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## **The Symbol of Acculturation and Islamic Unity in Nganggung Tradition of Bangka: An Integration of *Maqāṣid asy-Syarī'ah* with Local Wisdom**

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### **Abstract**

This paper aims to explore the integration of traditional and modern Islam in *nganggung* tradition of Bangka society. *Nganggung* is a customary practice of bringing food with specific procedures and attributes to commemorate important Islamic holidays. It existed for a long time as a tradition in Bangka conducted by traditionalists. Recently, modernists also

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participated in the event, making *nganggung* a melting pot that blends traditionalists and modernists. While associated with traditional Islam, this practice has also involved modern practices. The research was carried out in Kemuja and Kenanga villages on Bangka Island, using interviews, participatory observation, and a literature review. It addresses three key questions: How is local wisdom in the *nganggung* tradition expressed in contemporary Bangka society? How can this wisdom strengthen ties between traditional and modern Islam? What is the role of *maqāṣid asy-syari'ah* in sustaining this wisdom for lasting harmony? Findings show modernists' participation arises from respect for traditional Islam. While *nganggung* has adapted to include all groups, changes remain minor. It continues to unite society, sustained by Islamic values and *maqāṣid asy-syari'ah*.

**Keywords:**

*Nganggung*; Integration of traditional and modern Islam;  
*Maqāṣid asy-syari'ah*, Local wisdom.

**Introduction**

Clashes between traditional and modern Islam in Indonesia have become increasingly prevalent, primarily due to diverging interpretations of religious practices. This cultural divide extends into broader social and political spheres, often leading to the formation of distinct communities with the potential to exacerbate disintegration even within the same religious group.<sup>1</sup> Indonesia's long history of cultural clashes in religious practices stems from diverse influences and interpretations of Islam introduced through various networks of stream.<sup>2</sup> Among others, traditionalists rejected the construction of a

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<sup>1</sup> Julian Millie, "The Situated Listener as Problem: 'Modern' and 'Traditional' Subjects in Muslim Indonesia," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 16, no. 3 (2013): 271-88, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877912474536>; Tamyiz Mukharrom and Supriyanto Abdi, "Harmonizing Islam and Human Rights Through the Reconstruction of Classical Islamic Tradition," *Samarah* 7, no. 1 (2023): 40-57, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v7i1.16436>.

<sup>2</sup> Abdul Djamil, "Challenges of Religious Harmony in Indonesia: A Historical Perspective," in *2nd International Conference on Democracy and Social Transformation (ICON-DEMOST 2023)* (Atlantis Press SARL, 2023), 31-36, [https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-174-6\\_6](https://doi.org/10.2991/978-2-38476-174-6_6); Ambar Rasyid, "Mistik, Ontologis, dan Fungsional (Budaya Hukum Islam: A New Perspective)," *Al-Risalah: Forum Kajian*

new mosque in one village because they thought that one mosque was sufficient in one village. Despite the potential for traditional and modernist Islam to clash due to factors related to religious practices, local culture in Bangka Regency has instead emerged as a unifying force for the Muslim community.

*Nganggung*, an acculturation of inherited Malay wisdom and Islamic values, is locally associated with traditionalist Moslem but faces surprisingly little norms rejection by modernists people. *Nganggung* tradition is held by bringing food to the local hall on Islamic holidays, thanksgiving celebrations, and another important moment. The practice of people bringing food with specific attributes and procedures is not condemned by modernists as superstitious, idolatrous, or heretical, as they often do with cultural elements perceived to hinder the purity of Islam.<sup>3</sup> They even participate in the practice of *nganggung*; preparing, carrying, and following the stages of the procession until the communal meal, creating a harmonious atmosphere with the Islam traditionalist community through a tradition that has endured for many years. *Nganggung* exemplifies a unique characteristic of local traditions, acting as a melting pot of relations between traditional Islam and modern Islam in Indonesia.<sup>4</sup>

Thus far, studies that place local traditions in Indonesia within the dynamics between traditional Islam and modernist Islam tend to focus on at least two relationships. The first focus is the distinctive relationship, which refers to a study that views local traditions as a fundamental point of divergence in views and even to the point of conflict between traditionalist Islam and modernist Islam, such as cultural polemics or the emergence of puritan movements, and so on.<sup>5</sup>

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*Hukum dan Sosial Kemasyarakatan* 15, no. 1 (2015): 40–57, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.30631/alrisalah.v15i01.378>.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald Lukens-Bull and Mark Woodward, "Variation of Muslim Practice in Indonesia," in *Handbook of Contemporary Islam and Muslim Lives*, vol. 1 (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2021), 619–40, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-32626-5\\_78](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-32626-5_78).

<sup>4</sup> Anti Muthmainnah and Dinie Anggraeni Dewi, "Implementasi Nilai-Nilai Pancasila dalam Tradisi Nganggung di Kepulauan Bangka Belitung," *Edumaspul: Jurnal Pendidikan* 5, no. 1 (2021): 515–21, <https://doi.org/10.33487/edumaspul.v5i1.1261>.

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Rahman, "Islamic Revival in Indonesia: From Purification of Religion to Social Innovations," in *2nd Conference on Contemporary Arab and Muslim World in International Relations*. (Polandia: Gdansk, 2016), 1–26,

The second is collaborative relationship; a study that views local traditions as the identity of traditional Islam respected by modernist Islam based on a broader shared vision, for example, collaboration in promoting moderation in religious life and love of the homeland.<sup>6</sup> However, the integrative role of local traditions, where both groups participate jointly, has been understudied.

This paper examines how the relationship between traditional and modern Islam in Bangka can be socially interconnected through a local tradition. In this context, the *nganggung* tradition is seen as a form of expression of this relationship, which has long been rooted in local wisdom. This local wisdom is framed within the concept of *maqāṣid asy-syari'ah* as a legitimization of Islamic legal reasoning. This approach addresses the gap highlighted by previous studies, where the relationship between traditional and modern Islam is often viewed in tension with the preservation of fixed local wisdom in Bangka society. Three key questions will be discussed: How is the representation of local wisdom in the *nganggung* tradition manifested by contemporary Bangka society? How can this local wisdom

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<https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3053461>; Masdar Hilmy, "The Double-Edged Sword of Islamic Reform: Muhammadiyah and the Dilemma of 'Tajdid' within Indonesian Islam," *RIMA: Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 48, no. 1 (2014): 183-206, <https://doi.org/https://search.informit.org/doi/10.3316/ielapa.896088036918300>; M Aziz Mukti and Irfan Zakariah, "Konflik Kelompok Puritanis dan Tradisionalis dalam NII (Negara Islam Indonesia) di Indonesia 1971-1992 M," *Fihros* 7, no. 02 (2023): 13-24, <https://ejournal.staisyekhjangkung.ac.id/index.php/fihros/article/view/77>; Pepen Irpan Fauzan and Ahmad Khoirul Fata, "Madjlis Ahli Soennah Garoet: Local Islamic Puritanism Movement and Its Roles in West Java during the Colonialism Era of 1926 - 1942," *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 17, no. 1 (2022): 141-55, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol17no1.11>.

<sup>6</sup> Muhammad Adlin Sila, "Revisiting Nu-Muhammadiyah in Indonesia: The Accommodation of Islamic Reformism in Bima," *Indonesia and the Malay World* 48, no. 142 (2020): 304-22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2020.1823150>; Gustav Brown, "Civic Islam: Muhammadiyah, NU and the Organisational Logic of Consensus-Making in Indonesia," *Asian Studies Review* 43, no. 3 (2019): 397-414, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2019.1626802>; Azyumardi Azra, "Cultural Pluralism in Indonesia: Continuous Reinventing of Indonesian Islam in Local, National and Global Contexts," *Annual Conference on Islamic Studies* 2, no. 2 (2018): 56-60, <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/apjrs.v2i2.6399>; Greg Barton, Ihsan Yilmaz, and Nicholas Morieson, "Authoritarianism, Democracy, Islamic Movements and Contestations of Islamic Religious Ideas in Indonesia," *Religions* 12, no. 641 (2021): 1-20, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080641>.

strengthen the relationship between traditional and modern Islam in Bangka? What is the perspective of *maqāṣid asy-syarī'ah* on the continuity of this local wisdom in fostering sustainable harmony? These three questions will serve as the starting point for the entire discussion in this article.

This paper explores the multifaceted nature of integration within the *nganggung* tradition of Bangka Regency, Indonesia. It argues that the integration of traditional and modernist Islam in this tradition is not merely a matter of compromise from the modernist side, but rather a complex interplay of factors that reflects the dynamic relationship between these two approaches. On the one hand, the integration in *nganggung* can be viewed as a form of compromise by modernists, who may adapt the practices and beliefs to accommodate traditional elements of the tradition. This compromise is influenced by the demographic composition of the community, where the majority-minority dynamic, or status quo, plays a role. On the other hand, compromise and acceptance create the potential not only to uphold harmony among Muslims but also to enhance the strength of Islam and civilization. This potential can be bolstered through *maqāṣid asy-syarī'ah* (the objectives of Islamic law), serving as a unifying framework alongside indigenous wisdom embedded in symbolic expressions, thus serving as a guiding principle for shaping a brighter future.

## Methods

This study examines the integration process between traditional and modern Islamic communities in Bangka Regency, Indonesia. The research focuses on the communities of Kemuja Village in Mendobarat District and Kenanga Village in Sungailiat District. This integration is observed through the *nganggung* tradition, which is actively participated in and preserved by both groups. The study is based on research conducted in Kemuja and Kenanga, where both traditional and modern Islamic groups coexist. The practice of *nganggung* in Kemuja and Kenanga villages follows a similar timeline and ceremonial structure as in other villages across Bangka Island. However, these two villages stand out for their particularly vibrant and often serving as a focal point for the tradition in the region in elaborating *nganggung* celebrations. Data sources were obtained through interviews and a literature review. Interviews were

conducted with several informants from both groups, along with observations of their social lives, involving a total of 20 informants. Field research was carried out over four years, from 2019 to 2023. The interview results are analyzed using the *maqāṣid asy-syarī'ah* perspective. Any integration that emerges from the development of *nganggung* will be interpreted as a potential fulfillment of *maqāṣid asy-syarī'ah* which is used to legitimize the establishment of *fiqh* reasoning in the tradition.

## Result and Discussion

### Manifestation of Local Wisdom in Nganggung Tradition among Contemporary Bangka Society

The name Bangka, derived from the Sanskrit word “*Wangka*” meaning tin, refers to an island with a rich cultural heritage shaped by the Deutro Melayu, the second wave of Austronesian migration during the Bronze Age (1500-500 BC). These early inhabitants, skilled in astronomy, navigation, and agriculture, consisted of two groups: the “*orang darat*” (hill people) and the “*orang laut*” (sea people), collectively known as “*urang lom*,” a pre-Islamic society practicing animism and deeply connected to nature.<sup>7</sup> Over time, various ethnic groups, including Arabs, Indians, and Bugis, also settled along the coastlines, engaging in trade and maritime activities.<sup>8</sup> The *Orang Darat* practiced swidden agriculture and lived in clustered settlements, while the *Orang Laut* were nomadic seafarers, living on boats and diving for marine resources. Their lifestyle was recorded in inscriptions dating back to 686 CE.<sup>9</sup>

The arrival of Islam brought a significant transformation, as the pre-Islamic population converted, forming the Malay Muslim community. This shift was driven by the establishment of Islamic centers by envoys from the Sultanates of Johor and Minangkabau in the 17th century.<sup>10</sup> The rise of Islam led to new religious, social, and

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<sup>7</sup> Teungku Sayyid Deqy and Djalaluddin, *Korpus Mapur dalam Islamisasi Bangka* (Yogyakarta: Ombak, 2014), 53.

<sup>8</sup> Abdullah Idi, *Bangka: Sejarah Sosial Cina-Melayu* (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2011), 4.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad Elvian, *Memarung, Panggung, Bubung, Kampung dan Nganggung* (Pangkalpinang: Dinas Kebudayaan, Pariwisata, Pemuda dan Olahraga Kota Pangkalpinang, 2015), 9.

<sup>10</sup> Zulkifli, *Kontinuitas Islam Tradisional di Bangka* (Bangka: Siddiq Press, 2015).

legal structures, with *Mentok* becoming the administrative center in 1667 under the *Undang-Undang Sindang Mardika Bangka*. Local leaders were appointed to oversee governance, *adat*, and religious affairs, solidifying the island's Islamic identity and integrating it with the local customs.<sup>11</sup>

The confluence of religion and culture on Bangka Island has led to a dynamic interplay, shaping local customs and traditions. One such example is the practice of *nganggung*, a ritualistic offering of food to esteemed guests. While the term "*nganggung*" (derived from the words "*ngang*" and "*gung*") literally translates to "presenting food to esteemed guests," its significance has evolved to align with significant celebrations in Islamic traditions. According to Elvian, a cultural figure in Bangka, the origins of *nganggung* can be traced back to the expression of gratitude for bountiful harvests. The community sought to ward off famine and ensure future agricultural success by placing offerings on work tools (hoes, sickles, machetes, whetstones, etc.) before consuming the harvest. These offerings were presented to supernatural spirits or objects believed to possess magical powers.<sup>12</sup>

The *nganggung* tradition, a deeply ingrained custom in Bangka Island, embodies the harmonious blend of traditional Malay elements and the enduring spirit of Islam. This ritualistic practice finds expression through the preparation of sumptuous meals from each household's roof, which are then ceremoniously brought to mosques, prayer halls, community centers, village squares, or gathering places during special occasions – which we will explain further below. These communal feasts, typically concluded with prayers, serve as a powerful symbol of unity and exemplify the Bangka community's motto of "*sepintu sedulang*," signifying the values of togetherness, mutual aid, and shared burdens. The culinary offerings predominantly feature dishes prepared from locally harvested *cerak* or *ketan* rice and *palawija* crops, reflecting the essence of *nganggung* as a celebration of agricultural bounty. The expressions of gratitude and prayers that accompany these gatherings underscore the Bangka

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<sup>11</sup> Zulkarnain Karim, *Kapita Selekta Budaya Bangka* (Bangka: Badan Pembinaan Kesenian Daerah Bangka, 1996), 8.

<sup>12</sup> Suparta, "Nilai-Nilai Pendidikan Islam dalam Budaya Nganggung dan Implikasinya Terhadap Solidaritas Umat di Kecamatan Mendo Barat Kabupaten Bangka," *Madania: Jurnal Kajian Keislaman* 21, no. 1 (2017): 101-12, <https://doi.org/10.29300/madania.v21i1.206>.

people's deep connection to the land and their God as spiritual reverence. This communal dining experience further reinforces the spirit of charity and serves as a testament to the community's commitment to fostering harmony and brotherhood.<sup>13</sup> For the real illustration, the tradition of *nganggung* can be seen in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** *Nganggung* practice: bringing food and reading prayers

It can be seen in Figure 1 that the *nganggung* tradition stands as a testament to the enduring cultural heritage of Bangka Island, seamlessly weaving together the threads of traditional Malay practices and the pervasive influence of Islam. This cultural shift embodies the enduring harmony between traditional Malay elements and the spirit of Islam that once permeated the region, a legacy that continues to thrive to this day. The presentation of food during *nganggung* ceremonies is not merely a culinary display; it is a symbolic act imbued with deep cultural and religious significance. The right hand supports the *dulang*, a large brass tray, while the left hand firmly grasps the tray's rim and lid to prevent them from falling. This careful handling reflects the reverence and respect accorded to the food and the occasion.

According to *Peraturan Bupati Bangka* number 4 tahun 2017, the *tudung saji*, or serving cover, holds particular importance. Crafted

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<sup>13</sup> Ahsanul Khalikin and Reslawati, "The Dynamics of Religious Moderation in Bangka Island," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Symposium on Religious Life* (Bogor: ISLR, 2020), 1-15, <https://doi.org/10.4108/eai.2-11-2020.2305035>; Muhyar Fanani and Bambang Iswanto, *Critique on Salafism and Its Significance for Indonesian Islamic Moderation: Study on Khaled Abou El-Fadhl's Thought*, *Mazahib Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam*, vol. 22, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v22i2.7046>.



from woven *mengkuang* or thorny *pandan* leaves, the *tudung saji* assumes a semi-circular, upright, and sturdy form, often adorned with colorful patterns, as can be seen in Figure 2.



Figure 2. Serving food and dish on *dulang*/tray

It can be seen from Figure 2, that the color scheme, comprising predominantly red in the lower part, and yellow, and green in a triangle or diamond shape, carries symbolic meaning. Red signifies courage, strength, dynamism, and a never-give-up spirit, as well as representing energy and joy. Yellow symbolizes grandeur, tranquility, warmth, and optimism. Green embodies hospitality, fertility, kinship, and friendship. The various lines adorning the *tudung saji* also hold symbolic significance: a) straight lines represent determination and strength within society; b) curved lines reflect the spirit of mutual aid; c) in the context of *nganggung*, these lines also symbolize the inculcation of religious values; and d) collectively, they represent propriety and etiquette in daily life.

The *nganggung* tradition, as practiced today, represents a harmonious confluence of local wisdom and Islamic values. Local wisdom is evident in the philosophical aspects expressed through cultural symbols, as discussed above. In traditional life, the articulation of inherited local wisdom through cultural symbols is a dominant and even synonymous feature. The assimilation of Islam, on the other hand, is marked by a shift in the function and orientation of *nganggung*. It is no longer a sacrificial offering to supernatural powers or spirits but rather an act of charity and social harmony, a form of gratitude to Allah, as prescribed by Islamic teachings. *Nganggung*, therefore, has endured as an integral part of the identity of Malay Muslim communities in Bangka, albeit with adaptations, while retaining its connection to its ancestral roots.

In Kemuja, *nganggung* is most lively during the commemoration of *Maulid* Nabi Muhammad pbuh, while in Kenanga, it coincides with the celebration of the Islamic New Year, commemorating the village's historical relocation. This is as noted by local community leaders:

“The village of *Kenanga* was initially located in a hilly area, approximately 1 kilometer from its current location. The village layout is characterized by a long stretch of land with plots on both sides of the road, measuring 20 meters by 50 meters each. *Nganggung* is a tradition observed by all ethnic groups in *Kenanga*. The ceremony takes place on the first day of *Muharram*, coinciding with the Islamic New Year, commemorating the relocation of the village from its old location at *ujung pucok* (upper end) to its current site at *ujung baweh* (lower end).”<sup>14</sup>

We have observed that the *nganggung* tradition in Bangka Island unfolds throughout the year, marking significant occasions in the Islamic calendar. Eleven key moments punctuate the rhythmic cycle of *nganggung*, including *Muharram*, *Rebu Kasat*, *Ruah Maulid*, *Isrā' Mi'rāj*, *Ruah Kubur*, *Nuzūlul Qur'ān*, *Malam Tujuh Likur*, *Lebaran*, *Puasa Enam*, *Dua Hari Bulan Haji*, and *Milang Ari*. During these special days, the *dulang*, laden with an array of culinary offerings, is collectively carried to the designated venue, often a mosque or public square. The commencement of *nganggung* is heralded by the resonant beats of the *bedug*, a traditional drum, or the rhythmic clatter of the *takok-takok*, a wooden clapper. As the sound echoes through the community, residents gather, eager to participate in this shared ritual. The arrival sequence determines the placement of the *dulang*, with the earliest arrivals securing their spot at the forefront, followed by others in a procession-like manner. A sense of urgency permeates the air as the community, laden with their *dulang*, marches towards the designated venue. The esteemed *imam*, *kiai*, government officials, and other prominent figures lead the procession, while children occupy the rear. Upon reaching the venue, the arrangement of the *dulang* dictates the seating pattern, with participants facing each other across two rows.

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<sup>14</sup> SA, Administrator of Kenanga Mosque, *Interview*, 2024.

The *nganggung* tradition in Bangka Island seamlessly interweaves religious observances with cultural expressions, creating a tapestry of spiritual and communal celebrations. During the commemoration of 'Āsyūrā (10th of Muḥarram), the recitation of "Ḥasbiyallāhu wa ni'ma al-wakīl, ni'ma al-mawlā wa ni'ma al-naṣīr" seventy times stands as a distinctive feature, complementing the *tahlīl* (remembrance prayers) and *doa* (supplications). Similarly, the *Rebu Kasat* event, held on the last Wednesday morning of the month of Ṣafar, concludes with the recitation of a special prayer to ward off misfortune before the communal meal. The *Ruah Maulid*, observed on the 12th of *Rabi' al-Awwal*, features the recitation of the *Kitab Barzanjī*, *Muḥayyan/Nazam/Marḥaban*, and *tahlīl*. The *Maulid Nabi* celebrations in Kemuja Village are enlivened with various festivals and religious sermons. During the *Isrā' Mi'rāj* event, the *nganggung* practice is characterized by the recitation of the history or *sīrah* of Prophet Muhammad pbuh, particularly focusing on the *al-isrā' wa al-mi'rāj* journey, which takes place every 27th of Rajab.

The *nganggung ruwah kubur (ruwahan)* tradition, meanwhile, serves as a poignant tribute to ancestral spirits and departed loved ones (*ṣāhib al-ḥājah*), held during the month of Ruwah or coinciding with *Nisfu sya'bān* (two weeks before *Ramadān*). This meaningful gathering typically takes place at the village mosque, *langgar* (prayer hall), or a mutually agreed-upon location. The following day, the community embarks on a pilgrimage to the village cemetery, paying their respects to those who have passed away. In several Bangka villages, the practice takes on a particularly festive atmosphere. After engaging in religious rituals such as *tahlīl* (remembrance prayers), recitations of *Sūrat Yāsīn* and other short surahs, and collective prayers at the village mosque, the community gathers at the *balai desa* (village hall) for the *nganggung* feast.

Other than that, during the holy month of *Ramadān*, two *nganggung* events stand out: *Nuzūlul Qur'ān* and *Malam Tujuh Likur*. *Nuzūlul Qur'ān*, commemorating the revelation of the Quran, takes place on the 17th night of *Ramadān* at the village mosques, often featuring a guest speaker to deliver a religious discourse. *Malam Tujuh Likur*, observed on the 27th night of *Ramadān*, marks the completion of the Qur'anic recitation, followed by *tahlīl* (remembrance prayers) and *doa* (supplications). The festive spirit of *nganggung* continues beyond *Ramadān*, extending to celebrations of *Idul Fitri* and *Puasa Enam*.

*Nganggung Puasa Enam* takes place on the last day of the six-day fast in the month of *Syawwāl*, usually held on the final Friday of the month, coinciding with the breaking of the fast. *Nganggung Lebaran*, observed during both Idul Fitri and Idul Adha, features a communal meal at the mosque following the *Takbiran* (the eve of Eid Fitr) and Eid prayers. Meanwhile, *Nganggung Dua Hari Bulan Haji*, held on the second night of the month of Dzulhijjah, takes place at the village mosque. In addition to *tahlīl* and *doa*, the recitation of the *Kitab Manāqib* of Syaikh Muhammad Samman distinguishes this particular *nganggung* event.

The *nganggung* tradition extends its reach to honor the passing of an individual, known as *Milang Ari*. During the first day of mourning, the expenses associated with *nganggung* are borne by the bereaved family. However, from the second night to the seventh night, the financial burden is shared among the surrounding neighbors, including the *ketua Rukun Tetangga* (neighborhood association leader), the *lurah* (village head), and other individuals willing to offer their condolences through charitable contributions. This communal support system ensures that the financial burden does not solely fall upon the bereaved family, reflecting a long-standing tradition of mutual assistance and shared responsibility. On the seventh day, the *nganggung* ceremony takes place at the village mosque, commencing after the Isha prayer. The gathering involves the recitation of *Sūrat Yāsīn*, short surahs, *tahlīl* (remembrance prayers), and *doa* (supplications), led by one or two designated imams (respected elders or individuals perceived as possessing religious authority). The ceremony concludes with a communal meal. The *nganggung Milang Ari* tradition extends beyond the initial seven nights, with additional observances held on specific nights thereafter, including *nyelawe* (the 25th night), *malam empat puluh* (the 40th night), and *ngeratus* or *nyeratus* (the 100th night). These subsequent gatherings take place at the home of the deceased, providing ongoing opportunities for community members to offer their condolences and support to the bereaved family.

Besides *Milang Ari*, *Nganggung* tradition is also celebrated during the other Islamic celebration event. The Islamic celebration event in *nganggung* tradition, for detailed info, is presented in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Religious Occasions on which the *Nganggung* Tradition is Observed

No.	Key Moments	Time	Description of the <i>Nganggung</i> Tradition
1	<i>Muḥarram</i> ('Āsyūrā)	10th of <i>Muḥarram</i>	The recitation of " <i>ḥasbiyallāhu wa ni'ma al-wakīl</i> " seventy times, complemented by <i>tahlīl</i> and supplications ( <i>doa</i> ).
2	<i>Rebu Kasat</i>	Last Wednesday of <i>Ṣafar</i>	A special prayer to ward off misfortune, followed by a communal meal.
3	<i>Ruah Maulid</i>	12th of <i>Rabi' al-Awwal</i>	Recitation of the <i>Kitab Barzanjī</i> , <i>Muḥayyan</i> / <i>Naẓam</i> / <i>Marḥaban</i> , and <i>tahlīl</i> . The <i>Maulid Nabi</i> celebrations in Kemuja Village include festivals and religious sermons.
4	<i>Isrā' Mi'rāj</i>	27th of <i>Rajab</i>	Commemorates the <i>al-isrā' wa al-mi'rāj</i> journey of Prophet Muhammad pbuh, with storytelling and community participation.
5	<i>Ruah Kubur</i> ( <i>Nisfu Sya'bān</i> )	Mid-Sha'ban (two weeks before <i>Ramadān</i> )	A tribute to the departed, including <i>tahlīl</i> , recitation of <i>Sūrat Yāsīn</i> , and prayers. Community members also visit the village cemetery to pay respects to ancestors.
6	<i>Nuzūlul Qur'ān</i>	17th of <i>Ramadān</i>	Commemoration of the revelation of the Quran, marked by religious discourse in the mosque.
7	<i>Malam Tujuh Likur</i>	27th of <i>Ramadān</i>	Celebration of Quranic recitation completion, followed by <i>tahlīl</i> and supplications.
8	<i>Lebaran</i> ('Īd al- <i>Fiṭr</i> and 'Īd al- <i>Aḍḥā</i> )	1st of <i>Syawwāl</i> & 10th of <i>Dhū al-Ḥijjah</i>	A communal meal is shared at the mosque after the <i>Takbiran</i> (Eid Eve) and Eid prayers.
9	<i>Puasa Enam</i>	Final Friday of <i>Syawwāl</i>	Marking the end of the six-day fast in <i>Syawwāl</i> , with a communal meal and breaking of the fast.
10	<i>Dua Hari</i>	2nd of <i>Dhū</i>	Commemorated at the village

	<i>Bulan Haji</i>	<i>al-Ḥijjah</i>	mosque with <i>tahlīl</i> , <i>doa</i> , and the recitation of <i>Kitab Manākib</i> of Syaikh Muhammad Samman.
11	<i>Milang Ari</i>	7th, 25th, 40th, and 100th days after a death	Mourning ceremonies held on specific nights after death, with the recitation of <i>Sūrat Yāsīn</i> , <i>tahlīl</i> , and prayers, culminating in a communal meal.

Table 1 details religious occasions during which the *nganggung* tradition is practiced in Bangka Island. These events align with important moments in the Islamic calendar and are marked by communal gatherings. In addition to these religious dates, *nganggung* is also observed on non-religious occasions, such as weddings and community events. One notable event is *Nganggung Seribu Dulang*, typically held during special celebrations, where a thousand dishes (*dulang*) are prepared and shared among participants. The preparation and sharing of food during *Nganggung Seribu Dulang* reflect local culinary traditions and the importance of hospitality in Bangka culture. The collective act of carrying and presenting the *dulang* reinforces a sense of community and shared responsibility, highlighting the broader cultural significance of *nganggung* as it serves not only as a religious observance but also as a social tradition that strengthens community ties throughout various aspects of life in Bangka.

### Strengthening Relations Between Traditional and Modern Islam through Local Wisdom

The Malay Muslim community on Bangka Island adheres to Ash'ariyah theology in the realm of *Tawḥīd* (monotheism), the Shafi'i school of jurisprudence, and the traditional ethical Sufism of Imam al-Ghazali. This blend of religious principles and longstanding customary practices has given rise to the concept of "traditional Islam" in the region, as formulated by Dhofier, who characterizes such groups as remaining firmly anchored in the thoughts of scholars of *fiqh* (Islamic law), *ḥadīth* (prophetic traditions), *tafsīr* (Quranic exegesis), *tawḥīd*, and Sufism from the 7th to the 13th centuries CE.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Zamakhsyari Dhofier, *Tradisi Pesantren, Studi tentang Pandangan Hidup Kyai* (Jakarta: LP3ES, 1982), 1.

Zulkifli's research corroborates the deep-rootedness of traditional Islam in Bangka, particularly in rural areas like Kemuja and Kenanga villages. He further notes that, on a broader scale, there have been instances of intersection between traditional and modernist Islamic groups, primarily in urban-rural contexts. Modernist Islam, in contrast, seeks to reinterpret Islamic teachings to align more closely with contemporary values and rational thought. It emphasizes a return to the original texts of the Quran and *hadith*, advocating for reform and the application of reason in understanding Islam. Traditional Islam is often culturally linked to Nahdlatul Ulama, while modernist Islam is associated with Muhammadiyah. Traditional Islam has responded to these interactions by strengthening its authority, particularly in rural strongholds. As a result, traditional Islam remains the majority tradition, while modernist Islam occupies a minority position with a significant numerical gap.<sup>16</sup>

In response to the changing landscape of religious thought, traditional Islam in Bangka Island has adopted a more inclusive approach, welcoming individuals from diverse backgrounds into their fold. This openness, however, is tempered by the need to preserve their core identity and avoid transgressing certain boundaries, particularly those related to faith and ancestral wisdom. One manifestation of this openness is the *nganggung* tradition. Traditionally reserved for members of the community, *nganggung* gatherings have now become inclusive spaces, welcoming both Muslims and non-Muslims. In the villages of Kemuja and Kenanga, modernist Muslims actively participate in *nganggung*, from preparing the offerings to joining the communal meal. This level of engagement is particularly evident during the grandest *nganggung* celebration in Kenanga, held annually during the month of *Muharram*, where a diverse mix of individuals, including modernist Muslims and non-Muslims, come together to share in the festivities.

The *nganggung* tradition in Bangka Island exemplifies the dynamic interplay between tradition and modernity as evident in various aspects of the practice below:

*First*, culinary offerings on *dulang*. The traditional spread of *nasi cerak* (steamed rice), side dishes, and *ketan*-based delicacies, a hallmark of Bangka Malay cuisine, remains a central feature of the

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<sup>16</sup> Zulkifli, *Kontinuitas Islam Tradisional di Bangka*.

*dulang* (communal tray) during *nganggung* gatherings. However, over time, there has been a gradual shift towards incorporating additional food items, including fruits and other local specialties. In Kenanga, for instance, *bolu koju* (sponge cake) is a common addition, while in other areas, *dodol* (sweet sticky rice cake) and *wajik* (glutinous rice cake) are often included.

“The *nganggung* tradition extends beyond the single day of 1 *Muharram*, including 2 *Muharram*. On 1 *Muharram*, each household head prepares a *dulang* (communal tray) filled with *nasi cerak* (steamed rice) and an assortment of side dishes. A unique confection known as *bolu koju* is also included. The *dulang* is carried from the *balai kampong* (village hall) or the old mosque to the *Masjid Jamik al-Mukminun*. The *bolu koju* is transported in a special *krito surong* (carrying basket). The entire village community participates in this event, including newcomers and even non-Muslims. On 2 *Muharram*, a mass *cukor masal* (hair-cutting ceremony) is held for children between the ages of seven months and one year. Only *kue-kue* (sweet pastries) are brought as offerings for this occasion. The children are carried by their mothers, while the men bring coconuts. A special dish, *ayem tim* (an old black *kampong* chicken), is also prepared. *Ayem tim* is cooked in a unique container with a *paser* (lid) on top.”<sup>17</sup>

While the majority of the villagers adhere to traditional Islamic values, they have not rejected the introduction of new elements in the technical implementation of *nganggung*, such as the preparation of specific dishes like *bolu koju* and *ayem tim*, as well as communal involvement of the entire village, including newcomers and non-Muslims, demonstrating a willingness to adapt and embrace change. This openness stems from a desire to preserve their cultural heritage (*warisan atok-nek* in Bangka), while simultaneously adopting aspects of modernity perceived as beneficial. As a result, kinship ties remain strong, fostering harmony, peace, and mutual interaction within the community. A small minority of villagers belonging to modernist

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<sup>17</sup> SE and SA, Administrators of Kenanga Mosque, *Interview*, 2024.



Islamic groups also actively participate in *nganggung* traditions. The evolving nature of the food offerings brought during *nganggung* gatherings is not met with resistance, as it does not diminish the essence of the tradition. In addition to traditional rice-based dishes, contemporary offerings include fruits such as grapes, oranges, and watermelon. Sweet pastries and snacks now encompass items beyond *ketan*-based delicacies, such as fried meatballs, crispy tofu, and others. Practicality has also influenced the choice of main dishes, with satay and *lontong* (rice cakes in coconut milk sauce) becoming popular options. These changes reflect the evolving nature of society and the desire for convenience in food preparation.

*Second*, ritual practice. As previously discussed, the ritualistic composition of the *nganggung* tradition aligns with the characteristics of traditional Islam. The ritual leader is an individual recognized for their religious authority and embodiment of Bangka's local wisdom, typically referred to as *guru – kiai* (a title commonly used in Java and Madura). In recent times, the title *kiai* has also gained wider acceptance. The congregation presents affirms the prayers and supplications. Notably, *nganggung* has never witnessed a modernist Islamic figure leading the rituals and prayers. While modernists are accustomed to silent (*sirran*) *zikr* (remembrance of God) in contrast to the loud recitation (*jahr*) of rituals and prayers practiced by traditional Islam, their numerical presence within the community remains significantly smaller than that of traditional. Nonetheless, they do not raise objections, acknowledging that *nganggung's* historical roots lie with the village populace, predominantly traditional Muslims.<sup>18</sup>

Innovative elements within the *nganggung* tradition have also played a role in attracting the participation of modernist Muslims. According to our observations, for instance, the *Nganggung Seribu Dulang* (Thousand Tray of *Nganggung*) event, held at a football field instead of the traditional village mosque, *Masjid Rahmatuddin*, incorporates various competitions and activities. Visiting homes in Kemuja village during *nganggung* has become a particularly popular phenomenon due to the lively atmosphere. Anyone is welcome to attend and enjoy the food, without restrictions based on family or close relatives. Traditional and modernist Muslims, and even non-

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<sup>18</sup> AS, Chief administrator of Raudhatussolihin Mosque, Bangka.

Muslims, dedicate their free time to visit Kemuja village. This openness exemplifies the willingness of traditionalists, as the custodians of *nganggung* preservation in Bangka.

*Third*, symbol or attribute. The use of religious attributes and symbols in the *nganggung* tradition reflects the distinct patterns of both traditional and modernist Islam. While traditional Islam tends to emphasize symbolic elements, modernist Islam places a greater focus on substance. Modernist Muslims are not bound by specific attributes, particularly in ritual practices, prioritizing the fulfillment of religious obligations. Their understanding of the symbols embedded within the *nganggung* tradition aligns with explanations provided earlier, particularly regarding symbolism present in the food and the technical aspects of its implementation. Additionally, they do not perceive the attributes as restrictive. In Kemuja village, when the *nganggung* gathering takes place at the mosque, men dress as they would for daily prayers: sarong, shirt, and *kopiah* (skullcap). However, when the gathering is held at a location other than the mosque, such as a house or other agreed-upon venue, long pants are generally worn. The villagers of Kemuja who adhere to traditional Islam are not accustomed to carrying *tasbeih* (prayer beads) for dhikr (remembrance of God), even during *nganggung* gatherings. This reflects their approach to integration within the community, which has attracted the participation of modernist Muslims in *nganggung* activities.

“The dress code for *nganggung* gatherings varies depending on the location. When held at a house, men typically wear pants, with sarongs less common. Exceptions may include the *guru/kyai* (ritual leader). Even in instances where men are not wearing *kopiah* (skullcaps), they are rarely reprimanded. Similarly, congregation members refrain from criticism and allow individuals to dress as they see fit.”<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> AA, Chief administrator of Kemuja Mosque, *Interview*, 2024.

The *dulang*, a communal tray, serves as a significant symbol within the *nganggung* tradition. While the majority of the community acknowledges its importance, there has been an adaptation to changing times, with some individuals opting for alternative containers such as stacked *rantang* (tiered food containers) or other vessels. This shift undoubtedly diminishes the symbolic representation inherent in the *dulang*. However, it is not considered a transgression, and those who choose alternative containers are not barred from participating in *nganggung*.

*Fourth*, a system of belief. Sulaiman, a prominent figure in the Kemuja mosque, explains that traditional Muslims perceive *nganggung* as a longstanding value that must be preserved. This belief stems from the conviction that the tradition's continued existence in the village is a testament to *Ijtihād* (independent reasoning) of local scholars and figures, who have elevated it to the status of *al-'ādah al-muḥakkamah* (established custom), indicating that the custom is considered a legal reference point. This implies that the custom is supported by *ijmā'* (consensus among scholars), with *ijmā'* positioned as one of the sources of Islamic law after the *Qur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, and *qiyās* (analogy). Participating in *nganggung* is therefore considered a religious obligation for traditional Muslims. Failure to do so is deemed 'sinful' and may result in social sanctions or even ostracism. Modernist Muslims, while understanding this perspective, do not view the tradition as mandatory or even recommended. Nonetheless, they are motivated to participate due to various factors, such as expressing gratitude, giving alms, and promoting social welfare. Almost no one misses *nganggung* gathering unless they have a valid excuse.

The *nganggung* tradition fosters a space for integration between traditional and modernist Islam. This is evident in (a) the evolving food presentation methods, where new tools and transportation styles are accepted; (b) the practice itself, allowing modernist participation within traditional guidelines; (c) the belief system, where participation is a social obligation rather than a religious mandate for modernists; and (d) the flexible dress code, accommodating diverse clothing choices for both groups. The differences in religious perspectives do not obscure the main goal of *nganggung*, which is reflected in its philosophical meaning and the harmonious atmosphere it strives to maintain. Modernist Muslims

demonstrate flexibility by adapting to certain aspects, while traditionalists embrace specific innovations. Ultimately, *nganggung* serves as a melting pot, integrating these Islamic interpretations and solidifying itself as a cornerstone of Bangka's cultural identity.

### **Maintaining Nganggung: *Maqāṣid asy-Syari'ah* and the Sustainability of Local Wisdom in Fostering Harmony**

The persistence of *nganggung* tradition serves as a testament to its cultural significance and its potential to contribute to the civilizational development of Bangka's communities. Beyond its role as a melting pot for the integration of traditional and modern Islam, *nganggung's* embodiment of local wisdom provides a compelling rationale for its continued preservation. The overall enthusiasm of Bangka's inhabitants further reinforces the importance of this tradition. However, as *nganggung* intersects with the dynamics of modern life, a crucial challenge emerges: ensuring that the sacred local wisdom embedded within the tradition is not eroded by excessive enthusiasm, thereby reducing *nganggung* to a mere pragmatic, symbolic, and ahistorical ritual, even as it undergoes shifts that do not undermine its core elements.<sup>20</sup> The local wisdom embedded in *nganggung*, a testament to the wisdom of past generations in the village, must be continually rekindled through an awareness of the tradition's multifaceted nature, encompassing ideal forms, behavioral expressions, and material artifacts.<sup>21</sup>

When *nganggung* is positioned as an ideal form, it embodies powerful ideas, thoughts, theories, and even ideologies. As a microcosm, humanity must acknowledge the absolute power of God. Objectifying God's creation represents humanity's caliphate on Earth in pursuit of eternal bliss. This position demands continuous awareness across generations, regardless of ideology—whether traditionalist or modernist Islam, or individual boundaries—that the highest aspiration of Islam, or *maqāṣid asy-syari'ah*, is tied to human

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<sup>20</sup> Daniel H. Stein, Nicholas M. Hobson, and Juliana Schroeder, "A Sacred Commitment: How Rituals Promote Group Survival," *Current Opinion in Psychology* 40 (2021): 114–20, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2020.09.005>.

<sup>21</sup> Rusydi Sulaiman, "Dinamika Peradaban Kampung di Bangka," *Mawa'izh: Jurnal Dakwah dan Pengembangan Sosial Kemanusiaan* 10, no. 2 (2019): 190–213, <https://doi.org/10.32923/maw.v10i2.978>.

and civilizational development.<sup>22</sup> Ibn ‘Ashur, for instance, refers to this as *maqāṣid al-‘āmmah* (comprehensive objectives). Its elements include *al-musāwāh* (equality), *al-ta’āwun* (mutual assistance), *al-taḍāmun* (solidarity), and *al-takāful* (social insurance). These values are derived from the universal content of Qur’anic verses such as QS. Al-Ḥujurāt [49]: 13 and Al-Māidah [5]: 2. These provide the foundation for building the civilization desired by Islam, assuming that the fruits of Islamic law will flourish in a harmonious social climate free from division and enmity.<sup>23</sup>

The willingness of traditionalist Muslims, as the majority, to regard modernist Muslims equally in the *nganggung* ceremony and the active involvement of modernist Muslims are sufficient grounds to develop *al-musāwāh*. This means differences in viewing the relationship between tradition and Islamic law can remain in people’s thought or limited circles, but in practice, the teachings of *al-ta’āwun*, *al-taḍāmun*, and *al-takāful* should take precedence. This condition ultimately maximizes the potential for the five main principles (*mabādi’ al-khamsah*) of Islamic law orientation—preservation of religion, life, property, lineage, and intellect—to succeed.<sup>24</sup>

As a behavior, *nganggung* is a tradition that reflects local wisdom values in society. The *nganggung* tradition and preceding stages like *memarung* (the process of preparing and cultivating

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<sup>22</sup> Muhammad Munir and Muhammad Tayyeb Nadeem, “Maqāṣid al-Sharī‘ah Between Classical and Postmodern Periods: An Advanced Islamic Juridical Context,” *MEI: Ma‘ārif-e-Islāmī* 22, no. 2 (2023): 6–7, <https://ojs.aiou.edu.pk/index.php/jmi/article/view/1442>; Azhar, “Islamic Law Reform in Indonesia from the Perspective of *Maqāṣid asy-Syarī‘ah*: Kerinci’s Intellectual Views,” *Samarah* 8, no. 2 (2024): 750–69, <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjhk.v8i2.15051>; H. L. Rahmatiah et al., “Strict Liability and Product Safety: The Case of Dangerous Syrup in Indonesia in the *Maqāṣid asy-Syarī‘ah* Perspective,” *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 23, no. 2 (2023): 543–62, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v23i2.34240>.

<sup>23</sup> Ulul Umami and Abdul Ghofur, “Human Rights in *Maqāṣid asy-Syarī‘ah al-Āmmah*: A Perspective of Ibn ‘Āshūr,” *Al-Ahkam: Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum dan Islam* 32, no. 1 (2022): 91, <https://doi.org/10.21580/ahkam.2022.32.1.9306>; Mohamed El Tahir El-Mesawi, “*Maqāṣid Al-Sharī‘ah*: Meaning, Scope and Ramifications,” *Al-Shajarah*, 2020, 284, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31436/shajarah.v25i2.1141>.

<sup>24</sup> Iffatin Nur, Syahrul Adam, and M. Ngizzul Muttaqien, “*Maqāṣid asy-Syarī‘ah*: The Main Reference and Ethical-Spiritual Foundation for the Dynamization Process of Islamic Law,” *Ahkam: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah* 20, no. 2 (2020): 355, <https://doi.org/10.15408/ajis.v20i2.18333>.

farmland, with harvested crops donated during the nganggung ceremony), *panggung* (a shelter in the farm for resting and storing harvests), *bubung* (a cluster of huts forming a small or large farming settlement), and *kampung* in Malay cosmology collectively form a systematic expression of these local wisdom values for the community. As material artifacts, *nganggung* contains attributes or symbols with specific philosophical meanings, such as the *tudung saji* (food cover). While animals use symbolic signals to interact, humans, with greater intelligence and wisdom, develop these symbols into more sophisticated and civilized expressions.<sup>25</sup> These symbols are not just tools for communication but also a means to reinforce cultural and traditional values, connect past generations with the present, and maintain continuity of culture and identity.

These elements form the core of a culture that can be strengthened to reflect deep-rooted traditions, passed down from generation to generation as “the forms of artistic heritage of a particular culture.” However, culture is relative, evolving based on human creativity, taste, initiative, and effort. Culture is also secondary, being an expression of religion, subordinated to the primary and absolute religion sourced from God as “the ultimate reality.” The *nganggung* tradition, as a legacy from the past, combined with innovation, enhances the unity among Muslims (*ukhuwwah islāmiyah*) and disciplines them in social organization. Strengthening this unity also involves countering ideologies that attempt to separate local wisdom from Islam, ultimately disrupting societal order.<sup>26</sup> This includes transnational ideologies that are often unwelcoming to the

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<sup>25</sup> Aris Susanto et al., “Penguatan Nilai-Nilai Luhur Kerajaan Kesultanan Buton Pada Mahasiswa STKIP Pelita Nusantara Buton dalam Implementasi Pendidikan Karakter Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Budaya Buton,” *Journal of Human And Education* 3, no. 4 (2023): 399–403, <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.31004/jh.v3i4.486>; Syed Agung Afandi, Reski Lestari, and Muslim Afandi, “Collaborative Governance in Preserving the Malay Culture of Riau,” *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun* 9, no. 2 (2021): 483–500, <https://doi.org/10.26811/peuradeun.v9i2.525>.

<sup>26</sup> Ahmad Sihabul Millah, Yuni Ma’rufah, and Khoirul Imam, “Habituation of Local Culture in Order to Prevent Religious Radicalism in Sukoharjo, Central Java,” *Esensia: Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Ushuluddin* 19, no. 2 (2018): 199–208, <https://doi.org/10.14421/esensia.v19i2.1736>; Daud Pandie et al., “The Construction of Ethnoreligious Identity among Muslims and Christians in Rote Ndao Regency, Indonesia,” *IJoReSH: Indonesian Journal of Religion, Spirituality, and Humanity* 3, no. 1 (2024): 101–25, <https://doi.org/10.18326/ijoresh.v3i1.101-125>.

continuity of local Islamic traditions.<sup>27</sup> The participation of everyone is motivated without ignoring the contributions of religious authorities and community leaders who have brought *nganggung* from its historical roots to its most contemporary form.<sup>28</sup>

### Conclusion

The *nganggung* tradition serves as a powerful reflection of local wisdom, fostering integration between traditional and modern Islam in Bangka, while simultaneously uniting all segments of society. In the villages of Kemuja and Kenanga, this integration manifests in the active participation of modern Islam adherents, even though the *nganggung* practice is deeply rooted in traditional Islam. This study reveals that this integration represents an advanced stage following the emergence of adaptation awareness and goal alignment, where modern Islam recognizes the need to preserve the harmony and philosophical depth of *nganggung*. On the other hand, traditional Islam, as the majority force, remains highly receptive to the involvement of all segments of society. While some aspects of *nganggung* have undergone shifts, these changes have not touched upon the tradition's core elements. As a vessel for Islamic harmony (*ukhuwwah islāmiyah*), *nganggung* should be continuously promoted so that its preservation goes beyond superficiality, fostering a deeper understanding based on the strong combination of *maqāṣid asy-Syari'ah* and its inherent local wisdom. Given the limitations of this study, such as its focus on a specific geographical area and the reliance on interviews and participatory observation—broader influences, including digitalization and evolving societal dynamics, were not fully addressed. Further research on *nganggung* and its relationship with traditional and modern Islam is highly encouraged. Utilizing alternative perspectives and approaches, such as examining the challenges posed by the digital age, the rise of individualism, and

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<sup>27</sup> Zulkifli, "Struggling for Islamic Caliphate in a Changing Malay Society," *Ulumuna* 28, no. 1 (2024): 224–56, <https://doi.org/10.20414/ujis.v28i1.794>.

<sup>28</sup> Nicholas M. Hobson et al., "The Psychology of Rituals: An Integrative Review and Process-Based Framework," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 22, no. 3 (2018): 260–84, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868317734944>; Makmun Syar'i, "Mohammed Arkoun's Thought on Sharia Deconstruction: A Historical and Anthropological Approach," *Mazahib Jurnal Pemikiran Hukum Islam* 21, no. 2 (2022): 291–314, <https://doi.org/10.21093/mj.v21i2.5131>.

the intensification of identity politics, can enrich our understanding of this intricate dynamic.

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