

BUGIS–MAKASSAR SEAMANSHIP AND REPRODUCTION OF MARITIME CULTURAL VALUES IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRAK

Topik penulisan ini diangkat sebagai upaya mengembangkan fokus studi antropologi maritim yang selama ini dalam kondisi statis dan cenderung menyentuh sisi permukaan fenomena kehidupan kebaharian belaka. Dengan aplikasi asumsi reproduksi etos budaya kemaritiman untuk menjelaskan pengalaman pelayaran dan interaksi kemaritiman para pelaut Bugis-Makassar, beberapa unsur nilai budaya maritim mereka dapat ditemukan. Sikap dan nilai-nilai utama seperti pengetahuan dan ketrampilan navigasi, adaptasi lingkungan fisik dan sosial budaya, konsep ruang perairan, keberanian berpetualang, kerja keras dan kompetitif, jujur dan terpercaya, setia dan bertanggung jawab, keterbukaan dan kebebasan, religious, dan kolektivisme yang diterapkan dalam kegiatan dagang dan pelayaran oleh mereka dipahami sebagai nilai-nilai budaya maritim. Nilai budaya maritim berciri ke-Indonesiaan-an mereka pelaut Bugis-Makassar juga dalam bentuk kesadaran akan keberagaman kebudayaan dan hubungan antaretnik, cinta pada negara, bahasa nasional, dan kebangsaan. Tulisan ini berbasis pada keterangan sejarah kepelayaran Bugis-Makassar dan data penelitian lapangan dari Bira (Kabupaten Bulukumba) dan Paotere (Kota Makassar) yang dikoleksi dari bulan April hingga September 2010.

Kata Kunci: *pelaut Bugis-Makassar, pengalaman kepelayaran, reproduksi budaya maritim*

ABSTRACT

This article is an initiative to develop the maritime anthropology field of study that up till now is stagnant and tends to be concerned with the surface structure of the maritime cultural phenomena. By application of the concept of reproduction maritime ethos disposition in explaining the navigational experience and maritime interaction of Bugis-Makassar seamen, some of their maritime cultural values can be discovered. Attitudes and main values such as knowledge and navigation skills, adaptation with physical environment and socio-culture, water spatial concept, brave and like adventure, hard working and competitive, honest and trustable, loyal and responsible, openness and freedom, strict to attitude and religious, collectivism, etc. which were applied in the trading and sailing activities of the Bugis-Makassar sailors can be understood as maritime cultural values. Indonesia maritime cultural values of Bugis-Makassar are also in the forms of awareness and diversity of values and relationships between ethnic groups and cultures, love to the country, language unity, and nationality. This article is based on historical annotation of Bugis-Makassar seamanship and field work data from Bira (Bugis region) and Paotere (Makassar region) conducted in six months (from April to September 2010).

Keywords: Bugis-Makassar seamen, seamanship experience, maritime culture reproduction.

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INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is known as one of the biggest archipelago states in the world with its natural characteristics, social demography and economy, and its conspicuous maritime culture – according to Asahitaro Nishimura (1973), the term *maritime* refers to components of sailing, shipping, and the item of cognitive system of knowledge, idea, value, norm, belief related to maritime activities. These natural characteristics include 17.508 big and small islands with a total coastal length of 81.000 Km, 2.027.087 Km² land area, 5.8 Km² sea area (consist of 3.166.163 Km² archipelago and territorial waters and 2.500.000 Km² EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone)—the condition before East Timor was free from Unitary State of Indonesia. The waters have renewable natural resources (fishery, coral reef, sea weed, and mangrove) and abundant and invaluable unrenewable ones (oil and gas, mineral, iron, treasure). Indonesia also lies between two continents: Asia and Australia and between two great oceans: the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean (BPP Teknologi and WANHANKAMNAS, 1996).

The social demographic and economic characteristics indicate that areas along the coasts and small islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke are inhabited by more than 40.000.000 people. They live directly or indirectly from the economic sectors of fishery, transportation, and sea trade. Both transportation and fishery are the oldest economic sectors which most people of the coastal areas deal with in this archipelago.

The cultural characteristics of community in Indonesia are full of maritime civilization comprising aspects of government policy, security and defense, wooden boat industry, architecture, astrology, transportation and trade, and ports used to develop at the centers of maritime kingdom—“maritime great tradition” in Mukhlis Paeni’s term (1985). As for the tradition of maritime culture such as fishing is done and supported by poor coastal communities—“maritime little tradition” in Mukhlis Paeni’s term (1985).

From natural, social demographic, economic, and cultural characteristics and its strategic geographical position in international context, national development program should have the first priority in the development of maritime civilization. In relation to it, scientific study on tradition and maritime culture dynamic process needs to be improved in Indonesia, both quality and quantity.

Actually there have been many studies in anthropology and sociology on the socio-economy and culture of coastal communities and islands in Indonesia, but of course there are still a lot of essential phenomena that have never been studied by using particular assumption and approach. Previous research on fishermen’s socioeconomic system (Lampe, 1986; Lampe et al. 1996/1997; Lampe et al., 1997/1998; Lampe et al., 2000), seaman and fisherman socioeconomic institutions (Lampe, 1995; 2010), people-sea interaction (Lampe, 1989; 2006) etc. focus more on the surface or maritime culture hardware than on maritime ethos and maritime cultural values understood as a result of a long seaman-ship experience.

My interest in studying the maritime ethos and maritime cultural values started from my discussion with Linda Christianity, a recognized senior member of an NGO in Indonesia and also an advisor in Coral Reef Rehabilitation and Management Program (COREMAP) South Sulawesi in 1996/1997 and 1997/1998, in a seminar room held in South Sulawesi province in 1997. She stated that Bugis-Makassar seamen had the courage to sail the Indonesia waters in the past and at present. They are the people who have archipelagic concept and high nationalism spirit. Then Edward Poelinggomang (2002), a historian in Bugis-Makassar seamanship, stated that the formation of this archipelago to be a nation was accepted due to a friendship and brotherhood through navigation network and maritime trade resulted in tolerance and sympathy between community groups. One of the groups that had a significant share, according to Poelinggomang, is Bugis-Makassar seamen and traders from South Sulawesi.

INTRODUCTION

These statements are not meant to show the greatness and merit of Bugis-Makassar seamen in the formation of the Unitary State of Indonesia. On the contrary, it is a scientific attempt to identify the attitudes and maritime cultural values and explain it empirically in the context of the long history of seamanship. The question is: can the mental elements such as adventurous courage, nationalism spirit, friendship and brotherhood, tolerance and sympathy, etc. be understood as maritime cultural values? If yes, then how is the formation of the maritime cultural values? Is it part of Bugis-Makassar ethnic civilization developed on land or is it a result of a long process of seamanship experience?

This writing aims at identifying the maritime cultural values of Bugis-Makassar seamen and explaining it empirically in the context of maritime and seamanship in Indonesia—in the context of maritime culture study, ethnic Bugis-Makassar is only one in writing, this is due to both ethnics have relatively similar maritime cultural elements especially in navigation and fishery sectors. In Indonesia the study of maritime cultural values system like this does not only contribute to the development of maritime anthropology which has been static so far, but is also beneficial to the development of maritime community as a glue of pluralistic and multicultural nation which is prone to horizontal and vertical conflicts.

It is hard to identify and explain the maritime cultural values including Bugis-Makassar maritime culture because the concept or the approach used by anthropologists so far has been borrowed from human ecological perspective/anthropology of ecology and sociology. For example, approaches of adaptive strategy by Bernett (in McCay, 1978; Acheson, 1981) view environmental problems (physical, socioeconomic, politic, technology, demography, market) and response patterns used by human in using environmental resources and overcome pressing problems faced by human. Eco-systemic approach by Rappaport (1968) and Vayda and Rappaport (1968) view institutions or ceremony as a mechanism to maintain the

balance condition of environmental resources. Cultural materialism by Marvin Harris (1986) explains an institution or taboo based on cost-benefit consideration in its relation to the management of natural resources use. Constructionist perspective (Palsson, 1999) views paradigmatic relation between man and environment in three paradigms: communalism (inter subjective relationship between man and environment), orientalism (man controls nature/environment), paternalism (man is responsible to protect powerless natural condition). Symbolic-metaphoric perspective developed by Ossewijer (2001) illustrates human interaction with environment metaphorically and symbolically. The world system theory by Wallerstein applied by Estelle Smith (1977) views the change of strategy of fishermen effort and various socioeconomic consequence and environment in the context of development of world export market. The approach of dominant social institution views the closed and homogenous lives of seamen groups (seaman and fisherman) as fully limited by vessel or boat institution (Aubert V. in Lette, 1985).

From the review to the application of each theoretical approach mentioned previously, it is known that the studies are not about mental phenomena (concept, value, norm, belief, moral, and attitude) which is understood as a result of and or strengthened by a long voyage. A study focus or appropriate anthropological approach developed in the study of maritime cultural values is to see or understand maritime ethos disposition as reproduction of long navigation experience (Prins, 1985).

NAVIGATION EXPERIENCE AND REPRODUCTION OF MARITIME CULTURAL VALUES: A NEW FOCUS IN THE STUDY OF MARITIME CULTURE

When maritime culture is understood as mental/cognitive phenomena (concept, value, norm, belief, moral and attitude) as a result of and or strengthened by navigation experience, the maritime ethos disposition approach by Prins is evaluated to be more appropriate to develop in

the study of maritime cultural values in Indonesia than the others. As Prins (1985) points out, the making of boat, navigation and trade, and fishing are a way to understand maritime culture of a unique and complex local community that is maritime ethos disposition.

Prins assumes that human interaction (seaman and fisherman) with sea environment using boat/vessel, navigation, and fishing activity gradually reproduce complex and unique maritime ethos disposition. According to Prins, the elements of maritime ethos disposition such as pragmatism, instrumentalism, adaptivism, strict attitude, discipline, loose structure, courage to take risk, strong will, leniency, and competitive, etc. From the assumption, it is clear that the concept of maritimeness ethos disposition by Prins embodied as attitude and essential maritime cultural values.

The remaining question of Prins' assumption is which maritime ethos disposition is understood as reproduction of human interaction (seamen) with sea physical environment, and which one is the reproduction of human interaction with his external social world? In this study it is assumed that although the two categories of experience interaction commonly reproduce attitudes and maritime cultural values, the result or its reproduction is relatively different. This kind of analysis has not been done by Prins.

Regardless of the weaknesses, the assumption of reproduction of maritime ethos disposition is evaluated to be sharp enough to give inspiration and open a way for me to broaden the focus of the study on other maritime cultural values which can be explained empirically than several maritime ethos dispositions put forward by Prins. For example, mental elements such as adventurous courage, strict attitude, obedient to norm, tolerance and loyalty, collectivity, openness, respect ethnic differences, nationalism, etc. can be understood as maritime cultural values because it can be explained empirically in the context of long navigation, internal influence (socio-culture of seaman) and external influence (market situation, government policy, etc.).

TRACING THE BUGIS-MAKASSAR SEAMANSHIP IN INDONESIA

Indonesia in the historical notes, it is known as the rich country of maritime culture. Of course not all communities were under maritime kingdoms in Indonesia in the past until Indonesian independence era became a maritime community. According to Adrian Horridge, from many groups of fishermen and seamen, there are six ethnic groups as pioneers of maritime community in Indonesia, namely Bajos (sea nomads), Bugis (Gulf of Bone), Makassar (Galesong, Tallo), Mandar (West Sulawesi), Buton (Southeast Sulawesi), and Madura (East Java). They are the heirs of maritime culture (boat makers and skilled seamen) from Malay-Polynesia race and pioneers and propagators of maritime culture in Southeast Asia since thousands years ago (Horridge, 1986). From its wide spread, according to Horridge, there emerged other ethnic groups such as fishermen communities from Bawean islands, Masalembu, and Sapudi (Java), traders from Bonerate and Polu'e island at Flores Sea, whale hunters from Lamalera (Lomblen at the Strait of Timor, Luang people at the southwest), and several Bugis colonies in Indonesia (among others are Flores, Bima, Riau, Lampung) controlling wide trade network for many types of export and import commodities.

A detailed description of trade navigation adventure of the people of South Sulawesi is found in Cornelis Speelman notes written after the War of Makassar in 1670 (see Poelinggomang, 2002). Poelinggomang notes that the trade relation done by Bugis-Makassar of South Sulawesi until the conquest of Gowa Kingdom by VOC lasting from and to Manggarai, Timor, Tanimbar, Alor, Bima, Buton, Tomboku, Seram, Mindanao, Sambuangan, Macao, Manila, Cebu, Cambodia, Siam, Patani, Bali, ports of North Java, Batavia, Bantam, Palembang, Jambi, Johor, Malacca, Aceh, Banjarmasin, Sukadana, Pasir, Kutai, Berau, and trade towns in Sulawesi and Maluku. The commodities sold, according to the note of Cornelis Speelman in 1670 (in J. Noorduyn, 1983) were spices, sandalwood,

slaves, Indian textiles products: dragam (a kind of two colored cloth from Gujarat), touria godia (a kind of colored cotton fabric from India Muka), bethilles (a kind of colored cotton fabric from Portugal), etc.; China products such as porcelain, silk, silk thread, gold, jewelry, gong, etc.; home industry products (machete, sword, axe, Selayar cloths, Bima cloths, etc.); and sea products especially turtle scales and pearls.

When Makassar fell into the power of VOC, the navigation activities of Bugis-Makassar seamen were stopped in the eastern part of Indonesia. This is due to one of the requirements in VOC policy under Speelman to ban native boats carrying spices and other main export commodities. That is why after the War of Makassar (1666-1667; 1668-1669) the seamen of South Sulawesi changed their direction and trade route by doing exodus to many trade ports in the western part of Indonesia such as Kalimantan and Sumatera islands, and Malay Peninsula. They traded to other ports such as Jailolo (Sulu), Banjarmasin, Palembang, Johor, Pahang, and Aceh. The trade boats which visited Jailolo came from different ports such as Kutai, Pasisir, and Samarinda (East Kalimantan), Ternate, Banda (Maluku), Coastal part of West Papua, and Mandar, Kaili, Bone, Gorontalo, Manado, and Kema (Sulawesi) (Warren, 1981). They wanted to trade to ports under the control of Dutch government and not to ports forbidden by the Dutch government nor traded commodities monopolized by the government such as spices. Their navigation areas (to get production for marketing to trade ports) were Nusa Tenggara, Southeast Maluku (Aru and Tanimbar Islands) until north coast of Australian Continent.

The fighting spirit of Bugis-Makassar seamen adventure to all parts of Indonesia was not faded although Makassar had fallen under the hand of VOC. This is due to the influence of free trade policy or open door policy done by Gowa King, Sultan Alauddin, when he refused the application of VOC to not make a relation with other European countries such as Portugal, Spain, and England. This policy is very obvious in Sultan Alauddin's statement saying:

“God has created the land and sea; the land is divided between human beings and sea for all human being. It is never heard that someone is forbidden to sail at sea. If you do it, it means you grab away the food (bread) from our mouths. I am a poor king” (Stapel, 1922).

The good relationships between seamen and traders of South Sulawesi and the areas had been visited, according to Poelinggomang (2002), are due to several factors. Firstly, they are said to be very clever at giving presents to authorities and ulemas (Islamic scholars) at the place visited. Secondly, they are said to always keep their promise. Thirdly, they are said to be always willing to help anyone treated unfairly. This is based on a Dutch poet stating that seamen and traders from South Sulawesi are like “the loving roosters from the East (*de hantjes van het Osten*)” (Poelinggomang, 2002).

The trace to maritime navigation and trade adventure of Bugis-Makassar (and Buton) is meant to show the fact of economic, social, and political relationships and became a basis for the establishment of nation integration in later development. It cannot be denied that the Republic of Indonesia area was once under the Dutch colony, but this was supported by tolerance attitude and sympathy of ethnic groups which have made friendship and brotherhood through maritime navigation and trade networks in which the seamen and traders of Bugis-Makassar played a great role.

MAINTAINING NAVIGATIONAL TRADITION AND GROWTH OF MARINE CONCEPT OF INDONESIA ARCHIPELAGO

After the independence of Indonesia, navigational tradition is productive again due to Bugis-Makassar seamen as heirs of the ancestors' culture existing during colonial time and beyond. Learning from historical process of long political activities concerning the Indonesia area, the seamen groups of Bugis-Makassar can change the concept of waters and land areas of Indonesia from colonial era and beyond to independence era. The old seamen generation

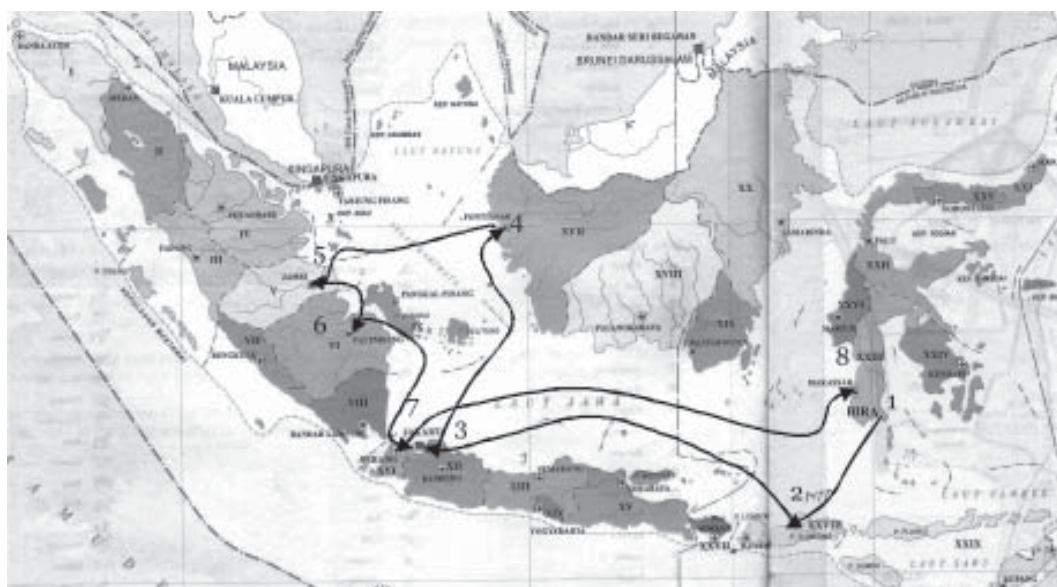


Figure 1. Navigation Route

had got past experience that waters in Indonesia and a number of islands were under the claim of maritime kingdoms in power which had made political and trading relationships.

During the independence era through information and long experience, the Bugis-Makassar seamen got a new concept that waters areas and Indonesia Islands which were navigated and visited had been integrated to one nation, namely the Unitary State of Indonesia. The change of concept makes it possible for the spread of navigational network between islands and economic transaction becomes more intensive and communicative among Bugis-Makassar seamen with coastal population of the islands stretching from Sabang to Merauke.

With regard to experience and concept of Bugis-Makassar seamen on waters area and islands in the west and east parts of Indonesia, several examples of navigation route cases are presented by showing experienced Bugis-Makassar ship's captains. They were my experienced informants in conducting the Stranas Research Project 2010.

H. Andi Murtala from Bira, Bulukumba (75 years, ex captain, Bugis). He began as ship's captain in 1957. The first ship captained was *pinisi* (kind of boat) with capacity GT 500-600 tons. The

ship had 10 to 15 crew and started to sail from April or May to December. The cargoes consisted of many kinds of farm products, e.g., coconut oil, wood, cement, fish, salt, etc. depending of the traders who used the boat. Outside South Sulawesi, the designation areas of H. Andi Murtala's boat were ports of Lombok, Sumbawa, Surabaya, Pasuruan, Semarang, Jakarta, Pontianak, Jambi, Palembang, and Lampung. In the eastern part of Indonesia the routes were Kendari, Ambon, and Timika. The routes in western part of Indonesia can be seen in Fig. 1.

H. Mustadjab from Bira, Bulukumba (65 years, ex captain, Bugis). In 1958 H. Mustadjab began his career as crew. At first he was a cook for 5 years. After that he became crew and became ship's captain in 1974 by navigating *pinisi* Bunga Harapan. Just like other boats, Bunga Harapan also started to sail from April or May to December. In the east and west parts of Indonesia, the routes were ports of Wengapu, Labuan Bala, Badas (Sumbawa), Ampena Lombok, Gresik, Kalimas Surabaya, Jakarta, Bangka Belitung and Samarinda. The trade commodities were cement, tiles, farm products, mix products, sands (material for glass industry), and wood. The routes of H. Mustadjab in western part of Indonesia can be seen in Fig. 2.

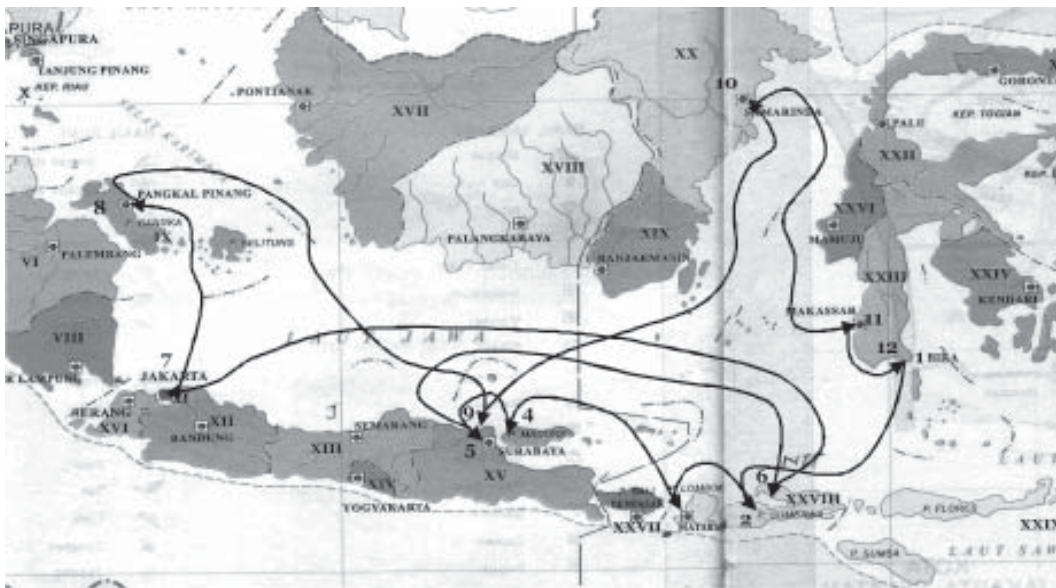


Figure 2. Navigation Route Map

H. Puang Ambo from Paotere, Makassar City (52 years, Captain, Makassar). He began to sail in 1964. The towns which have been navigated were Kolaka, Buton, Bima, Kupang, Ambon, Sorong, Biak, Surabaya, Denpasar, Sumbawa, Lombok, Balikpapan, Samarinda and

Potianak. His boat was loaded with many kinds of farm products and building materials especially cement, wood, mix commodities, cloves, and cacao. Both cloves and cacao were transported from Ambon. The routes of H. Puang Ambo's boat can be seen in Fig.3.



Figure 3. Navigation Routes Map

H.Masruddin from Bira, Bulukumba (60 years, Captain, Bugis). H. Masruddin started to sail in 1962 as crew. The *pinisi* type boat was captained by H. Andi Murtala. As for other seamen from Bira, H. Masruddin status as crew has also visited many ports In Indonesia both eastern and western parts of Indonesia. Due to his achievement, he was appointed as Mualim II (Vice Captain) accompanying H. Andi Murtala in 1972.

His experience in sailing and knowledge of the sea and islands make him possible to sail abroad three times, namely to Darwin, Australia twice, and once to Tokyo, Japan to sail traditional boat ordered from Bira, Bulukumba for the national museums in the two countries. The first and second navigation to Darwin, Australia took two types of boats “HATI MAREGE” and “PINISI NUSANTARA”, and to Japan to sail a boat of “DAMAR SAGARA”. His top career was achieved when he was appointed Captain in 1990 and was trusted to captain a yacht belonging to tourism industry in Bali. The route of “HATI MAREGE” to Darwin, Australia Port in 1984 can be seen in Fig.4.

From the discussion with four Bugis-Makassar ex captains and seamen from Bira, Bulukumba and Paotere, Makassar City, some information on the traditional navigation and the growth of the concept of Indonesian regional unity were gained. H. Andi Murtala told proudly his navigational experience for about 40 years. He thanked God because he became one of the seamen who could continue the profession of the old generation of the Bira Buginese who had ever been victory in the previous era, especially before the Dutch Colonial Era in the Archipelago. H. Andi Murtala told his navigational wondering experience and knowledge about the Indonesian large water space, including islands and ports which became his navigational routes in the western part of Indonesia. Last but not least he succeeded to educate some sailors until they finally became captains.

As similar as H. Andi Murtala, H. Mustadjab was also a Bugis seaman from Bira whose status was captain of the *pinisi* boat (prototype of Buginese trade boat). In the beginning he was a

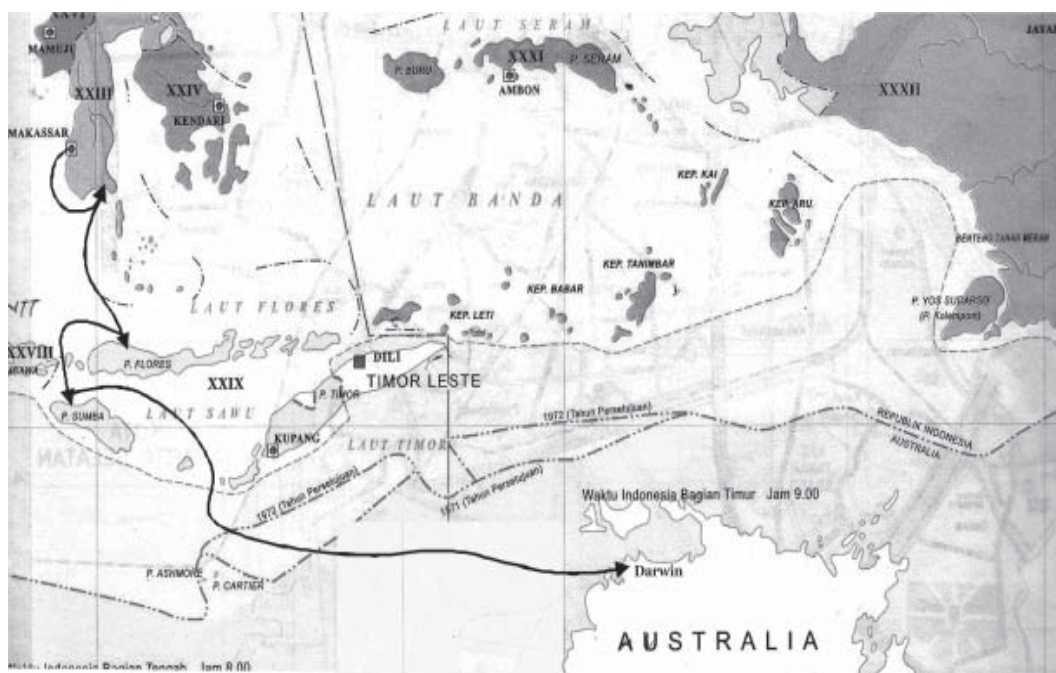


Fig.4. Navigation Route Map

crew of H. Andi Murtala's boat who sailed many times in the western part of Indonesia. Because he used to trade in that region, he continually maintained his navigational routes and old ports in the western part of Indonesia, especially Sumatra, Bangka Belitung, Kalimantan, and Java islands as trading destination places. During the interview, he was enthusiastically tell his navigational and maritime experience, and his preference to associate and trade with the local people. He thanked God because he was one of the successful professional sailors of the old generation at Bira.

Another captain I interviewed was H. Puang Ambo who informed the trading navigational tradition which took the route and destination area in the eastern part of Indonesia. He acknowledged that he was one of the captains of the Makassar young generation who still maintained to sail some ports in the islands in the eastern part of Indonesia. Those ports in the era before the Indonesia independence, according to him, were under the reigns of the small maritime kingdoms in the eastern part of Archipelago which traded with the Goa-Makassar Maritime Kingdoms centralized in Somba Opu. To compare with Bira as the main place of Bugis sailors in Bulukumba, Paotere which situated in Makassar was the central settlement and the port of Makassar that was always harbored by *pinisi* since the Dutch Colonial era.

H. Masruddin, another captain, informed that he not only sailed in the Indonesian sea waters, but also in the some neighboring countries, such as, Australia, Thailand, the Philippines and Japan. H. Masruddin also began his carrier as a crew under the leadership of the Captain H. Andi Murtala. During the first 10 years, when he was still in the status of crew, he knew the large sea waters and the names of islands and the ports in the western part of Indonesia which became his destination area. Because of his prestaton, he was appointed as captain to navigate the *pinisi* twice to Darwin and once to Thailand, and sailed continually to Japan via the Philippines. His navigation experience has developed his idea of Southeast Asia and Australian maritime world. As

other Bugis-Makassar sailors, H. Masruddin who loved his sailing career both in Indonesia and foreign countries as mean of living to meet his social economic needs and to enlarge his nationality and international relations.

To maintain their maritime lives, the Bugis-Makassar seamen always commit to broaden their maritime perspective and behave toward the interest of the compactness of the Unitary State of Indonesia, national integration and social harmony, mutual respect to other ethnics and cultures, and support to all efforts for the development of Indonesia maritime civilization based on locality and nationality.

NAVIGATION AND TRADE AND REPRODUCTION OF MARITIME CULTURAL VALUES, INSIGHT OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND NATIONALITY

From the historical notes of Bugis-Makassar seamen adventure both during Indonesia maritime kingdoms sovereignty until colonial time and after Indonesian independence era, many cultural elements have been identified and maritime cultural concept that can be assumed as reproduction of navigation experience and maritime interaction of Bugis-Makassar seamen with outside world. The outside world concept is not only with Indonesia maritime kingdoms and ethnic groups especially Bajo, but also traders from China, India, Middle East, Portugal, Spain, VOC (Dutch), etc. The maritime interaction experience with outside world provide creative-innovative inspirations and absorption of shipping technology, knowledge and skill of modern navigation, mental of trade competition, model of political policy and war tactics (Curtin, 1984: 158-166). It was acknowledged by the Bugis-Makassar seamen that the architectural change and the loading cargo tonnage of the *pinisi* were the creative-innovational result which was inspired by the more modern foreign ship/boat. As the *jolloro* (the faster boat) which has generally been used by fishermen in South Sulawesi since 1990s, its form was modified by Bira boat builder from the Kalimantan wood stem boat (*perahu batang* in local term). The capitalism business

spirit and trading tactic were adopted from the Chinese trader since hundred years ago. The sailing practice and braveness was the result of the socialization and the internalization through the intimate relation with the Bajo seamen in the past. The openly practical tactics of the sea spacial use grew from the processual fighting against and imitated the VOC and the military of the Dutch Colonial Government in the past.

The Bugis-Makassar seamen in the past are acknowledged by historian Robert Dick-Read (2005: 88-105) having maritime outstanding skills and reputation as successful and honest traders, honest and obedient soldiers, well behaved, good leader, brave and like adventure. According to Read, if a maritime king or authority of Indonesia needs an armada, they appeared to be trustable men, and nothing can exceed their bravery in Indonesia.

From the explanation with assumption of maritime ethos disposition reproduction, all maritime historic remarks about Bugis-Makassar seamen and history of navigation from Bira and Paotere can be identified. Attitudes and main values such as knowledge and navigation skills, adaptation with physical environment and socio-culture, brave and like adventure, hard working and competitive, honest and trustable, loyal and responsible, openness and freedom, strict to attitude and religious, collectivism, etc. which were applied in the trading and sailing activities by the Bugis-Makassar sailors can be understood as maritime cultural values. The elements of value in viewpoint or attitude, religion, self-esteem (*siri'* in local term), friendship or kinship taken from their community become stronger on the basis of their experience towards heavy and complex work, vital technological function, change of dangerous sea physical environment and uncertainty always threaten human life, which result in daily mental stress and economic lost which they faced daily. Maritime cultural values also grow and strengthened by seamen's experience to interact with outside world (trader/tenant, market agent, consumer, bureaucrat, agent of technological innovation, etc.).

During the Indonesian independence, their navigational experience and maritime interaction also reproduce maritime cultural values of Indonesia in the forms of awareness and diversity of values and relationships between ethnic groups and cultures, love to the country, language unity, and nationality. Awareness and priority of fact to diversity and interethnic relationships and cultures grow from service network and broad business transaction with traders from different islands and ethnics in Indonesia. In the economic transaction situation and related business, they are faced with phenomena of cultural symbols such as vernacular, arts, religion, types of food, clothing, and different attitudes and behavior. Navigation network and interisland trade profiting each partner gradually will grow solidarity between ethnics in the frame of Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

For the Bugis-Makassar seamen, love the country grows from knowledge and marine and island concepts as reproduction of a long navigational experience to all parts of Indonesia. Love the country also grows from the illustration of rich world about ports visited, race, and different ethnics and cultures known in these archipelagic islands. Priority and pride to Indonesian language grow from the seamen experience to the absolute need of mastering and using Indonesian language for adaptation and communication to make business runs well with other people of Indonesia from different places and professions. They are traders and consumers, hotel employees, sellers at market or shop, laborers, port administrator, bureaucrat, security force, doctor, etc. The ability of seamen to use good Indonesian language is apparent from my interview with some of them. In the talk I got an impression that they are able to speak Indonesian language than the other communities such as farmers, cattle breeders, traders, and other Bugis-Makassar migrants on land.

The nationalism of the seamen grows from awareness and demand as citizen to admit and obedience to many national policies such as flag hoisting on ship becomes a part of a bureaucrat,

administrative service procedure, having identity card, and other government policies. In reality each crew especially the Captain must obey the national policy in daily socioeconomic lives.

For the interstates Bugis-Makassar seamen, ocean concept and international world and openness owned can also be understood as reproduction of navigational experience and interstate trade network. This can be compared with European fishermen groups affiliated under The Association of European Economic Community operate jointly in North Sea. They have a unitary concept of the free sea area; know each other and acknowledge their rights equality in using the sea waters area in North Sea, and have mutual responsibility for the use of sustainable fishery resources (Lampe, 1986).

CONCLUSION

From the illustration and explanation mentioned previously, some conclusion can be drawn. Firstly, basically the maritime cultural values of Bugis-Makassar seamen are reproduction of their long navigational experience (perception of man on waters condition, space, and islands) and maritime interaction (interaction of seamen with their external social world in Indonesia). Secondly, the maritime cultural values and the sea water concept of Bugis-Makassar seamen in Indonesia archipelago are inherited from generation to generation. For them, direct experience is the most determinant factor for the establishment and enrichment of the maritime cultural values and archipelago water concept. Thirdly, the main values taken from land are among others self-esteem and innate believe are reproduced by navigational experience becomes a strict attitude and adventurous behavior, work ethos, competitiveness, openly attitude, etc. Likewise the religious view of the absoluteness of destiny reproduced in absoluteness of business/hard work and prayer, etc. Fourthly, the seamen groups, especially the Bugis-Makassar seamen, who have awareness and acknowledgement to different ethnics in Indonesia, love the country, language unity, and

national unity have a role as a glue of pluralistic and multicultural nation in these archipelagic islands. Fifthly, in relation to strengthening integration and social harmony of inter ethnics the development of maritime community is necessary through the implementation the education of maritime cultural values.

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