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**Monarchy in the Republic – Sultanate of
Yogyakarta in the Republic of Indonesia**

Keywords: Indonesia, mixed monarchy, mixed republic, monarchical principle, sultanate, hereditary power, royal family

Słowa kluczowe: Indonezja, monarchia mieszana, republika mieszana, władza dziedziczna, zasada monarchiczna, rodzina królewska, sułtanat

Abstract

The purpose of this article is to present the key elements of the unique system of the Yogyakarta Sultanate as the monarchical part of Indonesia's republican system, against the theoretical background of the concept of 'monarchy within a republic' and the trends in the systemic practice of modern monarchies. Indonesia is in many respects a unique ex-

ample of a mixed system in which republican and monarchical elements coexist. The incorporation of monarchical elements into the republican system has been done in a very original way – by giving one region of the state dual constitutional status, with the traditional ruler of that territory in the dual role of republican governor and hereditary ruler. The Yogyakarta Sultanate, despite its uniqueness, is subject to problems typical of all modern monarchies, arising from the need to adapt to civilizational and cultural changes, such as gender equality, while respecting rich traditions and cultural identity.

Streszczenie

Monarchia w republice – Sułtanat Yogyakarta w Republice Indonezji

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest przedstawienie kluczowych elementów unikalnego ustroju współczesnego Sułtanatu Yogyakarta jako monarchicznej części mieszanego systemu republikańskiego Indonezji, na tle teoretycznych założeń koncepcji “monarchii w republice” oraz tendencji w praktyce ustrojowej współczesnych monarchii mieszanych. Indonezja jest pod wieloma względami wyjątkowym przykładem republiki mieszanej, w której współistnieją elementy republikańskie i monarchiczne. Monarchiczne elementy systemu zostały skumulowane tylko w jednym regionie państwa. Włączenie elementów monarchicznych do systemu republikańskiego zostało dokonane w bardzo oryginalny sposób – poprzez przyznanie jednemu z regionów państwa podwójnego statusu konstytucyjnego, z przyznaniem tradycyjnemu władcy tego terytorium podwójnej roli – republikańskiego gubernatora i dziedzicznego władcy. Sułtanat Yogyakarta, mimo swojej wyjątkowości podlega problemom typowym dla wszystkich współczesnych monarchii wynikającym z konieczności dostosowania się do zmian cywilizacyjnych i kulturowych, takich jak równość płci i dopuszczenie kobiet do dziedziczenia tronu, przy jednoczesnym poszanowaniu bogatych tradycji i tożsamości kulturowej.

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I.

This article is part of the research on the occurrence and manifestations of the monarchical principle in contemporary state systems¹. Separating the mo-

¹ See: M.M. Wiszowaty, *The concept of mixed monarchy and the monarchical principle in the study of modern state systems*, “History of European Ideas” 2023.

narchical principle from the other main political principles and undertaking the search for its manifestations in the form of specific political institutions, allows us to notice monarchical elements not only in the systems of strictly monarchical states (the so-called “full” monarchies, which are also described as “autocratic” or – not quite correctly – “absolute” or “absolutist”), but also in some republican states. A system in which manifestations of the monarchical principle (typical of a monarchy) and the democratic principle (typical of a republic) coexist, can be described as a “mixed system”.

The scale of accumulation of manifestations of each of those two principles, determines the final shape and classification of the entire political system. In the case of the dominance of the monarchical principle and the absence (or only fragmentary examples) of the democratic principle, we are dealing with a full (“pure”) monarchy. Similarly, in the absence of any manifestations of the monarchical principle in the state system, we can speak of a “full republic”. The most interesting, from the point of view of our research, are situations of co-occurrence of essential elements of the monarchical principle (the hereditary Monarch participating in the exercise of power, institutionalized Royal Family, including those enjoying a separate status, like monarch’s spouse and Heir to the throne, Regency, Royal Assent, Nobility, monarchical sources of law and more) together with manifestations of the democratic principle (primarily – a fully elected parliament, separation of powers, short term of office, limited re-election). If the monarchical principle predominates, with only the addition of the republican principle, we are dealing with a “mixed monarchy” (often and not entirely justified when it comes to modern systems – referred to as “constitutional monarchy”).

A particularly interesting and still insufficiently researched variant of the mixed system is the mixed republic, i.e. one in which, despite the predominance of the democratic principle, the presence of the monarchical principle can be noted and its specific manifestations can be distinguished. The manifestations of the monarchical principle in mixed republics derive from one of several sources, primary or secondary. Secondary sources can be divided into those of a formal or material nature. Formal secondary sources come from the relevant amendment to the constitution or the adoption of sub-constitutional regulations that provide for the introduction of (*quasi*-)monarchical institutions into the system (an example is the official recognition by the state of

the Royal Family in the Republic of Montenegro in 2011²). Material secondary sources do not concern legal regulations, but rather the systemic practice. It relies on a monarchical interpretation of republican institutions (an example is an extensive, “monarchical” interpretation of the powers of republican presidents, e.g. regarding the limits of the post-monarchic right of pardon³).

The primary source of the monarchical principle in the republican system is the appropriate constitutional regulation, which from the beginning and deliberately provides for the existence of monarchical institutions in the republican system of the state. Often, such a regulation is based on the centuries-old history and tradition, as well as on customary law. An example of such a monarchy originally integrated into a republican system is the Sultanate of Yogyakarta in Indonesia.

The purpose of this article is to present the key elements of the unique system of the modern Sultanate of Yogyakarta (hereinafter: Sultanate) as the monarchical part of Indonesia’s mixed republican system, against the background of the theoretical assumptions of the concept of ‘monarchy within a republic’ and the trends of systemic practice typical of modern mixed monarchies.

II.

Indonesia has a unique political system. It is a republic with a unitary state system (Art. 1, Indonesia Constitution of 1945, amended) that accommodates the monarchical elements. The Constitution acknowledges the existence and the autonomy of local government (Art. 18 of the Constitution). According to the Constitution and Act on Local Government, autonomy is the power to manage the territory, including managing the budget, creating local rules, and making policies based on the division of power as the implementation of a decentralisation system. The sources of regional autonomy are the Con-

² See: M.M. Wiszowaty, *Return of the kings. Institutionalization of the Royal Families in the Republics of Romania and Montenegro in the 21st century*, “Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze” 2017, vol. 38, pp. 256–261.

³ M.M. Wiszowaty, *Prawo łaski Prezydenta III RP jako realizacja funkcji przedstawiciela suwerennego narodu oraz strażnika bezpieczeństwa państwa (sygn. akt i KZ P 4/17)*, “Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze” 2018, vol. 40, pp. 508–14, 518.

stitution and the Act on Local Government (Law 23/2014⁴). The state recognition for regional areas with exceptional status is stipulated in Art. 18 B of the Constitution

According to Act on Establishment of Legislations (Law 12/2011)⁵, such recognition shall be in the form of a statute enacted by the House of Representatives – *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* (hereinafter: DPR) and the President. Currently, there are 4 regional governments that possess the status of special region: Special Territories of Jakarta and Yogyakarta, and Special Autonomies of Papua and Aceh. There are different reasons for the special status of the listed territories. While Jakarta's special status is due to the fact that it is the capital of the state, status of Papua, Aceh, and Yogyakarta has historical background.

Until today, 5 sultanates survived in Indonesia⁶, although only Sultanate of Yogyakarta was officially recognised and integrated within the state system while retaining its monarchical character. The recognition of Yogyakarta's monarchical status within Indonesia's Unitary state as a "special territory" (*Daerah Istimewa*) was regulated under the Act of 2012 regarding the special position of Yogyakarta region⁷ (Law 13/2012).

III.

Yogyakarta (pronounced and known as *Yogya*) covers an area of 3,196 square kilometres in Central Java Province and is home to about half a million people. Yogyakarta is the only Indonesian province still ruled by Sultan and with monarchical institutions. The title of the Sultan is *Hamengku Buwono* (in Bahasa: *memangku bumi*) meaning: "embracing the earth".

⁴ Undang-Undang (UU) Nomor 23 Tahun 2014 tentang pemerintahan daerah (LN. 2014 No. 246, LL SETNEG: 6 HLM).

⁵ See: Art. 7 par. 1, UU Nomor 12 Tahun 2011 tentang Pembentukan Peraturan Perundang-Undangan (LN.2011/No.82, TLN No.5232, LL SETNEG: 51 HLM).

⁶ Those Sultanates are: 1. Kesultanan Cirebon, 2. Kesultanan Yogyakarta, 3. Kasunan Surakarta, 4. Kesultanan Ternate, 5. Kesultanan Deli.

⁷ UU Nomor 13 Tahun 2012 tentang Keistimewaan Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta (LN.2012/No. 170, TLN No. 5339, LL SETNEG: 35 HLM).

Yogyakarta was part of the great Kingdom (Sultanate) of Mataram. After the *Giyanti* Treaty of 1755, the Kingdom of Mataram was divided into four parts, namely: Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Sunanate of Surakarta, Duchy of Pakualaman, and Duchy of Mangkunegaran⁸.

Throughout the period of Dutch colonialism, the leaders of Yogyakarta showed staunch resistance to colonialism – including especially the notable Prince Diponegoro [1785–1855], a national hero of Indonesia, the eldest son and heir to the throne of Yogyakarta, deprived of succession rights by the Dutch who enthroned his younger brother.

The resistance continued after World War II, when the Dutch tried to maintain their power in Indonesia. Yogyakarta played an essential role in supporting Indonesia's effort to keep its independence. When Batavia (today: Jakarta) was heavily attacked by the Dutch and their allies during the Indonesian National Revolution, Yogyakarta became the temporal capital of the independent Indonesia (1946–1949)⁹.

Already on September 5, 1945, The Sultan of Yogyakarta Hamengku Buwono IX along with Duke Paku Alam VII (head of a small hereditary Duchy of Pakualaman within the Sultanate) issued an Announcement (*Maklumat*) that Yogyakarta is part of the Republic of Indonesia territory. This declaration was made only a fortnight after the Independence Proclamation, of August 17, 1945. The *Maklumat* of September 5, 1945 was a key that shaped a mixed political system with a dose of monarchy inside the Republic of Indonesia. It is worth noting that at that time Yogyakarta met the conditions to become a separate state. It had its own territory, population, resources, a defined and coherent political system, and stable external relations. However, instead of establishing a separate statehood, the Sultan declared Yogyakarta part of the Republic of Indonesia. This gesture was also a special form of recognition of Indonesia's independence and strengthened its position as a new state.

⁸ *Perjanjian Giyanti*, 26.7.2021, Official website of Dinas Kebudayaan/Kundha Kabudayan, <https://kebudayaan.jogjakota.go.id/page/index/perjanjian-giyanti> (31.07.2023).

⁹ O. Adminkesbangpol, *Sejarah Pemindehan Ibukota RI ke Yogyakarta*, Badan Kesatuan bangsa dan Politik Kabupaten Kulon Progo, 30.01.2023, <https://kesbangpol.kulonprogokab.go.id/detil/672/sejarah-pemindehan-ibukota-ri-ke-yogyakarta> (31.07.2023).

IV.

The Act on the special position of Yogyakarta region (Law 13/2012)¹⁰ recognised the role of the Sultanate and the Duchy of Pakualaman in supporting the independence of Indonesia. The position of Yogyakarta as a province is clearly stated in Art. 1.1 of the Law 13/2012. Equal to other provinces, Yogyakarta is led by the Governor. As the representative of the Central Government, Governor implements the principle of deconcentration, with the power to conduct the Central Government's powers¹¹ if any delegation is given. Unlike the governors of other provinces, the Governor of Yogyakarta is not only a representative of the Central Government but also a hereditary monarch.

Article 1.8 of the Law 13/2012 underlines the position of Yogyakarta Government as the local government within the unitary Republic of Indonesia. Simultaneously, art. 1.3 of the Law 13/2012 states that the Sultanate holds and "additional authority" beside the powers given by Act on Local Government (Law 23/2014) and puts them (art. 6) on the province level. Therefore, in the Sultanate, two types of powers can be distinguished: 1) the powers under the Act on Local Government – analogous to other Indonesian provinces 2) the special powers under Law 13/2012. This double legal status determines the uniqueness of the Sultanate (which is both a republican province and a monarchy at the same time) on a state and global scale.

Yogyakarta as one of many provincial regions in Indonesia has the authority to exercise government powers consisting of mandatory and non-mandatory affairs¹². For example, mandatory government affairs include: education, health, public works and spatial planning, housing and residential areas, peace, public order and the protection of society, and social matters.

Functioning of the Sultanate as a special region, with a special status and special privileges is based on history, tradition, culture and local wisdom principles with the acknowledgement of so-called rights of origin (*hak asal-usul*).

¹⁰ Law 13/2012 replaced its predecessor, Act on the Special Territory of Yogyakarta (Law 3/1950 amended by the Law 9/1955).

¹¹ Central Government exclusive powers: foreign policy, defence, security, justice, national monetary and taxes, religion (Art. 10 of the Law no. 23/2014).

¹² The mandatory government matters are related to basic services, while non-mandatory ones are not related to the basic services (Art. 11 Law no. 23/2014).

Interestingly, according to Act of 2012 regarding the special position of Yogyakarta region (art. 5), several goals were set before the Sultanate authorities in connection with the establishment of a special status for Yogyakarta, with the obligation to implement them: the realization of – democratic governance; – of good and social peace; – of peace and social order guaranteeing diversity; creating good governance; institutionalization of the roles and responsibilities of the Sultanate and the Duchy in maintaining and developing the culture of Yogyakarta, as the cultural heritage of the nation.

Powers of the Sultanate as a special autonomous (and monarchical) region consist of:

1. the procedures for filling the position and determining the duties and authority of the Governor and Deputy Governor;
2. Sultanate's Regional Government institutions;
3. Sultanate's Culture;
4. Sultanate's Land;
5. Spatial planning.

V.

The method of appointing the Governor and the Deputy Governor has a strongly monarchical character. There are no direct elections by the people. The only candidate for Governor of Yogyakarta is always the current Sultan of Yogyakarta *ex officio*. Similarly, the candidate for Deputy Governor is the current hereditary Duke of Pakualaman. The Sultan is determined and crowned according to internal monarchical rules and traditions handed down from generation to generation, dating back to the Mataram Kingdom. The Government of Indonesia has no authority to influence this system.

As a result of the absence of direct appointment by the people, in terms of Governor and Deputy Governor selection, the Local House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah/DPRD*) conducts only administrative matters related to documents verification of the candidates for Governor and his Deputy.

In the Sultanate, the division into social classes was maintained according to traditional customs. Society is divided into: Nobility (*Ben-*

dana), Courtiers (*Abdi Dalem*) and People (*Kawula Dalem*)¹³. Courtiers are appointed by a decree of the Sultan and the Duke of Pakualaman¹⁴. The monarchical governance is distinguished into two main types of matters: *Parentah Lebet/Parentah Ageng Karaton* (internal affairs – construction matters and general works, income and financial matters), and *Parentah Jawi/Parentah Nagari* (external affairs – land and government matters, defence). Affairs are managed by the Sultan who get support from the internal institution¹⁵. In the past, the Sultan appointed *Pepatih Dalem* – a position similar to the prime minister – to support him in managing state affairs. The *Pepatih Dalem* on one side, served the Sultanate, but on the other side also followed the instructions of the Dutch colonists. Officially, since Japan's occupation of Indonesia (1942) the *Pepatih Dalem* is no longer appointed¹⁶.

Rules of succession of the Sultanate are based on the model of the agnatic primogeniture. The current Sultan Hamengku Buwono X is the eldest son of late Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX. Being a Crown prince, he was officially crowned as King on 7 March 1989 with formal designation of *Sampeyan Dalem ingkang Sinuhun Kanjeng Sultan Hemengku Buwana Senapati-ing-Ngalaga Abdurrahman Sayidin Panatagama Khalifatullah ingkang Jumeneng Kaping Sadasa*¹⁷ (briefly – *Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwono X*).

¹³ See: D. Nugroho, A. Mashdurohaturun, Gunarto, *The Governance of Sultan Ground Land Position and Pakualaman Ground In The Framework of National Law and The Special Law of Yogyakarta Special Region In Achieving Justice*, “International Journal of Business, Economics and Law” 2021, vol. 24 (2).

¹⁴ There are thirteen hierarchical levels of *Abdi Dalem* – from the lowest to highest: *Jajar, Bekel Anom, Bekel Sepuh, Lurah, Penewu, Wedono, Riya Bupati, Bupati Anom, Bupati Sepuh, Bupati Kliwon, Bupati Nayoko, Pangeran Sentana*. For more details, see: *Pangkat dan Kedudukan Abdi Dalem, Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat*, <https://www.kratonjogja.id/abdi-dalem/2-pangkat-dan-kedudukan-abdi-dalem> (31.07.2023).

¹⁵ C. Nugroho, W. Nugraha Christianto, S. Bayu Wahyono, *History of the Yogyakarta Monarchy: From the Islamic Kingdom to Being Imprisoned in the Indonesian Democratic System*, “Historia Madania” 2021, vol. 5 (1), pp. 32–48, 37.

¹⁶ *Pepatih Dalem Kesultanan Yogyakarta*, Official website of Karaton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat, 2.04.2018, <https://www.kratonjogja.id/ragam/8-pepatih-dalem-kesultanan-yogyakarta> (31.07.2023).

¹⁷ L. Suharmaji et al., *Keistimewaan Yogyakarta dalam Lintasan Sejarah*, Dinas Kebudayaan (*Kundha Kabudayaan*) Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta 2022, p. 35.

Although Art. 25 of Law 13/2012 states that the terms of office of the Governor and Deputy Governor of Yogyakarta are 5 years, with the possibility of only single re-election, it also stipulates that those limits do not apply to the Sultan of Yogyakarta and the Duke of Pakualaman. This means that each of them can perform his function for life. We are dealing here with a classic manifestation of the monarchical principle in the political system of a republic.

The Law 13/2012 mentions general requirements for fulfilling the position of Governor. Candidates for the Governor and Deputy Governor should be citizens of the Republic of Indonesia and crowned accordingly – as the Sultan *Hamengku Buwono* and as the Duke *Paku Alam* (Art. 19 (1) (a)). Art. 19 (1) (a) provides an age limitation of 30 years old for each position. The question of whether the Sultan or the Duke could be appointed Governor (or Deputy Governor) before the age of 30, must be answered in the negative. It is true that Hamengku Buwono IX became the Sultan when he was only 28 years old, but the current Law states (Art. 28 par. 7–8) that in the event of the Governor or his Deputy being unable to perform their duties, it shall be temporarily discharged by the Regional Secretary until the President appoints an acting Governor. The acting Governor is in office until the definitive Governor or Deputy Governor is appointed. It can therefore be concluded that there is no classically monarchical institution of Regency in the Sultanate.

Law 13/2012 stipulates that the Governor and the Deputy Governor should have at least secondary education, not to be a subject to any final court decision, have active and passive electoral rights. These requirements are supplemented by additional financial requirements, such as: no debt – individual or institutional, having a tax identification number, not declaring bankruptcy. The Governor and his Deputy may not belong to any political party.

According to the culture and tradition dating back to at least the 16th century, a Sultan should be a male. The current Sultan has no male descendants (he has 5 daughters), what has become the cause of serious controversy regarding the future succession to the throne. Whether the Sultan can choose his elder daughter as his successor has brought vast conflict among the royal family members and the public¹⁸. There is still a vigorous discussion on

¹⁸ M. Anwar Hidayat, *Women's Rights to Become Leaders of The Yogyakarta Sultanate. Perspective of a Modern Democratic State*, "Peradaban Journal of Law and Society" 2022, vol. 1

whether the male domination in succession should have remained. The problem is indeed complex. On the one hand, the world is changing and women are taking over new areas and functions previously reserved for men. Besides, the history knows examples of queens regnant also in Islam monarchies. On the other hand – the tradition of Yogyakarta states that each Sultan rules in a transcendent tandem with the mystical Queen of the South Sea. The succession of the princess would mean the rules of two queens. Some have concerns about the reaction of the Queen of the South Seas to a female monarch¹⁹. The monarchy culture of the Sultanate is attached by various unwritten rules and customary laws that apply to the daily life²⁰.

The gender perspective in Yogyakarta's monarchy, including the succession rule is not touched in Law 13/2012. The rules governing the appointment of the Governor and Deputy Governor contain gaps, that can be filled based on traditions and monarchical customary norms. The Sultan's decision in this matter would be crucial.

In 2015, the Sultan issued a royal proclamation (*sabdaraja*), naming his eldest daughter, Princess Mangkubumi, as the Crown Princess (heir to the throne). Yogyakartaans, especially some members of the Royal Family, criticized the move, arguing that only a man could be sultan. The Sultan has a younger brother and, according to critics, he should be the Sultan's successor. On September 5, 2016, amid internal conflicts within the Yogyakarta royal family, a petition to the Constitutional Court was filed. The Court has ruled in favour of a judicial review petition challenging the 2012 law on Yogyakarta's special status, stating that under the Constitution, the state shall treat men and women equally²¹.

(2), pp. 133–145. Read also: Ratnawati, P. Santoso, *Gender politics of Sultan Hamengkubuwono X in the succession of Yogyakarta palace*, "Cogent Social Sciences" 2021, vol. 7 (1), pp. 1–10.

¹⁹ Sultan of Yogyakarta: A feminist revolution in an ancient kingdom, "BBC News", 1.06.2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-43806210> (31.07.2023).

²⁰ For example, selecting a batik (a colourful fabric motif obtained using a traditional, ancient dyeing technique originating in Java) type for an event is essential. There is a different batik type for a Sultan's close family members (the Sultan, the Queen and the daughters) and other family members. There is also a type of batik for a particular occasion, such as birth, marriage, funeral, and traditional events.

²¹ B. Muryanto, *Hamengku Buwono X welcomes ruling allowing daughter to be successor*, "The Jakarta Post", 2.09.2017, <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2017/09/02/Hamengku-Buwono-x-welcomes-ruling-allowing-daughter-to-be-successor.html> (31.07.2023).

Although the judgment of the Court concerns only the function of the Governor (the Court could not decide on internal matters of the monarchy), The Sultan supported it and has called on family members who rejected the idea of having a female sultan to accept the ruling of the Court. It is possible that Yogyakarta will get its “Sultana” (Crown Princess has two children – a daughter and a son. The daughter is older, so she would probably inherit the function of Sultana from her mother).

VI.

The Sultanate, apart from the governorship administration, has a monarchical government and a complex palace administration with numerous offices and positions held by members of the royal family. The strict government consists of four minister-coordinators (*Penghageng Kawedanan*)²².

Each of the ministers was entrusted with separate scopes of competence:

1. Secretariat and Sultanate Communication (including: handling internal and external communication of the Sultan, issuing all official letters from the Sultan, issuing an official letter with the names of candidates for governor and deputy governor)
2. Cultural Preservation (coordination of the cultural life of the Sultanate, traditional art, maintenance of the mosque, construction of *situs petilasan* (holy places).
3. Sustainability of Cultural essence of the Sultanate (supporting the cultural essence of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta, including traditional ceremonies, libraries, literacy, museums and tourism)
4. Sultanate’s Infrastructure (focuses on the availability and maintenance of facilities and infrastructure, which includes Sultanate buildings, vehicles, horses and land).

Decisions on the appointment and dismissal of ministers, officials and members of the palace administration are made by the Sultan himself. In 2020, Sultan Hamengkubuwono X dismissed several family members, in-

²² Mengenal Empat Kawedanan Hageng Keraton Yogyakarta dan Tugasnya, BacaJogja.id, 28.6.2021, <https://bacajogja.id/2021/06/28/mengenal-empat-kawedanan-hageng-keraton-yogyakarta-dan-tugasnya> (31.07.2023).

cluding two of his half-brothers from high positions in the Sultanate administration, which was widely reported by the Indonesian media. In their place he appointed his three daughters²³.

The act grants facilities and financial support to the Sultan and Duke as Governor and his Deputy (Art. 11 and 14). In addition to the usual financial resources due to the Yogyakarta region from the state budget, the Sultanate receives additional funds for the implementation of powers and obligations resulting from its special political position (Art. 42). Nevertheless, the Act does not specify the rules for obtaining and spending these funds. Indonesian law also does not specify the sources of funding for the Royal Family or the legal status of the nobility, leaving these issues to be regulated by local law (i.e. by the Sultan).

VII.

The sources of law in Yogyakarta are a conglomeration of statutory norms of written law – national and local – and cultural traditions. The Sultanate has its own rules which are derived from traditional cultural values. The right to maintain the rules and customs handed down by the ancestors is part of the special status granted to Yogyakarta Province (Art. 25, Law 13/2012). The books of sacred scripture (*kitab*) of the ancient Kingdom of Mataram and heritage are the main monarchical sources of law. Some rules are unwritten norms, which means that these rules must be enforced based on cultural values. In addition to the unwritten norms, there are also written rules that the Sultan has the right to enforce. Traditional values are the glue that connects and binds the royal family and all institutions within the Sultanate.

²³ Sultan HB X Pecat 2 Adik Tirinya, Pangeran Keraton Yogyakarta: Tak Mungkin Berontak, “Semarang.Bisnis.com”, 26.1.2021, <https://semarang.bisnis.com/read/20210126/535/1347754/sultan-hb-x-pecat-2-adik-tirinya-pangeran-keraton-yogyakarta-tak-mungkin-berontak> (31.07.2023). See also: P. Rida Pertama, *Ini Kewenangan 2 Adik Sultan di Keraton Yogya Sebelum Dipecat*, “Detik News”, 21.1.2021, <https://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-tengah/d-5343541/ini-kewenangan-2-adik-sultan-di-keraton-yogya-sebelum-dipecat/2> (31.07.2023); *Adik Sultan HB X Tak Ingin Persoalan Pemecatannya Berkepanjangan*, “VOI.id”, 26.01.2021, <https://voi.id/berita/28807/adik-sultan-hb-x-tak-ingin-persoalan-pemecatannya-berkepanjangan> (31.07.2023).

By statute, the Sultan and the Duke, as Governor and Deputy Governor, have the power to issue Local Government Regulations (*Perda*) and Special Local Government Regulations (*Perdais*), which apply only to the territory of Yogyakarta Province. Regulatory powers are one of the basic powers of local government. *Perda* regulates matters related to the power of the province of Yogyakarta on the basis of separation of powers. Unlike *Perda*, the content of *Perdais* is related to the special power given to Yogyakarta and the way of upholding the traditions of the ancestors.

VIII.

Indonesia is in many ways a unique example of a mixed republic, where republican and monarchical elements coexist.

Firstly – the monarchical elements of the system have been cumulated in one region of the state, and are thus found only at the local level.

Secondly – the incorporation of monarchical elements into the republican system has been done in a very original way. One of the regions of the state has been given a dual constitutional status (monarchical and republican), while at the same time the traditional historical sovereign of this territory – has been given a dual role – a republican governor and a sovereign ruler equipped with real sovereign powers, led by law-making. Both positions – republican governor and deputy governor – are filled in the manner typical of a monarchy, i.e. *ex officio* and according to the principle of hereditary succession.

Thirdly – the central authorities seek to respect the Sultanate's autonomy by first and foremost refraining from directly and unilaterally interfering in Yogyakarta's unique system.

Finally, fourthly – and this is an interesting paradox – the survival of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta as a continuation of the ancient Kingdom of Mataram – was made possible by the Sultan's unequivocal and voluntary support of the independent Republic of Indonesia and declaration of the incorporation of his state into the republic. The decision of the Indonesian authorities to incorporate Yogyakarta into the Republic of Indonesia while retaining its monarchical status was a noble appreciation of the Sultan's gesture and grat-

itude for the centuries-long sacrificial resistance of the Sultanate's rulers and people against the Dutch colonisers.

The Sultanate of Yogyakarta, for all its uniqueness, deals with issues and touches on problems typical of all modern monarchies: disputes within the ruling family, especially regarding the succession to the throne, the need to adapt to changes in civilisation and culture such as gender equality and allowing women to inherit the throne, while respecting rich traditions, heritage and cultural identity of the monarchy. For a monarchy so deeply rooted in ancient traditions, its authorities, led by the Sultan, are approaching the challenges of the future in an innovative way. According to experts, the political situation is dynamic and uncertain²⁴. The future will tell whether this process will be successful.

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