



Immanent and Transcendental Belief of Fisherman Community

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ABSTRACT This paper aims to reveal the process of syncretization between immanent aspects and transcendental beliefs that exist in fishing communities, especially in Bontosua Island. The data were collected from the Fishermen using in-depth interview and observation techniques of their daily activities. The data obtained were categorized, reduced, analyzed and interpreted using phenomenological approach. The results indicate that the syncretization between immanent aspects in the form of animistic and dynamistic beliefs and Islam is manifested in incantation ritual using local languages (Buginese and Makassarese) and the language of Qur'an. Both of them are used before leaving for the sea, at the time of catching fish, and during particular rituals.

INTRODUCTION

The socio-cultural reality of fishermen community has always attracted many scientists. Many researches about socio-cultural of fishermen have been conducted in various perspectives and disciplines. In socio-anthropological perspective, such researches are related to things such as fishermen's poverty, fishing conflicts, patron-client relationship, rituals, beliefs, and so on.

Some researches have been published about various ritual forms performed by fishing community. Among others are the 'Atule' and 'Palo-lo' rituals of American-Samoa fishing community (Levine and Allen 2009), 'Mattanza' tuna ritual in Sicilia (Van Ginkel 2013), 'Karakia' ritual of Maori Fishermen in New Zealand (Meredith 2017), 'Kue-Matsuri' ritual in Miyaza Japan (Winston 1976). 'Petik Laut' rituals in Malang Indonesia (Martin and Meliono 2011), 'Mappanretasi' rituals in South Kalimantan (Akmal 2011), and traditions of 'Nadran' ceremony at Cirebon fisherman community in Kelurahan Kangkung Bandar Lampung (Nur'aini et al. 2014). Nevertheless, the research on the 'meaning' of ritual as a representation of the trust of fisherman community still needs doing to uncover the minds of the fisherman community as well as to understand their socio-cultural actions.

Understanding on the meaning of ritual and belief in fishing communities should be based on the dialectical relationship between man and his social environment, cultural environment, political environment, and economic environment. Maly and Maly (2003) call it the foundation of life and the source of the spiritual connection between humans and their environment. The dialectic is called immanence. Meanwhile, the dialectical relationship between man and his environment (Vitalis and Tabenyang 2017) always involves metaphysical environment which is the ultimate reality (Maly and Maly 2003) called transcendence. The dialectic produces knowledge and belief embodied in various forms of rituals. Therefore, the ritual as fishermen's characteristics always represents the aspects of immanence and transcendence.

In the fisherman community of South Sulawesi for example, the transcendence aspect is derived from the spreading of Islamic Sufism, while animism and dynamism are still the dominant fishermen's local beliefs (as immanence aspect) (Halim and Zainuddin 2017b). In the implementation of fishing rituals, both Islam and local beliefs was syncretized.

This study generally examines the syncretization process between local knowledge as an immanence and belief as transcendent thing. It includes ritual forms, mythology, prohibitions,

taboos, and so on. It is especially related to the use of modern technology to facilitate their work and to improve their catch. Thus, it clearly describes the urgency of the ritual and its meaning for the fishing community.

METHODOLOGY

This research revealed the understanding of the fishing community on the meaning of ritual and social actions. Such social actions reflected their belief in the supra rational aspect. This confirmed the existence of cosmology that recognized the relationship among God, nature, and man (Halim and Zainuddin 2015a, b). Therefore, this research used phenomenological approach. The data were obtained from the fishermen in Bontosua Island of Pangkep District, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia using in-depth interview and observation techniques as the main instruments. The data were processed by categorizing and reducing them. They were then analyzed and interpreted.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Incorporation of Modern Technology and Local Knowledge in Fishing

The economic behavior happening among the fishermen leads to an effort to meet the needs of production and distribution of marine resources, especially fish (Arifin 2014a). Fabinyi et al. (2016) specifically calls it 'food security'. In this aspect, the use of modern technology especially the use of machine and fishing gear nets is one of the most influential factors on the fishing efforts and other forms and types of marine fishermen businesses.

The adoption of modern technology results in changes not only physical changes such as fishing gear and motor engine but also changes in values, norms, knowledge systems, and belief systems. Such conditions then contribute to changes in attitudes, behaviors, and ways of thinking of fishing community. However, in large-scale fishing groups in particular, such as *Pa'renge*, *Pa'GaE*, and *Pa'bagang*, the fishermen tend to retain the belief system they call '*Erang Passimombalang*' as the knowledge of voyage and '*Erang Pa'boya-Boyang*' as the knowledge of fishing (Arifin 2014b). The demands of changes caused by the adoption of

modern technology are not impossible as the effect of changes in mythology, ritualization, and culturalization in the economic activities of fishermen in South Sulawesi.

Similar to other islands in South Sulawesi, the community in Bontosua Island also has basic livelihoods related to the utilization of marine resources, particularly fishing, fish cages, squid fishing, and ferry services called *Palimbang*. In addition, other economic endeavor is trading of mixed goods at stores, stalls, and cafes. However, the tendency of people's business is more dependent on fishing business in the sea. The income of fisherman in Bontosua Island is influenced by the season and the status of the fisherman as '*Sawi*' or '*Pinggawa*'. For the traders of grocery items, their income is also affected by the activities of the fisherman, in that, the higher the frequency of fishing activities during the dry season, the more the goods they need to go fishing. Conversely, the lower the frequency of fishing activities during wet season (rainy season), the fewer the goods they need to go fishing. Meanwhile, the needs of households are fulfilled by borrowing or owing to the neighboring stores.

The condition of life especially for the fisherman having the status as '*Sawi*' is more likely to have difficulties in household financial management because of their daily income. The wages they earn as '*sawi*' or fishing laborers are immediately spent after they have earned a share from the owner of the capital. The implication is that the fishermen with a '*Sawi*' status in Bontosua Island tend to have difficulty to save, nor can they invest in goods. Any income they earn from the revenue share in each fishing season is always spent to fulfill the daily needs of the family. It is often insufficient or inadequate for the family's monthly needs, so they have to owe it to the stalls close to their homes.

Syncretization between the two types of knowledge is called hybridization (Hidayat 2010). As Hidayat (2010) stated that the hybridization between science as modern knowledge and local knowledge indicates that these two knowledge entities can complement each other's void and limitations.

Hybridization process is a combination of science and local knowledge that produces new forms of knowledge as the result of mutual understanding. In the context of fishing, this hybridization occurs when these two knowledge

entities share the same view as an object. As Escobar (1996) pointed out that local knowledge in contestation can form a hybrid through a process of cultural hybridization. Conditions of the cultural hybridization are found, for example, when the local knowledge owned by fisherman is used to read the location of fish in accordance with the views of science related to it.

In terms of detecting the location of fish, the fisherman with local knowledge can detect it through the signs of waves and ocean currents. Modern technology can also detect the location of fish by using advanced tools called Fish Tracker.

The Use of Incantations as a Means of Inner Communication with Supernatural Powers

The economic activities of fishermen, especially in production process are often linked to transcendental things. Fishing activities in Bontosua Island are seen as something fun for the fishermen when they pull the net tools called '*GaE*' or '*Rengge*' full of fish. Conversely, sometimes fishermen are stressful when they face waves and big storms. Therefore, the way that they usually do to tame the malignancy of physical and metaphysical nature is to do inner communication with supernatural forces through the recitation of incantations. The incantations they read are highly reliable to overcome the malignancy of 'physical and metaphysical nature'.

Therefore, without the use of incantations which is believed to have strength and efficacy to tame the malignancy of natural maritime, the fishermen in Bontosua Island are really doubtful about their safety in fishing. For the '*sawi*' as fishing laborers in particular, they are confident to participate in the shipping and fishing if they know that the operational leader of boat has a '*Pangngissengang*' capability which includes '*Erang Passimombalang*' as the knowledge of ways of shipping and '*Erang Pa' Boya-boyang*' as the knowledge of ways of fishing.

For a '*Pinggawa Lopi*' as the operational leader of the boat and the group members, it is urgent to use incantation or *Pangngissengang* as an element in the fishermen's belief system which can function as 'protective technology' from the threat of physical nature (waves and storm malignancies) and metaphysical natural, that is, disturbance of supernatural beings that they occasionally experience in the middle of the ocean

while they are on their way to the fishing grounds or when they come home with their production.

The intended 'Protective Technology' is the result of the packaging of traditional culture of the fishermen as 'incendiary technology' called 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' by Laughlin and Throop (2003) enclosed by Islamic values and norms. The technology is derived from the belief system and indigenous knowledge system which are believed and used by fisherman groups in South Sulawesi, including by the fishermen in Bontosua Island in overcoming the barriers of marine natural, especially against the waves and storms. They are even believed to soften the strength of the reef when the ship hits the cluster of corals called '*Taka*'.

The incantations commonly used by the fishermen in Bontosua Island are the syncretization of elements derived from indigenous fishermen as immanence with elements derived from of *Samawiyah* religion especially Islamic religion which is transcendental. The syncretization between the two elements has been going on through a very long process of social culture (usage, folkways, mores, and custom). Therefore, until now the function of incantations is still strongly believed to be useful by fisherman groups in taming the marine nature and persuading the supernatural and the form of consciousness to adapt to super-rational reality (McGodwin 2001; Etikpah 2017). The power and efficacy of the incantations are increasingly believed if the reading is accompanied by giving offerings to supernatural beings in a place and time considered good in accordance with the belief of the society.

Taboo and Prohibition in Bontosua Fishermen Society

In the belief system of fishermen between the values of the old faith that are 'immanent' as fishermen's tradition and the values of beliefs that are 'transcendental' as Islamic Religion have been mixed each other. Then, they have constructed the fishermen's actions in doing shipping and fishing activities. This reality is also a special characteristics of people in Asia, especially Southeast Asia called 'Southeast Asia Consciousness' (Halim and Zainuddin 2017b).

Within that belief, there are restrictions and prohibitions for *Pa'rengge* and *Pa'GaE* in Bontosua which are still believed to wreak havoc or

unsuccessful fishing when matters related to mythology and ritualization are ignored.

Fishing Tools Shouldn't Fall to the Ground or Hit Other Objects

A boatman as the operational leader in Bontosua Island has already experienced and strongly believed what possibilities to experience when going to the sea. 'Pinggawa' boat can understand earlier the existence events to experience based on the symbols of behavior and natural symbols that occur around him. Therefore, the operational leader usually delays the departure a few minutes or hours later when he feels that there will be strange events around captured by his five senses. The intended events are prohibited behavior and restrictions related to shipping and fishing activities to undertake. Then, when the operational leader has already felt something that is considered good to go to sea, he is prepared to go out for shipping and fishing. All equipments brought from home are strongly forbidden to fall onto the ground or hit on other objects such as doors or house poles.

Pinggawa Cannot Change Clothes Before Sailing

The taboo related to clothes for a 'Pinggawa Lopi' is that he is not allowed to change the clothes being worn for 3 to 5 days before leaving for the sea. 'Pinggawa's' wife is also forbidden to wash her husband's clothes before he leaves for the sea, especially when the clothes are placed or hung on the wall of the house.

Children Do Not Have to Cry and Fight When Pinggawa Goes Sailing

Before 'pinggawa' is leaving home to go the sea, it is strongly forbidden for the children to cry or quarrel one another with angry words. The conditions in a 'pinggawa's' living environment when approaching the departure to the boat should always be quiet without any quarrels and sounds of crying. Therefore, when he leaves home, he feels calm and full of concentration, so that he can detect good or bad hunch related to fishing activities that will be done.

The following statements are 'pinggawa's' prohibited utterances and actions when he is about to go to the sea:

Before we go fishing, we have to set a good time. We sit in a position facing the door in which the direction is considered good. We try to keep the heart always being in good condition. We don't have to have a bad intention and rude words. There is no children's crying, no quarreling, no one sweeping, no one complaining, no one sitting at the door or propped up in the house while searching for lice, no falling goods. If the conscience orders us to leave, we should go to the boat with the word of 'Bismillah'. Upon arrival in the boat, the right foot should first touch the sea with the word 'Bismillah'. Then we board the boat as the boat sways upwards and has to start the right foot with the word 'Bismillah'.

'Sawi' is Forbidden to Mention the Name of Four-legged Animals

Afterall, when group members have already been on a boat to leave for the fishing grounds, the 'sawi' members are prohibited to mention the name of four-legged animals when they happens to see the animals while passing an island or chatting on the boat. This is because it is believed that when one of the 'sawi' members mentions the four-legged animal, it is believed to invite the dolphins to come to damage their nets. Similarly, it is forbidden for fishing groups to catch 'Mangngiwang fish' because according to the fishermen's experience 'Mangngiwang fish' is often followed by groups of small fish that makes it easier for them catch them. Therefore, when they happen to find a 'Mangngiwang fish' in their nets while catching, they should release it. The act of releasing the 'Mangngiwang fish' is similar to the myths in Indian society in which they believe that the sacred fish is forbidden to eat (Reeves 2013).

Fisherman Should Not Go to the Sea Before the Friday Prayer, by Ramadhan and Lebaranday, and Before to Bury a Corpse

The other restriction or taboo also believed by the fisherman is to forbid to go fishing before the 'Friday Prayer' time is over. This is strictly prohibited because based on their experience, any fisherman groups who went fishing before the 'Friday Prayer' did not get any fish and even 'sawi' members could have an accident in their groups.

Similarly, before 'Ramadhan Month', fasting moon for Moslem, it is strongly forbidden for fishermen to go fishing one or two days before Ramadhan or Fasting Month. Similarly, when 'Idul Fitri and Idul Adha' is coming, it is greatly abstinent for fisherman groups of Bontosua Island to catch fish in the sea. Likewise, when a resident of Bontosua Island dies, it is strongly abstinent for the group to go fishing before the dead body is buried.

Some of the above restrictions are also found in the research of Masalu et al. (2010) in Tanzania. The similar prohibition was written by Reppe (2015) called 'Eha' in a research on fishing communities in North Sulawesi. Thus, 'pinggawa' and 'sawi' members always try to avoid actions that are prohibited according to 'Customary Provisions of Fisherman' so that the fishermen's fishing activities in the sea can give a maximum result. Moreover, they can avoid various problems and obstacles that can disrupt the smoothness of the voyage, both on the way to the catching location and on the way home to bring the fishing results.

Mythology in Fisherman Community

Each Sailing Line has Supernatural Beings

Fisherman groups believe that there are fishing lines that are considered sacred, so when they pass through them, they should perform a ceremony called 'pa'rappo' or fruitful ceremony by providing fruits such as bananas, eggs, betel nuts, and betel leaves and also place cigarettes in a plate, which are then put on the surface of the sea and left drifting by the waves. Indeed, such treatment is a persuasion against the unseen or metaphysical nature in order that the fisherman can be safe to do shipping and succeed in doing fishing business in the sea.

There are several sacred locations for fishing community in Bontosua Island. They are the area around *Podang-podang Ca'di* Island, Ujung Beru Island, Badi Island, and Lae-Lae Island. These locations are strongly believed to have unseen guards or supernatural beings that always control and even often interfere the voyage of each ship passing through the line. Therefore, a persuasive action in the form of domestication behavior is needed for the supernatural beings each time the fishermen pass through the lines considered sacred.

All Boat Sides Have Guards of the Unseen Creatures

The fishermen's belief in the supernatural beings or the keepers occupying the center of the boat called '*Possi Biseang*' which they believe to keep the boat's balance between the right front and the left front side and the balance between the back right side and the back left side. This mythology is also similar to what is known and believed by groups in other areas of South Sulawesi.

Based on mythology about supernatural beings occupying the center of the boat or '*possi biseang*', the owner of a damaged boat that has been docked is required to re-celebrate '*Pas-sili*' ceremony to summon the supernatural being occupying the part of the boat mentioned above. Meanwhile, the location on land that is considered sacred by the people of Bontosua Island is the location behind the village office. This location is also often visited by residents to perform the ceremony and give offerings.

Regarding the research done by Rola and De Castro (1980) on Visayas fishermen's belief in the Philippines about the presence of enchanted creatures as the sea guards, the fishing community of Bontosua Island also has the same mythology. In fact, Bontosua fishermen also believe the existence of supernatural power found in the boat navel called '*possi biseang*'. Generally, fishing groups in this island strongly believe in the existence of supernatural beings that occupy the surface of the sea, the sea, and the middle space of the boat called '*possi biseang*'. Therefore, both the means of production (boats and their catching equipment) and the natural environment of the sea as well as its contents should be customized, synchronized, and aligned in order to realize a dynamic balance in carrying out fishing activities.

Mythology is always related to belief in the supernatural world. The belief in the unseen naval guards and the guards of other places as mentioned above are supernatural. Such belief is indicated in the research done by Pathania and Pathania (2008) in India, who found supernatural belief among young people in some Indian tribes.

Rituals in Bontosua Fisherman Community

The fishing community in Bontosua Island does not understand the difference in the use of

the ritual term for any ceremonies concerning the use of tools on the boat. Each ceremony carried out by a group of fishermen in this island concerning with the use of new boats and the use of boats that have just undergone an improvement or docking is called '*Passili Ceremony*' by some informants. The same term is also used when a group of fishermen gets abundant catch in this island. In North Galesong District, such ceremony is called '*Cera Turungang*'. Nevertheless, it is found that some informants exactly understand the differences between the terms used based on the purpose and function of each type of ceremony commonly performed by groups in Bontosua Island.

The people of this island strongly believe and even they are obliged to perform fisherman traditional ceremonies such as '*I caru-carui*' ceremony to be performed for the first time when the new ship is launched to the sea, '*Passili*' ceremony to be conducted when the repaired vessel or up docking vessel is firstly launched to the sea, and '*Cera Turungang*' ceremony as a thanksgiving ceremony for the success of obtaining abundant catch.

For fisherman group who want to perform a ceremony, they should always prioritize the adjustment between place and time and the implementation of the ceremony. The other important thing is that every ceremony related to the utilization of marine resources should be done by facing the sea. Through the implementation of traditional ceremonies, fishermen really hope that they are protected from all forms of disturbance from supernatural beings, especially when every group of fisherman makes shipping and fishing. In addition, they also hope to get protection from the ancestors and the Almighty for salvation and welfare in their daily survival. Therefore, the meanings of religious and traditional ceremonies in this area are not only intended for the living but also for those who have died, especially their ancestors.

For more clarity, the types of traditional fishing ceremonies that are the part of the belief system that should be done by the groups of fishermen in Bontosua Island among others are:

Thanksgiving Ceremony for Abundant Production (Cera' Turungang)

The type of ceremony commonly performed by the groups of fishermen in this island is called

'*Cera'turungang*' ceremony. The ceremony is arranged by '*Pa'rengge* or '*Pa'GaEas*' or a large scale fishing group as a manifestation of a thanksgiving to obtain abundant fish, so the fishing group feels obliged to perform this traditional ceremony by sacrificing a goat and some chickens as the symbol of gratitude of the success they achieve in fishing in the sea. The implementation of '*cera 'turungang*' ceremony is equipped with some ceremonial materials consisting of four types of colorful rice called '*Kanre patang rupa*' (black rice, white rice, red rice, and yellow rice), fruits of various kinds in pairs (2 pieces/types), white and black sticky rice called as '*Songkolo*', banana fruit, betel leaves called '*leko*', fruit of areca nut, eggs, chicken, incense, and a container for offerings called '*anja-anja*'.

Until now, there are still people who perform it as an absolute requirement that should be prepared, but there are also who only prepare the ceremonial materials according to their ability. However, the fishing community in Bontosua Island still believes that by conducting a '*cera turungang*' ceremony, the natural atmosphere of the ocean filled with supernatural powers and mysteries is neutralized. At least, the function of the ceremony is believed to make the sea guards calm; otherwise, they can disrupt the fishermen's activities. Another belief of the fishing community of Bontosua Island in conducting the ceremony of the '*cera turungang*' is that the fish production of the next fishing season will be more abundant. Thus, the meaning implied in the implementation of this type of ceremony is to provide convenience and smoothness in conducting sea shipping and fishing.

According to information, the ceremony of '*cera turungang*' was held with great fanfare in Bontosua Island in the past when the catch was abundant. Similarly, another traditional ceremony of fishermen called '*cera turungang*' led by a person named '*Dg. Imang*' as '*Sanro*' or '*Guru Mengaji*' functioning as teacher and mentor is held at the seashore starting by slaughtering goats and chickens. Other ceremonial necessities are also prepared for further '*barazanji*' activities. Having held '*barazanji*', it means that the whole processes of '*cera turungang*' ceremony are complete. At that time, the members of the '*sawi*' and other community members who participate in this ceremony compete to get the ceremonial materials or offerings, especially fruits.

In the past, ceremonial materials or offerings were placed on a device called '*Anja-anja*' in the form of woven bamboo shaped like a mat as a container to lay the food called '*Kanre Patang Rupa*' (various types of food) as the main prerequisites in the fishing ceremony, especially '*cera turungang*' ceremony. In addition, when the ceremony was taking place, there were also tools commonly used similar to '*Anja-anja*' called '*rakit-rakit*' floating on water that were dedicated to supernatural beings believed as the sea guards. Nowadays, they just sometimes use plates as containers instead of '*Anja-anja*' and '*rakit-rakit*' or rafts.

The Launching of a New Boat Ceremony or 'I Caru-Carui'

Similar to '*cera turungang*' ceremony, '*I caru-carui*' ceremony also uses some materials used in the '*cera turungang*' ceremony. In the past, when the '*I caru-carui*' ceremony was firstly held, the ceremony committee take '*sanro*' from other regions to lead the ceremony. When the boat was released for the first time to touch the seawater, the one who has role in this activity is '*Panrita Lopi*', especially when the boat was made in Tanah Beru, Bulukumba District.

Similar to the beliefs of other fishing groups in Bontosua Island of South Sulawesi, people also strongly believe that by performing '*I caru-carui*' ceremony they can be safe in shipping and success in fishing in the sea. Therefore, they should conduct such a ceremony for the boat that is considered not intact or disabled boat because the members of the fisherman groups who use it feel worried about their safety and success in the fishing business.

The ceremonial materials as the requirements that should be prepared are black and white sticky rice called '*songkolo*', basin containing water or '*pammaja*', layer cake, banana fruit, *umba-umba* or betel nut, eggs, betel leaves, tobacco, sugar, and chicken (male and female).

In the past, ceremonial necessities were stored in a container called '*loyang*' and other materials such as eggs, betel leaves, *songkolo*, *umba-umba* (betel nut) were put together and wrapped with banana leaves. These units of materials are called '*pa'rappo*' meaning 'fruitful'. The implied meaning of 'fruitful' is that the boat now used as the main tool in their livelihood as

the fishermen would develop. At least, they can produce a new boat that is better than before.

When the ceremonial materials had been prepared, they then carried out a reading called '*barazanji*', which was followed by the recitation of incantations by '*sanro*' or sometimes by a tutor. Then, he took three betel leaves and '*pammaja*' containing water, which was then sprinkled to the body of the boat, that is, to the front, center, left and right side, and the back.

After the above process had been completed, 5 bananas, 5 layer cakes, and 5 '*umba-umba*' or betel nuts were taken and then each of these three types of fruits was stored in each of five parts of the ship namely back ship, front ship, the abdomen of the ship or '*possi Biseang*', left side, and right side of the ship. In other words, there were 3 pieces of offerings to be put in each part of the ship which were taken from each type of offerings.

Each of the above mentioned materials has its own meaning. Layer cake implies the meaning as a multiple sustenance; banana fruit is understood to mean a growing sustenance that resembles a series of bunches of bananas, and '*umba-umba*' means increasing sustenance. The five parts of the ship mentioned above viewed by the fishermen group as the vital parts that should have power of protection. Therefore, the five sections are viewed to have defense powers, so through ritualized media they are sure to have placed 'guardians', that are considered the keeper of salvation.

After the '*I caru-carui*' ceremony had finished, the ship was pushed to the sea by local people who participated in the ceremonial activities starting with the word '*bismillah*'. The process of the series of '*I caru-carui*' ceremonies ended with the activity of placing the baking sheet that had been filled with ceremony materials. They were then stored in a raft made from banana stems. After that, they were released and pushed to the sea as had been done long time ago. This process was interpreted as an act of delivery and offering to the ruler of the marine nature. The final stage of this activity was usually performed very cautiously because it often happened there was a trance when there was an error in the way of delivery offerings. The ways and materials used in the process were rarely done completely by the people of the island.

The ceremonies mentioned above generally started in *Pinggawa*'s large house (the owner of

venture capital), then continued alongside the sea by involving members in each group. The significance of the ceremony performances was to expect the safe shipping and success in fishing in the sea.

According to the information, the stages of these ceremonial activities are no longer as complete as the implementation of '*I caru-carui*' ceremony in the past. For the people of the island, the most important thing in the performance of this ceremony is the reading stage of '*Barazanji*' performed by '*Sanro*' as the master teacher. To find '*Sanro*' who really understands the stages in the implementation of this ceremony is difficult in this island. Thus, whenever '*sanro*' is needed, he should be found out in other areas. Therefore, nowadays when the people want to perform the ceremony, both '*I caru-carui*' ceremony and the '*cera turungang*' ceremony, they only use the 'tutor teachers' who settle in this island to perform '*barazanji*' and safety prayers.

The procedures of the implementation of fishermen traditional ceremonies in Bontosua Island have also changed, especially related to materials and certain stages in the ceremony. However, basically, they still strongly believe that without carrying out the rituals of '*cera turungang*', '*I caru-carui*', '*Passili*', and '*Pa'rappo*', they are worried about failure in fishing activities in the sea. Therefore, the implementation of every ceremony should be adjusted to space and time.

Boat Ride Dock Safety Ceremony or 'Passili'

Fishing groups in Bontosua Island believe that when their boats are damaged and repaired in dock, '*passili ritual*' should be performed after they have been completed in order to start again their new shipping. The ritual performed in this ceremony tends to be the same as '*I caru-carui*' ceremony. The only thing is that the main intention is to recall the supernatural beings that occupy the abdomen of the boat or the center of the boat called '*possibiseang*'.

According to the fisherman community, when a ship has been repaired or has already hammered, it is believed that the creature as the ship-keeper that has originally occupied the boat or ship has already left the ship. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct another ceremony to summon the ship's keeper.

Furthermore, the '*passili ritual*' is usually performed only once a year when a new boat is

launched to the sea. However, when a damaged boat has been docked and repaired, the same ritual is performed again. Therefore, the implementation of '*passili ritual*' in the past is usually coupled with '*I caru-carui*' ceremony, but both of them have different sets of meanings and goals.

DISCUSSION

Basically, the purpose and function of the implementation of each ceremonial system by fishing groups in Bontosua Island is based on the belief built through the mythological process related to the management and utilization of marine and waters resources. The mythology built among fishing societies tends to be based on an 'immanent' belief in relation to the belief in 'supernatural powers' or metaphysical nature.

To persuade, moderate, and tame the 'supernatural powers' which the fishermen believe to interfere their economic activities, a 'transcendental' belief, that is, Islam, especially the values derived from the teaching of *Alqur'an* and *Hadith* is needed. In the process, values and norms are derived from both 'immanent' belief and 'transcendental' belief that have been mixed (syncretized) and used by fishing communities as a force that can perpetuate their relationship with a harsh marine nature, especially 'supernatural' (Ultimate Reality).

The recitation of incantations in ritual activities generally starts with the words '*Bismillahirrahmanirrahim*'. Then, the contents of the incantations are read in local language (Makasarese language), and ends with '*Kunfayakun*'. The traditional rituals of traditional fishermen are usually interspersed with the recitation of prayers according to the teachings of *Alqur'an* and *hadist* led directly by a teacher of Koran (used to be played by '*Sanro*' or commonly called '*Tuang Guru*' or '*daeng Imang*'). Van Ginkel (2013) stated that fishermen performed rituals with magic, using prayers and amulets as supernatural signs.

The implementation of traditional ceremonies of fishermen is also a form of respect to the ancestors. This is presented with the hope to be protected from any disturbance of supernatural powers as well as to be given safety and welfare. This reality reinforces the research done by Rola et al. (1980) about the belief of fishermen in Western Visayas against the existence of

supernatural beings which guard the sea that they should be obeyed. In fact, fishermen have to perform rituals by at the expense of pig's blood in order to be protected and given a large number of catch while fishing in the sea.

The fishing community of Bontosua Island still strongly believes in the existence of the magical powers existing in the beach and sea which are sacred through traditional ceremonial activities of fishermen. Oestigaard (2009) stated that the belief embodied in the ritual is an important part of their lives. Traditional fishing ceremonies are interpreted as media to worship, persuade, and tame spiritual forces (supernatural) that can trouble the fishermen's activities. Specifically for incantation, this is a communication language connecting physical nature to supernatural nature. This ritual is also performed Ghana people for Kundum ritual. They use incantation to communicate with supernatural beings (Etikpah 2017; Opata and Asogwa 2017).

All of the above rituals essentially serve as motivations and work ethic of fishing groups in catching and sailing in the sea, Palmer (1989), and Poggie and Pollnac (1988), called it an effort to reduce anxiety to danger and risk among fisherman. Through rituals, people communicate with the supernatural world to maintain relationships among them (Arifin 2016). Thus, the ritual as proposed by Daskon and Binns (2009) has a vital role to maintain the survival of community groups.

Looking at Daskon and Binns' statements above, the meaning implied in those rituals organized by fisherman are related to survival and economic aspects. This is strengthened by the findings of Van Ginkel (2013) stating that the implementation of fishing rituals is related to economic uncertainty. He found that some fishermen's rituals are modernized because the fish catch decreases. Because of this important economic aspect, fishing rituals should be implemented as often as possible. This is in accordance with the statement proposed by Poggie and Polnac (1988) and Rola et al. (1980) that ritual always involves cooperation, coordination, work team of fishermen in order to have a big opportunity to produce many fish.

CONCLUSION

The cosmology of fishing communities is a form of their recognition of the existence of the

relationship among God, human, and nature. The cosmology has consequences on the belief in supernatural nature as depicted in ritual practices. The practices are the manifestation of their belief that there is an unseen element in their life.

The fishing community is convinced that every place in the world has its inhabitants in the form of supernatural beings. Similarly, the sea and the boat also have guards that should be respected and treated well. Therefore, a ritual is the action of honoring the supernatural beings. This leads to a distinction between rational-empirical western knowledge and supernatural-based eastern knowledge. This knowledge is also the characteristics of non-western society.

In the implementation of rituals, local cultural aspects of animism and dynamism beliefs syncretized with Islam. It is seen in the recitation of incantations that contain speeches using the language of Qur'an combined with local languages, that is, Buginese and Makassarese languages.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Looking at the syncretization process between modern knowledge and local knowledge, there is an opportunity to establish a stronger formulation so that the two types of knowledge can be juxtaposed. Therefore, scientists need to conduct more focused and in-depth observation and study to find out a model of integration between modern knowledge and local knowledge that make it easier for human to run their lives.

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APPENDIX

Petik Laut – a kind of ritual ‘Sea Pick’	Cera Turungang – abundant production ceremony
Mappanretasi’ – a thanksgiving ritual by Fishermen	Kanre patang rupa – the four kind of food
Pa’rengge – a Fisherman who use Gill net in catching fish.	Songkolo – food from glutinous rice
Pa’GaE – a Fisherman who use Trawl in catching fish.	‘Anja-anja’ – a container from bamboo as a place for foods, fruits for <i>Cera Turungan</i> ritual
Pa’bagang – a Fisherman who use Lif net in catching fish.	Dg. Imang – a man who lead Islamic ritual
Erang Passimombalang – name of knowledge to sail	Sanro – a man who lead traditional ritual
‘Erang Pa’boya-Boyang – name of knowledge to catch fish	Guru Mengaji – a teacher of Qur’an recitation
Palimbang – a man who acrossing everyone by using boat from island to island	Barazanji – a reading of Muhammad SAAW story.
Sawi – is a worker in the ship or boat in catching fish.	rakit-rakit - rafts made from bamboos floated above sea water
Pinggawa/Pinggawa Lopi – is a leader in the fishing ship or boat in catching fish	Panrita Lopi – a man who has much knowledge in creating boat/ship.
GaE – tawl net	Pammaja – a Bascom as a place for foods, fruits for <i>I caru-caru</i> ritual
Rengge – gill net	Umba-umba – a local food from glutinous rice flour within palm sugar
Pangngissengang - knowledge	Loyang – a stored from metal for ceremony
Taka’ – big set of coral	Bismillah – in the name of Allah / God
Mangngiwang – a kind of local fish	Tuang Guru – a great leader in local Fishermen who has much natural and supernatural knowledge
Pa’rappo – a place like container of fruits made from bamboos	
Possi Biseang – center of ship/boat	
Passili – a ceremony of renewing boat/ship.	
I caru-carui – new ship/boat launching ceremony	