

PETIK LAUT:
**Social-Ideological Accommodation in the Fishermen Community of
Kedungrejo Muncar Banyuwangi**

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Abstract: This research aims to showing how accommodating the differences of two traditions ideologically and socially can create tolerance and peace in a plural society. The plurality of Muncar such ethnicity, religion, culture and class-economy could protect the conflict. They more choose the public interest than personal interest. The social reality of Muncar is showing with ritual *Petik Laut* which combines between Islamic and *Osing* tradition. Cosmologically both of them are different, Islam believes in the singular God and the *Osing* believes in the plural God. The main problem of this research is how the ideological and social accommodation between the Islamic and *Osing* tradition can work. So my conceptual framework of research that syncretism is the accommodation of differences which can create society to be peaceful. And the ritual collective is the combining media of how the differences because the ritual has the collective goal which is reached by society as the actors. This research shows that the differences of religion and ideology in the multi-ethnic and cultural society have potentials for conflict. But the conflict can be protected by involving the social agents of society like *santri* and *kejawan* in order to avoid riot. The ideological problem is significant and sensitive and it is easy to create raise strong emotions among the fishermen. The wrong interpretation of ideology can be fatal. However the coastal society generally is known as less temperamental and open-minded person and permissive for the religious and ideological plurality. Their attitudes which want to show 'dignity' (*jati diri*) are the characteristic of the coastal society. This attitude manifests in the *petik laut* ritual by involving the symbols of religions, cultures and ethnicities in Kedungrejo. The Kedungrejo society majority is Islam but they believe in *Ratu Reja Mina* as the fish Queen although it is the *Osing* belief. The honor for the Sayid Yusuf as the historical figure of the *Petik Laut* history is done together by them. These beliefs complete the Islamic belief for Prophet *Hidir*. The coastal cosmology of Kedungrejo is the result of accommodating between Islam and *Osing*. So it became the local ideology which can avoid the conflict. Because left one of two ideologies can create the ideological conflict in society. They are still doing the process for the survival society life peacefully although they have the different interpretation about ritual *petik laut*. The conflict of economy as the consequence of the work system between *jaragan* and *pandiga*, and the environmental conflict between fabric and society can assimilate in this ritual because the social function of *petik laut* can accommodate all of the elements of society even religion to include in this ritual. So the person who has the certain conflict became the ritual as the mediation for building up the social cohesion (*silaturahmi*) among the fishermen community, religious institution and the organization of the *pesantren*'s alumni. From the social accommodation, the social cohesion came back to unity so that peace can return to Kedungrejo.

Keywords: Plurality, Kedungrejo, *Petik laut*, *Jaragan-pandiga*, Accomodation, Syncretism, Coastal cosmology and Social Cohesion.

INTRODUCTION

On the March 2006 I was visited the *Maulud Nabi* celebration in the Wonorejo village- Situbondo. In this celebration there is the unique process for me. This ritual combines

the Islamic belief and *Osing* tradition. In the Islamic belief there are *tahlilan* and *khataman* and in the *Osing* Tradition, society invites the *gandrung* dancer. The other time I watched the television program about *petik laut* celebration in Muncar- Banyuwangi. The ritual *petik laut* is not too different with the *Maulud Nabi* celebration. Both of them combine Islamic and *Osing* tradition. But in Muncar there are two categories of *gandrung*; Islam and *Osing*. *Gandrung* Islam has the dance first then continues *gandrung Osing*. *Gandrung Islam* has the dance first and *gandrung Osing* dance second because traditionally *gandrung* Islam is younger than *gandrung Osing*. The sea offering (*slametan laut*) is not the new thing; almost all of the coastal society does this ritual with different names. The aims of this ritual are to get a lot of fish and safety from the sea owners (Reja Mina Queen and South Queen) mainly when they do fishing. This ritual is done because fishermen believe that the sea has the supernatural owners and can give safety and the abundant fish.

Sea offering Muncar is called the *Petik laut* which is done each *Muharrom* (Islamic calendar) or *Suro* (Javanese calendar). In 1990 the ceremony was done in the village area and then grown to the district area and even became a tourism program. The ceremony lasts three to four days. The first day is begun by reading Al-Quran and *tahlil* then they prepare all of *sajen* (offering). The last day is giving all of *sajen* for the sea owners by following the *gandrung* dancer. When the sea offering (*sajen*) was sunken by *pawang*, fisherman jumped into sea to get *sajen* especially the gold fishing '*pancing emas*'. People believe that they can get the '*pancing emas*' can add fish for their family. After giving the sea offering, the group of fisherman and *gandrung* visit Sembulungan Island to dance and pray at Sayid Yusuf's grave. The ceremony is closed with a ceremony on the land. People celebrate this ritual with different kinds of activities, including religious activities and musical entertainment.

The *sajen* of this ritual are the kinds of rice, the head of *kendit* goat, eggs, fruits, clothes, money and gold. This *sajen* is put in the *gitek* (the miniature of ship). The *gitek* bottom is filled with the iron in order that the *gitek* can sink fast. If the *sajen* have sunken completely, it means that this *sajen* is accepted by the sea owner. This ceremony is attended by many people came from some places. They are not only from Muncar but also from other places like Jember, Bondowoso and Banyuwangi. This moment is very advantageous for traders. The committee gives the allocation of market for traders.

Now the ceremony of *petik laut* has a lot of the Islamic values while before it was dominated by the Hinduism values. Historically *petik laut* was celebrated in 1901, when it was organized by the *pawang* as the mediator between people and the sea owners. Now the *kyai* have changed the ceremony. Islamic tradition and *Osing* tradition is dynamic. *Gandrung* which is not the Islamic product is still practiced by society. Now, there are the same proportion between Islam and *Osing*. How the accommodation of Islam and *Osing* became in the Kedungrejo's society?

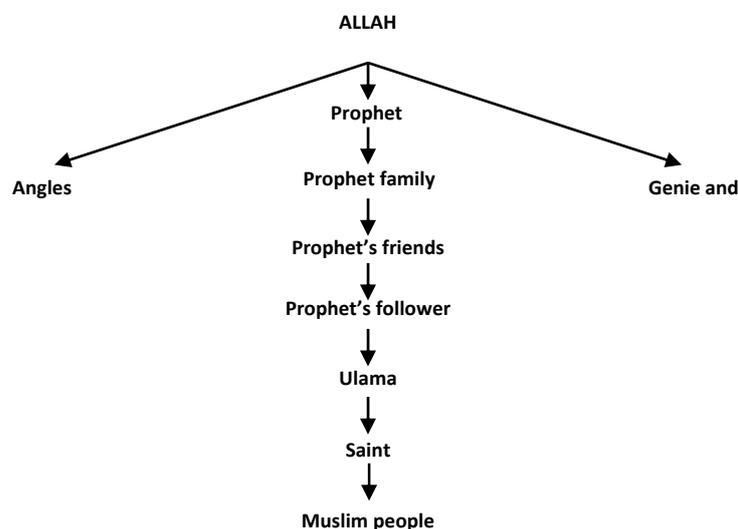
1. Methodology and Research Question

The main problem from this research is the accommodation process between Islamic tradition and *Osing* tradition in the *petik laut* rituals ideologically and socially. The research questions from this problem are; what is the structure of cosmology which is created from the accommodation of differences of cosmologies? What is the logic consequent for the social constellation of the fisherman's society of Kedungrejo? Why do the Kedungrejo fishermen choose the combination of traditions rather than choose just one of them?

2. Cosmological structure of muncar's Views

In this theoretical framework, I describe Islamic cosmology and Javanese cosmology. I use Javanese cosmology because the *Osing* tradition is closely related to Javanese tradition. In the Islamic view, Allah is the sources of everything and each microcosm reflects God's emotion and the structure of the world. In the Javanese Islam view, the cosmos have several elements such as seven heavens, earth and seven hells. In the mid cosmos there is sanctuary. (Woodward, 1999:285). Beside that, there is the spirit's place (metaphysical).

Islam believes the only one God is the decision maker in everything, and Muslim people must have obedience for that. Their belief in angels as the assistants of God is strong. Muslim people believe that the each of request for economical life, safety and blessing are addressed for Allah not the angel. Their worship is for Allah, the angels are not mediator in the human worship. And humans do not rites for angels. This ideology is different from the local belief which believes in the owner spirits (*danyang*) and the ancestral spirit. This is the scheme of structural cosmology in Islam.



This scheme actually rank in the praying introduction is always read by Muslim people especially *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU). This scheme explains that Muslim people need some ways and mediators to teach the God decision. The bad destiny can be changed by praying. Human beings are limited so that they need the holy man like kyai, saint, ulama, prophet follower, prophet friends, prophet family and the prophet him self. In the Sufis book written by Abul Fadlil Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abdul Karim ibnu Athoillah al Sukandari describes that human beings have some limitedness including in the spirituality so to teach or pray for God, human beings need the other creation. This praying is the way (*wasilah*) that has bound one to another. It is ranked in the *fatihah* praying:

“*Khususson ila khadrotin nabiya mustofa sayyidina muhammad, wa alihi wa ashabihi, wa tabi-in, wal ulama wal anbiya’,walmursalin alfatihah bismillah al-rahman al rahim*”¹

Means:

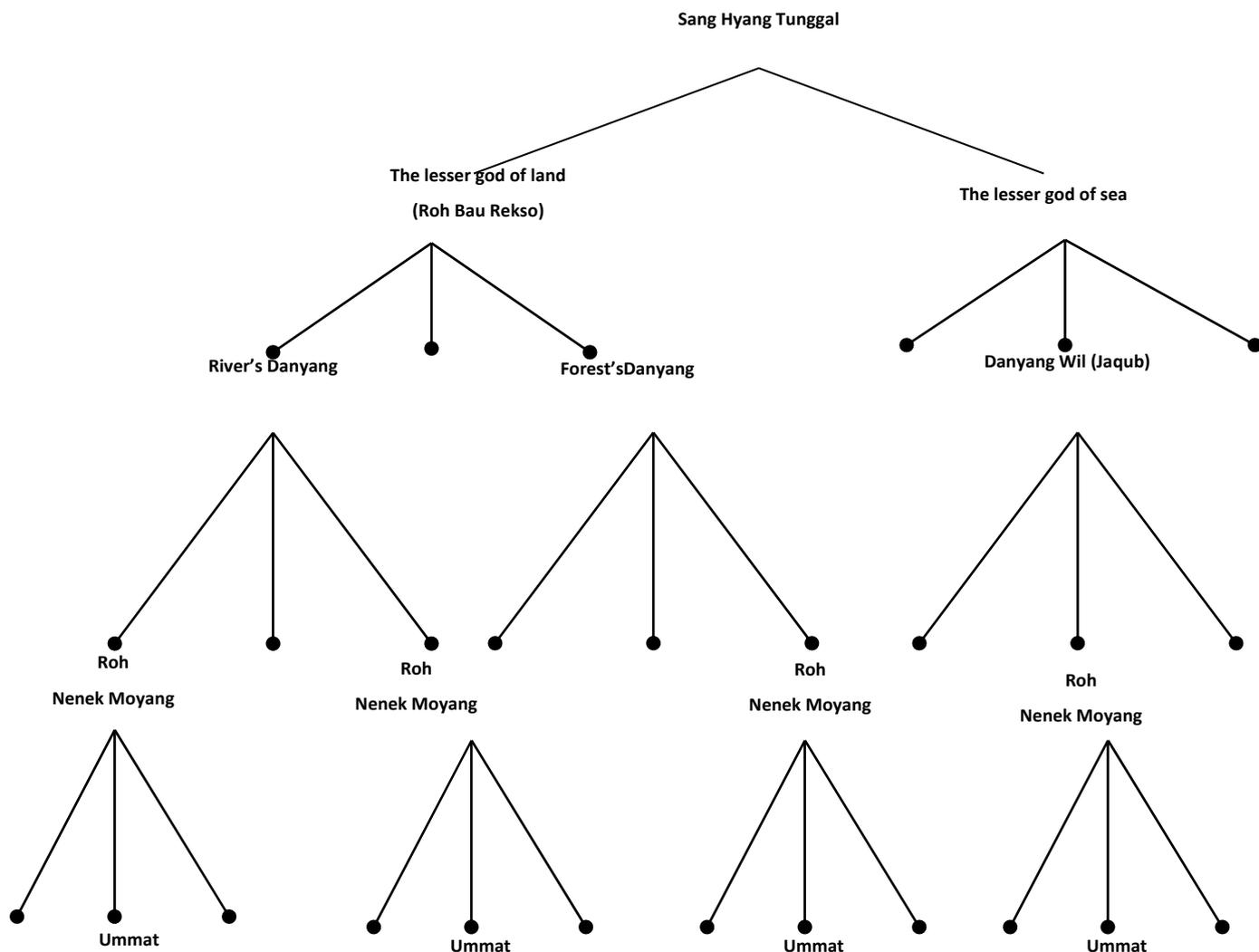
1. Wasilah ini banyak dibaca dan diamalkan oleh masyarakat NU

Especially for an honor the prophet Muhammad, his family, his friends, his followers, Ulama, Saint and all of Muslim people al-Fatihah....

On the other side, the cosmology of local religion is rich with rites and cults for the ancestral spirits and the spirit of village owners. They also believe in only one God, *Sang Hyang Tunggal*, but the cult for the *Sang Hyang Tunggal* is rare. It is different from African cosmology, the cult for Supreme Being is often done because the Supreme Being represented in the political power particularly in Ibo land. The cult for supreme being will help to protect Ibo land area including the cult for the son of God “Umu Chukwu”(Horton: 1995:229). In the cosmology of Kwaio, Solomon Island, the spirit owner is called as *Kwasi*. Kwaio’s society hoping Kwasi can interact with ‘*Buru*’ as the strengthen spirits. The involving *Buru* as the female spirit has been changed the structural cosmology of Kwaio and it implicate toward social structure of Kwaio from patrilineal for matrilineal. (Akin: 1996: 258).

Javanese cosmology shows the harmony relation between *jagad gede* and *jagad cilik*. The *Osing* as apart of Java have particular cosmology. *Osing* people believe in the spirit owner.

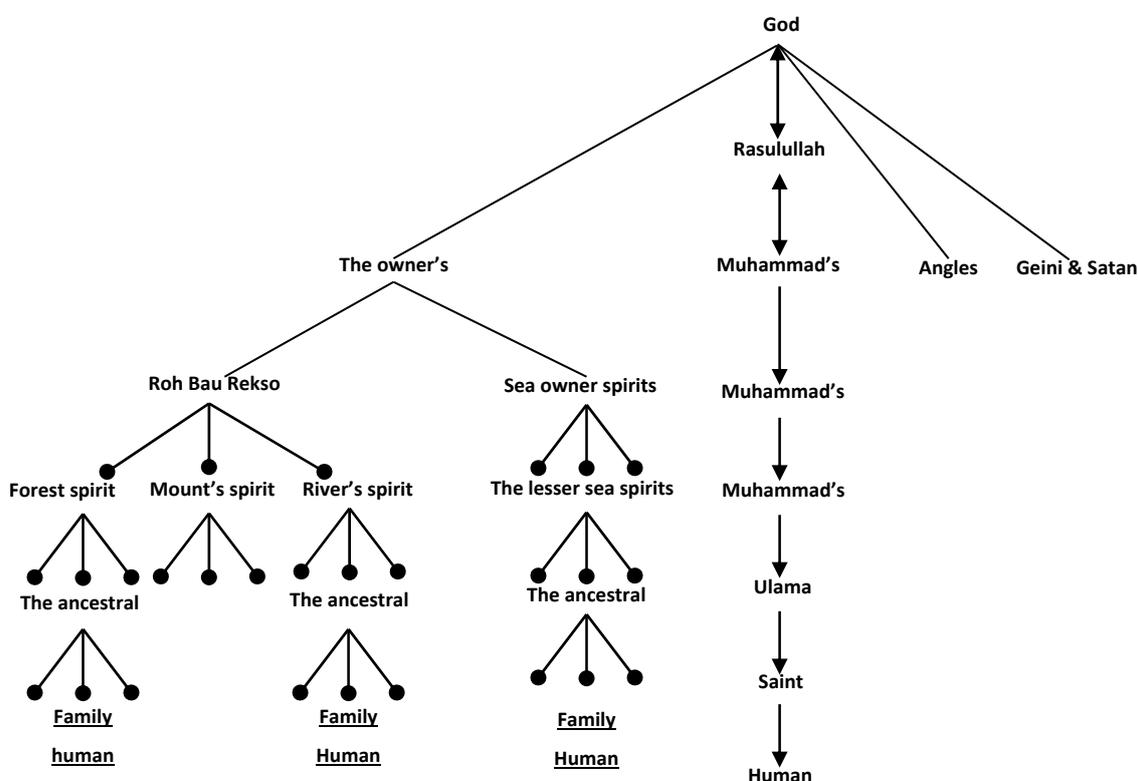
This is the scheme of the local cosmology:



Sang Hyang Tunggal is the source of all the microcosms and macrocosms, the spirits are a part of macrocosms, and human beings are microcosms. In this structure of spirit power, the ancestral spirit has the certain area just for his family, on him there are the spirit owner in tress, river, forest, mountain and ocean.

In the *Osing* cosmology, human should always do rites to keep safety for village or district area. To reach their collective goal, they do the communal ceremony to keep safe. The ceremony of *Petik Laut* is a manifestation of the dialectic between Islam and *Osing* tradition. This new ideology is believed by Muncar fisherman although they are Muslim. The new structural cosmology has the syncretism components such as, belief, concept and value. They Believe in Allah, the prophets, the Islamic prominent leader, the cosmogony's concept, eschatology, the lesser God, after life, the owner spirits, satan, ghosts, giant and the supernatural power in universe (Koentjaraningrat: 1984: 319).

The combination of the two cosmologies or ideologies is drawn below;



Here I want to emphasize the relationship between human and God in the syncretism cosmology. The believers of syncretism religion believe in their relation with God there are the other elements as a way to touch God. The other elements are the lesser spirits like the spirit owners in tress, mountain, sea, river and forest.

Rites and the forms of ritual are the communicating media between humans and the '*danyang*' spirits owner. They believe the syncretism cosmology in the paradigm thinking so that it creates the new pattern of human relations with God, the spirit owners and the spirits of *Wali*. Hefner finds the same condition in the Tengger community. The belief of Tengger people in Bau Rekso spirits has changed the Tengger's social structure. Hefner called his research as the cultural production (Hefner: 1995: 11).

Perhaps the Muncar cosmology was created from Islamic and *Osing* cosmology. In the communal ceremony, *petik laut* is addressed to the sea spirit owner but they are still praying to Allah. Indeed I think the Muncar ideology or cosmology is syncretism. Syncretism means the accommodation among the differences so humans can live peacefully with one another. The collective ritual is the mediation to unity and erases these differences socially and ideologically because they have the same goal.

3. The Method of Collecting Data and Analyzing Data

I base this study on the fishing community of Kedungrejo Muncar Banyuwangi. Kedungrejo Village is located in the Southern costal Banyuwangi and I need one hour to reach Kedungrejo from the city. Muncar have the plurality of ethnicity, religion, economy, social and culture. Muncar's plurality has existed since the Dutch colonial era. The location of Muncar geographically became the urban area for Madura's people, Bugis's people, Mandar's People, Mataram's people and Bali's people. In the pluralism they have ritual '*Petik Laut*' to unite all of the differences because ritual combines Islamic and *Osing* Tradition. It is my background to do this research.

Data for this study were collected mainly through the fieldwork. I carried out from January to February 2007. During fieldwork, I lived with the Bugis family. And mas Jalil help me a lot. He introduced me to some prominent leaders in Kedungrejo including the head of village (kepala desa), H. Hasan Zen. I had to use the short time of fieldwork well, so I began to collect economic and social data. I interacted directly with fishermen, traders, *Jaragan* and *pandhiga* in the harbor and fish-auction to collect economic data. To collect social data I observed the social activities daily.

In the beginning of February 2007 I concentrated to get ritual data particularly *petik laut* as my research focus. To get ritual data I interviewed some the prominent leader such as H. Imron, H. Zainurrofiq, H. Mursid, H. Lihen, Pak Hamidah and Pak Rais. In the ritual observation, I was helped by Junaidi and my Husband Irfan. Junaidi and Irfan recorded the ritual activities while I noted the ritual chronology.

In the mid of February I finished my fieldwork and started to read archives, historical records and other work kept in the library of the Art of Banyuwangi Departement (DKB) and the library of Banyuwangi. In the collecting writing data I was helped by Pak Hasnan. Even Pak Joko² and his wife Hj. Nurul given me some book about the History of Banyuwangi. After I collected all of the data, I classified social and ritual data. In this writing I used descriptive analysis. The descriptive analysis means the factual description to contextualize so the facts can be understood.

DISCUSSION

1. The Plurality Of Muncar Society

Muncar have the plural ethnicity, religion, economy, sociality and culture. The history of multi-ethnicity goes back to the Dutch colonialism (VOC) in Blambangan. When the capital of Blambangan was moved from Macan Putih to Ulu Pangpang due to political conflict, Blambangan was politically unstable from 1596 to 1729. In February, 5, 1774 M,

2. he was died before I finish my thesis writing

VOC built the military's castle to stabilize their trading way, because ethnic Bugis robbed in the Bali and Banyuwangi Sea. Bugis and Mandar's people have been there before Madura's people came to Ulu Pangpang. The *Osing* people are exclusive and closed to other people. They have had conflicts with Madura people. The *Osing* forbid the Madura's people from coming. The existence of Madura people in Muncar is invited by the Dutch government to help in the war with Blambangan. The Ulu Pang-pang harbor became the interaction area among *Osing* Bugis, Madura, Mandar, Bali and Mataram. Muncar where close to Ulu Pangpang became the urban area for fisherman, Bugis, Madura and Bali. Now they build their community. Their shared profession as fishermen allowed Bugis, Madura and Jawa (*Osing*) to live together.

In the social interaction of Kedungrejo, they still use their own languages, the Bugis community uses the Bugis language and they are concentrated in the Dusun Bugisan. Madura community is concentrated in the Dusun Duaraan and Sampangan, they use Madurese language in daily communication. To be frank, the plural society has the potential to create conflict but in Kedungrejo they can life peacefully even they know more than two language because they interact with the other ethnicities.

The majority of Kedungrejo residents are fishermen, with more than 5.366 fishermen. Kedungrejo has four sub-villages such as; Sampangan, Duaraan, Bugisan and Kalimoro. Here also there are more than 60 factories with international operation. This has caused environmental problems when the factories realease in the river. The fumes are actually a danger for breathing. On the other side women take the fabric's waste to be reproduced as the oil fish.

Economically, Kedungrejo people enjoy a relatively advanced situation. Because of its strategic location and the abundant fish creates the fishermen are very prosperous. *Jaragan*³ and *pandhiga*⁴ can work well. The system 'bagi hasil' (sharing the catch) helps the economic life of *pandhiga*, because *pandhiga* will get 5 % of each 1 ton fish.

Educationally, Kedungrejo society study in *pesantren* so that they have the obedience for the Kyai. The majority of them are *Nahdatul Ulama* (NU) so in the general election of 2004 they supported the PKB (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa*). Social stratification came from the developmental idea and education. The important social agents from Hinduism have been changed to *kyai*, yet some people still believe to *dukun*⁵ or *pawang*⁶.

The majority religion in Kedungrejo is Islam. 24.258 residents are muslim, this number is the greatest among Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism. So the Islamic tradition dominantly colored the Kedungrejo life. There are not religious conflicts in Kedungrejo. They can life tolerantly. The two religious social organizations; NU and *Muhammadiyah* give social, political, cultural and religious contribution for society with their own methods. The same profession creates a feeling of solidarity among ethnicities. Social and economic stratification is influenced by the religious pluralism. That is potentials to be exchange. *Hajj*, *dukun* (*pawang*), *kyai*, *jaragan* placed in the social, economic classes which are important even religious class.

3. The purse seine owner or the ship's owner

4. The worker of purse seine

5. Magican, they can treat patient

6. Someone has the certain skill to communicate with metaphysic

2. Tradition And Social Rites

a. Islam and *Osing* tradition

Islamic tradition in Kedungrejo began by Syeh Maulana Ishaq in 1451 when he came to Blambangan. Islam grew in the costal areas like: Gresik and Surabaya including Muncar as the costal Banyuwangi. The separated of Islam in Ulu Pangpang and Muncar are influenced by the political interest, although the Islamic tradition in Muncar was presumed by the influenced Sayid Yusuf.

The Islamic tradition of Muncar is based on the Hinduism and Javanese Islamic tradition. These influences can be seen in the Muharrom like *khitanan*, wedding, slametan for pilgrims returning from hajj and *tajin sora* including petik laut. Reading Al-quran was done by Kedungrejo society from all of kinds of age. Children study reading Al-qur'an in musholla and mosque.

Visiting walisongo grave (ziarah walisongo) are the agenda of purse seine (*slerek*) fisherman when they rest of fishing. In grave they read surah Yasin and tahlil by aiming to get blessing form the saint and God. Usually it is done after full moon (*petengan*). To celebrate the Hijriah New Year, people cook porridge which is called *tajin Sora*. Women of Kedungrejo give porridge for her Kyai, her neighbors and her family. It is believed that it will add to their economic life and build up the social cohesion. Fisherman read Al-Quran each Friday during their rest.

b. *Osing* Tradition

Historically the term '*Osing*' was used for the native people of Banyuwangi by the Dutch government to distinguish between Blambangan people and migrant people (Bugis, Mataram, Java and Madura). The word '*Osing*' means closed. It means that the *Osing* people are not permissive for other people who came to Blambangan. They dislike the Dutch government, Madura and Bugis including the other tradition and religion. The previous religion of *Osing* is Hinduism-*Ciwa* so they still have rich rituals. Each elements of economic, culture, social and religious activities have particular rituals. The *Osing* tradition is dominant in Banyuwangi including in Kedungrejo. The existence of *gandrung* and *seblang* dance teach historical movement of Blambangan in wars against the Dutch government. *Gandrung* and *seblang* are showed in some Banyuwangi's ceremonies including the death ceremony, marrying and *petik laut*.

In Kedungrejo there are many places as the inheritance of Blambangan Empire such as *gumuk putri*, *setinggil*, *ompok songo* and *pura Blambangan*. *Gumuk putri* is a legend that if girls want to marry, they should do the *gumuk putri* ritual to get happiness and blessing in her marriage. *Ompak songo* is the Blambangan ex-palace. *Setinggil* is the high place to spy on the Blambangan enemy. These places are always visited by the *Osing* people both from Kedungrejo and out of Kedungrejo. The belief in the Goddess protections like *Dewi Sri*, *Dewi Gumuk Putri*, *Nyi Rara Kidul* and *Ratu Reja Mina* is the symbol of feminine power in the *Osing* cosmology.

The social rites which are done by the Muncar society show the social reality. I divide these rituals into personal rituals and collective rituals. Personal rituals are done when a person has enough money to fund this ceremony and collective rituals

are always done in the Muharrom. Personal rituals like new ship rituals, 'perahu baru' is done by inviting neighbors to bring the ship to the sea. The collective ritual has the collective goal like the safety and prosperity of villagers.

c. *Petik Laut Ritual*

Ritual *petik laut* is done on Muharrom, 15 or the full moon because on this date, ships can easily reach the ritual place. Muhharrom is believed by Muslims to be the blessing moon. Historically, *petik laut* sources from the legend. In the book 'Marsodo Mancing' tells that there are two brothers fishing with the gold hook, and they catch Ratu Reja Mina, the queen of fish. In their dialogue the queen says that she will give many fish by request, if each Muharrom the communities does the sea ritual. Secondly, *petik laut* sources from the story about Sayid Yusuf 's struggle to build the Muncar economy. Sayid Yusuf came from Mandar. And he advances in the fishing. He help the Muncar society. The *Osing* people in Muncar wants that Sayid Yusuf can live in Muncar forever. So *Osing* people married Sayid Yusuf with the beautiful *gandrung* dancer. Sayid Yusuf likes to dance especially *gandrung* so that he does ceremony as a thanks to God with the *gandrung* dancing. When he and his wife died, they were buried in the Sembulungan Island close to the Muncar. And until now the Muncar society especially Kedungrejo do ritual in land and Sembulungan Island by crossing sea.

Before doing the ritual, the Kedungrejo people prepare offerings such as; The head of a certain goat, chickens, *ingkungan*, *ambengan*, clothes, cananga oil, some kinds of rice, eggs, small lamps, cosmetics, fruit and vegetables, money and gold hook. After preparing and collecting the *sajens*. All *sajen* put in the *gitek*, a miniature of a ship. In the bottom of *gitek* is putted by the iron so it will sink quickly. In the night preparation 'malam manggulan', there are some ceremonies like *macopatan* (reading the classic book: *Marsodo Mancing* and *Nurbuat Agung*), reading Al-Quran and giving charity for orphans. In other place there is dangdut music with prominent artists.

On February, 3 2007, the day of the ritual, everyone visit the harbor to watch the land ceremony and visit H. Zainurrofiq's home to watch the *gandrung* dancing, because the ritual process began from H. Zainurrofiq's home. After *gandrung* dance, the *pawang* give instruction for *gandrung* to dance by around *gitek* before is brought to harbor. In harbor the committee prepare the ship and land ceremony. The land ceremony was lead by the regent and tourist department. After the opening ceremony, the people began to join ship to follow the ritual process. There are two main ships, one ship to accompany *gandrung* dancers to Sembulungan Island and the other ship to dive *gitek*. When ships are between Java Ocean and Bali Strait, the *pawang* gives instruction to the head of regent 'Bupati' to dive *gitek*. Fishermen jump into the sea to take offering especially gold hook. They belief if they can get the gold hook their life will be blessed and they will be prosperous. Then society and *gandrung* dancer continue to Sembulungan Island to dance in Sayid Yusuf's grave. So the ritual process has completed.

The *petik laut* ritual ideologically aims to get safety and God's blessing using the sea owners as the mediators. The interpretations of fisherman about *petik laut's* meaning are plural, yet they have the same goals of safety and prosperity. Indeed the *petik laut* rituals socially and economically are the essence of economic fishermen's activities. Two groups, santri and kejawen have the different ideas of *petik laut's* meaning. Abangan (pandiga) believe that *petik laut* will give a lot of fish, which automatically will improve their prosperity. So the perfect *sajen* became the fundamental agenda to have a successful catch. H. Imron says in 2003 the coordinator of gitek is his father, in that time no fish so fishermen blamed that Haji Hasim as the trouble maker".

The santri believe that *petik laut* should be done to honor their last traditions without leaving Islamic values. The *santri (jaragan)* began to reinterpret the *petik laut's* meaning. They added *pengajian* and reading *Al-Qur'an* to the ceremony to give thanks to God. When I interviewed some *santri*, they said they were trying to Islamize the ritual softly to not create conflict. That saying is different from the *pawang* of the *petik laut* ritual. According to Pak Rais as the *pawang*, the *petik laut* ritual is the sacred ceremony with many rules which should be obeyed by fishermen. If fishermen did not obey the *petik laut's* rules, they will get disaster. Economically, the social function of ritual gives material benefit of Kedungrejo. Beside the distinction of *petik laut's* interpretation, fisherman supposes that *petik laut* will bring collective benefits. The goal of normative ideology which is brought by some people to change ritual meaning is caused by the changing belief.

3. Accomodation Social and ideological in the Fisherman Community of Kedungrejo

a. Ideological Accommodation: The Combination of Islam and *Osing* in Costal Cosmology

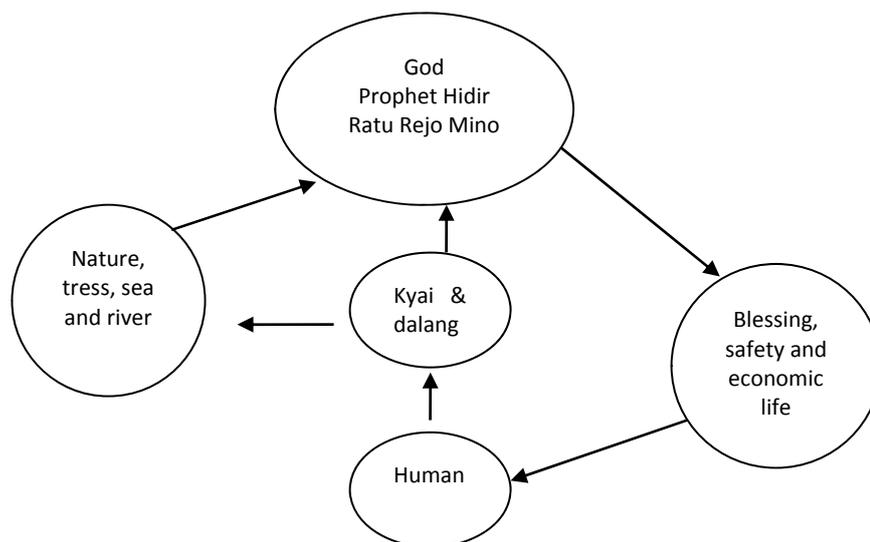
The dialectic between the great religions and local tradition describe the harmony of between the lesser spirits and the Supreme Being. The Cult for saints (*walisongo*) is considered polytheism by many muslims but in Sufism and Javanese Islam the cult is a way to became close with God (Woodward, 1999:128). In the *Osing* ideology, they believe in *Sedulur papat* because this spiritual act can help to solve their problem. *Raden kaca*, *Ratu Reja Mina* and the Prophet *Hidir* meet in the Kedungrejo's cosmology. The spirits owner and the ancestral spirits keep her family. The ancestral spirits can communicate with her heritage although they are in land, trees, stones and rivers, because trees and stones represent the human body (Rev Lois, 1891:237). In the *Osing* ritual, their ancestral spirit is invited with certain prayers or magic spells.

Raden Kaca, *Ratu Reja Mina* and *Nyi Rara kidul* are the lesser spirits and *Yang Maha Agung* is the Supreme Being. The boundary between microcosm and macrocosm influences their way of life. And social relations of society are limited by the microcosm boundary. They are aware that the other world beyond their selves exists. *Raden kaca* is the village owner and his existence gives the spiritual effect for the farmer. In the sea cosmology, the fishermen believe in the spirits of *Ratu Reja Mina* is not only a legend but also the book '*Marsodo Mancing*' contains the moral

education so humans are thankful to God. In sea cosmology there is the structural power beginning from the southern Queen (*Nyi Rara Kidul*), *Ratu Reja Mina* and the ancestral spirit. *Ratu Reja Mina* has her own cult as the queen of fish.

Besides the belief of *Ratu Reja Mina* and *Nyi Rara Kidul*, Muslim in Kedungrejo also believe in the prophet *Hidir* as the sea authority. This belief comes from the *Qur'an, surah Kahfi*. The belief in the prophet *Hidir* not only has implications for spiritual life but also for economic life. If someone meets with the prophet *Hidir* and shakes hands, their life will get blessing. The combining of two traditions and the belief in the sea owner in the offering symbols of *petik laut* shows the two beliefs are different. The combining of two ideologies does not create conflicts. The effects of cosmological belief about nature, Allah, the prophet *Hidir*, *Nyi Rara Kidul* and *Ratu Reja Mina* are the basic parts of the coastal cosmology.

To touch the God entity, fishermen should build communication with Prophet *Hidir*, Prophet Muhammad, *Raden Kaca*, *Nyi Rara Kidul* and *Ratu Reja Mina*. To get blessing' *berkah*', they need the *petik laut* as a medium, and *pawang* and *kyai* as the mediator. This is the scheme:



The symbol of *Osing* belief is feminine (goddess) and the symbol of Islamic belief is masculine (the prophet). The two beliefs ideologically can create tolerance and harmony in the coastal community. Coastal muslims which are open minded and adaptive can inter into a dialectic with the local belief.

b. **Petik Laut as the Media of Social Accommodation.**

In my first explanation, Muncar has the complexity about ethnicity, religion, culture, social and economy. The plural conditions have the potentials raise conflict. The only one motive of conflict is economic which appears in Kedungrejo. This conflict is caused by the working system between *juragan* and *pandiga* and between fabric and villagers. To reconcile this conflict, the people use social and religious methods like Friday prayer. But Friday prayers alone are not enough. Indeed here need the same idea to unite some distinction of economy, religion and social. *Petik laut* is the answer.

Petik laut has both ideological and social functions. Ideologically *petik laut* builds the same belief about blessing 'berkah' from the sea owners (*Nyi Rara Kidul, Ratu Reja Mina* and prophet Hidir). Although *santri* and *kejawan* have the different ideologies, they have the same interests. They never debate about ideology because the most important thing is God's blessing.

Socially the ritual is the bridge to build social cohesion, because the ritual involves many groups of society. People who have economic, cultural, ethnic and religious distinctions can work together. Ritual can press conflict so that Kedungrejo fishermen are not talking about an insignificant problem. They value general interest over personal interest.

Petik laut has the integrative function as a part of social mechanism to create harmony and solidarity among groups. Their distinctions are combined in the ritual. The unities of cultural symbols are shown with the ritual process. The showing cultural wear by Bugis people, Madura people, *Osing* people and Mandar people emphasize that Kedungrejo's society can live together in harmony despite their differences. The function of *petik laut* is the media of social accommodation, so *petik laut* which combines the different ideology also explains the model of dynamic relation between local tradition and religion.

CONCLUSION

The fishermen's village of Kedungrejo is multi ethnic, multi-religious, multi cultural and multi-class. The ethnic groups of Bugis, Madura, Java, Mandar and *Osing* work and interact without debating the cultural, religious and economic distinctions. They have lived in Muncar for more than five centuries, so that they identify them selves as the Muncar villagers and not as the new comers. They can elaborate in the same tradition so that they can build social relations. Their economic life is good and continues to grow. The fishery resources are the economic power of Muncar fisherman. Villagers can do worship according to their religion and there is no conflict about that. NU and Muhammadiyah as the religious organization give the positive contribution in the continuing Kedungrejo's tradition.

Osing is the native tradition of Banyuwangi and it has not disappear with the appearance of a new tradition. *Osing's* tradition comes from Hinduism so that it is more hierarchical than Islam, but cosmologically, *Osing* takes women as the blessing agent. Ritual Gumuk Putri for the girl before married is to request Dewi's Blessing. This ritual shows the power of matrilineal cosmology. Whereas Islamic tradition built from the masculine idioms like the spirits of wali (men) and the prophet (men) so it creates the patrilineal tradition. The matrilineal and patrilineal symbols of cultures accommodated in Muncar with the peaceful social relation.

The distinctions of ethnicity, economy, culture, tradition and religion elaborate in the ritual 'petik laut'. Ideologically, *Petik laut* is done by Kedungrejo's people as a way to give thaks to God because the village has been given a blessing and safety. The ritual is done in the each full moon of Muharrom because in that time all of the fishermen rest of work. Ritual which is visited and conducted by fishermen from several groups; ethnicity, economy and religion accommodate the *Osing* and Islamic tradition. Islam and its cosmology believe in the One God while *Osing* believe in the lesser spirits as well. The differences of the two

ideologies accommodate in the coastal cosmology. The coastal cosmology put one God as the source of macrocosm (nature and spirits) and microcosm (human being). Socially ritual became not only as the media of blessing spiritualism but also as the media of social accommodation. The social accommodation of ritual creates the adaptive and tolerant society for all of differences. The differences of ethnicity, economy and culture meet in the ritual with collective goal. The differences of that is no fundamental problem for Kedungrejo's fisherman so that they can accept this distinction.

In the Kedungrejo's cosmology, Nyi Rara Kidul, Ratu Reja Mina, The ancestral Spirits is structural hierarchism with pawang as the mediator between the spirits and humans. The ancestral spirits are the closets to humans so that to request for *Yang Maha Agung*, human should communicate with the ancestral spirits, Ratu Reja Mina and Nyi Roro Kidul, so they need one ritual to call them. It is different from Islamic cosmology. In the Islamic cosmology, angels, genie, satan and human beings have the same position in front of God. In the Islamic teaching, human beings should be holy (*maksum*) so their desires and prayers are answered by *Allah*. In this case not all human can be holy, they need the holy spirits like the prophet spirits and *wali* spirits. The prophet Hidir is believed as the sea owner by the Kedungrejo's muslim fisherman. To get Allah's blessing, fishermen hope for the blessing '*Berkah*' from the Prophet Hidir so they send *Surah Al-fatihah* to contact Him. Nyi Rara Kidul, Ratu Reja Mina and Nabi Hidir are there in the mainstream of fisherman's cosmology. It is the logical consequence of coastal cosmology towards social relations in Kedungrejo, that it is social harmony. The accommodation of both cosmologies in the ritual 'petik laut' shows the ideological and social aiming. Syncretism here means accommodation. Muncar society has no choice, Islam or *Osing*. Because choose one of them can create conflict not just ideologically but also socially. Indeed to avoid the conflict, they combine all of their beliefs in one ritual.

Kedungrejo is an interesting area with its multi-cultural community. More the history of Kedungrejo became the urban area for many fishermen. Kedungrejo as a part of Banyuwangi regency explains their strong local identity, it is *Osing* culture. My recommendations are that Kedungrejo can become the research area particularly about environment and industrialism, women and fishing economy. Besides that Kedungrejo taught me how we can live tolerantly in pluralism so if you want to do research about conflict resolution, you can choose Kedungrejo.

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