

## Research article

# The Buton Sultanate Fortresses in Eastern Indonesia: A Trace of the Sultanate's Military Supremacy

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## Abstract.

Archaeological remains in the form of fortresses are found in Southeast Celebes. These forts are spread across the islands. The existence of these forts cannot be separated from the narrative of the Buton Sultanate in Southeast Celebes. The fortresses are located in the Barata territory of the Buton Sultanate. These fortresses marked the military triumph of the Buton Sultanate as a maritime empire in the eastern Indonesia archipelago. However, in the historiography of Indonesia, the Buton Sultanate is not recorded as one of the major maritime powers in eastern Indonesia. This research aimed to detail the existence of the fortresses of the Buton Sultanate to demonstrate their significance using an archaeological and historiography approach. These fortresses are evidence of the supremacy of the maritime power of the Buton Sultanate in the archipelago. In revealing the traces of its military supremacy, this research demonstrates the significance of the Buton Sultanate as a maritime empire.

**Keywords:** fortresses, Buton Sultanate, military, maritime

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## 1. Introduction

Local Ports in the Indonesia Archipelago eventually create more and more because of the growth of trade in that's area. Later, these ports will develop into centers of political and trade in the Indonesia archipelago. Some political centers such as Aceh, Batavia, Demak, Banjarmasin, Makassar, Bone, Buton, Ternate. While the trade center consists of Pasai, Deli, Siak, Cirebon, Tuban, Gresik, Kutai, Luwu, Tidore, Banda, Bima. Especially, there are 2 region in eastern part of Indonesia Archipelago are very dominant as trade route. First, the area that includes Bone Bay area and Flores Sea. Its area consist of 3 Great Kingdoms namely the Gowa-Tallo Sultanate, Bone Sultanate, Buton Sultanate. Second one, the region that is on Maluku Islands, Banda Sea, and Maluku Sea. Its region consist of the Sultanate of Ternate and the Sultanate of Tidore (Figure 1). [1]

At the end of the 16th century, the Dutch began to come to Indonesia Archipelago for looking spices directly from their original places in Maluku. The Enthusiasm of Dutch

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**Figure 1:** Centre of Politics and Trade in The Indonesia Archipelago at 16-17 century.

sailors and merchant ships to visit the archipelago for looking spices was caused by the Dutch war of independence against Spain between 1560 and 1648. Meanwhile, at that time, Spain was the spices trade center in Europe. In 1595, Dutch trading ships led by Cornelis de Houtman arrived at the Port of Banten in 1596. [2] Through their trade company, the VOC, their also began trading spices in the eastern region of the archipelago. This causes there more and more trade in the local ports in eastern Indonesia archipelago.

Early 17th century, Buton Island has been known as the one of adequate port for European merchant ship. [3]In the past, the power of the Buton Kingdom was actually not comparable to 2 kingdoms in the eastern part of Indonesia Archipelago, namely the Gowa-Tallo Sultanate and the Ternate Sultanate. Buton instead became the place where the two kingdoms extracted resources and sent out exiles. Therefore, the power constellation of the Buton Kingdom was greatly influenced by these two Kingdoms. Even today, there are still many stories of attacks from the Pirates of Ternate and Tobelo, so that the Butonese fled to the fortresses at the top of the hill for their protection. [4]

Buton Kingdom actually is the one oldest kingdoms in the Celebes Island. The Kingdom of Buton has kinship ties with the Luwu Kingdom which is seen as the earliest kingdom in Sulawesi and descended the other kingdoms such as Bone, Gowa, Konawe, Buton. In addition, in the 14th century, the Buton Kingdom was recorded as an area controlled by the Majapahit Kingdom. This is in accordance with the notes in the Negarakertagama in verse 14. In Negarakertagama, the name Butung or Buton is

part of the Majapahit conquered area in the eastern archipelago along with Makassar, Selayar, Sumba, Maluku, Seram, and Timor. [5]

Verse 14 of Negara Kertagama:

5. *lkaꞑ saka sanusanusa makhasar butun / bangawi, kunir ggaliyau mwan i salaya sumba solot / muar, muwah tikhan i wandan ambwan athawa maloko wwanin, ri seran i timur makadinin aneka nusatur.*

Translate:

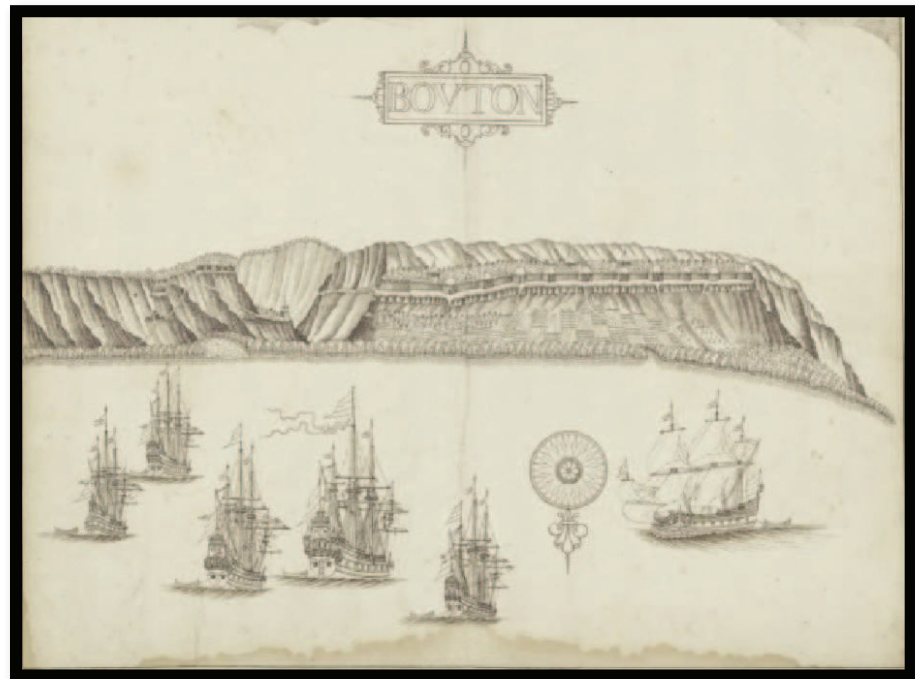
5. That too the other island Makassar Buton, Banggawi, Kunir, Galian and Salayar, Sumba, Solot, Muar, Futhermore Wanda (n), Ambon or Malluku Island, Wanin, Seram, Timor, and the other islands.

The conquest country here can be defined as conquest materially. This means, that the Buton Kingdom will pay tribute to the Majapahit Kingdom as part of the territory. The historiography of the eastern part of Indonesia archipelago, still focus on Gowa, Bone, Ternate or Tidore. The historiography of Buton is still seen only from Gowa and Ternate Perspective. If only adhering to the hegemonic view, Buton is completely ignored from the map of Indonesian historiography.

The Buton Sultanate has started on 15th century until of 20th century and located on Bau-Bau / Wolio. This is where the Wolio Palace stands protected by massive fort called Fort Wolio. In the Fort Wolio, several events occurred that changed the supremacy of the maritime power of local kingdoms in the Eastern Indonesia. First, Fort Wolio became the location of political asylum for Aru Palakka, Arung Bila or Daeng Pabila, Arung Attaka, and Arung Marowanging. The four young men are Bone and Soppeng nobles. Aru Palakka, eventually led the Bone people's resistance against the tyranny of the Gowa-Tallo Sultanate. [6] Second, the Buton Bay became the site of the largest naval battle between the fleet from the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom and the Buton Sultanate. During the attack, Fort Wolio was besieged for 65 days but was not successfully conquered by a fleet from the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom. The battle destroyed the Gowa-Tallo fleet and reversed the battle in the Sulawesi War. Which at first the Gowa-Tallo Government was so aggressively expanding but in its course increasingly desperate and ended in the Bongaya agreement. [7]

The Gowa-Tallo Kingdom was no longer threatening to the Buton Sultanate after Bon-gaya agreement. At that time, the dominated of military and political power in South Sulawesi was shifted from the Gowa Tallo Kingdom to Aru Pallaka from Bone Kingdom. Basically, the Buton Sultanate and the Bone Kingdom have become very close allies. Afterwards, the central area of the Buton Sultanate, namely Benteng Wolio, in Bau-Bau,

was increasingly developing into a trade center in the eastern Indonesia archipelago (Figure 2).



**Figure 2:** Illustrated of the Port from European Merchant in Bau-Bau, Buton Sultanate.

Forts tend to be associated with the human attitude for dominated and not to be overpowered or controlled. Thus, in its continuation, it gives rise to disputes which end in hostile conditions with violent resolution. In the context of state life, a solution by force can be interpreted as war. The fort is always associated with its function in war. A fortress is often interpreted as a building for shelter or defense from enemy attacks. However, from a different point of view, actually a fort can also be interpreted as something that is used to strengthen. [3] However, if we examine it more deeply, the fortress has become a political space and has survived the turmoil of power transfers. This can be seen from the existence of the Barata in Buton Sultanate. The Fort in Barata of Buton Sultanate not only serves as a practical defense. However, when examined further, the fort in Barata of Buton Sultanate has become a space to creating policies that maintain the hegemony of power and the existence of the Buton Sultanate during the colonial era. The interesting point is the Buton Sultanate was a Sultanate that never fell into VOC or Colonial hands. But, the Buton Sultanate is not listed as one of the great maritime powers in the eastern Indonesia archipelago in the history of this nation.

## 2. Methodology

This study this research to be examined the existence of the Barata fortresses which defense system of the Buton Sultanate. Meanwhile, geographic boundaries are focused on studying the territory of the Buton Sultanate. The scope of periodization in the 14th – 17th century. This can be seen from the period of the emergence of the Buton Kingdom which made settlements in the Wolio area then continued with the developed of the Buton Sultanate to the supremacy of military power in the eastern Indonesian archipelago.

### Results and Discussion

#### 2.1. The Era of Buton Sultanate

There are various versions to explain the origin of the name of Buton. at least there is four definitions of the name Buton: 1) the name given to an island, 2) the name of a kingdom or sultanate, 3) the name of a district, and 4) the name for the Butonese. Another version is heavily influenced by the entry of Islam. The spread of Islam was used as a means of confirmation by the creation of new myths about Buton and Wolio. In this myth, Buton is considered to come from Arabic: butn or bathni or bathin, which means it is considered the stomach or womb. Descriptions of these names are revealed in the Kanturuna Mobelana text (p. 326). [8]

Based on the genealogy of the Kings of Buton, the first Queen of Buton kingdom ruled in 1332 - 1350. Subsequently, the Government in the form of a Kingdom lasted until the leadership of King Buton V Rajamulae (Sangia Gola) who ruled in 1498 -1538. In the next reign during the reign of King Buton VI Lakilaponto changed the system of the Buton Kingdom from kingdom to sultanate. He also ascended the throne to become Sultan Buton I, Sultan Murhum Qaimuddin.

The role of Buton Sultanate have changed after VOC arrive in their area. Since the 17th century, Buton Island had become a connecting area or stopover for VOC ships from their headquarters in the western region (Batavia) to the spice-producing region in the east East (Maluku and Ternate islands). This connection is due because the strategic position of Buton Sultanate in shipping route. Therefore, to anticipate threats from pirates and other foreign kingdoms who wanted to conquer Buton, a multi-layered defense system was built. the form of this layered defense system is the construction of a fort at each barata of Buton Sultanate. Since the reign of Sultan Buton IV, Dayanu Ikhsanuddin (1578-1615), a royal law known as Martabat Tujuh was issued. The law regulates efforts to



make money exchange instruments, construct fortresses, wolio facilities, and people's rights to land within the fort. [9] For Buton, choosing the right ally was a guarantee of his independence. In the end, the Buton Sultanate at that time, under the reign of Sultan Buton IV Dayanu Ihsanudin (La Elangi) formed an alliance with the VOC and Ternate to fight the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom. [10] Sultan Buton IV Dayanu Iksanuddin also built up Fort Wolio as the main port that connects traders from western and eastern Indonesia archipelago (Figure 3)



**Figure 3:** Bastion Corner of Wolio Fort [11].

## **2.2. Fort of Barata as a trace of the maritime power of the Buton Sultanate in the 17th century**

The Buton Sultanate was squeezed between two great powers. In the Eastern, there are the Ternate and Tidore Sultanates. While in the Western, the great Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo. The Sultanate of Ternate seems to have had a long relationship with the Sultanate of Buton. In 1576, Baabullah sent Rubohongi from the tomagola family to Hoamoal, Buru, Manipa, Ambelau, Kelang, and Boano with the aim of incorporating those areas into his territory. In 1580, Sultan Baabullah together with Calapaya annexed the areas of Tabungku, Tiworo, and Wolio (Butun), Ambon, Selayar and the other kingdoms on the East and North coasts of Sulawesi Island and southern Mindanao and spread Islam to those regions. [2] Although on the one hand Buton and Ternate are enemies, but

on the other hand the strong kingdom in Maluku is a "brother" who can at any time be asked for "his help". The position of the younger brother, in this case Buton, did not mean releasing Buton from the obligation to send "gifts" to King Ternate's older brother.

In the West, the expansion of the Gowa Kingdom posed a threat to the Buton Sultanate. In fact, the role of the Bugis-Makassarese people in shipping in the archipelago has been going on since the 16th century. At that time the kingdoms in South Sulawesi, such as Gowa with its ports in Makassar, Bone, Wajo, Luwu, were kingdoms with strong trading traditions. This marine trade power is supported by the population, most of whom live from marine products and commerce in the sea. Since before the 16th century, they traded spices from Maluku in exchange for goods purchased from Java and Malacca, such as rice, textiles, metal goods, silk, and porcelain. The massive spread of Makassar and Bugis people was not just trading, but also moving places. They settled in the Riau Islands, East Java and the Nusa Tenggara Islands. This distribution was triggered by the conquest of the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom against Bugis kingdoms such as Wajo, Bone, Luwu. [6]

The incidence of the entry of 10,000 Gowa soldiers to Tanah Buton was a sign that the Gowa Sultanate was a threat to the Buton Sultanate. This incident occurred during the reign of Sultan Buton II Qaimuddin La Tumparasi (Oputa Sangia Bholeka) who ruled from 1584 to 1591. During his reign in 1590, King Gowa I Tepu Karaeng Daeng Pirambu Karaeng Tunipasulu and I Malingkaang Daeng Manyondari Karaeng Bonto Biraeng entered into Tanah Buton because of a misunderstanding of Sultan Buton II, who was thought to have conspired with Sultan Adonara Salahuddin who was considered independent from the Kingdom of Gowa. It seems that this happened due to a misunderstanding by the King of Gowa, which Sultan Buton II conspired with Sultan Adonara. The next important incident was when Buton under Sultan Buton IV Dayanu Ihsanuddin (Oputa Mobholina Pauna) reclaimed Tiworo in 1628 and reached an alliance with the VOC. [3]

The 17th century is considered the peak of the Sultanate of Buton. after the Sulawesi War, the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo in the west and the Sultanate of Ternate in the east were no longer a threat. At that time, the territory of the Buton Sultanate covered all the islands in Southeast Sulawesi. The description of Buton's territory in colonial construction can clearly be seen in the 19th century, which includes the islands of Buton and Muna, the second largest island which is also called Wuna or Una. Another name for Muna is Pangasane or Pancana, which the Ternate people give. Other islands are Kabaena or Cubaena or Kobaena or Kambaena, and a group of islands known as the Tukang Besi Islands. In addition, there are a number of small islands around

Buton and Muna: Tikola, Tobea Besar and Tobea Kecil, Mangkasar, Batauga (Bataoga), Kadatuwang, Masirieng, Siompo. The Tukang Besi Archipelago consists of the islands of Wangi-Wangi or Wanci-Wanci, Kaledupa which are also known as Kadupan, Kadupa, Caydupa, Tomea, and Biinongko (The four islands are now called Wakatobi). The Buton Sultanate was integrated into the Sulawesi mainland including Poleang and Rumbia. These two regions are bordered on the west by the Luwu region, in the north by Laiwoi, and in the east by the Tiworo Strait. There is one more island that is recognized as Buton's territory, namely Wowoni (which became a dispute with the Ternate kingdom until the 19th century). In addition, the two areas of the Buton kingdom that were affected by Ternate were Tiworo and Kulisusu. [8]

The success of the Buton Sultanate in surviving the current of power and politics of its neighbors, the Kingdoms of Gowa and Ternate was due to the success of the Buton Sultanate in synergy with its barata. In addition to the forts in the barata region, in the core region of the Sultanate Buton there are also forts in addition to the wolio fort including Takimpo fort, Rongi fort, and Liwu fort, Lakudo fort, and Burangasi fort. The concept of Barata is what actually binds the nobles who are in Each Barata to the Buton Sultanate. Buton manuscript, describes the origin of the royal bloodline in the four Barata regions who are related by blood to the Sultan of Buton.

The text HU / 2 / AMZ Barata Patapalema, contains an explanation of the origins of aristocratic descent from the four regions: Muna, Kulisusu, Tiworo, Kaedupa.

*Baa-baana saro kasukarana barata patapalena is amondomo sumbe-source demo toto betoumbaana ikaumu But-But, Okaedupa incia Oumbaana ikaumu Kumbewaha*

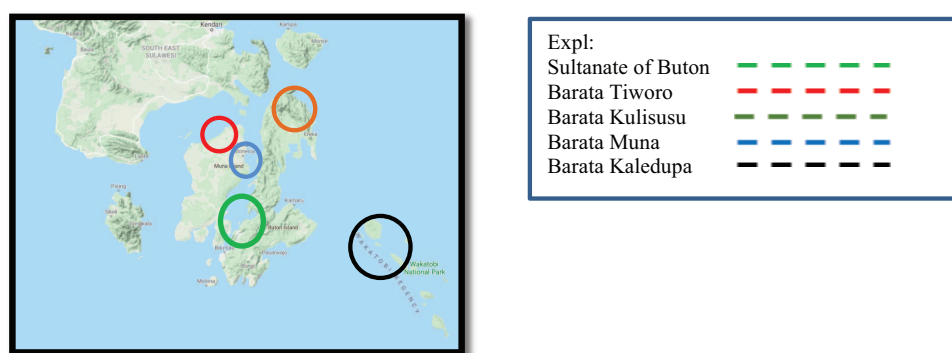
Meaning:

First of all, Barata Patapalena 'four regions' have been complete, each of their royal descendants: Kulincusu asala Tanailandu, Wuna and Tiworo from the nobility of Tapi-Tapi, and Kaedupa asala for the Kumbewaha nobility. [17]

This Barata concept is actually a mutually beneficial relationship between the Sultanate of Buton and the kingdom under its auspices. This is not much different from the position of the Buton Kingdom which was under the auspices of the Majapahit Kingdom in the previous period. Stated in the Negarakertagama compiled by Mpu Prapanca in 1364, that the existence of the Majapahit Kingdom in the archipelago was represented by islands by local kingdoms like the Buton Kingdom in the form of tribute. In this case, the concept of Barata is evidence of the existence of the Sultanate of Buton in the Eastern Region of the archipelago after the Sulawesi war, which made two major causes, namely the Kingdoms of Gowa and Ternata to decline in influence. For local kingdoms, the concept of barata was a form of their recognition of the power of the



Buton Sultanate in that area and at that time. This recognition became a manifestation of the supremacy of the maritime power of the Buton Sultanate in the eastern region of the archipelago in the 16-17 century. In Figure 4, it can be seen that the area under the auspices of the Sultanate of Buton covers almost all parts of Southeast Sulawesi Island.

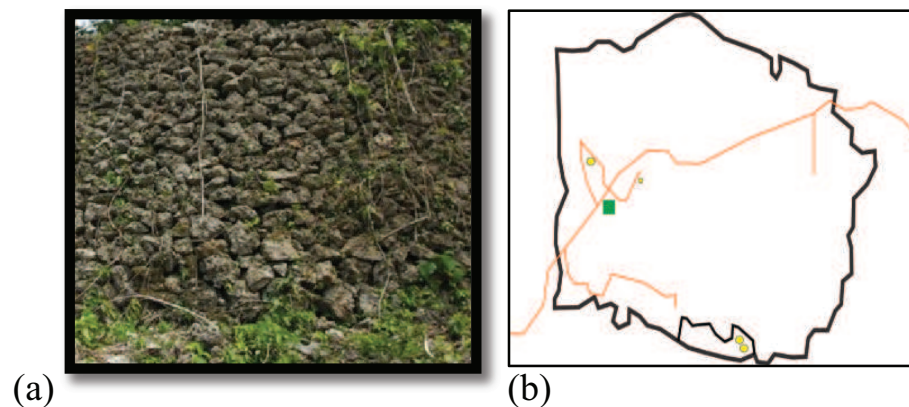


**Figure 4:** Administrative of Barata in The Buton Sultanate Citra Satelit, Source: Gmaps access 14 August 2020.

**Barata Muna**, there are various versions of the origins of civilization on the island of Muna. According to local traditions, the civilization of the people in Muna began when sawerigading with 40 of his followers were stranded on a plain on Muna Island which is now known as Bahutara or Lagadi, located in the Wuna Fort site area. Over time, Sawerigading and his followers mingled with the predecessor inhabitants of Muna Island by bringing changes to the social life of the Muna people. One form of social change is that the Muna people have a leader to lead in the Muna region, so the kingdom system on the island of Muna began. The Muna kingdom began with the inauguration of La Eli alias Baidhulthamani who had the title Bheteno Ne Tombula as the First King in Muna in 1417 - 1467. He married Wa Tande Abe with the title Sangke Palanga and was blessed with 1 son named Koghua Bangkano Fotu and two daughters Runtu Wuloa and Kilambibito. Later Kaghua Bangkano Fotu replaced La Eli to rule the Muna Kingdom. During the reign of Kaghua Bagkano Fotu, the reign of the sugi began. His nickname is La Patola, so he has the title Sugi Patola when he served as the 2nd King of the Muna Kingdom (1467-1477). He was replaced by La Mbona, the third Sugi Ambona Raja title in 1477-1497, then replaced by La Patani. , then the sixth King Muna is La Manuru, the title of Sugi Manuru in 1527-1538. Of the five sugi who have led the Muna Kingdom, Sugi Manuru is considered to have succeeded in bringing about many changes in the Muna Kingdom in various aspects. [12]

As well as the kingdom as well as the barata of the Buton Sultanate, in the Muna Kingdom there is a fortress. One of the forts in the center of the Muna Kingdom is Kotano Wuna Fortress. Kotano Wuna Fortress not only functioned as a defensive

fortress, but also a residential fortress can be seen from the sites contained therein which consist of villages, mosques, cemeteries, and coronation stones. The fort, which has a circumference of 8,073 meters, has suffered a lot of damage (Figure 5). In addition, there are also other fort in Barata Muna that is Wa Sidakari Fort.



**Figure 5:** Bastion Corner of Kotano Wuna Fort Exp: (a) Walls (b) Forts Plan.

**Barata Tiworo** officially joined the Buton Kingdom during the reign of King La Tiworo in 1381. The Tiworo Kingdom is a region that produces pearls, sea cucumbers, fish and various other marine products in the Buton Kingdom, so it is visited by many traders from Makassar, Bone, Wajo, and Luwu. In addition, bugis traders began to be interested in living in the area. In the 17th century many bugis traders settled in the Tiworo region. Therefore, during its heyday the 17th century the tribes that inhabited Barata Tiworo were diverse, namely the Bajo as the majority, the Muna Tribe, the Buton Tribe and the Bugis Tribe. The Tiworo Kingdom adheres to its traditional government led by a king as "Lakina Tiworo" or "Raja Bharata". After La Tiworo's reign ended, Barata Tiworo's government was under the leadership of King Kiy Julia, the son of Banca Patola. This king married Wa Rande, grandson of La Tiworo. From this marriage gave birth to a daughter named Wa Tubhapala and this daughter who later became the consort of King Muna Sugi Manuru who gave birth to Lakilaponto (Sultan Murhum). From this it is clear that there is a genealogical relationship between King Buton, King Muna, and King Tiworo. [3]

As a barata that protects the western side of the Buton Sultanate, the Tiworo Kingdom has a Defense Fort known as the Tiworo Fortress. In the 16th – 17th century, especially Tiworo Fortress can be said to be the vanguard in the face of the aggressive expansion of the Gowa Kingdom which began to expand beyond the southern part of Sulawesi. Tiworo Fortress is rectangular with a circumference of 900 meters. Tiworo Fortress has a height variation on the walls ranging from 2.3 m to 3 m. Like the forts that are the center of government, in Tiworo Fortress you will find mosques, inauguration stones,

baruga, and tombs (Figure 6). In addition, there are also other fort in Barata Tiworo that is Lasiapamu Fort.

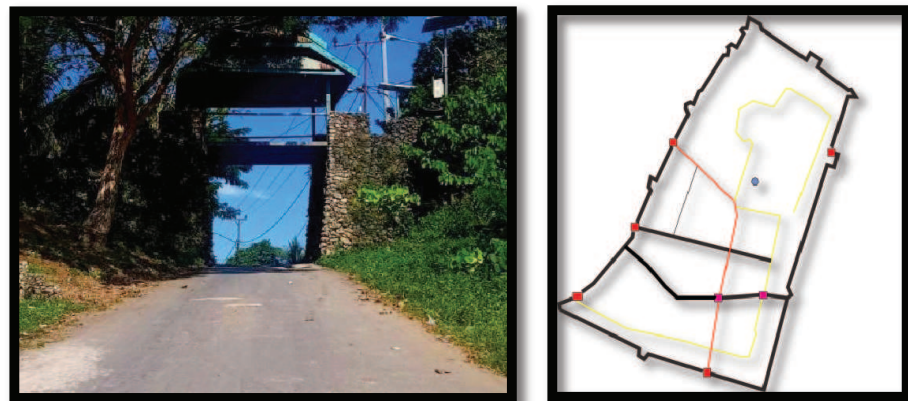


**Figure 6:** Lawa of Tiworo Fort.

**Barata Kulisusu**, before the formation of Barata Kulisusu in North Buton there were at least three residential centers, namely Doule, Bangkudu, and Lemo. In these three places the origin of the first Kulisusu, then some of these people moved to a place called Lipu. In subsequent developments, Lipu became the center of government since before integrating with the Buton Sultanate. The Kulisusu area became an official part of the territory of the Sultanate of Buton during the reign of Rajamulae (the 5th King of Buton) with the center of government in Lipu. The king of kulisusu who was appointed during the era of the Sultanate was inaugurated by Sultan Dayanu Ihsanudin by appointing his son La Ode Ode (Sangia Yi Ea) as King Kulisusu (1630-1668).

One of the important relics found in Kulisusu is the existence of Lipu Fort, which is also the second largest fort in Buton. Dairy coolies become a very important buffer to protect the eastern part of the Buton Sultanate. Inside Lipu Fort there are also settlements, cemeteries, baruga, mosques, and the location of the king's inauguration. Until now, Lipu Fort is still used as a community residence (Figure 7). In addition, there are also other fort in Barata Kulisusu that is Bangkudu Fort, Lipukoro Fort, Wabula Fort.

**Barata Kaledupa** is the most outer Barata of the Buton Sultanate. Bharata Kaledupa territorially covers the entire Kaledupa Island in the Togo Besi Archipelago or the



**Figure 7:** Kulisusu Fort.

Blacksmith Islands. Barata Kaledupa is in the north, adjacent to Wangi-Wangi Island, the center of the local kingdom of Wance, mandati, Tindoi including Lia, which later during the reign of Sultan Dayanu Ihsanuddin turned into a Kadie, namely an autonomous area led by a "Lakina Kadie" or "King Kadie. ". To the south of Kaledupa barata there is Tomia Island which is the center of the local kingdom of Tongano and Waha which also during the reign of Sultan Dayanu Ihksanuddin became a Kadie called Kadie Yi Sara. The first king of barata was inaugurated by Sapati Bhaalusu La Ode Arafani who happened to have his own brother named La Ode Nipati. Barata Kaledupa is a Barata that has almost never experienced upheaval with the Buton Sultanate. Barata Kaledupa actually protects the southern and western parts of the waters of the Buton Sultanate. In addition, there are also other fort in Barata Kaledupa that is Patua Fort.

### 3. Conclusion

The success of the supremacy of the maritime power of the Buton Sultanate does not lie in the practical function of the weapons or fortifications that exist in the Sultanate of Buton. However, what makes Buton Sultanate able to survive is the coordination and mutual aid that it does with the local governments around it. The local or western kingdoms around the Buton Sultanate were not bound by the subjugation of the Buton Sultanate army. But they are bound by genealogical factors, coming from the same ancestor who was bound by an oath at the time of the founding of the Buton Kingdom. Furthermore, the assistance of the fleet from the bharata to protect the Sultanate of Buton did not come from the order of the Sultan of Buton, but from a request based on a willingness to sacrifice for the Sultanate of Buton. Therefore, the context of the supremacy of the maritime power of the Buton Sultanate is most important as the center

of coordination. In the concept of "boat splash" when each western is a balance of "cadik" then the Sultanate of Buton is "Steering" which precisely regulates the direction and constellation of its "cadik". As the center of movement or "Center of Motion" can be seen the journey from the Buton Sultanate in the early days of standing to become a new maritime force in the Eastern part of the archipelago is very adaptive, strategic and defensive. Traces of the existence of the supremacy of the power of the Buton Sultanate that lasted from 15 to the present can be seen from the existence of forts that spread throughout the territory of the Buton Sultanate.

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