage, but also as an important object of scholarly inquiry for understanding the dynamic relationship between religion, culture, and social structure within local Muslim communities.<sup>26</sup>

### **Community Leaders' Perspectives on the Inkung Suran Tradition**

Community leaders' perspectives on the Inkung Suran tradition indicate that this tradition holds a strong position within the social and cultural life of

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<sup>24</sup> "Tradisi Suran Diminta Dimasukan Kalender Pariwisata - Kebumen Ekspres | Paling Tahu Kebumen," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://www.kebumenekspres.com/2017/09/tradisi-suran-diminta-dimasukan.html?m=1>.

<sup>25</sup> "Food Hunter: Mengulik Sejarah Dan Filosofi Ayam Inkung," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://rifaarroyan.blogspot.com/2016/12/mengulik-sejarah-dan-filosofi-ayam.html>.

<sup>26</sup> "Tradisi Islam Di Kebumen | Sejarah Dekat Dengan Kita :V," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://irviarizkyvalencianes.blogspot.com/2016/03/tradisi-islam-di-kebumen.html>.

the Kuwarisan community. It is not merely understood as an annual custom, but as an ancestral tradition transmitted across generations and collectively preserved by the community. Mr. Suswandi, one of the community leaders, explained:

“The Inkung Suran tradition has existed since ancient times and has become a custom of the Kuwarisan community. For families of Kuwarisan descent, especially those who are married, this tradition is considered obligatory because it has been passed down as an ancestral message.”<sup>27</sup>

This statement indicates that the Inkung Suran tradition possesses normative force within the community. Although it is not written in formal regulations, the tradition is practiced as a social obligation binding families of Kuwarisan descent. In this context, custom functions as a guide for community behavior as well as a mechanism for preserving local identity.

In relation to marriage, the Inkung Suran tradition occupies an important position because it is considered inseparable from families connected to Kuwarisan lineage. An individual who marries a man or woman of Kuwarisan descent is regarded as entering the family's customary system. This is reflected in Mrs. Sulastri's statement:

“I married a man who was not of Kuwarisan descent. Because I have Kuwarisan lineage, our family still has to prepare Inkung Suran. This tradition must be observed if one of the spouses is of Kuwarisan descent.”<sup>28</sup>

The quotation shows that marriage is not merely understood as a relationship between two individuals, but also as the union of two families and two social systems. When one of the spouses has Kuwarisan lineage, the family is considered to have a moral responsibility to perform the Inkung Suran tradition. Thus, this tradition functions as a means of social integration within the kinship system of the Kuwarisan community. The emotional and cultural dimensions are also evident in the way the community welcomes the month of Sura. For some members of the Kuwarisan community, Sura is not merely a marker of time in the Javanese-Islamic calendar, but also an important moment for renewing family bonds and customary commitments. Mrs. Sri Redjeki stated:

“The month of Sura is always eagerly anticipated by the Kuwarisan community. Every year, our family prepares Inkung. Since there are two

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Mr. Suswandi, community leader, April 25, 2025.

<sup>28</sup> Interview with Mrs. Sulastri, member of the Kuwarisan descendant community, April 28, 2025.

families in my household with Kuwarisan lineage, we prepare two ingkung.”<sup>29</sup>

This statement indicates that the implementation of Inkung Suran is not individual in nature, but family-based. The number of ingkung prepared may correspond to the number of families connected to Kuwarisan lineage. This suggests that the tradition is not merely a personal ritual, but also part of the collective responsibility of the extended family. In addition to marital and kinship aspects, community leaders also emphasize ethical rules in the implementation of the tradition, particularly regarding the ingkung dish. One of the rules that continues to be observed is the prohibition against tasting the food before it has been prayed over by elders or religious figures. Mrs. Sundari explained:

“The Inkung Suran dish must not be tasted before it has been prayed over by the elders. If it is tasted beforehand, it is considered a failure to respect the ancestors and the tradition that has been inherited.”<sup>30</sup>

This prohibition reflects the value of unggah-ungguh, or etiquette and propriety, within the Inkung Suran tradition. The prepared food is not merely regarded as a dish, but as part of a sacred procession that must be treated with respect. Therefore, tasting the food before it has been prayed over is considered a violation of customary etiquette.

This view is further reinforced by Mrs. Darti, a member of the organizing committee, who emphasized that the Kuwarisan community continues to preserve the rules of this tradition because they are believed to have been validated through the experiences of earlier generations. She stated:

“The Kuwarisan community believes that the rules of the Inkung Suran tradition must be preserved because they are based on the experiences of previous generations. Therefore, the committee and the community always remind one another to ensure that the procession is carried out in accordance with custom.”<sup>31</sup>

This statement shows that the organizing committee plays an important role in maintaining order and ensuring the continuity of the tradition. The committee is not only responsible for managing the technical aspects of the procession, but also serves as a guardian of customary values so that the ritual

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<sup>29</sup> Interview with Mrs. Sri Redjeki, member of the Kuwarisan descendant community, April 28, 2025.

<sup>30</sup> Interview with Mrs. Sundari, local community member, April 27, 2025.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Mrs. Darti, organizing committee member of the tradition, April 27, 2025.

remains aligned with inherited norms. Meanwhile, KH. Sugiman, an elder of Bojong Panjer Village, emphasized that the Inkung Suran tradition applies to those connected to Kuwarisan lineage, whether by bloodline or through marriage. He stated:

“For those of Kuwarisan descent, when they marry someone who is not of Kuwarisan descent, they are still obliged to prepare Inkung Suran. This is indeed part of our local belief and has become a custom of the Kuwarisan community.”<sup>32</sup>

This quotation reinforces the view that the Inkung Suran tradition constitutes a local norm with strong social binding power. While the community recognizes that the tradition is part of a region-specific belief system, for the Kuwarisan community its observance is considered essential as a form of respect for ancestral heritage and family identity.

Based on the perspectives of community leaders, it can be concluded that the Inkung Suran tradition carries complex meanings. It is not merely understood as the preparation and prayer over the Inkung dish, but also as a symbol of identity, kinship, respect for ancestors, and the strengthening of social solidarity. In the context of marriage, the tradition serves as a marker that individuals who marry into Kuwarisan descent become bound to the family's customary system. Therefore, the persistence of the Inkung Suran tradition is sustained by collective belief, the legitimizing role of community leaders, and its continuing social functions within the Kuwarisan community.

### **The Meaning and Philosophy of the Inkung Suran Tradition according to the Kuwarisan Community**

The Inkung Suran tradition holds profound meaning for the Kuwarisan community and its descendants. It is not merely understood as the activity of preparing and bringing Inkung chicken for a customary ritual, but also as a symbol of respect for ancestors, an expression of gratitude to God, and a form of preserving the cultural identity of the Kuwarisan people. For those with Kuwarisan lineage, participating in this tradition constitutes a moral responsibility to maintain customs inherited across generations. Therefore, Inkung Suran is not simply an annual tradition, but also a marker of one's attachment to family origins and communal identity.<sup>33</sup>

One of the significant meanings embedded in the Inkung Suran tradition lies in the prohibition against tasting the food before it has been prayed over

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with Mr. KH. Sugiman, elder of Bojong Panjer Village, April 29, 2025.

<sup>33</sup> “Memahami Tradisi Inkung Dalam Budaya Selamatan Masyarakat Jawa - Jateng Kita,” accessed April 28, 2026, <https://jatengkita.id/kuliner/memahami-tradisi-inkung-dalam-budaya-selamatan-masyarakat-jawa/>.

by elders or religious figures. This prohibition is understood as a form of ethical education, or *unggah-ungguh*, within the Kuwarisan community. The prepared food must not be treated carelessly, as it forms part of a customary procession regarded as sacred. By refraining from tasting the food before the prayer, community members are taught to cultivate respect, patience, discipline, and appreciation for values inherited from their ancestors. In this sense, the tradition functions as a medium for shaping social character, particularly in maintaining courtesy and discipline in communal life.<sup>34</sup>

The central philosophy of the Inkung Suran tradition is embodied in the form of the *ingkung* chicken itself. The chicken is prepared whole and arranged in a posture that resembles a person in prostration (*sujūd*) during Islamic prayer. This posture is interpreted as a symbol of submission, surrender, and spiritual devotion to God. Such symbolism demonstrates that the Inkung Suran tradition is not merely a manifestation of Javanese cultural elements, but also carries strong religious significance. Through the symbolism of the *ingkung* chicken, the community is reminded to cultivate humility, obedience to God, and a sense of devotion in performing religious practices.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the *ingkung* chicken, the accompanying side dishes also carry symbolic value. Complementary items such as fresh vegetables (*lalapan*), eggplant, *jengkol*, peanuts, *petai*, and bean sprouts form part of the meal served alongside the *ingkung*. Although the types of vegetables used may vary according to each family's capacity and customary practice, the community continues to emphasize the importance of propriety in the cooking and presentation process. This indicates that the essence of the tradition lies not in the luxury of the food, but in the intention, procedure, and values of respect embedded within it.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, the meaning and philosophy of the Inkung Suran tradition reflect a synthesis of cultural values, social ethics, and Islamic spirituality. The tradition teaches the community to maintain their relationship with God through symbols of submission, to honor their ancestors through adherence to customary practices, and to strengthen social ties through togetherness and the sharing of food. Therefore, the Inkung Suran tradition can be understood as a

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<sup>34</sup> "Pariwisata Provinsi Jawa Tengah | Event | Inkung Suran," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://visitjawatengah.jatengprov.go.id/id/event/ingkung-suran>.

<sup>35</sup> "Tradisi Inkung Kuwarisan Kebumen, Penghormatan Ke Sesepuh Dan Penyebar Islam - Espos.Id," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://regional.espos.id/tradisi-ingkung-kuwarisan-kebumen-penghormatan-ke-sesepuh-dan-penyebar-islam-1647662>.

<sup>36</sup> "Ayam Inkung Menjadi Tradisi Pokok Pada Adat Syukuran Di Kalurah," accessed April 28, 2026, <https://desatepus.gunungkidulkab.go.id/first/artikel/2933-Ayam-Inkung-Menjadi-Tradisi-Pokok-Pada-Adat-Syukuran-Di-Kalurahan-Tepus--Apa-Maknanya->.

local practice that embodies significant moral, religious, and social values for the Kuwarisan community and its descendants.<sup>37</sup>

### Analysis of Cultural Acculturation in the Practice of the Inkung Suran Tradition

The Inkung Suran tradition demonstrates a process of acculturation between Javanese culture and Islamic values. Local elements such as the Sura calendar, Friday Kliwon or Friday Pon, ritual processions, ingkung chicken, tumpeng, and fresh vegetables (lalapan) are preserved as markers of the cultural identity of the Kuwarisan community. However, these elements are reinterpreted through religious meanings, particularly through collective prayers at the Banyumudal Mosque, prayers led by ulama or kiai, and the symbolism of the ingkung chicken as an expression of submission, devotion, and surrender to God.<sup>38</sup>

Acculturation<sup>39</sup> in this tradition operates selectively: local cultural elements are not eliminated but reoriented to align with Islamic values. In the context of marriage, individuals who marry into Kuwarisan descent do not merely join a new family; they also adopt an inherited system of customary values. Through this tradition, values such as gratitude, *unggah-ungguh* (etiquette), respect for ancestors, and social cohesion are transmitted to the new family. Thus, the Inkung Suran tradition serves as a point of convergence between Javanese custom, Islamic spirituality, and the kinship system of the Kuwarisan community.

### Analysis of Cultural Assimilation in the Context of Marriage with Kuwarisan Descendants

Cultural assimilation<sup>40</sup> in the Inkung Suran tradition is evident in the process through which non-Kuwarisan spouses enter the customary system of the Kuwarisan community through marriage. When individuals marry someone of Kuwarisan descent, they are not only personally bound to their spouse but also socially connected to the values, norms, and traditions of the Kuwarisan family. This attachment is reflected in the obligation to follow customary procedures, such as preparing *ingkung* chicken, bringing it to the mosque, participating in collective prayers, observing the prohibition against tasting the

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<sup>37</sup> "Inkungan Syuran Banyumudal - Website Resmi Pemerintah Kabupaten Kebumen," accessed April 28, 2026, [https://www.kebumenkab.go.id/index.php/web/news\\_detail/8/8251](https://www.kebumenkab.go.id/index.php/web/news_detail/8/8251).

<sup>38</sup> Setyaningsih, "Akulturasi Budaya Jawa Sebagai Strategi Dakwah."

<sup>39</sup> Al-Amri and Haramain, "Akulturasi Islam Dalam Budaya Lokal."

<sup>40</sup> Poerwanto, "Asimilasi, Akulturasi, Dan Integrasi Nasional."

food before it has been prayed over, and distributing the food to the surrounding community.<sup>41</sup>

This process shows that assimilation does not necessarily imply the complete loss of one's original identity; rather, it involves adaptation to the customs of a new community. Through participation in the Inkung Suran tradition, non-Kuwarisan spouses gain social recognition as part of the Kuwarisan kinship network. Thus, the tradition functions as a mechanism of social integration, familial acceptance, and the intergenerational preservation of the cultural identity of the Kuwarisan community.

### **Analysis of 'Urf in Islamic Law on the Inkung Suran Tradition**

From the perspective of Islamic law, the Inkung Suran tradition can be analyzed through the concept of '*urf*,<sup>42</sup> namely customary practices that are recognized and accepted within a community as long as they do not contradict Islamic principles. This tradition may be categorized as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ* when understood as a socio-religious practice that embodies public benefit (*maṣlahah*), such as strengthening kinship ties, sharing food, preserving cultural identity, honoring family, and fostering gratitude to God.

However, its acceptance requires clear normative boundaries. The Inkung Suran tradition should not be positioned as a religious obligation, but rather as a socio-cultural duty. Beliefs that abandoning the tradition will inevitably bring misfortune must be critically reassessed to ensure they do not contradict the principle of *tawḥīd*. Likewise, the prohibition against tasting the food before it has been prayed over should be understood as a form of *adab* (ethical conduct) and respect for the ritual process, rather than as a binding religious rule. In this way, the concept of '*urf* enables the Inkung Suran tradition to be appropriately situated as a local practice with socio-religious value, provided it does not involve elements of *shirk*, harm (*mafsadah*), or beliefs that conflict with Islamic teachings.

### **Analysis of the Relationship between Cultural Acculturation, Cultural Assimilation, and 'Urf in the Practice of the Inkung Suran Tradition**

The relationship between cultural acculturation, cultural assimilation, and the concept of '*urf* in Islamic law within the practice of the Inkung Suran tradition demonstrates an interconnected and complementary dynamic in sustaining the continuity of the tradition within the Kuwarisan community. These three concepts do not operate independently; rather, they function simultaneously in shaping, transmitting, and legitimizing the Inkung Suran

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<sup>41</sup> "Tradisi Suran Diminta Dimasukan Kalender Pariwisata - Kebumen Ekspres | Paling Tahu Kebumen."

<sup>42</sup> Putri, "Konsep Urf Sebagai Sumber Hukum Dalam Islam."

tradition, particularly in the context of marriage with Kuwarisan descendants. Acculturation operates at the level of meaning formation, assimilation at the level of social integration, and *'urf* at the level of normative legitimation in Islamic law.

First, cultural acculturation serves as the foundational process in the formation of the Inkung Suran tradition. Through this process, Javanese local culture—rich in symbolic elements such as the use of *ingkung* chicken, the Sura calendar, and collective rituals—is preserved, yet reinterpreted with meanings aligned with Islamic values, including collective prayer, expressions of gratitude, and symbols of submission to God. Acculturation ensures that the tradition remains relevant to the religious development of the community without losing its local identity. In this sense, acculturation functions as a value-adaptation mechanism that allows the tradition to persist within a Muslim societal context.

Second, cultural assimilation plays a role in the dissemination and reinforcement of the tradition through kinship mechanisms, particularly through marriage. When an individual marries into a Kuwarisan family, they become not only biologically or socially connected to the family, but also adopt the cultural values and practices embedded within the community. The Inkung Suran tradition thus functions as a medium of social integration, marking the acceptance of individuals into the group. Through assimilation, the tradition is not only transmitted genealogically but also expanded through new social relations. Therefore, assimilation ensures the continuity of the tradition across generations and family networks.

Third, the concept of *'urf* in Islamic law provides normative legitimacy for the practice of the Inkung Suran tradition. Through the *'urf* framework, this tradition can be accepted as part of religious practice as long as it does not contradict Islamic principles. *'Urf* functions as a bridge between normative religious texts and the socio-cultural realities of the community. In this context, Inkung Suran can be categorized as *'urf ṣaḥīḥ* because it contains elements of public benefit (*maṣlaḥah*), such as strengthening social ties, sharing food, and reinforcing social ethics. However, *'urf* also establishes boundaries to prevent the tradition from developing into beliefs that deviate from Islamic teachings, such as attributing ultimate safety or misfortune to the practice itself.

The relationship among these three concepts can be understood as a mutually reinforcing system. Acculturation produces the form and meaning of the tradition, assimilation ensures its dissemination and internalization within social structures, and *'urf* provides normative legitimacy and boundaries for its practice. Together, they form a cyclical process that maintains a balance between local culture, social integration, and Islamic values. Thus, the

continuity of the Inkung Suran tradition is sustained not only by habitual practice, but also by ongoing social processes and legal legitimation.

Overall, this analysis demonstrates that the Inkung Suran tradition represents a concrete example of how local Muslim communities dynamically negotiate the relationship between culture and religion. Acculturation preserves local values, assimilation expands the reach of the tradition through social relations, and 'urf ensures that the practice remains within the framework of Islamic law. Together, these elements form a harmonious relationship that sustains the tradition while upholding Islamic principles within the Kuwarisan community.

**Table: Relational Analysis of Cultural Acculturation, Cultural Assimilation, and 'Urf in the Practice of the Inkung Suran Tradition**

Practice of the Inkung Suran Tradition	Cultural Acculturation (Meaning & Symbol)	Cultural Assimilation (Social Integration)	'Urf in Islamic Law (Normative Assessment)
Determination of time: Sura month, Friday Kliwon/Pon	The Javanese calendar tradition is preserved and given religious meaning as a sacred time	Non-Kuwarisan spouses follow the customary timing	Permissible as long as it is not believed to be a binding religious obligation
Preparation of <i>ingkung</i> chicken	The chicken posture resembling prostration is interpreted as submission to God	New spouses participate in preparing <i>ingkung</i> according to family custom	Classified as 'urf <i>ṣaḥīḥ</i> because it does not contradict Islamic law
Serving <i>tumpeng</i> and <i>lalapan</i>	Local foods are maintained and interpreted as expressions of gratitude	New family members adopt the customary mode of presentation	Permissible as charity and local custom
Prohibition against tasting before prayer	The value of <i>unggah-ungguh</i> or Javanese etiquette is interpreted as respect	New spouses adapt to customary rules	Understood as <i>adab</i> , not a religious obligation
Procession to the mosque	Local tradition is combined with religious practice through movement toward the mosque	New spouses participate in collective ritual activity	Permissible as long as it does not contain elements of <i>shirk</i>
Collective prayer at the mosque	Islam gives spiritual meaning to the local tradition	New spouses participate in religious ritual	Considered an act of worship and part of good 'urf
Distribution of food to the community	The culture of sharing is reinterpreted as charity	New families participate in communal sharing	Contains social benefit: kinship and charity
Obligation for Kuwarisan descendants	The tradition is inherited as cultural identity	Marriage becomes a pathway into the customary system	A social obligation, not a religious one

Belief in consequences if abandoned	Local belief remains embedded in the tradition	New spouses either accept or adapt to this belief socially	Needs theological clarification so it does not contradict <i>tawhīd</i>
Annual continuity	Local tradition is preserved with religious meaning	Becomes an intergenerational family practice	Included as ' <i>urf</i> ' because it is continuous and socially accepted

### Conclusion

Based on the discussion, the Inkung Suran tradition in Kuwarisan, Kebumen demonstrates a strong relationship between local culture, religious practice, and the community's kinship system. This tradition is not merely an annual ritual performed during the month of Sura or Muharram, but also has a specific connection to marriage, particularly for individuals who marry into families of Kuwarisan descent. In this context, Inkung Suran functions as a medium for preserving family identity, honoring ancestral heritage, strengthening social solidarity, and expressing gratitude to God through collective prayer. From the perspective of cultural acculturation, the Inkung Suran tradition reflects the encounter between Javanese culture and Islamic values. Local elements such as ingkung chicken, tumpeng, the month of Sura, Friday Kliwon/Pon, and ritual processions are preserved, yet reinterpreted through religious meanings such as prayer, the symbolism of prostration in the ingkung chicken, gratitude, and submission to God. This indicates that the Kuwarisan community is able to maintain its local tradition without abandoning its Islamic identity. From the perspective of cultural assimilation, this tradition serves as a mechanism of social integration for individuals who marry into Kuwarisan descent. Through marriage, spouses who originally come from outside the Kuwarisan community enter the customary system, values, and cultural practices of the family. The social obligation to perform Inkung Suran shows that marriage does not only unite two individuals, but also connects a person to the cultural and genealogical identity of the Kuwarisan family. From the perspective of '*urf*' in Islamic law, the Inkung Suran tradition may be positioned as '*urf ṣaḥīḥ*' as long as it is understood as a custom that contains public benefit, such as strengthening kinship ties, sharing food, honoring family, and reinforcing social ethics. However, this tradition requires normative boundaries so that it is not understood as a religious obligation or believed to be the absolute cause of safety or misfortune. Thus, Inkung Suran can be accepted as a cultural-religious practice as long as it remains within the framework of *tawhīd* and the principles of Islamic law. Academically, future research is recommended to examine the Inkung Suran tradition through broader perspectives, such as legal anthropology, sociology of religion, or *maqāṣid al-sharī'ah*. Further studies may also expand the number of informants,

compare the practice of Inkung Suran across different Kuwarisan-descendant communities, and explore shifts in the meaning of this tradition among younger generations. In addition, normative studies of Islamic law should be deepened so that local traditions such as Inkung Suran can be understood proportionally as socio-religious cultural heritage without generating theological misunderstanding.

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