



# The Concept of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate Leadership in the Context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia

Triwahyuningsih<sup>a</sup>, Absori Absori<sup>b</sup>, <sup>a</sup>Doctoral Program in Law Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta Indonesia, and Lecturer Faculty of Law, Ahmad Dahlan University Indonesia, <sup>b</sup>Departement of Law Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta Indonesia, Email: [triwahyuningsih@ppkn.uad.ac.id](mailto:triwahyuningsih@ppkn.uad.ac.id), [absorisaroni@gmail.com](mailto:absorisaroni@gmail.com)

Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate is a sovereign kingdom that has gained international recognition after the Giyanti Treaty of 1755. Leadership of the Sultanate surfaced as a problem when the Sultan issued the Sabda Raja and Dhawuh Raja which challenged paugeran (rules). The purpose of this study is to find the concept of leadership of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate in the Context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia. The method of this research is normative legal research completed with field research in the form of interviews with related parties. It used primary legal material in the form of laws and regulations, as well as secondary legal material in the form of relevant literature. This research uses a historical approach and statute approach and qualitative description analysis. The results show that the concept of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate leadership, which at the same time is the Governor of DIY in the NKRI Context, is to have the capacity to "restore", "strengthen", and "direct" the privileges of DIY through strengthening the values of the Sultanate that could support the concept of mixed government, monarchy, democracy and transcendence.

**Key words:** *Leadership, Ngayogyakarta Sultanate, NKRI (Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia).*

## Introduction

Monarchy or the royal government system is the oldest system in the world. At the beginning of the 19th century there were more than 900 royal thrones in the world. This reduced to 240 at the beginning of the 20th century. In the 8th decade of the 20th century, only 40 thrones remained, such as England, Malaysia, Thailand, Japan, Brunei Darrusalam (Kailitz, 2013). Of these, only four countries have absolute monarchic rulers and the rest are limited to the constitutional system. (Abdul Hamid, 2016). Alferd Stepan divided the monarchy system into 3 types: "ruling monarchy", "constitutional monarchy" and "democratic parliamentary monarchy" (Alferd Stepan, et al, 2014).

With the entry of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, the position of the Sultanate is no longer a political institution, but rather an institution that maintains the values of cultural traditions. This is to maintain the stability of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate's identity. The issue arose when there was a change in the fatsoen of the throne at the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate after the release of Sabda Tama, Sabda Raja and Dhawuh Raja, which elevated the crown princess, namely Queen Pembayun Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Mangkubumi Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono Langgeng Ing Mataram, and removed the title of Khalifatullah. Currently, the change of the throne has always been guided by the Paugeran (rules) of the Sultanate which has been maintained for almost three centuries (Bayu Dardias, 2016). Changes in the fatsoen turn of the throne has caused conflicts both inside and outside of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate. If the conflict is not resolved properly it is possible that the existence of the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate will experience a severe crisis. Related to the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate leadership, the tradition of changing power is to adopt a patriarchal system, where men are entitled to inherit the leadership of the Sultanate. This can explain how the Sultanate of the Ngayogyakarta has never even once had a female king (Sartika Intaning Pradani, et al 15).

As the head of government (Governor of DIY), the Sultan has an obligation to encourage universal values in accordance with the constitution and legislation in force. Among these values concern the appreciation of democratic values and human rights. Related to leadership, the principle of values in the constitution is to provide equal opportunities for all citizens to participate in politics. The rights of all citizens, regardless of sex, can become government leaders (Article 27 (1) and Article 28 D (3) of the 1945 Constitution).

The emergence of Law No. 13 of 2012 in lieu of Law No. 3 of 1950, is evidence that the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat succeeded in subjugating the state (in this case the central government), which had tried to "undermine" the position of the Sultan when he attempted to introduce the discourse of democratic mechanisms in the governor's election system during the SBY administration. (Bayu Dardias, 2009). This study is thus deeply

concerned with the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate leadership concept in the context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia.

## **Research Method**

This research is a normative legal research completed with field research in the form of interviews with related parties. It uses primary legal material in the form of laws and regulations, and secondary legal material in the form of literature that is relevant to the object under study. This study uses a historical approach and statute approach and qualitative description analysis.

## **Discussion and Conclusion**

### ***The Concept of Ngayogyakarta Sultanate Leadership***

Kraton policies are commonly called paugeran and regulates when the king may be replaced, who has the right to replace, how to guide or how to choose a replacement, the criteria required to become the king, and who has the authority over the arrangement and implementation of the replacement of the King (Susilo Harjono, 2013). That the paugeran (policies) adopted by the Yogyakarta Palace has always been looking for the truth and not just how it should be. Various succession models of Yogyakarta Sultanate have coloured a very unique historical journey. (Interview with GBPH Prabuningrat, 16 March 2019)

At the change of the king's throne mentioned above, as found in the Chronicle (babad) literature, oral information has always connected generations. It has also made a balance marked by the mokswa of the word (sabda) (logos, words) and palon (cosmos, natural order): it will return when there is just non-stop chaotic phenomena, normative chaos, marked by the phenomenon of loss, for example kali ilang kedunge (concerning physical momentum), pasar ilang kumandange (social / economic momentum), wong wadon ilang wirange (concerning moral issues) (Damardjati Supadjar, 1999).

The power of the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Palace was founded by Prince Mangkubumi in 1775, and was designed on the basis of Javanese and Hindu culture, as well as Islamic teachings and values in relation to renewal. Mangkubumi's power to become Sultan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, in the Chronicle of Mangkubumi is likened to a hero in the Qur'an, Yusuf. Surah Yusuf is rather freely adapted from the story of Joseph in Egypt as mentioned in the 12th verse of the Qur'an. (M. C. Ricklefs, 2002). Power in Javanese understanding are all forces that claim to be nature. Power is an expression of formless divine energy that always creatively permeates the entire cosmos. (Jandra, 2007). Therefore, in regard to the king's wishes, the people can only answer "ndherek ngarsa dalem" (it's up to the king's will). Such great power is said, "*Wenang wiseso ing sanagari*" (supreme authority in all villages). The king's will is the will of God. The

king's words are the truth, and are known as the Word of Pandita Ratu. The highest power in the whole country comes from three kinds of revelations: the revelation of Nubuwah, who situated the king as God's representative; the revelation of the law which situated the king as a source of law who has the authority of Murbamisesa, and gave him his position as the Murbawisesa, or Supreme Ruler—this resulted in the king having unlimited power and unquestionable authority, because it is considered to be God's will—and finally, the revelation of the territory that situated the king sovereign. To give pandam pangauban means to give light and protection to his people. (Djoko Dwiyanto, 2009).

The essence of traditional governance is in the incumbent's personification of the oneness of the community. Oneness is itself an important symbol of power (Benedict Enderson, 1991). Therefore the Javanese concept of power determines that absolute power must be for the welfare of the people, and vice versa so that the king can carry out his duties and functions well. The people also have obligations that must be carried out. Thus, between the king and the people the principle of jumbuhing kawulo-gusti (where people and kings meet) or the term Zoetmoelder "manunggaling kawulo Gusti", the union of the people with their king, can also be interpreted as the unification of people with God or God present in humans. (Damardjati Supadjar, 1999).

In Java, the position of king is most often validated by proving continuity. The relationship through blood or experience with a great predecessor allows a person to be illuminated by the aura (majesty rays), which makes it a chain of continuity. Trahing Kusuma, rembesing madu, wijining tapa, tedaking andana warih (flower derivatives, honey chrysanthemums, ascetic seeds, noble descendants) are traits of grand and immaculate ancestors. (Soemarsaid Moertono, 2018).

The power of the Javanese king is more transcendental and supernatural in nature, and automatically the king's authority is also supernatural or adiduniawi and spiritual. In the concept of kejawen, power has a mechanism. It is autonomous and cannot be interfered with by humans and contains great mysteries and is divine. A person may wish, try, and fight for power, but all are relative because God has set it alone and determined to whom that power will be conferred. It has nothing to do with someone's assessment of being appropriate or inappropriate, good or bad, because someone who gets power will deserve it, and at the same time will be good.

Furthermore, Musa Asy'arie (2005) said that: "In Islamic thought, power is seen as sacred, as a manifestation of the power that is in the heavens, a mandate of Allah bestowed upon someone who will be accounted for in the hereafter. Power should not be requested, pursued, let alone contested. The Qur'an states that *tu'izzu man tasya 'wa-tidhillu man tasya'* glorifies who He wants and denigrates who He wants. Therefore, what matters in Islamic authority is religious

normative eligibility. On the other hand, power in Islam is a trial and a test of one's faith whether he is able to carry out God's commands or not, especially when power comes into contact with worldly problems and interests that provide momentary pleasure. This is where the struggle for faith and worldly guidance takes place strictly. Not infrequently the rulers, kings and sultans set a double standard in carrying out Islamic teachings, by accommodating various worldly interests that tended to be contrary to religious doctrine.” (Lailatuzz Zuhriyah, 2013).

The practice of electing leaders as stated by Al-Mawardi is relevant to an idea about Islamic values as a guide to state life in general. The basic concept of sharia values as a foundation in national life and state life, where the goal is to realize the nature of life in religion through maqâshid al-syarî`ah. Islam as al-din has provided the foundations of Muslim life through the Qur'an and Sunnah. Both of these contain the values of the guidance of human life, including in carrying out sharia for Muslims. Shari'ah, in terminology, is a "way". While in isthilâhî, it is interpreted as a way to get to Allah SWT. (Absori et al. 2016).

The point is to use a prophetic paradigm in every state process, including the election of leaders. The prophetic paradigm is based on the epistemological assumption that relative morality is the result of creation and the will of absolute reality and the norms of morality, that is, the supposed reality (sollen) created by the will of the authorities through the messenger with values / epistemological ethos in the form of a combination of community reality and the values of revelation. (Khudzaifah Dimiyati, Absori, 2017). But the obedience of the people to him will be lost, which makes the Caliphate also disappear, if the following things happen: "The Caliph or Imam loses fairness, indulges in lust, and commits munkar; The Caliph or Imam loses mental or physical health (for example, loss of mind, vision, taste, smell); The Caliph or Imam becomes a prisoner or his power is seized by the sultan or emir who takes away his independence. (Syafuruddin Syam, 2017). Therefore, when Sultan HB X issued Sabda Tama, Sabda Raja and Dhawuh Raja, which contradicted the Law (paugeran) of the Yogyakarta Palace, it caused a great shock both inside the Palace and in the people of Yogyakarta. This might be related to the customary law tradition (Aboriginal Law Tradition) as described by Nandang Sutrisno (1996): "...Therefore, law, which is manifested in tradition, must be passed on from one generation to the next generation to ensure stability. Although the change can be justified, the change itself must pay attention to the concept of time. In the process of change, the community must respect the past, because the past, according to customary law, is normative” (Goldsmith, 2017).

### ***DIY leadership in the frame of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia***

The essence of a unitary state is a state whose sovereignty is not divided or, in other words, a state whose central government power is not limited because the constitution of a unitary state

does not recognize the existence of a legislative body other than a central legislator. (Ni'matul Huda, 2014). Indonesia is a Unitary State in the form of a Republic. The constitution is used as the highest grip because the constitution describes positive law at the highest level in deciding everything that must be based on law. The issuance of Law No. 12 of 2013 concerning the Privileges of DIY in principle is an order of Article 18 B (1). The 1945 Constitution must be a reference for the Regional Government of DIY as a consequence of the principle of a unitary state which must comply with one State Constitution. (Hans Kelsen, 2012).

Considering that the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is a constitutional state and a democratic state, democratic values must not be ignored because there is no way that a monarchical system will collide with either the constitution or with democratic values. The term monarchy in the context of DIY is a symbol of Javanese culture, not a political monarchy, because the DIY Government applies all the principles of democracy and its administration like other provinces in Indonesia. (Hotman Siahaan, 2013).

History has proven that the start of DIY introduced representative democracy through the formation of the Regional Indonesian National Committee (KNID) in early September 1945. This was later changed to DPRD Yogyakarta on May 18, 1946 (Tri Yuniyanto, 2010). In 1951, the first regional elections in Indonesia were held in DIY. The new national elections took place in 1955. Since the presence of a democratically elected legislative body, DIY is categorized as a province that adheres to the electoral autocracy system. HB IX at the DPRD session on 20 October 1952 rejected the decision to place it higher than the regional legislative body. According to HB IX, the executive and legislative body must be balanced and equal so that the legislative body can carry out its control functions to the executive. Only in this way can the process of democratization run smoothly and bring benefits to the people of DIY. Therefore, the leadership of the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, who is also the Governor of Yogyakarta, besides having to obey the Sultanate party that has lasted for almost 3 centuries, must also comply with Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of DIY. This is a consequence of being obedient and subject to the state, in this case the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia NRI and Perdais as a derivative. It was also related to filling the Governor's position that was regulated in Perdais No.2 2015. (Cornelis Lay, 2008).

DIY Regional Government consists of DIY Regional Government and DPRD DIY. DIY Regional Government is led by the Governor. The position of the Governor of DIY is different from the Governor of other provinces in Indonesia. In addition to holding compulsory governmental affairs and select governmental affairs, plus holding privileged affairs, it must submit to the constitution (1945 Constitution) as a consequence of the unitary state, the Regional Government Law and DIY Privileges Act and DIY Special Regulations as a derivative of Law No. 13 of 2012. Filling the position of Governor of DIY as stipulated by the DPRD DIY and not being bound twice period of term of office is an Asymmetrical election

within the Republic of Indonesia due to historical factors such as the proposal and the Charter granted by Sukarno on 19 August 1945, which obtained its legality through Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning DIY Specialties. (Aidul Fitriadi Azhari, 2017)

The position, function, duties and authorities of DPRD DIY are regulated in Law No. 13 of 2012, Law No. 23 of 2014 and DPRD DIY Regulation Number 1 of 2014. DPRD DIY is elected through general elections, as are other regions in Indonesia. In most democracies, elections are considered a symbol, as well as a benchmark, of democracy. Democratic governance is needed to protect citizens from the use of despotic political power by the monarchy, aristocracy or other groups. (David Held, 2004). In the case of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, the theory of mixed government between the monarchy (Sultan Hamengku Buwono as the reigning king) and the DPRD as the regional legislative body, which was to be elected through the general election, gained legitimacy as a DIY regional government that was different from other regions. There is a division of powers between the DPRD and the Governor that is mainly related to the making of Perda, Perdais, and the budget (APBD) (Aidul Fitri, 2019). There are checks and balances between the two institutions so that there is no accumulation of power which results in the centralization of power or the autocracy of power.

Substantially, the special features of DIY must be demonstrated by the strengths of the values of the past, present and future of DIY. Thus, historically, philosophically, and juridically, the leadership of the Sultanate who is also the Governor of DIY must have the capacity to "restore", "strengthen", and "direct" the special features of DIY. According to Peter Carey (2019), Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate must be maintained because it is an invaluable legacy. Even the wise choice of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX has given the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate a special position, as well as recognition from the State. In the democratic leadership of DIY, there is a strong foundation of Javanese philosophy which is based on the values of harmony such as hamemayu hayuning bawana, the spiritual-transcendent principle (sangkan paraning dumadi), the principle of democratic leadership (manunggaling kawulo Gusti) and the principle of togetherness (the throne for the people). For the current period, Peter Carey put it as follows: "The throne for the people" for the current context is that the King is able to set an example, give a good example of how we live wisely, because if not, there is no future for society, the world changes so quickly. Therefore the future leadership of DIY is one that has the capacity to "restore", "strengthen", and "direct" the privileges of DIY through strengthening the values of the Sultanate that can support the mixed government concept of monarchy, democracy and transcendence.

## **Implication**

The results show that based on historical, philosophical and juridical backgrounds the concept of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate leadership who is also the Governor of DIY in the NKRI Context is to have the capacity to "restore", "strengthen", and "direct" the privileges of



DIY through strengthening the values of the Sultanate which can support the concept of a mixed government of monarchy, democracy and transcendence. Monarchy because the replacement of the Sultanate's throne is hereditary. Democracy because the Sultan reigns side by side with the DPRD, which is elected through general elections, and power is divided between the Governor and the DPRD. There are also checks and balances to avoid power accumulating on one side. Transcendence is due to the decision making process of the king who reigns besides the presence of a Consultation of the Sultanate family, and implicitly or explicitly is attached to transcendent values as heirs of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom and valuable Javanese culture.



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