

INDIGENOUS ISLAM AND POLITICS: THE AUTHENTICITY OF ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT OF YOGYAKARTA PALACE

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INDIGENOUS ISLAM AND POLITICS: THE AUTHENTICITY OF ISLAMIC GOVERNMENT OF YOGYAKARTA PALACE

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Abstract

Purpose: This article attempts to examine the point of the meeting by taking the case of Yogyakarta Palace as a point of discussion.

Methodology: From the discussion about the process and the meaning of Islamization of Javanese culture and the indigenization of Islam, it can be seen that the core concept in the politics of Yogyakarta Palace, as a representation of Javanese Islamic politics, is Islam, because the Palace is a manifestation as well as a representative and subordinate of the divine power.

Result: The use of the title of "Senopati ing Alaga Abdurrahman Sayyidin Panatagama Khalifatullah" by sultans in Yogyakarta is not without meaning. This title shows and proves the above assumptions. In the perspective of state politics, Yogyakarta does not separate between state and religion, between *din* (religion) and *dawlah* (state). The indigenization of Islam in the context of the Yogyakarta tradition has reached the harmonization of Islamic normatively and the historicity of human culture.

Applications: This research can be used for universities, teachers, and students.

Novelty/Originality: The meeting of two cultures often leads to two choices, elimination or acculturation. This also applied to the meeting between Islam and Javanese culture. One aspect that experienced a long process in the Islamization of Java was related to political and power issues.

Keywords: *Indigenous Islam, Political Islam, Yogyakarta Palace.*

INTRODUCTION

[Simuh](#), Professor of the *Ushuluddin* Faculty of UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, cites what HJ Benda once pointed out, that Islam has long dwelt in the first towns and kingdoms in North Sumatra since the 13th century. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Islam became the main cultural and religious force in the archipelago. In the spread of Islam, according to [Simuh](#), the role of Sufis is very prominent [Bicer, A., Perihan, C., & Lee, Y. \(2018\)](#). Therefore, it is understandable that the prominent Islamic style in the archipelago is *tasawuf* and many works of Islamic literature are Sufistic. Islamic Malay Literature, which is the beginning of the emergence of poetry in Indonesian literature, is the work of Hamzah Fansuri, a Sufi scholar from the late 16th century.

While Islam has become a major force of mainstream culture and religion in the archipelago, it has experienced many "contacts" with existing local traditions established in the Hindu-Buddhist era. In Java, Islam has experienced indigenization in the form of cultural marriage commonly done by two individuals who need each other, particularly to confirm their existence. Islamic marriage and local traditions in Java are widely initiated and developed by the cultural center of Javanese society.

One of the most prominent royals in the Islamization of Javanese culture or Javanization of Islam is the Yogyakarta whose historical and political existence began to exist after the signing of the Giyanti Agreement in the Dutch period. The Agreement divided Mataram into two areas of government, namely *Kasunanan* Surakarta and Sultanate of Yogyakarta [Bakhyt, S., Kalimbetov, B., & Khabibullayev, Z. \(2018\)](#).

From the above discussion, it could be proposed that Yogyakarta Palace is the culmination of community and Javanese-Islamic life that reflects the religious life of the Javanese society. This paper aims to identify and discuss the point of tangency between Islam (normative) and Javanese culture, particularly Yogyakarta, to find the authenticity of the Government of the Special Region of Yogyakarta today as an Islamic government. The evidence that the Yogyakarta Palace pays attention to the discourse of Islamic morality and respects the teachings of Islam is the existence of some classical books, such as *Serat Suryo Rojo*, *Serat Menak Malebari*, *Serat Puji I*, *Serat and Puji II Warna Warni*.

The works of classical intellectuals become a very useful cultural heritage to reveal the religiosity of the Yogyakarta tradition in particular and the people of Java at that time generally.

THE INDIGENIZATION OF ISLAM

Religion and culture can influence each other because both have values and symbols. Religion is a symbol reflecting the value of obedience to God. Culture also contains values and symbols so that people can live in them. Religion requires a symbol system; in other words, it requires a religious culture. However, the two need to be differentiated. Religion is final, universal, eternal (perennial) and does not recognize changes (absolute). Meanwhile, culture is particular, relative, and



temporary. Religion without culture can indeed develop as a personal religion, but without religion, culture as a collectivity will not have a place [Khorrami, F. T., Fallah, M. H., & Abadi, H. Z. M. \(2015\)](#).

Religion and culture have two similarities. Both are value systems and symbol systems, and both are easily threatened every time there is a change. Religion, in the social science perspective, is a value system that contains a number of conceptions about the construction of reality, which plays a major role in explaining the structure of normative orders and social orders, and in understanding and interpreting the world. Meanwhile, the art of tradition is the expression of human creativity, works, and initiative (in certain societies) containing values and messages of religiosity, philosophical insights, and local wisdom.

Both religion and culture provide insights and perspectives into the life that suits the will of God and humanity. For example, for welcoming a newborn baby, Islam requires the parents to do *aqiqah* for the baby's redemption, while the culture requires "*marhaban*" and the reading of "*barjanji*" which provide other insights and perspectives, but have the same goal of praying for the baby to conform to the divine hope and humanity. Similarly, in *tahlilan* ceremony, both the religion and local culture give each other insights and perspectives in addressing the deceased [Kvet, M., & Matiasko, K. \(2018\)](#).

The pattern of acculturation of Islam and culture (Java) also supported the political power of Javanese Islamic kingdoms, especially *Mataram* which managed to bring Javanese Islam with the cosmology of Hinduism and Buddhism. Despite the fluctuations of the relationships between Islam and Javanese culture, especially in the 19th century, the acculturative face of Javanese Islam is seen to be dominant in almost every religious expression of Muslim societies in the region so that "syncretism" and tolerance of religions become distinctive cultural characteristics of Javanese Islam [Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ihya Ulum al-Din, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, \(1975\)](#).

Therefore, there is usually a dialectic between religion and culture. Religion gives a color (spirit) to culture, while culture gives wealth to religion. However, sometimes the dialectic between religion and traditional art or local culture turns into tension because the art of tradition, local culture, or customs are often considered inconsistent with religion as an absolute divine doctrine.

In the next context, there will be religious patterns (Islam) in accordance with their local context, in the form of 'Indigenous Islam' in response to 'Authentic Islam' or 'Pure Islam' which aims to undertake Arabization projects in every Islamic community around the world. 'Indigenous Islam' provides a diversity of interpretations in terms of the practice of religious life (Islam) in different regions. Thus, Islam is no longer seen as singular, but diverse. There is no assumption that Islam in the Middle East is the purest and the truest Islam because Islam as a religion experiences a continuing historicity [Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, Ihya Ulum al-Din, Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, \(1975\)](#).

SYMBOLIC MEANING OF YOGYAKARTA PALACE

The so-called "keraton" is the place of dwelling queens, derived from the words: ka + ratu (queen) + a = keraton. Also called "kadaton", which is the Indonesian "istana". So, the Keraton/palace is an *istana*, but the *istana* is not the keraton/palace. Keraton/palace is an *istana* that contains religious meanings, also the meanings of philosophy and cultural meanings.

Indeed, Yogyakarta Kingdom is full of the above meanings. The archives of the buildings, the location of the wards, the carvings, the sounds, and the colors of the buildings also have meanings. Trees planted in the Kingdom area have been carefully selected. Everything in the area seems to give advice to humans for love and surrender to God, to be simple and diligent, as well as be careful in our daily behaviors.

According to Mark R. Woodward, citing what Heine-Geldern proposed, in the Indianized Southeast Asian region, countries, cities and regions are microcosms. The construction of the state as a perfect microcosm is one of the most important sources of legitimacy of the kingdom. This theme, Woodward further explained, resonates in many studies on religion and state enterprises in the region in recent years. He called *Mataram*, which he termed "galactic polity", a state-organized as a mandala Dar [al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyat, \(1966\)](#).

Unlike the Indianized countries, Yogyakarta in its cosmological understanding puts "*kasekten*" (supernatural power) in a subordinate position with revelation and saintliness. Yogyakarta itself is a cosmic model, but the cosmos it represents is Islamic.

The iconography, symbolism, and architecture of the Yogyakarta depict the structure of the Muslim cosmos, the relationship between *Sufism* and *shari'ah*, the mystical and cosmological formulations of the mystical path, the origins and the descendants of human mortals (*insan kamil*) Dar [al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyat, \(1966\)](#).

So, it is a sacred precinct that defines the state and society. In this case, it is analogous to the *Ka'bah* in Mecca, which is the center of the Muslim world. Kraton/Palace is the mystical center and the spiritual body of the sultanate who serves as a container to realize the divine essence represented by the sultan.



For that reason, the palace played such an important role in the life of the Javanese state. The possession of the palace, more than the mastery of the region, the people and the sources, is the blessing that marks its legitimacy. More than any factor, it is the Palace that distinguishes a king from local ruling princes or rebel figures Dar [al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyat, \(1966\)](#).

The architectural and geometric forms are linear, and they comprise a number of north-south-oriented gateways and pages. In the most general sense, it is the model of a perfect human body and the path to human perfection. It is based on the theory of *wahdah al-wujud*, and the seven levels of being (*martabat wujud*). The Palace has nine gates, presenting the holes in the body (which, according to *Fiat Wirid*, should be covered in meditation processes as well as in Muslim burial rituals) [Moedjanto\(1986\)](#).

From the above explanation, it can be drawn that Yogyakarta has a deep symbolic meaning, especially when viewed from the perspective of Islamic-Javanese religiosity. The more congruent religious concept is reflected in the ruling of the Great Mosque that embodies the philosophy of "*manunggaling kawula-Gusti*". The Palace is a container of material-physical activities, a symbol of human with his world as the center of culture. Meanwhile, in the vertical dimension, the Great Mosque is the content of the spiritual activities of worshipping God as a religious center.

SYMBOLIC MEANING OF THE YOGYAKARTA TRADITION

After discussing the symbolic meaning of Yogyakarta as the center of Javanese culture and life, rituals as part of the Yogyakarta Palace tradition which also contains high religious values are addressed. Among the ceremonies/rituals is *Garebeg*. There are three kinds of *Garebeg* ceremonies, namely *Garebeg Pasa* to celebrate *Idul Fitri*, Great *Garebeg* in the Big Moon or *Dzulhijjah* to celebrate' *Idul Qurban*, and *Garebeg Mulud* to celebrate *Maulud* (birth) of Prophet Muhammad. Lastly, the ceremony is called *Sekaten*, which comes from the *Shahadain* or two *kalima* of *Shahadah*.

In these rituals, alms are collected in the palace Mosque (Agung Mosque). After the recitation of Arabic prayers, the alms were distributed to about tens of thousands of people. These objects, especially the mountains made of glutinous rice, consisted mostly of blessings and were thought to guarantee the welfare and health of the people. Before and during the sharing of the mountains, the Sultan sat on the throne, surrounded by heirlooms. His attention is to the monument, a monument located on the northern part of the Palace that symbolizes the unity of men with God. At that moment, the Sultan achieved a mystical unity. This is the ultimate source of blessing that is distributed to a group of people already waiting. The Sultan, thus, can take advantage of his mystical achievements as an effort to enforce the legitimacy of the Palace. In this ritual greeting, he is not merely a Representative of God; he is, with all desire and purpose, God himself. Therefore, he delivered a divine blessing directly to his followers [Moedjanto\(1986\)](#).

This ritual and the theory of kingship are the basis of the product of an "imperialization" of the Sufi doctrine of *qutb*. *Qutb* is the world-leading axis and guardian. It preserves nature and acts as a spiritual regulator for the whole world. Schimmel describes its role in Sufism: "world will not exist without the poles or axis - which move the world just as a mill moves its axis and does not apply otherwise. [Moedjanto\(1986\)](#).

The Sultan, therefore, is a state *qutb*. Because he has achieved this mystical unity, he defends the integrity of the law, controls the sources of the supernatural (heirlooms and the places of *kramat*), and acts as a channel through which blessings and divine inspirations are cast to the society. His role as a spiritual guide is highlighted in the *garebeg*, when each person is asked to recite the creed before accepting the *gunungan* [Fazlur Rahman \(1966\)](#). The principal difference between the formulation of the Javanese Palace and the Classical Sufi related to this doctrine lies in the necessity of the Sultan's role as a source of material welfare and spiritual blessings. This, however, is the result of the use of the doctrine of mystical unity as the basis of political and social orders rather than as any fundamental ideological difference.

Is the cultural marriage model described in the royal ceremony/ritual still regarded as authentic part of Islam? The reformers of Islam think that it is not part of the teachings of Islam. If there is any nuance of Islam, it is regarded as a syncretic Islam that is no longer authentic as what has been taught by Prophet Muhammad (*sunnah rasul*). However, the writer here tries to see this issue from the other side, that in Islam, there are also various perspectives in looking at various religious issues. The author tries to see the various rituals from the perspective of indigenous Islam or the indigenization of Islam. The various philosophical and normative frameworks of the author are described below.

YOGYAKARTA PALACE: UNIFICATION OF ISLAM AND POLITICS

One interesting concept of the prevailing tradition in the Yogyakarta Palace is the ruling sultan or king "*Senopati ing Alogo Abdurrahman Sayyidin Panotogomo Khalifatullah*." The title means the sultan as a legitimate leader in determining peace and war because of his position as a supreme commander of war as well as the owner and protector of religion. He has a position as *khalifatullah*, the successor of Prophet Muhammad SAW.

Serat Centhini mentions that *kalifatullah* means the representative of God on earth, the successor of Prophet Muhammad [Fazlur Rahman\(1966\)](#). So, it can be concluded that from the sultan's title in the Yogyakarta Palace tradition, the political system in the Yogyakarta Palace government unites the divine and worldly dimensions, or in Islamic political treasures known as the unification of religion and state of *dien* (religion) and *daulah* (state).



It is interesting to examine the Islamist dimension of the Yogyakarta administration system from Islamic politics because, in the Islamic political tradition, the unification of religion and state occupies the mainstream position and becomes its own icon in the Islamic political thought. Although, it cannot be denied that there are various schools of thought related to this aspect; some of them are really separate religious and political affairs (secularistic perspective).

VARIANTS OF ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT

Religion, like many, can be viewed as a divine instrument to understand the world [Fazlur Rahman\(1966\)](#), Islam, compared to other religions, is actually the easiest religion to accept this kind of premise. The main reason lies in the most prominent feature of Islam. That is its "omnipresence". It is a view that recognizes that "everywhere" Islam always provides "true moral guidance for human actions". That view has prompted a number of adherents to believe that Islam encompasses a total way of life. Its proclamation is expressed in *shari'ah* (Islamic law). Even some Muslims go further than that; they emphasize that "Islam is a unified totality that offers solutions to all life's problems".

In its present context, it is not surprising, though sometimes worrisome, that the contemporary world of Islam sees some Muslims who wish to base the entire social, economic and political frameworks on Islamic life exclusively, without realizing the limitations and constraints, which would appear in practice. The expressions can be found in popular symbolic terms such as Islamic revivalism, Islamic revolution, or Islamic fundamentalism [Abu Hasan al-Mawardi\(1973\)](#).

The holistic view of Islam has some implications. One of them is the birth of a tendency to understand Islam literally, emphasizing only its "exterior" dimensions. The tendency further develops and neglects the "contextual" and "interior" dimensions of Islamic principles. In such an extreme example, such a tendency has temporarily prevented Muslims from being able to clearly understand the *Qur'anic* messages as a divine instrument that provides guidance on the true moral and ethical values for human life.

Acknowledging *Shari'ah* as a whole life system is different from understanding it. Even in the context of "how the *Shari'ah* should be understood" this, as seen by Fazlur Rahman, lies the real problem. There are a number of factors that influence and shape Muslim's understanding of *Shari'ah*. The sociological, cultural, and intellectual situations, or what Arkoun calls the "aesthetic of reception" are very influential in determining the form and content of understanding [Abu Hasan al-Mawardi\(1973\)](#).

Although every Muslim accepts the general principles embodied in the *Shari'ah*, their understanding of Islamic teachings is various.

The emergence of various Islamic jurisprudence, theology, and philosophy, for example, shows that Islamic teachings are multi-interpretative [Abu Hasan al-Mawardi\(1973\)](#).

The multi-interpretive nature has served as the basis of Islam's resilience to history. Moreover, such a thing also implies the necessity of pluralism in the Islamic tradition. Therefore, as many have argued, Islam cannot and should not be viewed in a monolithic fashion.

Islamic politics cannot be separated from this multi-interpretative of Islam. On the other hand, almost every Muslim believes in the importance of Islamic principles in political life. At the same time, because of the multi-interpretive nature of Islam, there is never a single view of how Islam and politics should fit properly. Indeed, to the extent that can be captured from the course of the intellectual and historical discourse of Islamic political thought and practice, there are many different opinions - some even contradicting - of the appropriate relationship between Islam and politics [Herbert Marcuse, \(1964\)](#).

Islamic political thought has historically been mapped in three periods from the earliest formation of the thought to the present: the classical, the middle, and the contemporary periods. Islamic political thought of the classical and intermediate period gave birth to such intellectual figures as Ibn Arabi, al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Ghazali, Ibn Taimiyah, and Ibn Khaldun. Broadly speaking, the conclusions of the figures' thinking are: first, from the six figures, only Farabi holds idealization of the aspects and devices of state life, while the other thinkers try to contribute with a starting point on the reality of the existing monarchy system. They accept each as a system that no longer questioned its validity. Even among them, some began their writing by first giving legitimacy to the monarchical system in which they lived.

Secondly, the theories of the origins of the state of the six Islamic thinkers are almost the same, suggesting the very visible influence of the Greek minds that try to be mated with the Islamic mind. In contrast to Greek thought, the Islamic leaders either implicitly or explicitly state that the purpose of the state is not solely to fulfill human needs, but also the spiritual and the ukhrawi. Ibn 'Arabi, al-Ghazali, and Ibn Taimiyah expressly state that the power of the head of state or king is the mandate of God given to the chosen servants [Kvet, M., & Matiasko, K. \(2018\)](#). These three figures argue that the caliph is the *khalifah* of Allah or the shadow of God on earth. Even the power of the caliph, according to Ghazali, is sacred (*muqaddas*) with an inscrutable notion. This is in contrast to Mawardi, who states that a head of state may be descended from the throne if he can no longer rule, whether caused by physical, mind and *akhlaq* reasons, even though he does not mention how the decline is carried out [Khorrami, F. T., Fallah, M. H., & Abadi, H. Z. M. \(2015\)](#). Thirdly, Ibn Khaldun



thought that it is better to use the teachings and religious law (read: Islam) as the basis of state policy and regulation than the result of *ijtihad* (human engineering) [Khorrami, F. T., Fallah, M. H., & Abadi, H. Z. M. \(2015\)](#).

The position of the Yogyakarta Government

Drawn to the beginning of this paper, particularly with regard to the philosophical analysis of the various rituals and symbol systems inherent in the life of the Yogyakarta Palace, it can be said that all aspects cannot be separated from the sublimistic influence of Islamic doctrine that is normative-philosophical with the local culture which in this case the culture inheriting a lot of Hindu-Buddhist tradition. The syncretism of this model, viewed from the perspective of indigenous Islam, gains its ethical legitimacy. The system of culture and the political system of Yogyakarta Kingdom are systemic forms of sophisticated blend of Islam and local culture rich with meanings and values. So, it can be proposed that the cultural system and political system have the opportunity to be re-actualized in the contemporary cultural and political tradition of Yogyakarta.

This paper does not aim to deal with the debate on the specialties of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Rather, it underlines the Yogyakarta Palace government, which is culturally the center (center) of socio-cultural life. Even, the politics of people of Yogyakarta have religious legitimacy, because basically the ethical basis of cultural and political symbols is Islam.

In the midst of secularism in modern society today, the offer of a religious and symbolic system of politics is very significant. A secularistic life has alienated men. According to Herbert Marcuse, man has become one dimensional being. A more spiritual-spiritual life has shifted to a material-pragmatic life. So, *menguri-uri* (contextualizing) the Islamic tradition of the Palace of Yogyakarta is a principle of returning the people of Yogyakarta to the Great Tradition, namely Islam (not merely normative).

CONCLUSION

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta is the culmination of the life of the Javanese society and the life of Moslem. It reflects religious life in Yogyakarta society in particular and Java in general. The Yogyakarta Palace tradition, like the other Palace traditions, embraces the concept of harmony between political, economic, social and religious affairs. Unlike in the tradition of the western-oriented modernity, secularism means the separation between material and spiritual life is a value system that needs to be avoided.

Apart from the controversy about the authenticity of Islam, especially those coming from the reformers of Islam (modernist Islam), the tradition became authentic Islam when perceived from the perspective of indigenous Islam which gave leniency of acculturation of Islam with local cultures. The indigenization of Islam in the context of the Yogyakarta Palace tradition has reached the harmonization of Islamic normativity and the historicity of human culture. It does not diminish the authenticity of Islam as a sacred or *qudus* religion.

Yogyakarta Special Region with the Palace as its center is a potential area to actualize the Islamic Javanese heritage in the social, cultural and even political spheres. This actualization is important to maintain the identity and character of Yogyakarta as a city that is culturally Islamic in the midst of modernity.

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