

ISLAM AND TRADITIONS OF THE BUGIS PAGATAN COASTAL COMMUNITY

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Abstract

This study concerned the relationship between Islam and traditions commonly practiced by the Bugis Pagatan coastal community. The purpose is to sociologically describe religious life and understand various rites due to acculturation of Islam and local traditions. It is a descriptive qualitative, and empirical research that combines sociological, anthropological, and historical approaches to analyze the religious life of the Bugis Pagatan community. The results demonstrated three major traditions in the life of the coastal community, namely religious traditions (mabbarasanji, massukkiri, mappanrelebbe), rites (mappandretasi'), and life cycle (mappabotting, madutta, mapacci, mappenretojang). Each of the tradition contains religious and cultural symbols as well as deep values. The religious values covered devotion, sincerity, and patience, to obtain safety and the blessings of life. Meanwhile, the cultural and social values were honesty, openness, strength, chastity, and honor, to maintenance of harmony and togetherness. Thus, the communication between Islam and local traditions runs in harmony and is mutually reinforced. Islamic acculturation is accepted with the implementation of culture and directed to

support spreading the religion. This research recommended for maintaining a harmonious relationship between Islam and culture to prevent conflicts.

Penelitian ini mengkaji hubungan antara Islam dan tradisi yang biasa dilakukan oleh masyarakat pesisir Bugis Pagatan. Tujuannya untuk mendeskripsikan secara sosiologis kehidupan beragama dan memahami berbagai ritus akibat percampuran antara Islam dan tradisi. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian deskriptif kualitatif dan empiris yang memadukan pendekatan sosiologis, antropologis, dan historis untuk menganalisis kehidupan keagamaan masyarakat Bugis Pagatan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat tiga tradisi besar dalam kehidupan masyarakat pesisir Bugis Pagatan, yaitu tradisi keagamaan sebagai bagian dari ajaran nilai (*mabbarasanji*, *massukkiri*, *mappanrelebbe*), ritus (*mappandretasi*), dan daur hidup (*mappabotting*, *madutta*, *mapacci*, *mappenretojang*). Setiap bentuk tradisi mengandung simbol-simbol agama dan budaya serta nilai-nilai terbaik yang mendalam. Nilai religius berupa ketaqwaan, keikhlasan, dan kesabaran, untuk memperoleh keselamatan dan keberkahan hidup. Sedangkan nilai budaya dan sosial berupa kejujuran, keterbukaan, kekuatan, kesucian, dan kehormatan, untuk terpeliharanya kerukunan dan kebersamaan. Kesimpulan, interaksi antara Islam dan tradisi lokal berjalan harmonis dan saling menguatkan. Akulturasi Islam diterima dengan implementasi budaya dan diarahkan untuk mendukung proses penyebaran agama. Penelitian ini merekomendasikan pentingnya menjaga hubungan yang harmonis antara Islam dan budaya untuk mencegah terjadinya konflik.

Keywords: Coastal community; Islam and tradition; Bugis Pagatan.

Introduction

The early development of Islam in Indonesia is inseparable from culture or tradition because the spread of Islam is closely associated with a lot of local traditions and peoples' beliefs. Therefore, scholars wisely made tradition an object and medium for disseminating Islam through arts and cultures, which led to the emergence of the term *dakwah kultural* (cultural *da'wah*).¹ (Azra, 2003).

Cultural *da'wah* is the only possible approach because of the harmonious relationship between Islam and culture. Since time

immemorial, tradition or culture has acted as a medium, channel, and an important part of *da'wah* activities. The ancient scholars, such as Walisongo, formulated Islam by adopting, accommodating, and making culture a support of *da'wah*, so it was widespread throughout Indonesia (Zamhari & Mustofa, 2020). The capacity for innovative interpretation and the ability to accommodate and adopt cultural arts relevant to Islamic values and teachings are treasures encompassing social, intellectual, and spiritual intelligence possessed by the ancient scholars in spreading Islam.

The harmonious relationship between Islam and culture is obviously found by analyzing Islam as a religion that promotes peace and *rahmatan lil 'alamin* (blessing for all mankind). The character of Islamic teachings is universal, dynamic, elastic, accommodating, and integratable with local culture (Umiarso & Qorib, 2022). Therefore, the culture is used as a *da'wah* medium, and it does not conflict with the principles of Islamic teachings. *Da'wah* strengthens a culture that contains goodness and benefits and rectifies those contrary to Islamic teachings.

Several studies affirm the relationship between religion and local culture. Geertz (1981) examined the religious behavior of the traditional Javanese community and coined the term *Islam Abangan*, which considered the relationship between Islam and culture as something syncretic. Mulder (1999) stated that outer Islam is only a part of an absorbed culture while local Javanese traditions are the more dominant element. Furthermore, Budiwanti (2000) stated that nominal Islam in the Sasak Lombok community is syncretic because it dominantly adopts local traditions and beliefs compared to Islamic teachings. Meanwhile, another finding stated that the relationship between Islam and culture is mutually giving, complementary, and reinforcing. Therefore, when Islam is in contact with local communities and traditions, it remains pure and legitimate. According to Woodward (2001), Islam is a model of acculturation when studying its existence in Yogyakarta Sultanate. Muhaimin (2001) suggested a relationship between Islam and culture when examining the encounter with local traditions among Cirebon community. Meanwhile, Syam (2005; 2019) studied the Islam of the coastal communities in Java Island and considered it collaborative. It means that the relationship between Islam and local culture is inculturation in character, unique in nature, adopting local elements that do not conflict with Islam, and strengthening Islamic teachings through a continuous transformation (change, adjustment). Furthermore, it

dialogues by legitimizing Islamic texts understood, interpreted, and taught by religious leaders.

The relationship between Islam and various traditions in Indonesia attracts a large number of circles and authors. Through research and discussion, a comprehensive understanding of the local community's rituals and Islamic practices is attained. Furthermore, it enables the creation of relevant and contextual formula with the current conditions and values of the community. It is important to study the relationship between Islam and the traditions of the coastal community to explore the patterns and dynamics of Islam and the local culture when interacting, dialoguing, and acculturating with each other. This is to create various Islamic rituals and religiosity typical of coastal communities, namely traditions related to the sea as their main means of life or cultural field (Syam, 2005). Culture is also the overall knowledge of a society that guides humans to understand and interpret their environment (Lawanda, 2020; Suparlan, 2006). Culture is the common property of every member of a community or social group, spread to its members and inherited by subsequent generations through a learning process using symbols manifested in spoken and unspoken patterns. Therefore, culture, in principle, is a result of the power from the human mind in the form of creativity, intention, and taste (Djojodigoena, 1985).

Coastal communities are groups of people with distinctive cultures inhabiting the coastal, beach, or seafront areas together with dependence on the use of marine or coastal resources (Satria, 2014). They are people living by the beach or small islands around the sea with the following characteristics, a distinctive identity, residents with a fairly limited number, homogeneity, and limited necessities of life. They are integrated with the natural environment and ecological system. Therefore, they have strong relationships and interactions with the coastal and marine environment (Koentjaraningrat, 1990).

Coastal communities are usually characterized as highly dependent people with a strong relationship with nature and the surrounding environment. For them, nature has magical powers. It needs to be approached wisely by rituals, such as sea alms (*nadran* in Java, *awig-awig* in Lombok, and *sasi* in Maluku) to respect and harmonize human relationships (Satria, 2014). Coastal communities, from the theological aspect, believe that the sea has magical powers. Therefore, special treatments are required, which

later become a tradition to carry out fishing activities smoothly and safely to obtain the expected results (Satria, 2014).

In the development of Islam, the coast is one of the most important and first areas to enter to spread Islam. Syam stated that Islam started developing as a power on a large scale from coastal areas (Syam, 2005). The Islamic tradition carried out by coastal communities is also considered purer than that in the inland communities. According to Syam (2011), it happened because the first contact of Islamic culture in Indonesia's great tradition was in coastal communities. Wignyosoebroto also stated that the word coastal cannot be ignored in the history of Islamization in Indonesia because it started from the fishing communities. Traders are mostly concentrated in coastal areas around Indonesia's oceans, such as along the north and west coasts of Sumatera Island, the north coast of Java, and Kalimantan. In the perspective of *da'wah* interests, during the 14th to 19th centuries AD, the coast of a *da'wah* base area played a major role in the development of Islam (Wignyosoebroto, 2009).

How about the Bugis Pagatan coastal community? They were entitled with characteristics, history, and a long journey as a diaspora community that arrived and lived in Pagatan and identified themselves as to *'ugi Pagatan* (people of Pagatan Bugis) (Mansyur, 2012). Historically, they were immigrants from South Sulawesi that cleared the area, cultivated on land, developed maritime traditions, and identified themselves with various unique traditions before they were later accepted and permanently settled in Pagatan. Furthermore, they maintained, developed, and united the traditions with Islam. It requires explorative research for understanding the distinctive characteristics, patterns, and rites that embody the local wisdom of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community, uniting Islam and culture to obtain answers and descriptions on religious lives and practices. The focus of the current inquiry revolves around the religious practices within Bugis Pagatan coastal community, delving into the nature of their religious life and exploring the relationship between Islam and traditions within the community.

Methods

This descriptive qualitative and empirical research was carried out by combining the sociological, anthropological, and historical approaches. The sociological approach was used to determine the religious life of the Bugis

Pagatan coastal community, the basis, as well as the social construct as an appreciation or manifestation of the interaction between Islam and local culture. The approach was also used to obtain a description of the characteristics of the local Islamic tradition as a socioreligious pattern. Meanwhile, the anthropological approach aimed to understand the deep meaning of the research object, involving religion, interaction, rites, and all aspects of tradition as a system of values, meanings, and symbols. The historical approach was used to critically examine and analyze past sources, records, and relics by reconstructing them based on the data obtained through four main stages of the historiography process, namely heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography (Gottschalk, 1985).

The research was carried out around the residential areas of the Bugis Pagatan coastal communities, which comprised Pejala, Juku Eja, Wiritasi, Gusunge, Sungai Lembu, Pulau Salak, dan Betung, Desa Penyolongan, Muara Pagatan Tengah, Muara Pagatan Ujung, Tanete, Pulau Satu, and Mattone Villages.

Finding

Interaction between Islam and Local Tradition

Various ethnicities and communities in Indonesia experience a dialectic process of interaction between Islam and the local traditions, which manifests a new format from the previously existing group. Furthermore, the interaction also completes and contains Islamic values, which turn into a religious tradition based on values or a form of appreciation for Islamic teachings in the community.

In the Bugis Pagatan coastal community, the interaction between Islam and tradition is observed from the traditional forms and patterns sourced from ancestral beliefs. Therefore, the implementation is deemed acceptable and compatible with Islamic teaching because it is tolerated and devoid of conflict. The realm that acted as a means of interaction between Islam and tradition occurred in several contexts. Examples of these occurrences are in the religious realm, commemorating holidays from traditions with various cultural activities, such as *massukkiri* and *mappandretasi*'. It is also related to interactions, such as in the event of salvation and marriage (*mappaabotting*), shop and workplace, meetings in halls and traditional institutions, as well as economic activities, consisting of

buying, selling, and trading community activities for mutual cooperation (*pase*).

The interaction between Islam and culture in Bugis Pagatan community in the religious, cultural, and social realms occurs in a pattern of mutual influence, sharing symbols, and giving each other value in every activity conducted. The daily activities of the community comprise of various activities that come from Islam and tradition. In other words, every activity manifestation of religion or tradition cannot stand alone, rather it is influenced or supported by religious and cultural elements. This process occurs naturally as something passed down from one generation to another. However, changes occur on the surface while retaining the only values. The most difficult thing to distinguish is when people do not understand the process and formation of a tradition and the strategies associated with the inability to overlap. The community's ignorance in properly placing a tradition in its place makes it deviate from religious teachings or values and practices. Therefore, it raises contradictions, such as the beginning of the implementation of *mappandretasi*', whose validity is disputed because certain processions that are part of this activity are considered shirk and contrary to the values of Islamic teachings.

Based on the observation, the interactions between Islam and culture in the lives of Bugis Pagatan coastal community run dynamically. It occurs in all forms of daily activities, whether directly related to religious issues and practices or traditional and social issues. Islam and culture are present, and they give color to various traditions of peoples' lives. Their influence is dominant, although some traditions and rites of ancestral heritage are still preserved. At the same time, this community is devoted to Islam, although they still carry out the *massukkiri* tradition, which is in the form of reading the *Maulid Nabi* poem (the reading of the *Maulid al-Barzanji* poem is called *mabbarasanji*). This is a unique blend of local Bugis Pagatan tradition (*La Galigo* reading) with Islamic influences. When the Islamic teachings synergize with culture, traditions tend to be harmoniously implemented. However, when these teachings are rejected or harmonized through a process of change (acculturation or transformation) or *da'wah* (Islamization), they are accepted and remain a part of community life.

The various traditions and cultures accepted and implemented by the Bugis Pagatan community are obtained from the interaction between Islam and culture combined in harmony. The interaction between Islam and

culture leads to tension and harmony, changes, improvements, and acceptance or rejection. The dialogue between Islam and culture is known as a dialectical process.

The Factors that Establish Tradition

Similarities exist in the traditions of Bugis Pagatan and the Banjarese communities, which are closely influenced by Islamic values, such as traditional art presentations of the Prophet Muhammad SAW's birthday, prayers, and reading Asmaul Husna using a tambourine (large-sized *terbangan*), colossal, *silelung botting*, *mapanredewata* in traditional Bugis wedding ceremonies, and various others preserved in the life of the coastal community. The tradition of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community, namely *mappandretasi*', is popular. It continues to change and transform into religious-philosophical values.

The next factor influencing the patterns and traditions of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community is the marine environment surrounding the residential area. The sea, which is the main field, is interpreted with various philosophical meanings. Therefore, it needs to be considered a living landscape that must be treated sacredly through various actions as a form of respect to provide the expected benefits, abundant results, friendly, cheap, etc.

Apart from Islamic values, the sea as a field of life, customs, and traditions is also influenced by an ingrained philosophy of life called Siri. It means a feeling of shame that must be fought due to self-esteem. This conception interacts organically with all the main elements of social relations.

Generally, the traditions developed in the lives of Bugis Pagatan coastal community is divided into three main parts; those directly related to religion (the commemoration of the Prophet's Birthday and the reading of poems or *masukhiri* and completing the Quran or *mappanrelebbe*), ritualistic (*mappandretasi*'), and life cycle (marriage or *mappabotting*, birth, and the process of rocking a child or *mappenretojang*).

Discussion

Like many ethnicities in Indonesia, Bugis have strong ties to two basic aspects of their lives, namely religion (Islam) and customs. This community's religious life and traditions are always influenced by four

important factors related to the strategies used to interpret and carry out the relationship between Islam and tradition in harmony. These factors are the concept of *ade*, *siri*, *na pesse*, and symbolism (a symbol in the form of a silk sarong as pride and honor).

The tradition for the Bugis is a custom, and driving force passed down from one generation to another (Abdullah, 1985). Custom is a very decisive factor used to determine the manifestation of the Bugis way of life that occupies a high position in social institutions and norms. Therefore, descendants of Bugis have accepted custom completely in their social and cultural system, which led to a firm belief that peace and happiness are guaranteed only by being guided by custom (Abdullah, 1985).

In Bugis, the custom is a means of regulating the way humans speak or behave in social life. For example, *ade maraja* (the nobility king customs), *ade puraonro* (customs for rituals in everyday life), *ade abisang* (customs in social life), and *ade assamaturukeng* (customs for deliberation). According to Hamid Abdullah, for the Bugis, the custom contained the essential element of belief of every human being to the power of God as the creator of the universe and central point of everything. Therefore, the customs rooted in their lives are in character, human morality, and the law of justice. These three aspects are the core or animate of the Bugis traditional life (Abdullah, 1985).

The concept or view of the Bugis custom (*panngadereng*) is built and applied according to four principles, *mappasilasa'e*, *mappasisaue*, *mappasenrupae*, and *mappallaiseng*. *Mappasilasa'e* manifested in the *ade* (custom); therefore, there is harmony in human attitudes and behavior in treating themselves in *Panngadereng*, where an action is taken in the context of a rescue action. It is embodied in the manifestation of custom to impose penalties on each customary violation in a speech. Furthermore, it is manifested traditionally for the continuity of pre-existing patterns to stabilize emerging developments. *Mappallaiseng* is manifested in the customs to provide clear boundaries on the relationship between humans and their social institutions. Therefore, the community avoids conflict, hostility, disorder, etc (Abdullah, 1985).

Among the important concepts in the socio-cultural life of the Bugis related to customs or traditions are *siri'* and *pesse'*. *Siri'*, is associated with the idea that maintaining self-respect is the highest quality of the Bugis. Meanwhile in *pesse'*, all Bugis are warned of the spiritual unity of the

community and the existing emotional bond. *Siri'* for the Bugis is not something to think about, rather it is an action to take. The Bugis expression is reflected in the sentence *ejatongpi na doang*, which means "after it is red, it is proven to be shrimp." Generally, a shrimp's color is usually light gray before being cooked, and after it has been cooked or fried, the color turns red.

Siri' is usually related to attitudes or feelings of shame for dignity or self-esteem, and reputation, and honor. Due to the overstepping of dignity and self-respect, the element of revenge is the moral obligation to defend the family's property, life, and honor. Therefore, when Bugis fails to act in situation involving these three things, they are labelled as *kawe-kawe* (sissy). It means a person without manhood or *tena sirrina*, shame, self-respect, or honor (Salmiati & Zaman, 2021).

In its later development, the identity of the Bugis community based on these customs and traditions has been integrated with Islamic teachings. Therefore, towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the Bugis (Bugis-Malay mix) had added a Muslim identity as a motivation for the Pan-Islamist form of resistance to the attacks on Western colonialism in Islamic countries globally. Islamic modernist ideas, which emphasized the return to religious values, promoted the development of an additional identity to their Bugis. This new identity highlighted Islam as a source of strength and the significance of reaffirming Islamic unity against the colonial powers. Islamic unity was a religious as well as a political call to unite and strengthen their position as groups that spread Islam in defending homelands, residences, and villages of Muslims. This Islamic identity was shaped through the involvement of the Bugis elite in the Islamic intellectual community and the increase in the introduction of Islamic practices in government (Abdullah, 1985). Therefore, at the beginning of the 20th century, the descendants of the Bugis diaspora switched to a Malay-Bugis identity with a strong Pan Islam (Islamic Unity) consciousness. These values also animated various traditions and cultures in their daily lives. They are seen in various Bugis traditions and cultures, sacred and religious after assimilation. Various traditions carried out by the Bugis Pagatan community is due to the mixture of customary and Islamic teachings values, as seen in traditions related to rites (*mappandretasi'*) as well as concerning life cycles (*mappabotting*, *mappenretojang*) and those associated with religion (*mabbarasanji*, *masukhiri*, *mappanrelebbe*). Therefore, in different contexts,

Islam has a strong relationship with local Bugis culture, reflected in three forms, religion, ritual, and the life cycle.

Kuntowijoyo (2001) explained, religion, and culture, in principle, are two prominent elements within a community that influence each other. Therefore, when religious teachings enter into a cultured community, disputes are bound to occur. However, these two aspects have the ability to collaborate and complement each other because they possess a system of values and symbols. Religion, which symbolizes obedience to God and culture, also contains values and symbols to make humans live peacefully. Religion requires a symbol system, and without culture, it is unable to develop. Therefore, Kuntowijoyo further stated that the interaction between religion and culture occurs in three ways. Firstly, it influences culture in terms of value in religion, although the symbol is culture. Secondly, culture influences religious symbols, including the tradition of recitation in Islamic boarding schools, sarongs, skullcaps, drums, etc. Thirdly, in certain cases, culture replaces the value system and religious symbols (Kuntowijoyo, 2001).

The interaction between Islam and culture that influences each other is reciprocal. For instance, when Islam has become the dominant aspect of cultural change, it colors the culture. Conversely, when culture is a more dominant aspect, it colors the implementation of Islamic teachings (Simuh, 2003; Wartono & Supriyono, 2020).

Generally, there are at least three traditions related to the life of the Bugis community, namely the life cycle, the need for life, and the crisis of life. This is related to the procession or starting from the rite of welcoming the birth of a baby (an *akiqah* ceremony carried out with the recitation of al-Barzanji, stepping on the ground), puberty, circumcision, marriage, and death. Rites are related to the necessities of life, such as a new house (*menre bola*), a new ship, etc. Meanwhile, life crisis rites involve all matters related to calamities and disasters. To prevent such occurrences, certain rituals are performed, which also contain the prayers to get a better life (*mabbaca* prayer) or salvation. It can be observed from the *mappandretasi*' tradition by the Bugis Pagatan community. These various traditions substantially show the inseparable part of the combination of the community's religious values and local traditions (Arafah & Wahyuddin, 2020). It is valid to state that Islam influences the cultural formation and life of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community.

The practice of *mappandretasi*' tradition by the Bugis residing in villages along the coast of Pagatan and close to the Kusan River is interpreted as the manifestation of their endeavors to avoid disaster. It is also a medium used to convey hope for safety and successful fishing ventures in the sea. According to Ahmad Kamal, *mappandretasi*' has become a religious ritual tradition because it is completed with various processions, symbols, and meaning. Meanwhile, the relationship between local religious practices and traditions in a ritual is full of symbols and meaning (little tradition). Pure teachings from the Islamic tradition become the experience and actions of the Bugis Pagatan community to create a different cultural system, including patterns or a series of structured segments that are relatively permanent and regularly constructed in their religious practices. Furthermore, the religious practices in the *mappandretasi*' tradition is seen as an expression of the relationship with "the Almighty" through cultural symbols. In empirical reality, rituals are always carried out with various symbols to express and hide, which are seen in form, frequency (intensity), pattern (standard), and meaning (verstehen). This tradition is a social construction of religious reality as a part of cultural system from the knowledge and daily experience in the lives of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community (Kamal, 2011).

In theory, *mappandretasi*' tradition shows a mutually reinforcing relationship between Islam and tradition, where Islam as a religion places great emphasis on ritual activities in diverse local traditions and cultures. It is also mixed with local culture to create the term "traditional Islam," which is a normal symptom of Muslim dynamics. According to Muhaimin (2001), traditional Islam means a dynamic and non-stagnant acculturation model, which is compatible and contextual according to the changes in the surrounding situation and context. Muslim dialectics and the interaction with various cultures in traditional Islamic forums and discourses led to the emergence of a more accommodating character. The less interaction between Muslims and local culture, the poorer their appreciation (Kamal, 2011).

Acculturation between Islam and local traditions, which is the forerunner of local Islam, runs dynamically. According to Arifuddin (2012), local Islamic traditions in coastal communities are carried out through reinterpretation and reformulation. The first method transfers local traditions into Islamic cognition without changing the model and performance. Meanwhile, the second formulates Islamic traditions in a local way. These two models of interaction are called Islamic indigenization,

which is a theory of cultural encounters that presupposes mutual learning, influence, and shape. Furthermore, they indicate that Islam and local culture have relatively balanced strengths.

Kuntowijoyo (2001) reminded, although religion and culture share similarities, influence each other, and serve as unifying forces, they need to be clearly distinguished in peoples' lives. This is because religion is something final, universal, eternal (perennial), and absolute while culture is particular, relative, and temporary. Furthermore, Madjid (1995) reported the importance of distinguishing and avoiding the conflation of religion and culture although they are sometimes difficult to separate in certain cases. This distinction aims to determine the clarity between absolute and relative territory. Therefore, such religion (doctrinal system) has an absolute value that does not change according to time and place, while culture transforms according to religious teachings. Religion is primary, while culture - which is an expression of religious life because it is subordinate to religion - is secondary (Madjid, 1995).

Correspondingly, the formation of local Islamic traditions is bound to religious life, as what happens within the Bugis Pagatan coastal community. According to Ahmad Kamal, the traditions that develop in the daily life of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community are the manifestation and appreciation of religious beliefs through symbols or traditions as integrated into their lives. Therefore, the emergence of various local traditions is reinforced by the understanding that they have always been influenced by the belief that everything starts and ends with supernatural powers. Furthermore, they believe in religious inculturation in culture, namely the entry of Islamic teachings into the local tradition practice (Mustamin, 2016). Therefore, traditions in the form of rites and life cycles are generally held as gratitude for completing a job and reaping the rewards of the efforts. It is also a form of surrender by asking for salvation from God Almighty when going back to starting a business or work. Besides, this is also intended as momentum to establish friendly relations among people in the social encounter (Kamal, 2011). According to Abdurrahman Wahid, this is the purpose of Gus Dur's thesis, on "indigenous Islam," with continuous efforts to reaffirm cultural roots while creating a religiously devoted community (Wahid, 2001; Bistara & Fuadi, 2022) because Islam colors, absorbs, socializes the values of the holy book, and Islamizes indigenous culture (Kholil, 2011).

These traditions are also media for the Bugis Pagatan coastal community to learn from their daily experiences at sea. Therefore, they build or inherit local knowledge and strategies (methods) from previous generations. Knowledge building is associated with external experiences, which appear in the reality of their religious and social life. It indicates that they also have a belief system, where religion is understood as a source of values that direct humans because religion is a value, a cognitive source, and a pattern for human action. Religion is also considered as the result of human knowledge and experience, so this second perspective (among anthropologists) often views religion as a part of a cultural system (Kamal, 2011).

However, tensions between different groups in interpreting existing local traditions sometimes occur, which leads to a clash between religion and custom. Parties that disagree with tradition assume that every religious practice needs to be free from customs or behaviors considered to have no source in religion. Local customs or traditions are considered inappropriate aspects that coexist with religion. According to scholars, custom comes from humans while religion comes from God. Furthermore, the custom is relative and local while religion is absolute and universal. These claims, separations, and accusations create chaos and conflict between groups regarding religious and traditional life. Therefore, in developing Islam, custom encourages people to be creative and develop their mindset as well as an understanding of religion, rather than separating, contradicting, or misunderstanding one another (Kamal, 2011).

Bugis Pagatan coastal community aims to understand religious life to avoid conflicts and clashes. Arifuddin stated that two models of the relationship between Islam and local traditions in the coastal community form a new habitus called local Islamic traditions (Arifuddin, 2012). The first model, dialectics, or dialogue, brings together Islam and local culture by placing local religion and rituals as a field of contestation. For example, “mappandretasi” is the main tradition of the Bugis community who works as fishermen. This tradition was originally full of cultural symbols and even led to opposition to religious teachings, such as offerings and *larung*. However, the intensity of Islamic *da'wah* has exerted a positive influence and change, therefore some parts of the culture are then removed and replaced with processions that do not conflict with Islamic teachings. The second model is a dialogue that brings together Islam and local culture by placing

Massukkiri as the poetry reading tradition in collaboration with reading verses on Al-Barzanji or *Mabbarasanji* with poems in Bugis Pagatan. The community accepts *Massukkiri* as a tradition that becomes a medium for conveying moral values and messages according to religious teachings and traditions passed down from one generation to another.

The two models of the relationship between Islam and local traditions in the Bugis Pagatan coastal community are integral components and embodiments of the concept of "cultural *da'wah*". According to Azra, cultural *da'wah* is carried out through an explanation and action approach that is socio-cultural and religious, using cultural arts, channels, or media (Azra, 2003). Cultural *da'wah* refers to the effort of scholars to convey Islamic teachings by accommodating local culture and being more integrated with the local community's environment (Umar, 2003). Meanwhile, Mulkhan (2003) stated that cultural *da'wah* needs ingenuity in understanding the community conditions and packaging it according to Islamic *da'wah*'s messages. Therefore, with the *da'wah* model, traditions and principles are continuously preserved.

Da'wah always deals with various cultures, which need to be developed and renewed to ensure they remain aligned with Islam through adaptation and acculturation (Ummatin, 2015). Therefore, in this context, cultural *da'wah* has at least three models, following the culture flow, using media and culture, as well as using themes or topics of discussion. Cultural *da'wah* is carried out on the culture by reforming and adjusting it to be in line with Islamic teachings. In this context, the strategy and process of spreading Islam in Indonesia through cultural *da'wah* have four dimensions: a) they appreciated tradition as a means of development; b) Islam did not come to disturb any religion or belief but live in harmony; c) it came to filter local traditions as a medium of religion; d) people could not live without Islam because it became a traditional religion. Islam has a mutual influence between the complementarity and inclusion of the cultural realm as the main media and object of *da'wah* activities in Indonesia.

The formation of the cultural *da'wah* concept is made possible by harmonious relationship between Islam and culture, where tradition acts as a fundamental part of *da'wah* activities from the past to the present. The harmonious relationship between Islam and culture is determined by the dynamic, elastic, and accommodating characteristics of local culture. Also, it does not conflict with Islamic teachings. Therefore, *da'wah* strengthens a

culture that contains goodness and benefits and rectifies cultures contrary to Islamic teachings (Zuhdi, 2021). The relationship between religion and culture is found in the form of criticism and support. Therefore, not all cultures are rejected because they originate from human creations and vice versa.

Based on this fact, a lot of local traditions within the Bugis Pagatan community are associated with the surface layer (the first layer) of an element or basic value of the culture, such as *alempureng* (honesty and firmness), *amaccangeng* (intellect), *asitinajangeng* (decency), *agettengeng* (firmness and assertiveness), *reso* (effort) and *siri'* (shame and self-respect) (Mustamin, 2016). Islam further strengthens the character and the formation of traditions based on Islamic values.

Conclusion

The interaction between Islam and the local traditions of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community runs in harmony and mutually reinforces their existence in life. Islamic acculturation is accepted, and culture is implemented. Cultural *da'wah*, through the inception of culture or tradition as an object, is continuously conducted. Furthermore, continuous changes or transformations are made within the tradition, ensuring they remain in harmony with religious teachings. Therefore, it supports the process of spreading the religion to the wider community without conflict and contradiction. The model of Islamic indigenization relations that reaffirms cultural roots while creating a religiously devout community runs in perfect harmony. Meanwhile, the accommodative characteristic of Islam continues to be developed with a collaborative Islamic model to strengthen the community's religious life.

There are three major traditions in the life of the Bugis Pagatan coastal community, which are religious traditions as an appreciation of the teaching value (*mabbarasanji*, *massukkiri*, *mappanrelebbe*), rites (*mappandretasi'*), and life cycle (*mappabotting*, *madutta*, *mapacci*, *mappenretojang*). Each form of tradition contains religious and cultural symbols that represent the continuity of the relationship between the two, which is loaded with the best values and deep meaning (Budhi, 2015). Furthermore, religious values (devotion, sincerity, patience, business) lead to obtaining the safety and blessings of life and cultural (honesty, openness, strength, chastity, honor)

and social values. They maintain harmony and togetherness in the community.

Conflicts might occur when differences in understanding continuously increase according to the Islamic religious practices and local traditions. Therefore, it is vital to intensify efforts to maintain harmonious relations between Islam and culture. In principle, Islam, and local traditions in the life of the Bugis coastal community at Pagatan have a close relationship, interaction, and dialogue. Local traditions that develop into a field between both influence each other and fill the culture with the best values. Flexible Islam occurs irrespective of the existing culture, as long as the material, substance, and procession do not conflict with its teachings. This is a basic principle that needs to be maintained and propagated upon viewing culture to prevent conflict or contradiction between groups. Therefore, Islam should be presented based on the principles of gentleness, peace, and harmony. Peaceful Islam is not coercive, harmony prioritizes tolerance, flexible is not banging, and rooted Islam is always measured from balance.

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