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Sara (The Buton Sultanate Government Institution), Sarana Kadie, Cultural Capital, and Tax Income in the Sultanate of Buton

Dinna Dayana La Ode Malim^{1,2}, Farida Patittingi¹, Abrar Saleng¹, Marwati Riza¹

¹Departement of Law, Faculty of Law, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia

²Lecturer, Dayanu Ikhsanuddin University, Baubau, Indonesia

Abstract: This study describes the history of the Sultanate of Buton as a sovereign country that has cultural capital, namely, its sovereignty as a country. This sovereignty gives the Sultanate of Buton the authority to collect taxes for ships that stop by and pass through the port of Buton, which is in the transit area for ships coming from the west to the east and for those sailing from the east to the west. The research's goal is to describe how the Sultanate of Buton uses its cultural capital for economic gain. Data were obtained from the historical archives; primary data were obtained from relevant literature. This research is ethnographic research with an anthropological perspective and is presented in a qualitative descriptive manner. The conclusion and novelty of this research concern the fact that, with the existence of cultural capital in the form of an attribute of authority, the Sultanate of Buton issued a tax income rule to ships that stopped at the port of Buton Harbor so that it would become a source of financial income and gain recognition for its government. Thus, we can conclude that the Buton government uses its cultural capital for economic gain.

Keywords: Sara, cultural capital, tax.

萨拉 (布顿苏丹国政府机构)、萨拉娜·卡迪、文化资本和布顿苏丹国的税收收入

摘要:

本研究描述了布顿苏丹国作为一个拥有文化资本的主权国家的历史,即其作为一个国家的主权。这一主权赋予布顿苏丹国对停靠和通过布顿港的船舶征税的权力,该港位于西向东和东向西航行的船舶的过境区。该研究的目标是描述布顿苏丹国如何利用其文化资本获取经济利益。数据来自历史档案;主要数据来自相关文献。这项研究是具有人类学视角的民族志研究,并以定性描述的方式呈现。本研究的结论和新颖之处在于,由于文化资本以权威属性的形式存在,布顿苏丹国对停靠布顿港的船舶颁布了一项税收规则,以便成为财政收入的来源并获得政府的认可。因此,我们可以得出结论,布顿政府利用其文化资本谋取经济利益。

关键词: 萨拉,文化资本,税收。

1. Introduction

Geographically, the territory of the former Sultanate of Buton is located between the 4° south and 6° south latitudes and between the 122° east and 125° east longitudes. The total area it covers is 11,300 km squared.

The reign of the Sultanate of Buton began in 1541 CE and ended in 1960 CE with the unification of the

Sultanate of Buton with the Republic of Indonesia.

The first Sultan of Buton was named Murhum, and the last Sultan of Buton was named La Ode Muhammad Falihi Qaimuddin. During the 399 years of the sultanate, the total number of Buton's sultans was 38.

Before the sultanate's formation, Buton's government system was in the form of a kingdom with

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About the author: Dinna Dayana La Ode Malim, Departement of Law, Faculty of Law, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia; Lecturer, Dayanu Ikhsanuddin University, Baubau, Indonesia; Farida Patittingi, Abrar Saleng, Marwati Riza, Departement of Law, Faculty of Law, Hasanuddin University, Makassar, Indonesia

the first king, Wa Khaa Khaa, also known as Ko Ka Chin.

Buton did not have adequate agricultural and natural resources at the time of the sultanate, nor did it have plantation commodities to trade. However, the Sultanate of Buton, with its head of state, the Sultan, and the government institution, namely *Sara*, has cultural capital and applies taxes as a consequence of the sovereignty of the Sultanate of Buton as a country. Through this research, the authors describe the characteristics of the Sultanate of Buton and its government manifested by *Sara* (the Sultanate of Buton's government institution) so that the attributes of its sovereignty can be known.

2. Research Method

This research method is normative research with a historical approach, presented in a qualitative descriptive manner [1]. The data were obtained from historical archives and primary data from relevant literature. The study was conducted in Baubau City, Buntan Island, Southeast Sulawesi Province Buton as the center of Sultanate of Buton during the Sultanate era before Indonesian independence.

3. Findings and Discussion

The government system of the Sultanate of Buton is a Theocratic Democracy [2]. Each government certainly has its government structure, from the central government structure to the smallest government structure, namely the village [3]. In this case, the village is referred to as "Kadie," and its government structure is referred to as "*Sarana Kadie*" [2].

3.1. Sara (The Buton Sultanate Government Institution)

Anceaux [5] defines *Sara* as law, legal provision, rule, regulation, custom, ceremony, decree, court of justice, council, board/condition, statute, law, syarah, regulation, custom, ceremony, decree, government, government, council, assembly.

Sara etymologically can mean value rules (values), laws, and government structures, also interpreted as government institutions [5].

From the understanding given by J.C Anceaux above, we can see that the term "*Sara*" in the Butonese language has many meanings. From these various meanings, we can see three broad lines, namely:

Sara in the Definition of Government Structure consists of:

1. *Sarana Wolio* as the central government consists of sultan, sapati, kenepulu, kapitalau, lakina sorawolio, laina baadia, bobato dan bonto, lakina siolipuna, siolimbona, bonto yinunca, bonto yisara, sabandara;

2. *Sara Barata* (Autonomous Regional Government);

3. *Sara Kadie* (Village Administration);

4. *Sara Agama/Sara Kidi*;

5. *Hukumu*.

Sara in the Definition of Laws and Statutory Regulations (Tutura/written rules) consists of:

1. Undang-Undang Martabat Tujuh (*Sara Wolio*) is the constitution of the Sultanate of Buton, which is the reference for all rules and the umbrella for all statutory regulations;

2. *Sara Barata*;

3. *Sara Kadie*.

Sara in terms of rules and values consists of:

1. *Sara Pataanguna*;

2. *Kabanti-kabanti*, *kabanti bula malino*, *ajongan yinda malusa*, and others.

3.2. Wolio as the Center of Power of the Sultan of Buton

The transformation of the Buton Kingdom into the Sultanate of Buton was in 1541, marked by the inauguration of the first Sultan, Sultan Murhum [6].

3.3. Sara Barata as the Sultancy Territory and Part of the Defense System

The defense system of the Sultanate of Buton consists of [7]:

1. *Barata Patapalena* (four defensive areas in the four cardinal directions which have defensive armies; *Barata Wuna* to the west of the island of Buton, *Barata Kahedupa* to the south of the island of Buton, *Barata Tiworo* to the east of the island of Buton, and *Batara Kulisusu* to the north of the island of Buton);

2. *Matana Sorumba*;

3. *Bisa Patamiana* (supernatural defense).

Barata consists of four regions as conquered areas that were formed to become defenses in the four cardinal directions [8]:

1. *Barata Kulisusu* to the north of the island of Buton;

2. *Barata Kahedupa* to the south of the island of Buton;

3. *Barata Tiworo* to the east of the island of Buton;

4. *Barata Wuna* to the west of the island of Buton.

The difference between the *Barata* and *Kadie* is in the status of the area and its function. Status *Barata* is a conquered area with a government structure called the position of *Lakina* or *Kolaki* (king of the region) [9].

Barata was given full autonomy in his government, defense, and cooperation with other kingdoms. *Barata* can now be compared to Great Britain, with an incomplete government structure like the Sultanate of Buton. Selecting a leader is left fully autonomous to each western region, as well as the structure of the government. *Barata* is the outer ring of the empire [10].

Barata is the territory of the Sultanate of Buton, which is part of the outermost defense system of the Buton Sultanate, consisting of four *Barata* (*Wuna*,

Tiworo, Kulisusu, and Kaledupa). After Barata, the next defense is Matana Sorumba which consists of Matana Sorumba Wabula, Matana Sorumba Lapandewa, Matana Sorumba Watumotobe and Matana Sorumba Mawasangka. The next defense system of the Sultanate of Buton, namely Bhisia Patamiana, is a supernatural defense of four people who are at the center of the Sultanate of Buton.

3.4. Sara Kadie

Kadie is the smallest legal area in the constitutional legal system of the Sultanate of Buton and has management autonomy.

According to Anceaux [5], *Kadie* is defined as a municipality, a small administrative unit in the traditional state organization, region, and a small area of law in a traditional state system.

Sarana Kadie, according to Anceaux [5], translates as the local council or local government.

The Sultanate of Buton consists of a center of power and an area of power. The center of power is Wolio, and the area of power consists of *kadie* and *Barata*. *Kadie* is an autonomous region, and in the west are the sub-kingdoms. *Kadie* is a kind of territory and government area in the Buton sultanate where the leadership and customary apparatus are determined by the sultan through *sara*; however, in the west the government of the Buton sultanate does not interfere.

Kadie consists of 70 physical regions (*kadie yisambali*) and two symbolic *kadie* (*kadie yinunca*), which denote the *kaomu* and *walaka* clans who control power in the Buton sultanate. Based on mapping, *Kadie* is further divided [11] into the *Pale Matanaeyo*, which are several *kadie* located in the direction of sunrise (east), and the *Pale Sukanaeyo*, which are several *kadie* located in the direction of sunset (west). At every *kadie* facility there is a representative from the central government. If the official is from the *Kaomu* circle, they are called *Bobato* or *Lakina*. If the official is from the *Walaka* group, they are called *Bonto*. *Kadie Yinunca* is led by *Bobato*. Both *Kadie Yinunca* and *Kadie Yisambali* were led by *Bonto* and *Bobato*. The implementation of local governance in each *kadie* is carried out by an institution called means *kadie*, which consists of local elites.

Kadie Wabula is one of the *kadie* located in *Pale Matanaeyo*. The administration of local government in *Kadie Wabula* is organized by an institution called *Sara Kadie Wabula*.

The following denote the structure of *Sara Kadie*:

1. *Parabela*: the highest leader;
2. *Kayaro*: former parabels;
3. *Basarapu*: the intermediary between high officials and the public;
4. *Waci* controls people's lives;
5. *Waci popaano*: four citizens and four *waci pocunosalaa*—these eight *waci* are officials who

accommodate all complaints and aspirations of the community and are in charge of resolving conflicts within the community.

In general, the *sara kadie* structure is as mentioned above, but the *sara kadie* structure can also differ from one *kadie* to another according to the characteristics of the adat and the region as well as the special functions required in the *kadie* area and its relation to the sultanate. During the sultanate, *kadie* has to pay an annual tax (*weti*) to the center of the sultanate, which varies by *kadie*. For example, one of the tax contribution systems is calculated according to the expenditure of the sultanate.

Sara Kadie is also a tool that regulates the *kadie* community. *Sara* is a governmental apparatus of the constitution in the Sultanate of Buton. Further, appending “na” to *sara* indicates the place where *sara* serves. For example, *Sarana Kadie* represents the sultanate apparatus and the sultan in the *kadie* area. There is also *Sara Kidina* which means the apparatus of the sultanate mosque, which also holds a judicial function in the *sara* council; *Sara Ogena* indicates the apparatus of the sultanate government.

3.5. State Law

Albert Venn Dicey [12] provides three categories of the rule of law:

1. The absolute predominance of law;
2. Equality before the law;
3. The concept according to which the constitution is the result of the recognition of individual rights by judges.

Equality before the law is a tenet of the constitution of the Sultanate of Buton, referred to as *martabat tujuh*. Historically, 12 of the 38 Sultans of Buton were tried for violating the oath of office, and one of them (Sultan Mardan Ali, the 8th Sultan, who later became known as *Oputa yi gogoli*) was even sentenced to death and hanging for committing serious violations.

Dicey explains that “the absolute supremacy or predominance of regular law as opposed to the influence of the arbitrary power excludes arbitrariness of prerogative or even wide discretionary authority on the part of the government” [12].

3.6. The Flag, Fort, and Their Relationship with the Capital of the State of the Sultan of Buton

The flag of the Sultanate of Buton is named the *Longa-Longa* and is situated at the center of the sultanate in the fort of the Buton palace, adjacent to the Sultan's mosque. This flag is visible from the port of Buton, which is a transit port for sailors travelling east and west. The *Longa-Longa* flag indicates that the Buton region has a sovereign government, and those who pass through must obtain permission from and pay taxes to the Buton Sultanate government. This tax, the *weti*, has become a major source of income for the region. It has a good function of showing sovereignty

and a modern state system and also brings income to the Sultanate of Buton. We can conclude that the flag, forts, currency, government institutions, government system, defense system, head of state, and the territory of the Sultanate of Buton as a transit area for trade and traffic, including by sea, together form the attributes of capital and, specifically, the capital and wealth of the Butonese kingdom. Without a government structure and attributes that show this sovereignty, the Buton archipelago certainly cannot make capital out of its natural advantages.

Buton as a transit area has existed since the days of the sultanate, even before the Dutch colonial period. At that time, the Sultanate of Buton was a sovereign state and received recognition from other countries, as will be explained below.

In the period before joining the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia in 1960, Buton was a country; the definition of a state was met, including the existence of territory, the existence of a sovereign government, the existence of a people, and the existence of a constitution (*tutura, martabat tujuh*). There was also foreign recognition [12], for example:

1. From the Netherlands, through a military alliance agreement between La Elangi Sultan Dayanu Ikhsanuddin (4th Sultan, 1613–1633) and Captain Appolonius Scotte on behalf of the Governor-General of the Company (VOC) on January 5, 1613;

2. Through a military alliance agreement between La Simbata Sutan Adil Rakhim (10th Sultan, 1664–1669) and Cornelis Speelman on June 25, 1667;

3. Through an acknowledgment in the book by Negara Kertagama that the Majapahit Kingdom mentioned the Sultanate of Buton.

The government system of the Sultanate of Buton adheres to a democratic government system, characterized by the sultanate's apparatus holding executive, legislative, and judicial functions. The highest leadership (executive) in the Sultanate of Buton is the Sultan, who is chosen from the *pangka* (executive) group, and only through the *pangka* group does the Sultan have the *persona standi in iudicio* (legal capacity) to occupy the elected position of Sultan [4].

1. *Sara Pangka* (*executive*): consists of *Pangka, Lakina, and Bobato*;

2. *Sara Gau* (*legislative*): consists of *Siolimbona*;

3. *Sara Bhitara* (*judicial*): consists of *Kenepulu*.

In the theory of the state, there are three theories of state functions (*Die Funktionen des Staates*) [13, 14]:

- a. *Trias Politica* (Montesquieu), which divides the functions of the state into legislative functions, executive functions, and judicial functions;

- b. *Catur Praja* (Van Vollenhoven), which divides the functions of the state into legislative functions, government functions, judicial functions, and police functions;

- c. *Dwipraja* (dichotomy), which includes the

function of forming the state's direction and its implementation function.

From the three theories of state functions listed above, the Sultanate of Buton is following the concept of the *Trias Politica* state functions theory, as well as the Montesquieu concept. This can be seen from the *Sara Council* of the Sultanate of Buton, which consists of three parts, with each holding a function, namely:

1. A legislative function consisting of 30 *Bonto* plus two *Bontoogena*, which, among other things, is in charge of selecting;

2. Executive Functions, consisting of *Pangka, Bobato, and Lakina*. These three elements are entitled to occupy the position of the Sultan through elections;

3. Judicial function, consisting of *sarakidina/Sarana Hukumu* in the great mosque of the Sultanate of Buton.

3.7. Currency in Buton

The currency of the Buton Sultanate is called *kampua*, which is made of traditional woven cloth with certain characteristics. In addition, Buton recognizes the currency unit "*bhoka*," where one *bhoka* is equivalent to a gram of gold and then converted to the current gold price with the currency value [15].

3.8. The Basic Law (Sara/Tutura) of the Sultan of Buton, Which Indicates That the Ex-Sultancy of Buton is a State of Law

The Sultanate of Buton has a constitution or basic law, drawn up during the Sultanate of Laelangi Dayanu Ikhsanuddin, called the Seven Dignity Law, and containing arrangements for administering the sultanate state, the sultanate/government apparatus, the duties and functions of the government apparatus (the sultanate).

The division of groups in the assembly as regulated in the law called *Tutura* is as follows:

1. Executive = *Sara Pangka*;

2. Legislative = *Sara Gau*;

3. Judicial = *Sara Bitara*.

In addition, this constitution also regulates matters regarding the general system of government administration, including the division of 72 *Kadie* regions (smallest government units) in the Sultanate of Buton.

4. Conclusion

The scientific novelty of this research is the discovery that the Buton Sultanate has cultural capital, the attribute of authority as a state: the power territory, capital, government institution 'Sara,' state written constitution 'Martabat Tujuh,' a defense and security system (Barata, Matana Sorumba, and Bisa Patamiana), 'fort palace,' state flag, recognition from other countries, and a currency.

The Sultanate of Buton knows that it cannot depend on its natural resources. The land and the climate do

not support the Butonese to do farming and plantation. The Butonese people also do not do sailing in a large number of sea resources and do not do trading business.

With the cultural capital in the form of the authority attribute, the Buton Sultanate issued a tax income rule to ships stopping at the port of Buton Harbor so that it became a financial income and recognition for its government. Therefore, we can conclude that the Buton government uses its cultural capital for economic gain.

The limitation of this research is focusing on the cultural capital of the Sultanate of Buton, and the research perspective is using the anthropological perspective to elaborate on the economic benefit of Buton gained from its cultural capital.

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