



The *Ijuk Nganten* Tradition of Sratujejo Village as an Intangible Cultural Heritage Sustained within the Community

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ABSTRACT

The Ijuk Nganten tradition is a form of intangible cultural heritage that continues to be preserved by the people of Sratujejo Village, Baureno District, Bojonegoro Regency, East Java. This ritual involves the symbolic cleansing of newlywed couples by washing their hands, faces, and feet at the sacred site known as Sumur Nganten (Bridal Well), followed by prayers for blessings, fertility, and household harmony. Although performed in a simple manner, the ritual holds deep cultural and spiritual meaning, rooted in local oral traditions and communal belief systems. This study employs the historical method, beginning with heuristic investigation through data collection from local oral sources—including village elders and cultural custodians—as well as limited written documents and popular media. The gathered sources were then subjected to source criticism, interpretative analysis, and synthesized through historiographical construction to explore the socio-cultural and historical functions of the ritual. The findings suggest that Ijuk Nganten originated from a collective memory involving the legendary figure Akuwu Lembu Amisena and his consort Nyi Lebdasari, who underwent ritual purification at the site after reclaiming political authority during the Singhasari–Majapahit era. Today, the tradition serves not only a spiritual purpose but also reinforces environmental ethics, ancestral veneration, and communal identity. It remains a vital cultural expression, consistently practiced even by residents who have migrated outside the region, demonstrating its enduring significance amid social transformation.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage, *Ijuk Nganten*, Oral Tradition, Ritual Purification, Sratujejo

INTRODUCTION

Cultural systems encompass interconnected networks of values, beliefs, knowledge structures, and social practices that traverse generational boundaries, establishing the fundamental basis for communal identity formation (Achiței & Nistor, 2023). According to Geertz' seminal work (1973), culture operates as a historically transmitted framework of meanings embedded within symbolic representations and conceptual architectures that organize daily social experience. Within Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural landscape, indigenous traditions function not merely as preserved cultural artifacts but as active mechanisms for fostering social unity while providing resistance against the standardizing influences of global cultural forces (Rupiassa et al., 2024; Vivian et al., 2024).

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) emerges as a particularly significant expression of such patrimony, encompassing oral traditions, ceremonial practices, customary legal systems, and indigenous knowledge systems maintained through communal engagement (Lawangen & Roberts, 2023; Qiu et al., 2022). UNESCO's framework (2018) emphasizes ICH's dual significance as both a catalyst for sustainable development initiatives and a distinctive marker of cultural identification. Eichler (2021) explained that during this period of accelerated modernization and increased social mobility, ICH assumes a critical function in sustaining historical continuity while preserving indigenous spiritual frameworks.

The *Ijuk Nganten* ceremonial tradition of Grenjeng Hamlet, situated within Sratujejo Village, Bojonegoro Regency, East Java, presents a particularly significant case study within this broader context. This ritualistic practice encompasses the ceremonial cleansing of newlyweds' extremities and facial features at the consecrated *Sumur Nganten* location, accompanied by invocations seeking marital harmony, reproductive success, material prosperity, and physical well-being. While appearing simple in its external manifestation, this tradition demonstrates profound embedding within collective belief systems, undergoes intergenerational transmission, and maintains active practice among community members regardless of their current geographical residence. The tradition encompasses fundamental values including spiritual devotion, historical preservation, and ecological stewardship (Mutarofah, 2022).

Notwithstanding its substantial cultural importance, the *Ijuk Nganten* tradition lacks comprehensive documentation within scholarly literature. Its historical origins persist primarily through oral transmission, specifically the legendary narrative concerning Akuwu Lembu Amisena (Basunondo) and his partner Nyi Lebdasari, who underwent ritual purification at Sumur Nganten following the restoration of their authority after Patih Jayakanga's unsuccessful rebellion (Rohman, 2021). The adjacent masonry constructions exhibit architectural characteristics reminiscent of the Majapahit period; however, archaeological investigations have not substantiated these historical connections (Andriyani &

Arsana, 2023). This scholarly lacuna demonstrates the necessity for comprehensive systematic investigation to reconstruct the tradition's historical foundations and cultural significance (Zhou et al., 2024).

Consequently, this investigation seeks to systematically document and critically analyze the *Ijuk Nganten* tradition employing historical methodology consisting of four distinct phases: heuristic procedures (systematic collection of oral and documentary sources), critical source evaluation (authentication and reliability assessment), interpretive analysis (cultural and historical contextualization), and historiographical construction (development of scholarly narrative framework) (Kuntowijoyo, 2003). Through this approach, the study contributes to enhanced comprehension of indigenous cultural values and their societal functions while simultaneously supporting heritage conservation initiatives, thereby strengthening recognition of *Ijuk Nganten* as an integral component of Bojonegoro's and East Java's intangible cultural heritage.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Local Traditions in Bojonegoro

Mutarofah (2022) highlights the cultural values embedded in the legend of *Sumur Nganten*, including reverence for ancestors, spirituality, and the symbolism of water as a medium of purification. These values demonstrate the cultural and social functions of the ritual, which remain deeply rooted in the Sratujejo community. Similarly, Rohman (2021), through the study of oral literature, emphasizes that the existence of *Sumur Nganten* and the *Ijuk Nganten* ritual reflects local myths and forms part of the community's collective memory transmitted across generations. The narratives surrounding Akuwu Lembu Amisena and the rebellion of Patih Jayakanga further illustrate the interplay between tradition, power, and cultural legitimacy in the past.

Intangible Cultural Heritage and Local Wisdom

UNESCO (2018) stresses the importance of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) as a source of cultural identity and social resilience in the face of modernization. Rituals such as *Ijuk Nganten* fall within the category of customary rites that reinforce spiritual values, strengthen social solidarity, and transmit local knowledge. In addition, Sasmito (2024), in a journalistic account, notes that the endurance of *Ijuk Nganten* not only demonstrates cultural resilience but also reflects the community's efforts to preserve sacred sites and nurture intergenerational connections between the younger generation and their ancestors.

Historical Methodology in the Study of Traditions

Kuntowijoyo (2003) emphasizes the relevance of a cultural history approach in the study of traditions. This methodology highlights not only factual reconstruction but also the interpretation of symbolic practices, local narratives, and

collective memory. Given the absence of formal written records, oral accounts become crucial sources of legitimacy for local history. Interpretation and historiography, therefore, serve as key tools in developing a comprehensive understanding of traditions such as *Ijuk Nganten*.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research operates from the foundational premise that culture constitutes a system of meanings and symbolic representations collectively constructed and transmitted within societal structures. The analysis of the *Ijuk Nganten* tradition employs three principal conceptual methodology:

Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Theoretical Framework

UNESCO's operational definition characterizes intangible cultural heritage as encompassing practices, representations, expressions, knowledge systems, and skills—including associated instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces—that communities acknowledge as constituents of their cultural patrimony (UNESCO, 2018). Yan and Li (2023) believed that ICH transcends mere historical legacy, functioning as a dynamic element of collective identity that undergoes continuous evolution. The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition is analyzed as an ICH manifestation that embodies spiritual, social, and historical dimensions.

Traditional Practices and Sociocultural Functionality

Hobsbawm and Ranger's theoretical contribution (2012) posits that traditions may comprise inherited practices or newly constructed forms that become institutionalized to legitimize social practices and identity formations. From this analytical perspective, *Ijuk Nganten* functions not solely as a religious purification ceremony but as a mechanism for social cohesion, intergenerational value transmission, and local identity reinforcement. This theoretical approach aligns with Malinowski's functionalist paradigm, which maintains that cultural practices fulfill essential social functions within community organizational structures (Barnard, 2021; Hankins & Malinowski, 1928).

Cultural Historical Methodological Approach

The methodological framework underlying this investigation draws upon cultural historical approaches that emphasize not only factual data recovery but also the interpretation of symbolic meanings, indigenous narratives, and collective memory systems (Heersmink, 2023). The methodological stages include heuristic procedures (comprehensive data collection), critical source analysis (authenticity and credibility verification), interpretive contextualization (meaning construction within cultural and historical frameworks), and historiographical synthesis (scholarly historical narrative development) (Kuntowijoyo, 2003).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Historical Identification and Narrative of *Ijuk Nganten*

The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition, practiced in Grenjeng Hamlet, Sratujejo Village, involves the ritual washing of a newlywed couple's hands, face, and feet at *Sumur Nganten*, accompanied by prayers for fertility, prosperity, and health. Though seemingly simple, the ritual carries profound meaning and is regarded as obligatory for all newly married couples in the community. The term *ijuk* (or *ijik/wijik* in Javanese) refers to the act of washing, particularly the symbolic washing of the groom's feet as a gesture of respect from the bride. Combined with *nganten* (Javanese for *manten*, meaning bride and groom), the phrase *ijuk nganten* is thus understood as the ritual cleansing of newlyweds.

The origins of the ritual remain uncertain, as no inscriptions, manuscripts, or archaeological evidence provide definitive dates. Instead, the tradition is preserved through oral accounts that form part of the community's collective memory (Akar & Kara, 2020; Dalzell, 2024). Local legends associate the ritual with Akuwu Lembu Amisena (also known as Akuwu Basunanda) and his consort Nyi Lebdasari, who were ritually purified at *Sumur Nganten* by a sage after reclaiming power from Patih Jayakanga. The nearby sacred sites—such as Sawah Panji, Randha Kuning, Mojosisi, and Punden Mbah Krebut—along with brick structures resembling Majapahit-era architecture, reinforce the perception of historical continuity, although no archaeological research has confirmed this connection.

Ethnographic testimonies further affirm the antiquity and persistence of the tradition. Hariyanto Abdullah (57), a former village secretary and descendant of hereditary officeholders, recounts that the ritual has been performed for generations within his family and the wider community (Anwari, 2025a). Similarly, Huth (65), a lifelong resident of Grenjeng, confirmed that he performed the ritual at his own wedding and for his children, underscoring its role as a binding custom (Anwari, 2025b). Sri Utami (55), who has lived adjacent to *Sumur Nganten* since 1994, often assists families in conducting the ritual, symbolically pouring water over newlyweds (Anwari, 2025c). Although the original well has long been blocked by banyan roots, water from nearby springs is piped to the site, maintaining the ritual's continuity while adapting to environmental change.

Initially exclusive to Grenjeng Hamlet, the ritual is now observed by families across five hamlets in Sratujejo (Grenjeng, Bakalan, Jomblong, Ngrakas, and Sratu). Even migrants returning from outside the village, or from distant cities, make it a priority to perform *Ijuk Nganten* after their wedding—whether immediately or months later—as a reaffirmation of cultural identity and ancestral ties.

The Ijuk Nganten Ritual Process

The *Ijuk Nganten* ritual consists of a simple act of washing the hands, face, and feet of the bride and groom at *Sumur Nganten*. The ritual is performed after the marriage contract (*ijab kabul*) or following the wedding reception. There is no fixed schedule, as the ritual may take place in the morning, afternoon, evening, or at a later date when families find it convenient. Even residents of Sratujejo who live outside the village or city return to perform *Ijuk Nganten*, underscoring its enduring importance.

Unlike other Javanese wedding ceremonies, *Ijuk Nganten* does not prescribe strict rules regarding time, attire, food, or ritual leadership. Couples may perform the ritual while still in their wedding attire or in casual clothing. No ceremonial meal accompanies the event, and while Sri Utami (55), who resides adjacent to *Sumur Nganten*, often assists in the ritual (*ngijuki*), it may also be led by elder family members (Anwari, 2025c).

The sequence of the ritual is as follows:

1. Washing the couple's hands.
2. Washing the couple's faces.
3. Washing the couple's feet.

The ritual must be performed at *Sumur Nganten*, which holds sacred significance for the Sratujejo community, believed to be the site where Akuwu Basunanda and Nyi Lebdasari were ritually purified. Although the original well has long been blocked by the roots of a banyan tree, water from other village springs is piped into the site, ensuring continuity of the tradition. After the couple completes the ritual, family members often participate by performing the same washing sequence as a symbolic act of shared blessing.

Figures 1–4 illustrate the sequential process of the ritual, beginning with washing the hands, followed by the face, the feet, and finally the participation of family members.



Figure 1. The *Ijuk Nganten* ritual begins with the washing of the bride and groom's hands.



Figure 2. After washing the hands, the ritual continues with washing the couple's faces.



Figure 3. After washing the faces, the ritual proceeds with washing the couple's feet.



Figure 4. After the couple, family members usually perform the same washing ritual.

Values, Meanings, and Functions of the *Ijuk Nganten* Tradition

The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition embodies the philosophy that the foundation of marriage should begin with purity. The ritual of washing hands, face, and feet at *Sumur Nganten* symbolizes the intention of entering family life with a pure heart, a cleansed body and soul, and prayers for divine blessing. The ritual conveys hopes for a harmonious and prosperous household, healthy descendants, and enduring familial continuity. It also reminds the Sratujejo community of their ancestral roots, ensuring that even those who migrate return to perform the ritual during their wedding ceremonies.

1. Values

Multiple interconnected values are embedded within Ijuk Nganten practice, forming a comprehensive framework of cultural significance. The ritual emphasizes water's significance as a sacred purification medium, reinforcing community efforts to preserve natural spring systems in Sratujejo despite original well inaccessibility, thus demonstrating environmental preservation values. Simultaneously, it affirms community origins and collective identity, motivating residents—including those maintaining external village residence—to continue traditional observance, reflecting deep ancestral pride that transcends geographical boundaries.

The ceremony embodies profound spirituality and sacredness through its reflection of reverence toward natural elements and ancestral figures, invoking blessings for matrimonial harmony and divine protection. This spiritual dimension is complemented by values of solidarity and mutual cooperation, as ritual performance involves collective participation that strengthens communal unity bonds among village inhabitants. Furthermore, the tradition functions as an exemplar for younger generations, instilling respect for customary practices and indigenous wisdom through direct cultural education and experiential learning.

The historical significance embedded within the tradition preserves memoria of Akuwu Basunondo and Nyi Lebdasari's struggles during the transitional period between Singhasari and Majapahit kingdoms. Sumur Nganten thus becomes a resilience and continuity symbol, connecting contemporary generations with founding ancestors and reinforcing local identity amid modernization processes (Purwanto, 2022; Rohman, 2021). These interconnected values collectively establish the Ijuk Nganten tradition as a multifaceted cultural practice that serves both immediate community needs and broader heritage preservation objectives.

2. Meanings

Symbolically, the ritual represents prayers and hopes for newlyweds to begin their household with blessings, prosperity, and resilience against marital challenges. The act of washing signifies purification and sincerity, reflecting a sacred commitment to family life (Mutarofah, 2022). It also

conveys reverence toward ancestral figures, particularly “Mbah Krebut,” who is regarded as a key figure in Sratujejo’s history (Rohman, 2021). More broadly, the ritual strengthens spiritual ties to God, cultivates gratitude, and preserves intergenerational values of respect and continuity (Sasmito, 2024).

3. Functions

The functions of *Ijuk Nganten* extend beyond spirituality to encompass social, cultural, and historical dimensions. Socially, it is a communal event that fosters solidarity among villagers (Sundarwati, 2015). Culturally, it serves as a medium for transmitting local wisdom and reinforcing community identity (Mutarofah, 2022). Historically, it acts as a living reminder of local legends and past struggles, particularly those of Akuwu Basunondo, embedding these narratives in the collective consciousness of Sratujejo (Rohman, 2021).

By sustaining the *Ijuk Nganten* tradition, the Sratujejo community not only preserves ancestral heritage but also strengthens the values of togetherness, spirituality, and cultural pride. This makes the ritual an integral part of the community’s social and cultural life, retaining its relevance in the present day (Sasmito, 2024).

4. Preservation Efforts

Efforts to preserve the *Ijuk Nganten* ritual include protection, development, utilization, and fostering, which are concretely carried out by various parties as explained below:

a. Protection

Contemporary protection efforts encompass comprehensive inventory and documentation initiatives that include written, visual, and digital record-keeping systems. Currently, documentation is conducted by Sratujejo community members, with some materials being disseminated while the majority remain as personal or familial archives. This grassroots documentation approach reflects the community's organic commitment to heritage preservation.

The protection of community cultural rights is achieved through legal and social recognition of the community as tradition custodians. Sratujejo inhabitants actively protect the *Ijuk Nganten* tradition through traditional value instillation within family structures, ensuring that every resident inevitably performs the ritual during matrimonial ceremonies. Notably, even residents maintaining external village residence return to perform *Ijuk Nganten* at *Sumur Nganten* during their marriages, demonstrating the tradition's enduring cultural authority. Additionally, a community organization designated *Padhepokan Budaya, Seni,*

& *Sastra Sanggar Pakeliran* participates in preserving customs and traditions in Sraturejo, including *Ijuk Nganten*, providing institutional support for heritage conservation efforts.

b. Development

This tradition has not been extensively examined academically, representing a significant gap in scholarly documentation that limits comprehensive understanding of its cultural and historical significance. Existing studies do not specifically address Ijuk Nganten but include it as part of broader Sraturejo traditional practices, indicating the need for more focused research attention. Current academic contributions include:

- 1) Mutarofah, S. (2022). "Analisis Fungsi dan Nilai Budaya Legenda Petilasan Sumur Nganten di Desa Sraturejo, Kecamatan Baureno, Kabupaten Bojonegoro" [Undergraduate thesis, Universitas Trunojoyo Madura]. This undergraduate research provides foundational analysis of the cultural functions and values embedded within the *Sumur Nganten* legend, offering insights into the tradition's symbolic significance within the community framework (Mutarofah, 2022).
- 2) Ratnaningtyas, L., & Sukarman. (2019). "Tradhisi Manten ing Desa Margomulyo, Kecamatan Margomulyo, Kabupaten Bojonegoro (Tintangan Etnologi Budaya). Jurnal Online Baradha, 9(4), 1–21." This ethnological study examines marriage traditions in the broader Bojonegoro context, providing comparative perspectives that illuminate regional variations in matrimonial customs (Ratnaningtyas & Sukarman, 2019).
- 3) Rohman, B. (2021). "Legenda Sumur Nganten di Desa Sraturejo Kecamatan Baureno Kabupaten Bojonegoro Kajian Sastra Lisan [Master's thesis, Universitas Islam Darul Ulum]." This master's thesis focuses specifically on the oral literature aspects of the Sumur Nganten legend, contributing to understanding of narrative transmission and cultural memory preservation (Rohman, 2021).
- 4) Sundarwati, R. (2015). "Tradhisi Kirap Encek Nganten ing Dhusun Grenjeng Sraturejo, Bojonegoro. Undergraduate thesis, Universitas Negeri Surabaya." This research examines the *Kirap Encek Nganten*

tradition specifically within *Grenjeng Hamlet*, providing localized analysis of ceremonial practices and their cultural implications (Sundarwati, 2015).

Beyond academic studies, Ijuk Nganten receives publicity through mass media and social media platforms, facilitating broader cultural awareness and contributing to heritage preservation through public engagement. Contemporary dissemination efforts demonstrate increasing recognition of the tradition's cultural value beyond academic circles. These include:

- 1) “Tradisi Ritual Ijuk Nganten di Sratujejo Tetap Lestari hingga Kini” [Blok Bojonegoro, 15 June 2024]. This news coverage emphasizes the tradition's continued vitality and relevance in contemporary society, highlighting community commitment to cultural preservation (Sasmito, 2024).
- 2) “Tradisi Ijuk Nganten, yang Melanggar Bakal Mendapat Balak dan Musibah” [iNews Tuban]. This media coverage explores the spiritual beliefs and potential consequences associated with ritual non-observance, demonstrating the tradition's continued religious significance (Martono, 2025).
- 3) “Tradisi Ritual Ijuk Nganten Bojonegoro” [YouTube]. This digital documentation provides visual representation of the ritual process, serving as both educational material and preservation medium for future generations (Wisata Bojonegoro, 2024).
- 4) “Tradisi Ritual Ijuk Nganten di Sratujejo Tetap Lestari hingga Kini” [Instagram]. This social media content reaches younger audiences and diaspora communities, facilitating cultural connection across geographical boundaries (Sasmito, 2024).
- 5) “Tradisi Sumur Penganten Sratujejo Baureno” [Radar Bojonegoro, Jawa Pos]. This print media coverage contributes to regional cultural awareness and validates the tradition's significance within broader East Javanese heritage frameworks (Purwanto, 2022).

5. Utilization

Education and public outreach initiatives encompass cultural education integration within educational institutions, where indigenous traditional knowledge can be incorporated into educational curricula, particularly at primary and secondary levels. Students receive instruction regarding cultural ritual preservation importance, including *Ijuk Nganten*,

through extracurricular programs or local-content subjects. Additionally, district governmental authorities and cultural institutions organize training regarding traditional ritual conduct, involving elders, customary leaders, and local cultural practitioners in knowledge transmission processes.

The integration of tradition into contemporary life involves technological adaptation strategies that allow historical community practices to adapt to contemporary contexts. Ritual proceedings may be broadcast through live online streaming to reach broader audiences, while district governmental collaboration with local or national media highlights regional cultural richness, particularly the *Ijuk Nganten* ritual. Social media platforms including Instagram, YouTube, and TikTok facilitate global ritual promotion, with local cultural communities producing educational content showcasing traditional beauty and significance.

6. Fostering

Training for succession encompasses younger generation involvement in ritual performance, ensuring continuity across generational boundaries. Currently, all Sratujejo residents continue upholding Ijuk Nganten as an integral component of the matrimonial process, demonstrating successful intergenerational transmission.

Community cultural development initiatives are supported by local cultural groups, such as *Padhepokan Budaya, Seni, & Sastra Sanggar Pakeliran*, which consciously function as institutional frameworks for tradition preservation in Sratujejo, including *Ijuk Nganten*. These organizations provide structural support for ongoing cultural maintenance while facilitating community engagement and participation in heritage conservation activities.

The findings of this study align closely with Geertz's (1973) conceptualization of culture as a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols that structure everyday life. The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition exemplifies this theoretical framework through its symbolic washing ritual, which embeds multiple layers of cultural meaning within a seemingly simple ceremonial act. The tradition's persistence across generations and its continued practice by diaspora community members returning specifically for this ritual demonstrates what UNESCO (2018) identifies as the dynamic nature of intangible cultural heritage—not merely a static legacy but an evolving component of collective identity that adapts to contemporary circumstances while maintaining its essential cultural core. Furthermore, the tradition's multifaceted functions align with Hobsbawm and Ranger's (2012) analysis of how traditional practices serve to legitimize social identities and strengthen community bonds, as evidenced by the ritual's role in reinforcing marriage sanctity, community solidarity, and ancestral connections within the Sratujejo social framework.

The research findings strongly support Malinowski's functionalist approach, which posits that cultural practices fulfill essential social functions within community structures. The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition operates simultaneously across multiple functional dimensions: spiritual purification, social cohesion, environmental stewardship, and historical preservation. This multifunctional characteristic reflects what UNESCO (2018) recognizes as the comprehensive nature of intangible cultural heritage, where practices serve as repositories of knowledge, skills, and cultural expressions that communities recognize as fundamental to their identity. The tradition's adaptive capacity—demonstrated through its expansion from *Grenjeng Hamlet* to encompass five hamlets while maintaining ritual integrity despite environmental changes to the original well—illustrates the dynamic preservation mechanisms that ensure cultural continuity without compromising authenticity. This adaptive resilience supports the theoretical understanding that successful cultural preservation requires flexibility within continuity, allowing traditions to evolve in response to changing circumstances while preserving their fundamental cultural significance and symbolic meaning for contemporary practitioners.

CONCLUSION

The *Ijuk Nganten* tradition in Sratujejo Village is a manifestation of intangible cultural wealth that not only represents a spiritual rite but also serves as a medium for transmitting values, identity, and local history of the Bojonegoro community. As a cultural practice handed down across generations and sustained by collective awareness, *Ijuk Nganten* carries a deep symbolic meaning for beginning married life in purity, harmony, and blessing. It also reflects the continuity of relationships between humans, ancestors, and nature, as well as the persistence of village civilization amidst modernization. Although performed in a simple and flexible manner, its philosophical meaning and socio-cultural functions remain relevant for the Sratujejo community, including those who have migrated elsewhere.

To ensure the sustainable preservation of *Ijuk Nganten*, several strategic steps are recommended:

1. Strengthening Documentation and Legal Recognition – The district government, through the Department of Culture and Tourism of Bojonegoro, should propose *Ijuk Nganten* as part of provincial and national intangible cultural heritage, supported by written, audiovisual, and academic documentation.
2. Cultural Education and Knowledge Transfer – The values of *Ijuk Nganten* should be integrated into local school curricula and extracurricular activities so that younger generations develop knowledge, awareness, and a sense of belonging to their cultural heritage.

3. Revitalization of Sacred Sites and Supporting Infrastructure – *Sumur Nganten* and its surroundings should receive proper attention through physical management, ecological protection, and interpretive facilities (e.g., information boards on history and meaning).

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