



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

Triwahyuningsih^a, Absori Absori^b, ^aDoctoral Program in Law Science, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta Indonesia, and Lecturer Faculty of Law, Ahmad Dahlan University Indonesia, ^bDepartement of Law Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta Indonesia, Email: triwahyuningsih@ppkn.uad.ac.id, absorisaroni@gmail.com

Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate is a sovereign kingdom after the Giyanti Treaty of 1755, which has gained international recognition. The problems of the leadership of the Sultanate surfaced when the Sultan issued the Sabda Raja and Dhawuh Raja which contradicted the 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. Sources used are primary legal material in the form of laws, as well as regulations and secondary legal material in the form of literature that is relevant to the object under study. This research uses a historical approach and statute approach and descriptivequalitative 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 has 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

The monarchy or 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, which were then 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). Meanwhile, Alferd Stepan also divided the monarchy system into 3 types namely "ruling monarchy," "constitutional monarchy" and "democratic paliamentary monarchy" (Alferd Stepan, et al, 2014).

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 so that what becomes the Ngayogyakarta Sultanate's identity remains sustainable. The issue arose when there was a change in the fatsoen of the throne change at the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate, after the release of Sabda Tama, Sabda Raja and Dhawuh Raja, which among others raised the crown princess, namely Queen Pembayun to Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Mangkubumi Hamemayu Hayuning Bawono Langgeng Ing Mataram and removed the title of Khalifatullah. Up to date, 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). As a result of changes in the fatsoen turn of the throne, conflicts have been caused 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 process explains why the Sultanante of the Ngayogyakarta has never once had a female king (Sartika Intaning Pradani, et al 15).

Meanwhile, 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 is 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 be able to participate in politics. All citizens, regardless of sex, 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, actually is evidence that the Sultanate of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat succeeded in subjugating the state (in this case the central government) who had tried to "undermine" the position of the Sultan when he tried to introduce the discourse of democratic mechanisms in the governor's election system

during the SBY administration (Bayu Dardias, 2009). Therefore, an urgent issue to raise in this study is how the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate leadership concept works in the context of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia?

Research Method

This research is carried out using 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 analyzed descriptive qualitative analysis.

Discussion

The Concept of Ngayogyakarta Sultanate Leadership

The Kraton policies or commonly called paugeran states regulate on when the king may be replaced, who has the right to replace, how to guide or how to choose a replacement and must assess 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). 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 continued to connect generations and make a balance marked by the mokswa of the word (sabda) (= logos, words) and palon (= cosmos, natural order), 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, designed on the basis of Javanese and Hindu culture with renewal based on Islamic teachings and values. Mangkubumi's power to become Sultan Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, in the Chronicle of Mangkubumi is likened to a hero in the Qur'an, namely Yusuf, Surah Yusuf, which 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 is 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, 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 to be, "*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, or known as the Word of Pandita Ratu. "The highest power in the whole country comes from three kinds of revelations, namely the revelation of Nubuwah who put the king as God's representative; the revelation of the law that put the king as a source of law with the authority of Murbamisesa, his position as the Murbawisesa, or Supreme Ruler, resulted in the king having unlimited power. None of his decisions should be challenged, because they are considered as God's will; and the revelation of the territory that placed the king as the ruler to give pandam pangauban means to give light and protection to his people (Djoko Dwiyanto, 2009).

The essence of traditional governance is the incumbent as the personification of the oneness of the community. Oneness is itself an important symbol of power (Benedict Anderson, 1991). Thus the king's authority is Ngarso Dalem Sampeyan Dalem Inkgang Sinuwun Kanjeng Sultan Hamengku Buwono Senopati Ing Ngalogo Ngabdurrahman Sayidin Panotogomo Kalifatullah. 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, then 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, whether blood or experience is similar, with a great predecessor allowing 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, cannot be intervened in 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 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 tend 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 life in general; the basic concept of sharia values as a foundation in national life and state life, where the orientation is to realise 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 the perspective of 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 epistemology assumption, that is, relative morality is the result of creation and the will of absolute reality and norms of morality; 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 (Khudzaiyah 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 makes his independence lost. (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. If 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 recognise 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 order 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, either with 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, which 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 categorised 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 democratisation run smoothly and bring benefits to the people of DIY. Therefore, when talking about 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 three centuries, it must also comply with Law No. 13 of 2012 concerning the Privileges of DIY as a consequence of being obedient and subject to the state in this case the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia NRI and Perdas as a derivative. This is related to filling the Governor's position regulated in Perdas No. 2 2015. (Cornelis Lay, 2008).

DIY Regional Government consists of the DIY Regional Government, DPRD DIY, and the 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 because in addition to holding compulsory governmental affairs, select governmental affairs, plus holding privileged affairs, so 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 out the position of Governor of DIY through the stipulation by the DPRD DIY, within the Republic of Indonesia due to historical factors such as the proposal and the Charter granted by Sukarno on 19 August 1945 and 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, whether it is 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 elected through the general election gained legitimacy to become a DIY regional government that was different from other regions. There is a division of powers between the DPRD and the Governor, mainly related to the making of Perda and 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 centralisation 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 made the Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate possess a special position and recognition from the State. In the leadership of democracy in DIY it possesses a strong foundation of Javanese philosophy which is based on the value of harmony features 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 context, as 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.

Implications

The results show that based on historical, philosophical and juridical backgrounds the concept of Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat Sultanate leadership, 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, without leaving the family meeting, democracy because the Sultan who reigns at the same time as the Governor of Yogyakarta to realise democratic governance side by side with the DPRD elected through general elections, the division of power between the Governor and the DPRD, checks and balances to avoid power accumulating in one hand and transcendence due to the decision process of the king who reigns besides the presence of a Consultation of the Sultanate family, implicitly or explicitly attached to transcendent values as heirs of the Islamic Mataram Kingdom and valuable Javanese culture.



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