

# *Kabhatatalahaono Omputo*

## Sumpah Raja Muna

### The King's Inauguration Oath

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February 2018

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#### 1. Pendahuluan

Teks yang disajikan di bawah ini sangat penting dalam sejarah kerajaan Muna, karena memuat kata yang diungkapkan dalam proses pelantikan (pengambilan sumpah) raja baru pada masa lampau. Teks ini terdiri dari dua versi. Versi pertama ditulis pada bulan Oktober 1985 oleh Pak Lengko Umar (sekitar 1943-2007, lahir di Bungkolo, kec. Lawa), seorang tokoh adat dan juga anggota DPR Muna (tahun 1980an) dan Kendari (tahun 1990an). Beliau hanya memberikan terjemahan lisan dalam bahasa Indonesia. Versi kedua ditulis oleh H. Siddo Thamrin (kelahiran 1933 di Walelei, besar di Watopute), tokoh adat dan ahli sejarah dan kebudayaan Muna, termuat dalam manuskripnya *Endapan Sejarah Muna* yang belum terbit. Terjemahan bahasa Indonesia di bawah ini dikerjakan oleh H. Siddo Thamrin dan diambil dari naskah tersebut, di mana ada teks *kabhatatalahao* bersama terjemahannya (hal. 205-206). Ada sedikit perbedaan antara teks bahasa Muna H. Siddo Thamrin dengan teks Lengko Umar. Perbedaan itu dijelaskan dalam catatan kaki, dengan singkatan LU (Lengku Umar) dan ST (Siddo Thamrin). Karena H. Siddo Thamrin mengkaitkan penyumpahan dengan raja Muna La Posasu, maka nama Posasu muncul pada versi beliau. Ejaan bahasa Muna dibakukan dan penempatan titik dan koma juga diubah sedikit. Pada Lampiran A (Appendix A) terdapat kedua versi dalam bentuk asli.

Dalam bagian ketiga tulisan ini, saya memberikan teks bahasa Muna lagi, dengan terjemahan dan catatan dalam bahasa Inggris. Lampiran B memuat enam halaman yang diambil dari manuskrip *Endapan Sejarah Muna* yang berkaitan dengan penobatan raja Muna. Disajikan di sini dengan izin dari H. Siddo Thamrin (diperoleh secara lisan pada bulan Maret tahun 2016 di Raha) dengan terjemahan ke dalam bahasa Inggris oleh penulis.

## 2. Teks Bahasa Muna dengan terjemahan Bahasa Indonesia

### KABHATATALAHAONO OMPUTO

Sumpah Raja

1. *Nobhatatalahaane kamokulano Tongkuno.*<sup>1</sup>  
Dia disumpahkan oleh orang tua Tongkuno.
2. *"Aitu fetingke Posasu. Abhatatalahaangkomo ini."*<sup>2</sup>  
Dengarkanlah padaku hai Posasu. Kini kutukan akan kuucapkan bagimu.
3. *Foleho! Noposalo aporo, noposalo gelura.*  
Pawa awalnya! Mendung bercampur kabut pekat.
4. *Aitu nolentemo nebhalaghoondo taghindo Sara.*<sup>3</sup>  
Sekarang telah lahir yang dikandung oleh Syarat.
5. *Aitu bhaindo noleleumo kamba, notiwosemo ne hintu Posasu.*<sup>4</sup>  
Kini pada diri orang lain kembang telah layu, pada dikaulah Posasu dia mekar.
6. *Nolewamo*<sup>5</sup> *fato walaе wutomu.*  
Menghiasi keempat penjuru tubuhmu.
7. *Omooliemo bhe paise*<sup>6</sup>, *ihintumo Posasu so kumokopono wite ainia.*  
Kini apakah dikau mampu atau tidak, tetapi di tanganmulah Posasu, nasib negeri in tergenggam.
8. *Fekatangkae bhasarapumua, mengkoraghoo ne dempa, pasandeghoo ne bhamba.*<sup>7</sup>  
Perkuatlah imanmu, duduklah di atas batu bumi (yang tidak goyah), sandarkan pada dinding gua (yang kokoh).
9. *Namoni wite so korondomu, nasumampu lani so dhao-dhaongamu.*<sup>8</sup>  
Bila kesulitan datang, anggaplah sebagai gelang di kaki (jangan putus asa);  
bila keberhasilan tercapai, anggaplah sebagai kalung hiasan dada (jangan sombong).

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<sup>1</sup> Baris 1 hanya pada teks LU.

<sup>2</sup> Baris 2 hanya pada teks ST.

<sup>3</sup> Baris 4 hanya pada teks LU.

<sup>4</sup> Nama *Posasu* hanya pada teks ST, di sini dan juga pada baris 7.

<sup>5</sup> ST: *nolewamo*. LU: *nolewa*.

<sup>6</sup> ST: *paise*. LU: *paemo*.

<sup>7</sup> Dalam teks ST baris 9 mendahului baris 8.

<sup>8</sup> Kedua kalimat dalam baris 9 berbalik dalam teks ST, dan kiasannya terbalik juga.

10. *Okosanagauane wite ini, okoana ghowaane.*<sup>9</sup>  
Jangan mengkhianati tanah ini, jangan mengutamakan anak buahmu.
11. *Ane naodaiane rabumu witemu inia, ondumaelesae.*<sup>10</sup>  
Bila engkau bertindak merusak terhadap negerimu ini, engkau terlantarkan.
12. *Omefofoniane matano oe, opokabhela-bhelaane bhe daga witemu inia,*<sup>11</sup>  
Janganlah engkau menyalah gunakan jabatanmu (untuk diri, keluarga dan golongan).  
Janganlah engkau menjual negerimu ini kepada orang asing.
13. *bhahita noferaambaliane matamu*<sup>12</sup>, *bhahita noferaambaliane pongkemu wite inia,*<sup>13</sup>  
Janganlah engkau memandang (sesuatu) dengan mata yang mendua (pilih bulu).  
Janganlah engkau mendengar (sesuatu) dengan telinga yang mendua (memihak).
14. *natumuntu umurumu*<sup>14</sup>, *nalumaintobhe sodamu,*  
*natumuntu sodamu, nalumaintobhe umurumu.*  
Maka bila umurmu panjang, akan terkutuklah (binasalah) jabatanmu.  
Apabila jabatanmu panjang, akan terkutuklah (binasalah) umurmu.
15. *Sudumpae laintobhe.*  
Terkutuklah (binasalah) engkau.
16. *Omorepu, omosoka, omeghabu-ghabu, omeghefi-ghefi.*  
Engkau akan mampus dan mati mengerikan, laksana tebaran debu dan kapur.
17. *Koe tuntua, koe lagia, dadimu pa naosoo*<sup>15</sup> *ne kanduluamu."*  
Tidak akan hidup sempurna dan berkembang (keturunanmu),  
hidupmu tidak<sup>16</sup> akan terbenam di bantal ketiduranmu.
18. *Pada anagha kapitalao ruduano dofoturumo raeati, peda aini wambano:*<sup>17</sup>  
Setelah itu kedua kapten laut menaklukkan rakyat, katanya begini:
19. *"Aitu katingke-tingkeemu hintuumu raeati!*  
Dengarkanlah olehmu wahai sekalian rakyat!
20. *Gholeo gholeitu nolentemo anando sara...(neano omputo)*  
Pada hari ini telah lahir anak syarat .... (nama raja)

<sup>9</sup> Baris 10 hanya pada teks LU (tetapi dalam wawancara dengan ST diakui statusnya).

<sup>10</sup> Baris 11 hanya pada teks ST.

<sup>11</sup> Kata *witemu inia* tidak ada dalam teks LU.

<sup>12</sup> Kalimat pertama tidak ada dalam teks LU.

<sup>13</sup> LU: *namerambaliane pongkemu wite inia*. ST: *bhahita noferambaliane pongkemu*.

<sup>14</sup> LU: *natumuntu umurumu*. ST: *barangka naewanta umurumu*.

<sup>15</sup> LU: *pa naosoo*. ST: *nasumoo*.

<sup>16</sup> Terjemahan ST tidak mengandung kata 'tidak'.

<sup>17</sup> Baris 18-26 hanya terdapat dalam teks LU, walaupun ST menyebut beberapa garis juga pada bagian *kafoturu*. Terjemahan baris 18 dan 26 dari tangan saya.

21. *O laodhe, o laode, poino kontu lakono sau,*  
Golongan bangsawan atas, golongan bangsawan bawah, kalangan rakyat biasa,
22. *Laha-lahae so mogilino wampani tawa so gumuano,*  
barangsiapa yang tidak setuju dan hendak berontak
23. *koemo nokimbu naewine tawa naefua, nokimbumo aitu*  
maka bicaralah sekarang juga, tidak usah bertangguh esok atau lusa.
24. *(neano omputo), o kaowa Wuna.*  
(name raja), pemimpin Muna.
25. *Turu! Turu! Turu!"*  
Taatlal kamu! Taatlal kamu! Taatlal kamu!"
26. *Nota bene. Kapitalao ruduano wakutuu dofofoturu deere-ere dopokundo bhe debuna*  
*kampue dohumberi mie bhari.*  
Perhatian. Waktu kedua kapten laut menaklukkan rakyat, mereka berdiri berbelakangan sambil mencabut pedang untuk menakut-natuki orang banyak.

### 3. English translation and notes

This text takes us deep into the history of the Muna kingdom and cannot be understood without a proper cultural and historical context. It is a rich text full of figurative meaning and obscure vocabulary, but also full of powerful words that cannot be pronounced lightly. It is possible that it originated on Buton, imitating the inauguration of the Sultan of Buton, but this is a matter for further research. A number of obscure words appear to be taken from the Wolio language, which points in this direction.

This version was first presented to me in written form in October 1985 by Lengko Umar, a *tokoh adat* (a respected public figure and guardian of culture and traditions), as well as an *anggota DPR* (a member of the local parliament). This was the time when my wife and I had just started learning the Muna language in Raha. I felt like a Dutch primary school student who has just made his first steps into English and finds himself presented with a version of Beowulf in Old English! It was only much later that I came to understand the richness and significance of this text. My understanding of this text has been greatly helped by discussions with Siddo Thamrin (born 1933 in Walelei, but grew up in Watopute), another *tokoh adat*, *anggota DPR*, and arguably the most knowledgeable expert in Muna culture and history. He kindly gave me access to the pre-publication typescript of his 300-page *Endapan Sejarah Muna* ('Sediments of Muna history'). This typescript also contains a version of the inauguration oath, with a translation into Indonesian and much background information.

As can be expected in an oral culture, there are several differences between the two versions. I present a combined version here, incorporating elements from both, while the originals are preserved in the appendix. Since there are no recordings or eyewitness accounts of any inauguration, this combined form is of course a construct for the purposes of this paper. However, I do feel that it does justice to the nature of the event.

The following section will present each line in Muna, starting with the title, followed by a free English translation and notes on its background and interpretation. The spelling of Muna words and the interpunction have been edited to conform with current standards.

Title: *Kabhatatalahaono Omputo*.

‘The inauguration oath of the King.’

The title of the text is a simple noun phrase. The very long noun *kabhatatalahaono* is derived from the verb *bhatatalahao* which has two meanings: 1. ‘to curse, call down a curse upon’, and 2. ‘to swear in (high-ranking officials)’. Here the second meaning is intended. The root of this verb is *bhatata* ‘to pray (animistically)’, a word which is found in some folktales when the protagonist prays to trees or spirits for help. The word *bhatata* is never used for prayers in a Muslim or Christian setting.

*Kabhatatalahaono* is the nominalised form ‘swearing in, inauguration’, with the nominalising prefix *ka-* and the 3sg possessive suffix *-no*. A modern equivalent in a monarchy would be ‘coronation’ or ‘enthronement’, but since Muna kings never wore crowns or sat on thrones, these terms are hardly appropriate.

The exact meaning and especially the Malay/Indonesian translation of the noun *omputo* ‘king, supreme ruler, sovereign’, has led to heated debates in the history of Muna. Historically the word appears to derive from the root *ompu* ‘lord, Lord, God’, suffixed with the possessive suffix *-to* ‘our (inclusive)’. (The more common variant of this suffix is *-nto*, but the presence of the prenasalised cluster *mp* in *ompu* triggers the variant *-to*.) During the colonial period on Muna (1906-1949), the Dutch used the Malay term *raja Muna* or the term *lakina Muna*, taken from the neighbouring prestigious Wolio language, used at the Buton sultanate, to refer to the highest position on Muna. Couvereur (1935 [Indonesian translation 2001]) has a discussion on *omputo* and its translations in chapter 2 of his book, and concludes that neither *raja* nor *lakina* is an appropriate term of reference for the ruler of Muna. The native term *omputo* (or *kino* ‘headman, leader’) should have been retained.

1. *Nobhatatalahaane kamokulano Tongkuno*.

‘He (the King) is sworn in by the elder of Tongkuno.’

The same verb *bhatatalahao* is here used in an object-topic construction, best translated as a passive, with the 3sg indirect object suffix *-ane* ‘him’ referring to the King, and the subject prefix *no-* referring to the elder of Tongkuno. Notice that during this investiture ceremony the King himself does not speak. He does not take a vow or make an oath, in fact he does not utter a single word. Rather, he is sworn in by someone else who pronounces the oath. The oath itself has several elements in it: facts, advice, warnings and a curse. The whole ceremony is a performative (an action in words); once the words have been pronounced, the king has been sworn in and the curses will apply.

The ‘elder of Tongkuno’ (*kamokulano Tongkuno*) is not to be confused with the *mieno Tongkuno* ‘the person of Tongkuno.’ According to legend, Tongkuno was the first

inhabited village on Muna and the name still has a ring of antiquity and authenticity about it, even though the centre of power has long shifted to the capital Raha, starting in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. When the system of four districts (*ghoera*) was set up in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, Tongkuno became the name of the most important *ghoera*, and its leader, called *mieno Tongkuno* ‘the leader of Tongkuno’ (literally ‘the person of Tongkuno’), was considered the leader of the four district leaders. He is the spokesperson for all the council members. Here, however, it is rather the *kamukulano Tongkuno*, ‘the elder of Tongkuno’. This is not an official court position, but rather a non-official symbolic rank. The elder of Tongkuno represents the original population of the island, possibly predating the establishment of the Kingdom.

2. *Aitu fetingke Posasu. Abhatatalahaangkomo ini.*  
‘Now listen Posasu. I am going to swear you in.’

This statement, made by the elder of Tongkuno, prefaces the real investiture oath. The new king is personally addressed, but the crowds who are present will undoubtedly also pay attention to every word. In Lengko Umar’s version, this line is missing, presumably because it is an introductory statement.

According to Siddo Thamrin, Posasu was the first king to be inaugurated this way, which is why Siddo has put his name in this place in the text. According to Kimi Batoa (2005), Posasu reigned from ±1541-1551. It is interesting that the nobility title of the king (*La Ode*) is left out and that the future king is addressed by means of the informal suffix *-angko* ‘you’, rather than the formal and polite *-kaeta*. Speech conventions for addressing and referring to nobility were quite strong on Muna, and the obvious breach of these conventions here signals the council’s authority over the king, and also underlines that he is just an ordinary human being. (See also comments on line 7.)

3. *Foleho! Noposalo aporo, noposalo gelura.*  
‘It is as if darkness combines with a heavy rain storm.’

This is the real beginning of the oath. The word *foleho* is an obscure hapax legomenon (a word which is only found once in a corpus, hereafter hapax), the meaning of which is unclear. Lengko Umar gave the Indonesian equivalent as *bagaikan, umpamanya* (‘like, as if, for example’), which I have followed here. Siddo Thamrin renders it as *pada awalnya* ‘in the beginning’, which seems less fitting. The image of darkness (*aporo*, normally a stative verb, but here used as a noun) mixed with a heavy rain storm (*gelura*, variants *galura* and *galira*), conjures up a threatening atmosphere, as if nature itself is on the stage in all its majesty, with thunder and lightning about to strike. The investiture of the new king is on a level with the most foreboding and awe-inspiring natural phenomena.

4. *Aitu nolentemo nebhalaghoondo taghindo sara.*  
‘Now is born the one that the council was pregnant with.’

The new king is compared to a new-born child, of which the mother is the council (*sara*). The word *sara* ‘council, governing body’ is clearly a borrowed word which has entered

Muna via Malay *syarat* ‘condition, requisite’, ultimately deriving from Arabic *syart*. The meaning development is quite unclear, however. The *sarano Wuna*, often translated in Indonesian as *syarat Muna*, was the governing body or the cabinet of Muna, consisting of the following nine members, listed here with their modern-day equivalents:

- the King of Muna (*omputo Wuna*);
- the Prime Minister (*Bhonto Bhalano*);
- the four district leaders (*Fato Ghoerano*), from the districts of Tongkuno, Kabhawo, Lawa and Katobu;
- the minister of information (*Mintarano Bhitara*);
- the two army generals or defense ministers (*Kapitalao*).

This body ran the day-to-day government affairs of the Muna kingdom from the time of King Titakona, who reigned from 1600-1625, according to Kimi Batoa (2005) until the dissolution of the *sarano Wuna* by the Dutch colonial government in 1910.

A new king was elected by the first six members of the *sarano Wuna* and he continued to be responsible to them. They had the power to impeach him and sentence him to death. Because of their elective prerogative and their subsequent power over the king, the new king could be considered as having been born by the *sara*.

5. *Aitu bhaindo noleleumo kamba, notiwosemo ne hintu Posasu.*

‘Now the flowers of others have withered, it has opened up its leaves unto you Posasu.’

The image of flowers withering and opening up their leaves signals the rise and fall from power, in this case of other candidates for the kingship or a previous king who had died or was deposed. The election process usually involved a major power struggle and therefore constituted a risky period. The referent of the subject ‘it’ of the second clause is not immediately clear, but probably refers to a tree or a plant representing power and authority.

6. *Nolewamo fato walae wutomu.*

‘It has spread its leaves and branches on (or: it adorns) all four sides of you.’

The verb *lewa* is again a hapax, only occurring in this text. Lengko Umar gave the Indonesian translation *rindang* ‘shadowy, leafy, with many leaves and branches (used of trees)’. It is possible that the word is taken from Wolio, where *lewa* means ‘big’ (though the regular word for ‘big’ is *maoge*). Siddo Thamrin translates it as *menghiasi* ‘to adorn’, but during a personal interview in 2008 he confirmed the meaning *rindang*. If *lewa* means ‘big, spreading’, it is not clear whether *fatowalae wutomu* ‘the four sides of yourself’ is the subject of the verb (hence ‘all sides of yourself have leaves and branches’, or possibly ‘all sides of yourself have spread out’), or whether it is a locative phrase, hence ‘it (the tree) has spread its leaves and branches on all four sides of you.’ The latter interpretation seems more likely. The four sides (*fato walae*) indicate completeness, but at the same time refer to the four districts (*fato ghoera*: Tongkuno, Kabhawo, Lawa and Katobu), which made up the original territory of the Muna kingdom, located in the northern two-thirds of the island. The southern part (the districts of Gu and Mawasangka) were under the rule of Buton.

7. *Omooliemo bhe paise, ihintumo Posasu so kumokopono wite ainia.*

‘Whether or not you will be able, you are the one who will rule this land.’

This clause stresses the irreversibility of the decision that has been reached. The power is now firmly in the hands of the new king (the verb *kokopo* translated ‘to rule’ literally means ‘to grasp, to hold in the fist’). This power is symbolised by the royal golden staff, which would be handed over to the new king immediately after this inauguration. This handing-over ceremony was called *kafokokopono katuko bulawa*, literally ‘causing-to-hold-in-his-fist the golden staff’. (See Appendix B for details). And although it remains to be seen whether or not he is able to exercise this power justly, there is no return at this point.

Striking again is the use of the informal pronoun *ihintu* ‘you’ at this point. There were very strict rules on how to address the office bearers of the Muna kingdom and their wives (see Couvreur 2001, chapter 13), depending on which office was held and who was speaking. Fines were imposed when people used the wrong term of address. The terms of address replacing regular second person singular pronouns for the king were normally: *intaidi* ‘you (polite)’, *kolaki* ‘nobleman’, and when referring to oneself the word *inodi* ‘I’ was replaced by *randano ghaghe* (lit. ‘the sole of the foot’). In this oath, however, these rules are temporarily suspended and it is the plain *ihintu* ‘you’ that sounds. The king may be about to receive great power, prestige and authority, but at this sacred moment he has to remember that he is just a fellow-human. The playing field is level.

8. *Fekatangkae bhasarapumua, mengkoraghoo ne dempa, pasandeghoo ne bhamba.*  
 ‘Strengthen your mooring post, sit on a rock, lean against a cliff.’

This line contains three parallel figurative expressions, three imperatives directed at the new king to brace himself for the heavy task that he is now facing. The unknown word *bhasarapu* (another hapax in this text) was translated by Lengko Umar as *ketegakan prinsip, kekuatan batin dan fisik* (‘uprightness of principle, inner and physical strength’). Siddo Thamrin translates it as *perkuatlah imanmu* ‘strengthen your faith’. In my view it is probably the Wolio word *basarapu* ‘mooring post’ (Anceaux 1987:14), which is used here metaphorically for holding on firmly to one’s convictions about what is right and wrong. The second and third image (‘sit on a rock, lean against a cliff’) confirm this interpretation: the new king is to be solid in his principles and unwavering in his convictions. The word *dempa* refers to a large rock in the earth that cannot be lifted or moved, in contrast to a regular *kontu* ‘stone, rock’. Even though *bhamba* normally means ‘ravine, gorge, chasm, steep slope’, here it must refer to the side of a gorge or chasm, hence the translation ‘cliff’ (Lengko Umar gave the Indonesian *dinding batu* ‘stone wall’). It is interesting that the first image is (probably) from the sea, and the second and third from the land.

9. *Namoni wite so korondomu, nasumampu lani so dhao-dhaongamu.*  
 ‘When the land rises, it is only a rattling ankle ornament for you;  
 when heaven comes down, it is only a bronze ornament worn on the breast.’

This line continues the address at the royal candidate, encouraging him not to be afraid or desperate when difficulties and disasters happen, and not to be arrogant or complacent when all goes well. Such changing fortunes should be considered to be non-



essential embellishments of life. A *korondo* is an ornament worn by girls around their ankles; a *dhao-dhaonga* is a big round ornament made of silver or gold and worn by women below the neck on the breast. The vicissitudes of life are decorative details that are ultimately of little value. Life itself is much more important.

Siddo Thamrin's version has the lines and the images reversed: *nasumampu lani so korondomu, namoni wite so dhao-dhaongamu*. The intention is obviously the same. It is, however, not exactly clear which element stands for what. The rising land could stand for misfortune (disease, famine, war), and heaven coming down could stand for fortune (good health, abundance of food, peace and prosperity), but Siddo Thamrin has the opposite Indonesian translation, the rising land standing for prosperity, the sky coming down for misfortune. During the 2008 interview he linked this to the expression *nopodapo lani* 'the sky is closed/covered', used when people are experiencing major difficulties.

10. *Okosanagauane wite ini, okoanaghowaane,*  
'If you plot to betray this land, if you favour your relatives,'

The oath now starts getting serious by listing a number of prohibited royal actions, warnings which will have fatal consequences if they are not heeded. In each of these cases the land, marked by the indirect object suffix *-ane*, is the object of concern. The island of Muna and its inhabitants are looking for a ruler who is just, wise, honest and who takes the interests of both the island and its people to heart. Line 10 also contains rarely used vocabulary. The verb *kosanagau* is again a hapax; it is based on the root *sanagau* which means 'to plot, to scheme, to make evil plans', and although the purpose clause 'to betray' is not actually stated, that is clearly the intent of the phrase. The second verb, again a hapax, is based on the nominal compound *ana ghowa*, 'subordinate' (literally 'child under', similar in meaning to Indonesian *anak buah*). The resulting verb refers to favouring friends and close relatives for positions of authority or in legal matters, a practice commonly referred to as nepotism.

11. *Ane naodaiane rabumu witemu inia, ondumaelesae.*  
'If you act in a malicious way towards your land, you will be abandoned.'

A second prohibited action is now stated, though in quite general terms. The whole clause is missing from Lengko Umar's text, possibly because it is quite general and therefore less memorable. The word *ondumaelesae* is another hapax, probably from a root *ndaelesa*, the Indonesian meaning of which is given as *terlantarkan* by Siddo Thamrin, 'left behind, left unfinished, abandoned, neglected.' The conditions of this 'neglect' or 'abandonment' are not stated.

12. *Omefofoniane matano oe, opokabhela-bhelaane bhe daga witemu inia,*  
'if you raise the springs of your land, if you become friendly with foreigners (and betray the land)'

The raising of springs (*matano oe*, literally 'eyes of water') is an opaque figurative expression which means abusing one's office for personal gain. It possibly also refers to

the sale or exploitation of natural resources, to the detriment of the island. The second part of line 12 seems to repeat the intention of the first half of line 10 — becoming somewhat friendly (literally ‘not seriously be friends’) with foreigners who visit the island, presumably for the purpose of selling or betraying the land. As mentioned above, in each case the recipient affected by the action of the verb is the land, indexed by the indirect object suffix *-ane* and explicitly referred to as *witemu inia* ‘this land of yours’.

13. *bhahita noferaambaliane matamu, bhahita noferaambaliane pongkemu wite inia,*  
 ‘if you have double eyes, or if you have double ears for this land’

Line 13 seems to refer to dishonesty, hypocrisy and partiality in judicial matters. Just as ‘have a double face’ (*feraahula*) is a Muna idiom for deceit and hypocrisy when dealing with people, to have ‘double eyes’ and ‘double ears’ points to deceitful and hypocritical attitudes when seeing people’s actions and needs, or listening and responding to people’s complaints and grievances.

14. *natumuntu omurumu, nalumaintobhe sodamu;*  
*natumuntu sodamu, nalumaintobhe omurumu,*  
 ‘if your life continues, your office will perish;  
 if your office continues, your life will perish.’

In line 14 we enter the imprecatory section of the inauguration oath, and the words most feared. The word *natumuntu* ‘it will continue’ is based on the rare root *tuntu* ‘to last, to continue’. Siddo Thamrin has the more usual *barangka naewanta* ‘if it is long’, resulting in the following words for line 12: *barangka naewanta umurumu, nalumaintobhe sodamu, barangka naewanta sodamu, nalumaintobhe imurumu*. Again, the meaning is the same, simply using words that are more commonly understood.

The noun *omuru* ‘life, age’ is borrowed from Indonesian *umur* ‘age’ (and ultimately from Arabic ‘*umr*’), but in Muna it does not just refer to the number of years someone has lived, but also to the extent of life itself. A frequent collocation is *omuru mewanta* ‘a long life’.

The hapax verb *laintobhe* (or its variant *laentobhe*) only occurs in this oath (although another example sentence found its way into the Muna dictionary). It is possibly based on the verb *tobhe* ‘to pick (flowers), to break off the tip (of a stalk), to harvest (rice)’, though Siddo Thamrin doesn’t think so. It means something like ‘be accursed, perish, be destroyed’.

Essentially this line says that if a king is implicated in any of the behaviours listed in lines 10-13, he will have to bear the consequences: either he will be forced to abdicate (though he himself will continue to live), or he will be killed in office (but the office itself will continue, albeit occupied by someone else). Both options are obviously highly undesirable and shameful, and the future king is warned at this point not to take this new office lightly. That these words were not empty threats is shown by history: several of the Muna kings were deposed and a few were killed in office. One of them, La Ode Umara,

the 21<sup>nd</sup> king of Muna (in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century) was posthumously given the title *Omputo negege* ‘The strangled King’ (Kimi Batoa 2005:69).

15. *Sudumpae laintobhe.*

‘It will certainly (?) be cut off.’

The meaning of the word *sudumpae* (another hapax) is unknown; neither Lengku Umar nor Siddo Thamrin could assign a meaning to it. The translation of line 15 is therefore only an educated guess.

16. *Omorepu, omosoka, omeghabu-ghabu, omeghefi-ghefi.*

‘You will croak, you will die a horrible death, you will turn to ashes, you will turn to lime.’

These are probably the most famous and most dreaded words of the curse, still remembered by many people today. The verbs *repu* and *soka* are very coarse words for ‘to die’, used mainly to refer to animals dying, or said in anger, as in swearing and cursing. The uttering of such uncouth words at the future king at such a solemn occasion is deeply shocking. It underscores the importance of the expected behaviour of the king: honesty, justice, and seeking the common good. If he doesn’t fulfill those obligations, his fate will be sealed in the most gruesome manner.

17. *Koe tuntua, koe lagia, dadimu pa naosoo ne kanduluamu.”*

‘You won’t last, you won’t continue, your life will not end on your pillow.”’

This is the last and final line of the apodosis. Although the first two clauses are presented as imperatives (literally: ‘do not last, do not continue’), it seems better to translate them as future threats, in agreement with the third clause. A peaceful end in one’s own home, on one’s own bed, with family around, was (and is) the desired death setting for an old person on Muna. This final threat says in effect: ‘your life will be cut short, and you will die a violent death.’ Somewhat surprisingly, Siddo Thamrin’s version lacks the negator in the third clause of line 17. His version is *dadimu nasumoo ne kanduluamu* ‘your life will sink down on your pillow’ (with the verb *soo* ‘set, sink down (of the sun)’ in class a-, rather than in class ao-). If the clause is meant to refer to an unhappy and untimely death, then the version with the negator seems to me to make more sense.

18. *Pada anagha kapitalao ruduano dofoturumo raeati, peda aini wambano:*

‘After that the two defense ministers make the people submit. This is what they say:’

The oath is now finished and we enter the second half of the inauguration ceremony text (which is not included in Siddo Thamrin’s version). When the elder of Tongkuno has finished speaking to the new king, the two defense ministers address the populace. Their task is to defend the Muna kingdom against external enemies (primarily coastal attacks), but at this point they deal with internal security issues first. The word *dofoturumo* ‘they submit’ is the causative (*fo-turu*) of the intransitive verbal root *turu* ‘to obey, to be subject to, to submit oneself to’. The object is *raeati* ‘people, populace’

(from Indonesian *rakyat*, and ultimately from Arabic *ra'iyya*). The king needs to be assured that he has the full and unconditional support of everybody on the island.

19. *"Aitu katingke-tingkeemu hintuumu raeati!*

*"Now listen well, all of you people!"*

Their speech starts with an imperative and a vocative, aimed at getting the attention of the people. The verb *katingke* is an unusual variant of the common verb *fetingke* 'to hear'.

20. *Gholeo gholeitu nolentemo anando sara...(neano omputo).*

*'Today is born the child of the council, (name of king).'*

The new king is presented and introduced by name. The actual name of the new king is to be supplemented in the phrase in parentheses, as was done with the name Posasu in Siddo Thamrin's version of the text. As in line 4, the king is presented as a newborn child, having been born of the council.

21. *O La Odhe, o La Ode, pino kontu lakono sau,*

*'High nobility, low nobility, commoners,'*

The three vocatives address the three social classes of Muna. The words *La Odhe* and *La Ode* for high and low nobility are distinguished by only a small phonetic difference (they are also often spelled as single words: *Laodhe* and *Laode*). In *Laodhe* 'high nobility' the letters *dh* stand for a laminal-dental voiced stop (with the tongue in the same position as for *th* in English *there*, *those* and *they*). In *Laode* 'low nobility' the *d* is a regular alveolar voiced stop, often pronounced with some implosion. The words apparently go back to a nursery song sung to the children of the first kings of Muna (Couvreur 2001:34-35). The story goes that one of the sons of the (first?) king of Muna was put to sleep while a servant girl from Labora said or sang the words *lakaodhe-odhe lakaodhe-odhe*. The daughter of the prime minister (*Bhonto Bhalano*) was put to sleep with the words *lakaode-ode lakaode-ode*. These words became the basis of the titles of the social groups to which these people belonged: *Laodhe* for the high nobility (also known as *kaomu*) to which the king belonged, *Laode* for the low nobility (also known as *walaka*), to which the prime minister belonged. Probably because the phonetic difference was subtle and not always easy to hear, and also because the (first?) prime minister's child at that time was a girl, the more common term for the low nobility became *walaka*. (The article *la* is typically used before masculine names, *wa* before for feminine names. The term *walaka* or *laka*, however, has no independent meaning.) The third social class, the commoners, were called *pino kontu lakono sau*, literally 'a stone (and) a stick', indicating their low status and relative lack of value.

Couvreur (2001) presents a good discussion on the origin of the nobility, going back to the time of King Titakano (early 17<sup>th</sup> century), their role in society, their rights, their clothing, and their marriage rules and regulations. Nowadays the class system is largely obsolete, though it is retained in two domains. First, people who trace their ancestry to the *kaomu* or *walaka* still use the titles *La Ode* (men) or *Wa Ode* (women) before their

names, usually written as two words, but not distinguishing *Ode* from *Odhe*. This still carries some prestige. Second, when a couple wants to get married, a bride price has to be paid to the girl's family. The value of the bride price is determined by the social class of the bride and the groom, and this can lead to prolonged and difficult negotiations between the two families.

22. *Laha-lahae so mogilino wampani tawa so gumuano,*  
'Whoever wants to flex his arm muscles (in opposition) or wants to rebel,'

This is an appeal for anyone who does not agree with the choice of the council or who wants to oppose or defy the new king, to do so now. It is specifically directed at disgruntled candidates from the high nobility. The phrase *mogilino wampani* is literally 'tauten/tighten the upper arm', here translated as 'flex one's arm muscles', a metaphor for being ready to fight.

23. *koemo nokimbu naewine tawa naefua, nokimbumo aitu.*  
'let him not bring a charge tomorrow or the day after, let him bring a charge now.'

The key verb here is *kimbu* 'bring a legal charge against someone, accuse'. If anyone is harbouring thoughts of disobedience or rebellion, let him do that now, in a legal fashion. Since rebellions were not infrequent, this was again not a hollow phrase, although it is not clear whether anyone ever had the courage to stand up and speak out against the new king at this point of the ceremony. Instant violence would have erupted.

24. *(neano omputo), o kaowa wuna.*  
(name of the new king), the ruler of Muna.

The name of the King is mentioned again as he is presented to the populace, followed by another title: *o kaowa Wuna*, literally 'the one who brings/leads Muna'. This is the people's new leader.

25. *Turu! Turu! Turu!"*  
'Submit! Submit! Submit!'"

The defense ministers end their speech with a strong command to submit to the new king's authority. The verb is repeated twice for emphasis. According to Siddo Thamrin the people then responded by replying in unison *taturumo* 'we have submitted'.

26. *Nota bene. Kapitalao ruduano wakutuu dofofoturu deere-ere dopokundo bhe debuna kampue dohumberi mie bhari.*  
'Note. While the two defense ministers are pressing the people to submit, they are standing back to back with drawn swords, menacing the crowd.'

This last line gives some background information about the position and the actions of the two defense ministers as they addressed the people. The initial words *nota bene* (the autograph has *nota benne*) are not Muna, but taken from Latin and mean 'note well, give special attention'.

All in all, this must have been a ceremony that made a deep impression on people who attended it, but unfortunately, we have no direct eyewitness accounts of any of these inaugurations. The last of these official inaugurations probably took place during the beginning of the colonial period in 1906, when La Ode Ahmad became king. The four subsequent inaugurations seem to have happened in a non-traditional way, as the Muna Council (*Sara Wuna*) had been dismantled by the Dutch and was no longer in a position to actually elect a new king. The office of king was retained (though given a new title, *lakina Wuna*), but the functions of *Bhonto Bhalano* and *Kapitalao* were no longer recognised. The choice of king was therefore essentially in the hands of the Dutch and the sultan of Buton, to the great chagrin of the Muna nobility. This happened in 1919 with La Ode Afiuddin, in 1926 with La Ode Rere, in 1930 with La Ode Dika (or Jika) and in 1947 with La Ode Pandu. In the last case the inauguration happened aboard a Dutch naval vessel near Pulau Lima, not far from Raha. Each of these appointments appears to have been controversial and the cause of much internal strife on Muna.

Sometime in the late 1970s (probably in 1979), there was a near-inauguration on Muna.<sup>18</sup> The Indonesian minister of internal affairs, Amirmachmud (1923-1995) was due to visit Muna, and apparently the political leaders of *kabupaten* Muna wanted to show their respect and appreciation to this minister. The highest possible honour was to make him an 'elder of the area' (*sesepeuh daerah*), for which they would use the traditional royal inauguration ceremony. A major festive event was organised and the details of the ceremony carefully planned. But when the minister arrived (by helicopter) and the contents of the ceremony were discussed with him, people realised the risks of the oath and deemed it best not to go ahead. The threat of the curses actually affecting him was simply too real! The minister himself apparently would have been okay with it.

## Appendix A. Teks asli

### 1. Teks asli yang diketik oleh Lengku Umar (Oktober 1985), dengan ejaan dan interpungsi asli.

Kabhatatalahono Omputo  
Nobhatatalahaoane kamokulano tongkuno

- Foleho nopouloso aporo nopouloso gelura,  
aytu nolentemo nebhalaghondo taghindo sara
- Aytu bhayndo noleleumo kamba, notiwosemo ne hintu.....  
nolewamo fatowalae wutomu, omooliemo bhe paemo, ihintumo  
sokumopopono wite ayni !
- Fekatangkae bhasarapumua, mengkoragho nedempa, pasandegho nebhamba;  
Namoni wite sokorondomu, nasumampu lani sodhao-dhaongamu.
- Okosanagauane wite ini..... , okoana ghowaane,

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<sup>18</sup> This information is based on conversations with H. Siddo Thamrin in 2008. Information on the year is from an interview with La Ode Mukadas in Raha on 12 March 2016.

omefophoniane matano ooe, opokabhela-bhelaane bhedaga,  
namerambaliane pongkemu wite inia,  
natumuntu omurumu, nalumaintobhe sodamu, natumuntu sodamu, nalumaintobhe omurumu  
sudumpae layntobhe!

Omurepu , omosoka , omeghabu-ghabu , omeghefi-ghafi,  
koetuntua, koelagia, dadimu panaosoo ne kanduluamu !

(pada anagha kapitalao ruduano dofoturumo raeati)  
pedaayni wambano.

- Aytu katingke-tingkemu hintuumu raeati !
- Gholeo gholeytu nolentemo anando Sara.....(neano omputo)
- Olaodhe, olaode, pino kontu lakono sau,
- Laha-lahae somogilino wampani tawa sogumuano,  
koemo nokimbu naewine tawa naefua, nokimbumo aytu  
(..... neano omputo), o kaowa wuna!  
t u r u! t u r u! t u r u!

nota benne : kapitalao ruduano wakutuu dofofoturu  
deere-ere dopokundo bhedebuna  
kampue dohumberi mie bhari.

Tekst 5

1 Kabhatatalahano Omputo

2 [Nobhatatalahane kamokulano tongkuno]

3 -- Foleho nopouloso aporo nopouloso gelura,  
 4 aiytu nolentemo nebhahagondo taghindo sara

5 -- Aiytu bhayindo noleleumo kamba, notiwosemo nehintu .....  
 6 nolewamo fatowalae wutomu, omoliemo ~~paama~~ bhepaemo, ihintumo  
 7 sokumopono wite aini !

8 -- Pekatangkae bhasarapumua, mengkoragho nedempa, pasandegho  
 9 nebhamba;  
 10 Namoni wite sokorondomu, sasumampu lani sodhao-dhaongamu.

11 -- Okosanagauane wite ini ....., akoana ghowaane,  
 12 omefoniane matano ooe, opokabhela-bhelaane bhedaga,  
 13 namerambaliane pongkemu, wite inia,  
 14 natumuntu umurumu, nalumaintobhe sodamu, natumuntu sodamu /  
 15 sudumpae layntobhe! / nalumaintobhe umurumu

16 Omorepu, omosoka, omeghabu-ghabu, omeghefi-ghafi,  
 17 koetuntua koelagia, dadimu panaosoo nekanduluamu !

18 ( pada anagha kapitalao ruduano dofofoturu raeati )  
 19 padaayni wambano.

20 -- Aytu katingke-tingkemu hintumu raeati !

21 -- Gholeo gholeytu nolentemo anando Sara ..... (neano omputo)

22 -- Olaode, olaode, poino kontu <sup>lakono</sup> bakono sau,

23 -- Iaha-lahae somogilino wampani tawa sogumuanu,  
 24 koemo nokimbu naewine tawa naefua, nokimbumo aytu  
 25 (..... neano omputo), okaowa wuna!  
 26 t u r u ! t u r u ! t u r u !!!

27 nota benne : kapitalao ruduano wakutuu dofofoturu  
 28 ~~deere-ere~~ deere-ere dopokundo bhedebuna  
 29 kampue dohumberi mie bhari.

Kopi teks asli seperti diserahkan kepada saya oleh Lengko Umar pada tahun 1985.

2. Teks asli dari manuskrip H. Siddo Thamrin *Endapan Sejarah Muna* (tanpa tahun; fotokopi 2013; halaman 205-206).

- = Aitu fetingke Posasu. Abhatatalahaangkomo ini.
- = Foleho! Nopouloso aporo, nopouloso gelura.  
 Aitu bhaindo no leumo kamba;  
 Notiwosemo ne hintu Posasu;  
 Nolewa fato walae wutomu.
- = Aitu omoliemo bhe paise,  
 Ihintumo Posasu;  
 Sokumokopono wite ainia.
- = Aitu bhahita opokabhela-bhela ane bhe daga witemu inia;  
 Bhahita omefofoni ane matano oe;  
 Bhahita noferambali ane matamu;



- Bhahita noferambali ane pongkemu;  
 = Fekatangkae bhasarapumua;  
 Mengkoragho' ne dempa;  
 Pasandegho ne bhamba.  
 = Nasumampu lani so korondomu;  
 Namoni wite so dhao-dhaongamu;  
 Ane naodai ane rabumu witemu inia, ondumaelesae.  
 = Barangka naewanta umurumu;  
 Nalumaentobhe sodamu;  
 Barangka naewanta sodamu;  
 Nalumaintobhe omurumu.  
 = Sudumpae laintobhe;  
 Omorepu, omosoka, omeghabu-ghabu, omeghefi-ghEFI;  
 Koe tuntua, koe lagia;  
 Dadimu nasumo' ne kanduluamu.

## Appendix B. Petikan dari *Endapan Sejarah Muna*

Teks berikut ini diambil dari manuskrip *Endapan Sejarah Muna*, ditulis oleh H. Siddo Thamrin, versi prapublikasi, fotokopi 2013, halaman 246-254.

### 1. Tata cara pergantian dan upacara penobatan *Omputo*

[hal. 246] Sangia Kaindea adalah putera Titakono. Ia menggantikan Saeduddin dan diperkirakan mulai memerintah pada tahun 1638M. Sangia Kaindea adalah *Omputo Kino Wuna* pertama yang dilantik oleh *Sarana Wuna* secara lengkap, melalui upacara penobatan yang paling seremonial dengan penuh khidmat sebagai suatu peristiwa yang dianggap sakral. Oleh itu rasanya perlu untuk diketahui proses dan mekanisme upacara tersebut.

Upacara penobatan *Omputo Kino Wuna* disebut *kabuleleno pau* (pengembangan payung), yang berarti mengembangkan payung kerajaan terhadap *Omputo* yang sementara dilantik. Menurut ketentuan adat, *Omputo* yang sedang memerintah (berkuasa), memegang dan menguasai *parinta* [hal. 247] (alat-alat kerajaan berupa tongkat emas, payung kerajaan dan lain-lain) sebagai lambang kekuasaan. Apabila ia tidak berkuasa lagi karena diberhentikan atau karena meninggal dunia, maka *parinta* diambil oleh *Sarana Wuna* dan disimpan *Bhonto Bhalano*. *Parinta* tidak boleh diambil dan disimpan oleh pejabat lain ataupun perorangan, apalagi yang berasal dari golongan *kaomu*. Hal ini untuk menjaga jangan sampai ada kudeta (Muna: *gua*), karena bukan hal yang mustahil pejabat atau oknum tersebut tidak akan bersedia lagi untuk menyerahkan kembali *parinta* tersebut dan langsung menyatakan diri sebagai *Omputo Kino Wuna* dengan alasan *parinta* telah berada dalam tangannya, sementara ia juga berasal dari golongan *kaomu* yang berhak untuk menjadi *Omputo*.

Dalam keadaan perang apabila *parinta* direbut musuh, maka dianggap *Omputo* telah kehilangan kekuasaan karena berarti telah kalah (secara formal) dan tidak akan diakui lagi sebagai *Omputo*. Dalam hal *Omputo* dipecat oleh *Sarana Wuna* karena sesuatu pelanggaran, maka dua orang utusan Sara pergi ke *kamali* (istana) untuk menemui *Omputo*. Mereka

memperkenalkan diri kepada *Omputo* bahwa mereka adalah utusan *Sarano Wuna* untuk menyampaikan keputusan *Sarano Wuna*, bahwa mulai pada hari *noleumo kamba* (kembang telah layu). Dua patah kata keramat tersebut merupakan surat keputusan yang mengakhiri kekuasaan dan masa pemerintahan seorang *Omputo Kino Wuna*.

Untuk pengganti *Omputo* dilakukan melalui pemilihan. Yang berhak memilih adalah *Bhonto Bhalano*, *Mintarano Bhitara* dan *Fato Ghoerano*. Calon dicari dari keluarga *Omputo* yang berkuasa sebelumnya (anak, cucu, [hal. 248] saudara, kemenakan dan lain-lain). Apabila tidak ditemukan barulah dicari dari turunan yang pernah menjadi *Omputo* yang sudah lama tidak mendapat kesempatan menjadi *Omputo* dengan syarat:

- Beragama Islam.
- Memiliki sifat
  - = sidik (benar dan jujur)
  - = tablikh (dapat menyampaikan)
  - = amanah (terpercaya)
  - = fatsani (cerdas dan fasih berbicara).
- Memenuhi syarat fisik dan sehat.
- Mempunyai pengetahuan yang melebihi tentang adat-istiadat dan silsilah.
- Berani, tabah dan penyayang.

Kecuali syarat-syarat tersebut di atas, maka *Sarano Wuna*, melalui cara kebatinan mencoba menilai sang calon, apakah ia sebentar nanti setelah menjadi *Omputo*, akan mampu membawa masyarakat mencapai kesejahteraan seperti hasil panen yang melimpah, tidak akan terjadi wabah dan penyakit menular, bencana alam dan sebagainya. Apabila calon telah ditemukan dan ditetapkan tetapi masih dirahasiakan, yang dalam istilah adat disebut *nando dobhalaane taghino sara* (let. masih dalam kandungan / dihamilkan oleh Syarat), maka sang calon dipingit (Muna: *doghomboe*) dalam sebuah kamar (rumah) yang dijaga ketat oleh *Fato Lindono* di bawah pimpinan *Mintarano Bhitara* selama empat puluh hari.

Setelah acara *kaghombo* selesai tibalah acara *kabuleleno pau*. Kepada calon *Omputo* setelah selesai berwudu dikenakan pakaian upacara berupa jubah berjambul berwarna kuning. Dilengkapi pula dengan penangkal [hal. 249] secara mistik dan ilmu kebatinan (*kakanu*), untuk kemudian dibawa ke *Kontu Kobhangkuduno* dengan pengawalan *Fato Lindono* dipimpin oleh *Mintarano Bhitara*. Di tempat itulah acara *kabuleleno pau* akan dilaksanakan. Di situlah hadir *Bhonto Bhalano*, *Kapitalao*, *Bubato raafuluno*, *Bhonto tolu fuluno* dan semua pejabat agama tingkat pusat, masing-masing pada tempat yang telah ditentukan. Seluruh rakyat juga dapat hadir dan menonton di tempat yang tidak akan mengganggu jalannya upacara.

*Kabuleleno pau* mempunyai acara-acara pokok sebagai berikut:

- *Katanda wite* (penyentuhan bungkusan tanah).
- *Kabhatatalahao* (sumpah kutukan).
- *Kafokokopono katuko bulawa* (penyerahan tongkat).
- *Kabuleleno pau* (pengembangan payung).
- *Kafoturu* (maklumat untuk taat).

**Acara *katanda wite*.**

Calon *Omputo* telah duduk di atas *Kontu Kobhangkuduno* setelah dibawa dari ruang *kaghombo*. Di sebelah kanannya berdiri *Bhonto Bhalano* dan di sebelah kirinya berdiri *Mintarano Bhitara*, menyusul *Fato Ghoerano*. *Fato Lindono* menjaga empat sudut. *Pasi* (10 orang) pemegang *parinta* berdiri di belakang *Fato Ghoerano* bersama dengan empat *Kamokula* dan seorang *pasi* lain memegang *kansora* (talam dari anyaman lidi) yang berisi tanah yang dibungkus kain putih, ikan ekor kuning dan *tombula* (bambu). Atas perintah *Bhonto Bhalano* sebagai pimpinan upacara, melalui *Mintarano Bhitara*, *Kamokulano Tongkuno* bersama *pasi* pengiringnya (pemegang *kansora*) dipanggil masuk dan langsung duduk bersila di muka calon [hal. 250] *Omputo*. Setelah mendapat perintah dari *Bhonto Bhalano*, *Kamokulano Tongkuno* menerima piring putih yang berada dalam *kansori* dari *pasi*. Piring tersebut berisi tanah yang diambil dari *Wadumapo* (dekat *Tongkuno*) yang digali sedalam satu siku beberapa hari sebelumnya. *Wadumapo* diyakini sebagai daratan yang pertama kering di pulau *Wuna*. Di dalam *kansora* terdapat pula ikan ekor kuning dari danau *Lawulamoni* dan sebilah bambu (*tombula*) yang diambil dari tempat pertama kali *Bheteno ne Tombula* ditemukan. Setelah menerima piring, *Kamokulano Tongkuno* mengambil sebagian tanah dari piring tersebut, tepekur sejenak lalu membungkus tanah itu dengan sepotong kain yang telah disiapkan untuk itu. Ia kemudian berkata dengan suara jelas: “*Ngkadiri* (tanpa gelar bangsawan), *akumatandakomo*.” (*Ngkadiri, katanda wite* akan dilakukan padamu). Setelah tepekur sejenak, *Kamokulano Tongkuno* menyapukan bungkusan tanah tersebut tiga-tiga kali mulai dari dahi, kedua pergelangan bahu (selalu mulai dari kanan), siku, telapak tangan, pinggul, lutut, pergelangan kaki, terakhir kedua telapak kaki. Setelah itu kedua telapak kaki calon *Omputo* secara bergantian diinjakkan ke dalam piring yang berisi tanah yang tidak dibungkus. Ia kemudian menyatakan acara *katanda wite* selesai.

Acara *katanda wite* adalah simbol bahwa manusia (Adam) berasal (lahir) dari tanah lalu turun ke bumi untuk kemudian kembali ke tanah. *Wadumapo* diibaratkan sebagai tanah di surga untuk orang yang pertama menginjakkan kaki di tanah *Wuna*, yang oleh penduduk asli meyakini bahwa tanah *Wuna* adalah tanah berkat. *Katanda wite* dan *kabhatatalahao* selalu dilakukan [hal 251] oleh *Kamokulano Tongkuno* atau turunannya terhadap setiap calon *Omputo Kino Wuna*, karena ia dianggap sebagai keturunan dari penghuni pertama *witeno Wuna*.

#### **Acara *kabhatatalahao***

Setelah acara *katanda wite* selesai, maka *Bhonto Bhalano* memerintahkan (semua perintah harus selalu melalui *Mintarano Bhitara*) agar *kabhatatalahao* segera dilaksanakan. Atas perintah itu *Kamokulano Tongkuno* yang masih duduk bersila di depan calon *Omputo* melaksanakan *kabhatatalahao*. Bunyi teks *kabhatatalahao* dapat dilihat pada halaman 205-207. Setelah acara *kabhatatalahao* selesai, *Kamokulano Tongkuno* dan *pasi* pengiringnya kembali ke tempat semula.

#### **Acara *kafokokopono katuko bulawa***

Pada acara ini *Bhonto Bhalano* mengumumkan bahwa kini sudah saatnya untuk menyerahkan tongkat emas kerajaan (*katuko bulawa*) sebagai tanda kekuasaan dan kedaulatan *Omputo*. *Katuko* diambil oleh *Mieno Kancitala* dari *pasi* pemegangnya lalu diserahkan kepada *Bhonto Bhalano* yang sedang berdiri di sebelah kanan calon *Omputo*. Ia menggenggam bongkol kepala tongkat dengan tangan kanan, tangan kiri memegang batang

tongkat. Ibu jari dan jari telunjuk kaki kanan menjepit ujung tongkat bagian bawah. Kemudian ia maju tiga langkah (kaki kanan selalu mendahului), lalu menghadap ke kiri maju lagi tiga langkah (sampai bertentangan dengan calon *Omputo*), menghadap lagi ke kiri dan maju lagi hingga di depan calon *Omputo*. Calon *Omputo* langsung berdiri. *Bhonto Bhalano* kemudian berkata: "*Aitu, nekoawaghooku, ihintumo so kumokopono katuko bulawa inia.*" (Wahai cucunda, kepadamulah tongkat emas ini terpegang). Dijawab [hal. 252] oleh calon *Omputo*: "*Atarimae*" (Saya menerimanya). Setelah selesai menyerahkan tongkat, *Bhonto Bhalano* mundur tiga langkah lalu mengambil tempat di sebelah kiri *Omputo* (bukan lagi calon). Dengan penyerahan tongkat ini maka secara formal maupun de facto, *Omputo Kino Wuna* telah lahir. *Kapita* dipanggil untuk berada di belakang *Omputo*.

#### **Acara *kabululeno pau*.**

Atas perintah *Bhonto Bhalano pasi* pemegang payung menyerahkan payung kepada *Mieno Kancitala* yang kemudian berjalan menuju ke belakang *Omputo*. *Bhonto Bhalano* mengumumkan bahwa payung akan segera dikembangkan. *Mieno Kancitala* setelah tepekur sejenak lalu mengembangkan payung diiringi oleh irama suara takbir yang menggema dari para pejabat agama.

Pengembangan payung merupakan simbol kebesaran dan keagungan *Omputo*. Warna kuning dari payung dan jubah kebesaran *Omputo* adalah lambang kejayaan. Pada bagian dalam payung, tergantung seutas pintalan benang merah. Benang ini merupakan simbol peringatan yang harus selalu diingat oleh *Omputo*, bahwa apabila ia melanggar sumpah dan berbuat sewenang-wenang, maka atas keputusan *Sarano Wuna*, benang merah itulah yang akan menjerat/melilit lehernya (*Muna: gege*) sampai mati. Merah simbol darah.

#### **Acara *kafoturu* (maklumat untuk taat).**

Setelah acara *kabululeno pau* selesai, maka tibalah acara *kafoturu*. Atas perintah *Bhonto Bhalano* (selalu harus melalui *Mintarano Bhitara*), *Mieno Ndoke* pergi ke *Kontu Harimau*, di mana dua orang *Kapitalao* duduk saling membelakangi. *Kapitalao Matagholeo* menghadap ke timur, dan *Kapitalao Kansoopa* menghadap [hal. 253] ke barat. Keduanya juga disebut *Naga raa ghuluno* (naga yang dua ekor). *Mieno Ndoke* menyampaikan perintah *Sarano Wuna* agar rakyat diberi tahu bahwa anak syarat (= *Omputo*) telah lahir dan kepada rakyat diminta untuk menaatinya (*Wuna: turu* = taat). Berdasarkan penyampaian ini maka *Kapitalao Matagholeo* berdiri sambil mengacung-acungkan *kampue* (pedang besar) kerajaan yang bernama *La Tandu Wuna* kepada seluruh khalayak yang hadir ia berseru dengan suara lantang sebagai berikut.

*Heee.....! Katingke-tingkeemu ihintuumu raeati. Gholeo gholeitu nolentemo anano sara, La Ngkadiri neanoa. O La Odhe, o La Ode, pino kontu lakono sau, laha-lahae so mogilino wampani atawa so mokimbuno, nokimbumo aitu, koemo naewinea naefua. Turu...! Turu...! Turu...!*

Terjemahan bebas (oleh H. Siddo Thamrin):

Hai.....! Dengarkan olehmu wahai sekalian rakyat. Pada hari ini telah lahir anak syarat, La Ngkadiri namanya. Apakah ia berasal dari La Odhe atau La Ode ataupun dari kalangan rakyat biasa, barang siapa yang tidak setuju dan hendak berontak, maka bicaralah

sekarang juga, tidak usah bertanggung esok atau lusa. Bila tidak maka taatlah kamu....!  
Taatlah kamu....! Taatlah kamu....!

Sesudah itu *Kapitalao Matagholeo* kembali duduk dan giliran *Kapitalao Kansoopu* untuk berdiri sambil mengacung-acungkan *kampue* yang bernama *La Wira Menggagai* kepada khalayak yang hadir, ia berseru dengan suara lantang mengucapkan *kafoturu* yang bunyinya [hal. 254] sama seperti di atas. Pada umumnya rakyat akan menjawab "*Taturumo*" (kami sudah taat), sebab bila ada yang tidak setuju maka itu berarti pedang yang akan bicara (bisa timbul perang saudara).

[Teks asli dari H. Siddo Thamrin diikuti oleh beberapa halaman dengan gambar denah tempat pelantikan, dan uraian acara perarakan (*santiago*) dan acara baca doa dan mengatur sembah pada raja di mesjid. Bagian itu tidak saya cantumkan di sini, karena kurang berhubungan dengan teks penyumpahan.]

### English translation. Procedures for replacing a king and inauguration of a new king

Sangia Kaindea was the son of Titakono. He replaced Saeduddin and his reign is estimated to have started in 1638. Sangia Kaindea was the first king who was installed in a complete manner, that is to say, by means of a full ceremony, with a full inauguration ceremony as a special event that was considered sacred. Because of that it is necessary to expand on the process and the mechanics of that procedure.

The inauguration ceremony of the King of Muna is called *kabuleleno pau* (the Opening of the Umbrella), which refers to the opening of the umbrella towards the king who is being inaugurated. According to traditional rules, the reigning King holds and controls the regalia (*parinta*; royal paraphernalia such as the golden staff, the royal umbrella etc.) as symbols of power. When a king no longer rules, either because he has been forced to step down or because he has passed away, the regalia are taken by the Muna Council (*Sarano Wuna*) and kept by the Prime Minister (*Bhonto Bhalano*). The regalia may not be taken and kept by another dignitary or individual, especially not if that person belongs to the high nobility (*kaomu*). The reason for this is to prevent a coup d'état (*gua*), because it is not inconceivable that a dignitary or another person will be unwilling to hand over the regalia again and will declare himself to be the new king of Muna. The basis for his claim would be that the regalia are already in his hands, while at the same time he belongs to the high nobility, those who have the right to become king.

Should there be a war and the regalia be captured by the enemy, the king is considered to have lost power, because it means he has been defeated (in a formal sense) and is no longer acknowledged as king. In case the king is removed from office because of some offense, two delegates from the council will go to the palace (*kamali*) to visit the king. They introduce themselves to the king as delegates from the council to convey the council's decision that as of today *noleumo kamba*, that is to say, 'the flower has withered.' Those two sacred words constitute the official decree which ends the power and the reign of a king of Muna.

To replace the king an election is held. People who are authorised to elect are the prime minister (*Bhonto Bhalano*), the minister of information (*Mintarano Bhitara*) and the four district leaders (*Fato Ghoerano*). They search for a candidate from the family of the previous king [p. 248] (children, grandchildren, brothers, nephews etc.). If they can't find anyone,

only then does the search extend to the descendants of previous kings, who have not had the opportunity to become king for a long time. The following conditions apply:

- having the Islamic faith;
- having the following character traits:
  - = righteous (truthful and honest);
  - = able to communicate well;
  - = trustworthy;
  - = intelligent and eloquent;
- being of good mental and physical health;
- having extraordinary knowledge of traditional customs and genealogies;
- being brave, steadfast and loving.

In addition to these conditions, the Muna council will also try through supernatural means to assess the candidate. Will he, after he has become king, be able to lead the people to prosperity, such as bountiful harvests, absence of plagues, infectious diseases, natural disasters and the like? When a candidate has been found and decided on but his choice is still a secret, this is traditionally called *nando dobhalaane taghino sara* ('the council is pregnant with him'). The candidate is secluded in a room or house (*doghomboe*), which is closely guarded by the *Fato Lindono* (the village headmen of the four original Muna villages) under the supervision of the *Mintarano Bhitara* (minister of information) for a period of forty days.

When this seclusion ceremony is past, it is time for the *kabuleleno pau* 'the unfolding of the umbrella'. When the candidate has done his ritual washings, he is clothed with a ceremonial dress consisting of a yellow robe with tufts. He is also supplied with a supernatural defense mechanism against black power (*kakanu*). [p. 249] Then he is led to the stone called *Kontu Kobhangkuduno* guarded by the *Fato Lindono* who are led by the *Mintarano Bhitara*. It is at this point that the ceremony *kabuleleno pau* (Unfolding the Umbrella) will be carried out. Also present there are the *Bhonto Bhalano* (prime minister), *Bubato raafuluno* (the 20 court officials<sup>19</sup>), *Bhonto tolu fuluno* (the 30 government servants) and all the religious officials from the capital area, each of them in a location that has been decided on beforehand. The common people may also be present and watch, as long as they stay in places where they do not hinder the course of the ceremony.

The *Kabuleleno pau* ceremony has the following main parts to it.

- a. Touching a bundle of earth (*katanda wite*).
- b. The inauguration oath (*kabhatatalahao*).
- c. Handing over the golden staff (*kafokokopono katuko bulawa*).
- d. Unfolding the umbrella (*kabuleleno pau*).
- e. The call to submit (*kafoturu*).

#### **a. Marking with earth.**

After the king has been led from the seclusion room, he sits down on the stone called *Kontu Kobhangkuduno*. On his right side stands the *Bhonto Bhalano*, on his left side the *Mintarano Bhitara*, followed by the *Fato Ghoerano*. The *Fato Lindono* guard the four corners [of the

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<sup>19</sup> Translator's comment: the exact meaning and function of the *bubato raafuluno* is unclear.

enclosed ceremonial space]. The ten guards who hold the regalia stand behind the *Fato Ghoerano*, together with the four elders (*kamokula*) and another guard who holds a tray of woven palm leaf ribs (*kansora*), on which is placed some soil wrapped in a white cloth, a yellow-tail fish and a piece of bamboo (*tombula*). At the command of the *Bhonto Bhalano*, who is the leader of the ceremony, spoken via the *Mintarano Bhitara*, the elder of Tongkuno together with the guards who accompany him and who hold the tray, are invited to enter [the enclosed ceremonial area] and they immediately sit down crossed-leg in front of the royal candidate. [p. 250] After he has received a command from the *Mintarano Bhitara*, the elder of Tongkuno receives the white plate which is on the tray from the guard. The plate is filled with soil taken from Wadumapo (a location near Tongkuno). The soil has been dug up a few days earlier, about one cubit deep in the ground. Wadumapo is believed to have been the first dry land on the island of Muna. On the tray there is also a yellow-tail fish from lake Lawulamoni and a piece of bamboo (*tombula*) taken from the place where Born of Bamboo (*Bheteno ne Tombula*) was first found. When he has received the plate, the elder of Tongkuno takes some of the soil from the plate, meditates for a moment and then wraps the soil in a piece of cloth that has been prepared for this purpose. Then he says in a clear voice, “*Ngkadiri* (not using any titles), I will now mark you with earth/soil” (*akumatandakomo*). After a moment of reflection/meditation, the elder of Tongkuno brushes the candidate’s body three times at various spots, beginning at the forehead, the two shoulder joints (always starting on the right side), elbows, palms of the hands, hips, knees, ankles, finishing with the soles of his feet. After that the two soles of the feet of the royal candidate are made to step on a plate filled with earth that is not wrapped up. Then he declares that the marking-with-earth ceremony (*katanda wite*) is finished.

The marking-with-earth ceremony is a symbol that man (Adam) originates from the earth/ground, has come down to the world and will return to the earth/ground. Wadumapo is compared to the heavenly ground as the place where people first stepped on the ground on Muna. That is why the original residents believed that the land of Muna is blessed land. The marking-with-earth ceremony (*katanda wite*) and the inauguration oath (*kabhatatalahao*) are always performed by the elder of Tongkuno or one of his descendants on the candidate for the king of Muna (*Omputo Kino Wuna*), because he is considered to be a descendant of the first residents of the island of Muna (*witeno Wuna*).

### **The inauguration oath ceremony (*kabhatatalahao*)**

When the marking-with-earth ceremony is finished, the *Bhonto Bhalano* commands (although all commands always have to go via the *Mintarano Bhitara*) that the inauguration oath will now be performed. At this command the elder of Tongkuno, who is still seated cross-legged in front of the royal candidate performs the inauguration oath. The text of this oath can be read above [pages 205-207 of the original typescript]. When the inauguration ceremony is finished, the elder of Tongkuno and the accompanying guards return to their original places.

### **The ceremony of delivering the golden staff**

At this point in the ceremony the prime minister (*Bhonto Bhalano*) announces that the moment has come to hand over the royal golden staff (*katuko bulawa*) as the symbol of power and authority that belongs to the king. The staff is taken by the *Mieno Kancitala* from the guard who was holding it, and then it is handed over to the prime minister who is seated

on the right side of the royal candidate. He holds the knob at the head of the staff with his right hand, while his left hand holds the shaft of the staff. The big toe and second toe of his right foot pinch the bottom part of the staff. He then moves forward three steps (the right foot always going first), turns to the left and takes another three steps (so that he is in a line with the royal candidate), turns to the left again and goes forward until he stands before the royal candidate. The royal candidate immediately stands up. The prime minister then says, "*Aitu, nekoawaghooku, ihintumo so kumoko pono katuku bulawa inia*" ('Now, honoured grandchild, you are the one to grasp this golden staff.') The royal candidate answers this with "*Atarimae*" ('I receive it'). After handing over the staff, the *Bhonto Bhalano* retires three steps and then takes place on the left side of the King (who is no longer the royal candidate). With this handing over of the staff, formally and practically the king of Muna is born. The palace guards (*kapita*) are called to take place behind the king.

### **The ceremony of unfolding the umbrella**

At the command of the prime minister the guard who is holding the umbrella hands over the umbrella to the *Mieno Kancitala*, who then walks towards the back of the king. The prime minister announces that the umbrella will now be spread open. The *Mieno Kancitala* meditates for a moment, then unfolds the umbrella, accompanied by the loud voices of the religious officials chanting the phrase *Allahu Akbar*.

The unfolding of the umbrella is a symbol of the greatness and majesty of the king. The yellow colour of the umbrella and the royal robe is a symbol of glory. Inside the umbrella there hangs a strand of red thread. This thread is a symbolic reminder to the king that he should always remember that if he breaches the oath and acts tyrannically, the Muna council can decide that his neck will be strangled (*gege*) with this red thread till he dies. Red symbolises blood.

### **The submission ceremony (*kafoturu*)**

When the ceremony of unfolding the umbrella is finished, it is time for the submission ceremony (*kafoturu*). At the command of the prime minister (and this always goes via the *Mintarano Bhitara*), the *Mieno Ndoke* goes to the stone called Tiger Stone (*Kontu Harimau*), where the two Defense Ministers (*kapitalao*) are seated back to back. The Defense Minister for the East (*Kapitalao Matagholeo*) faces east, while the Defense Minister for the West (*Kapitalao Kansoopu*) faces west. These two men are also called *Naga raa ghuluno* (the two dragons). The *Mieno Ndoke* conveys to them the command of the Muna council that the people are to be told that the child of the Muna council (the king) has been born and that the people will be asked to obey and submit to him (*туру*). On the basis of this communication the Defense Minister of the East (*Kapitalao Matagholeo*) stands up, brandishes the big royal sword (*kampue*) which is called *La Tandu Wuna* to the masses that are present and cries out in a loud and clear voice as follows:

*Heee.....! Katingke-tingkeemu ihintuumu raeati. Gholeo gholeitu nolentemo anano sara, La Ngkadiri neanoa. O La Odhe, o La Ode, poino kontu lakono sau, laha-lahae so mogilino wampani atawa so mokimbuno, nokimbumo aitu, koemo naewinea naefua. Turu....! Turu....! Turu....!"*

Free translation:



Hey! Listen all of you people! Today is born the child of the council, La Ngkadiri is his name. Whether you are La Odhe (high nobility) or La Ode (low nobility) or from the common people, if anyone does not agree and wants to resist, then let him speak now, there is no need to delay till tomorrow or the day after. Submit! Submit! Submit!

After that the Defense Minister for the East sits down and it is the turn of the Defense Minister for the West to stand up. He brandishes his sword, called *La Wira Menggagai* to the populace that is present, and cries out with a loud and clear voice the same words of the *kafoturu* that are mentioned above. In general the people will answer *taturumo* 'we have submitted', because if there is anyone who disagrees, then this means that the sword will speak (and a civil war may result).

[The original text written by H. Siddo Thamrin continues with some additional information, including a map of the inauguration area, the procession afterwards (*santiago*), and the prayers and worship of the new king in the mosque. These parts are not included in this document, as they are less relevant for the actual text of the inauguration oath.]

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