

TRACING THE CONCEPT OF POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF ISLAM NUSANTARA

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Abstract

Certain community both based ethnicities and nationalities have different characteristics on the notion of political leadership. Studies on the political leadership concept in Indonesia cannot escape from the Javanese political leadership characteristics. The reason is simply, because most of Indonesian leaders are from Java. Ben Anderson (1990) sees the Sukarno and Suharto leadership as the representation of Islamic Mataram Kingdom that was absolute and totalitarian typical leadership. Then, it follows cultural stereotyping of political leadership based on ethnicity in Indonesia. Jajat Burhanuddin (2014) sees that Melayu has democratic political culture, while Jawa has authoritarian political culture based on the creed "Manunggaling Kawula Gusti" – Unity between God-ruler or Subject-ruler. However Burhanuddin (2014) does not explain the nature of the creed in Javanese typical political leadership. Naim (2014) controversially sees that there are bipolar characteristics of political leadership in Indonesia. Jawa has absolute and totalitarian typical leadership that is influenced by Javanese local belief; otherwise Melayu (Outside Jawa) has egalitarian and democratic political leadership that is strong influenced by Islamic teaching. This paper tries to dig the understanding of principles on political leadership in Indonesia by making comparison both Jawa and Melayu on the nature of political leadership. The paper engages Talal Asad (2009) conceptual frameworks on discursive tradition. Thus from Asad point of view political leadership is the result of a dynamic process between agency and structure. That is a process of negotiation between the ruler and subjects in a certain structure.

Keywords: *Political Leadership, Discourse, Tradition, Java*

Introduction

Melayu Political leadership means the dignity and ability of leader of group, community or organization to attain shared objectives. Certain community both based ethnicities and nationalities have different characteristics on the notion of political leadership. Studies on the political leadership concept in Indonesia cannot escape from the Javanese political leadership characteristics. The reason is simply, because most of Indonesian leaders are from Java (Burhanuddin 2001, 687). Sees the Sukarno and Suharto leadership as the representation of Islamic Mataram Kingdom that was absolute and totalitarian typical leadership. Then, it follows cultural stereotyping of political leadership based on ethnicity in Indonesia. Jajat Burhanuddin sees that Melayu has democratic political culture, while Jawa has otoritarian political culture based on the creed "Manunggaling Kawula Gusti"Unity between God-ruler or Subject-ruler (Burhanuddin 2001) (Trompenaars F and Turner 2004). Does not explain the nature of the creed in Javanese typical political leadership (Naim 2014). Controversially sees that

there are bipolar characteristics of political leadership in Indonesia. Jawa has absolute and totalitarian typical leadership that is influenced by Javanese local belief; otherwise Melayu (Outside Jawa) has egalitarian and democratic political leadership that is strong influenced by Islamic teaching.

This paper tries to dig the understanding of principles on political leadership in Indonesia by making comparison both Jawa and Melayu on the nature of political leadership (Vincent JH 1992). The paper looks at different perspective that is discovering the thought from classical literatures in Nusantara in order to make it as the referential wisdom of today and future leadership (Naim 2014). Affirms that Islam strongly influences on the development of Nusantara's civilization. Therefore, Islam cannot be escaped from the notion of the political leadership itself that indeed has its own characteristics as Islam a la Nusantara. The paper uses two stages to gather the data. First, it explores the conceptual notion on political leadership in Indonesia from Nusantara classical literatures as: Babad Tanah Jawa both Pesisiran and Court Versions, and Qurashy in Addamakna (Java), Hikayat Tanah Melayu, Hikayat Hang Tuah, (Melayu), as the primary sources and others references about the same topic as secondary data. Second it will look for Islamic influences on the topic from those literatures.

Before we further explain the tradition of the political leadership of both Malay and Javanese, I will explain some of the keywords that will be used in this paper. Power is the capacity to carry on the will by the actors, both the actor will and the community will (Anderson 1990). Meanwhile the authority is the legitimation of relations between the rulers and the subjects. Political leadership means the dignity and ability of the leader of the group, community or organization to attain shared objectives.

The paper engages (Asad 2009, 30) (Davis and Newstroom 2001) conceptual frameworks on discursive tradition to explain the nature of differences on both typical political leaderships. We cannot escape that the typical political leadership in Indonesia from Islam as the main idea. Islam has spread entirely that engaging in the structure of power. According to Talal Asad Islam as a discursive tradition means Islam as text that not only to comprehend of but also to reproduce by adjusting to the structure. We can call this process as a discourse. According to Asad, this discourse has a purpose that is always associated with the power relation. It is inevitable that as the text of Islam as value system is always constructed in a particular situation. It is no wonder as a text, it was able to be interpreted differently in a different situation. We can apply this process on the the way how discourse of power is produced. It is not only an attempt to instill moral conduct to the subject but also to maintain the continuity and regularity of a ruling organization. It is a strategy and social engineering. In every change, the discourse will always be reproduced either through contestation and negotiation, which is associated with the place and time (past, present, and future) (Asad 2009). Thus from Asad point of view political leadership is the result of a dynamic process between agency and structure. That is a process of negotiation between the ruler and subjects in a certain structure.

Traditional Belief on Political Leadership in Jawa

Beliefs about leadership in Jawa can be traced from the Hindu-Buddhist tradition before the coming of Islam. The idea on leadership can be tracked in Kakawin Ramayana. This study uses Kakawin Ramayana translated by Suwito Santoso. The text

itself is written in its original form at the time of the Ancient Mataram Kingdom, the reign of King Balitung circa 898-930 AD. In the manuscript, the rulers always have relationship with the whole universe both the macrocosm and microcosm. It is reflected or symbolized that the leader as Mountain or Lion. In the Ramayana Kekawin KR III-77 stated:

*Gunun ya ta padanta bhupati ikan prajanken dukul,
Patuti huna-dosa nin (n) ulah ika matan nyan suka
Ikan prawara pora wargga wanatlya yanken (n) alas,
Kitekana ta Sinha raksasa dumeh nya sobhan katon*

"The king was like a mountain, and the people grass. (King) respond to good and bad deeds for their own welfare. The people, both high and low, are like a jungle. You are a lion, protect thereof, so look beautiful"

Ruler is a protective symbol of the people. King does not only protect the people security and peace, but also to maintain the continuity of the tradition or worship to the gods. KR III-70 is mentioned.

*Nihan ta gawayanta nitya manemit raja mandala
Wihara pahayunta parhwaan umah batarameren
Hawan ptani pancuran telaga setu tambak taman
Peken wwatan asin sakahyuna nikan oraja yad gawe*

This issue (I will say that later) you should do so, namely to protect the people and kingdom, to take care of the convent, sacred places, and temples. The streets, benches, waterways, lakes, dams, ponds, parks, markets, bridges, what is asked by the people should be built. The rulers must have the strong characteristic in order to be respected as the manifestation of Shiva's character. Kakawin Ramayana tells that the father of Ramayana King Dasaratha was a prosperous as well as famous King, He was well respected by both the enemy and the people. He was an incarnation of the god Vishnu in the World but he was a devout follower of Shiva.

Rulers as the incarnation of the god are also found in Pararaton (Book of Kings). Pararathon written in the late fifteenth century tells about the stories of kings in the kingdom Singhasari and Majapahit. The manuscript is explained that Ken Arok, founder of the Kingdom Singhasari in 1222 AD is the common person who incarnates the god Vishnu in the world, from his father Brahma, the god who gave birth to many kings and had the power blessed by the Batara Guru (God Shiva). His job was to be the savior of the land of Java with his effort on beating Kertanegara (Kediri Kingdom). Ken Arok was also the ancestor of Majapahit kings. Negarakertagama further highlights the descendants of Majapahit's King who have the relationship with the gods. Both Pararaton and Negarakertagama revealed that the rulers are not only to have the magical powers, but also to illustrate the legitimacy of descent (lineage). They who deserve occupying power must have superior lineage that is the descendant of the founder of an empire. It is in accordance with the tradition of caste in Hindu society, there is a group of knights, a social group that has the right to rule and to reign.

The characteristic of rulers during the Hindu-Buddhist as described by Ben Anderson, King is to control the center of the Mandala. Kingdom was as the center then radiating out from the central core. The concept of Center-Mandala is shown from the structure of the Majapahit kingdom where the King controlled the heads of divisions. King with his family lived in the palace as a symbol of the central order of the universe, as the legitimacy of the central government structure. The highborn or she/he who was

given a knighthood title was appointed to govern the underlying government, namely the Negara. Narawita was territory directly controlled by King. Here King collected the entire crop of tillage citizens. The most important division in the Majapahit was Patih, he was administrator of the board within the State. Nagara Agung was the largest region of the kingdom (greater capital). Mancanegara was an the next structure that had the power outside the Negara Agung. Mancanegara was usually headed by the Adipati. Adipati usually was the person who appointed by the King or the ruler of the local area that legitimized by the king as Adipati. The outer structure was Tanah Sabrang. At the time of Majapahit, Tanah Sabrang was Sumatra and Borneo. Autonomous rulers of each Tanah Sabrang gave tribute to the king and lived in the capital regularly.

Islam that has been widespread in Java has even become official teaching in the Islamic Javanese kingdoms as Demak and Mataram, does not necessarily change the perception of power of the King. The belief on leadership remains institutionalized through the story. King remained as a highly supra personal, which then appear symbolizations based on the Islamic teaching even though it was still legitimize the power based on the lineage of the Majapahit ruler before. Classical manuscripts discussing the symbols of the king of Java in the time of Islam can be found in the Babad Tanah Jawa (BTJ), Jawa Chronicle. BTJ has many versions. Some versions of BTJ among others are Balai Pustaka Edition (1939-41), WL version Olthov, and a translated version of BTJ (Naim 2014). Those can be categorized as the Mataram court version of BTJ. Those tell about the genealogy of the descendants of kings Islamic kingdom in Java, the kingdom of Demak, Pajang, and Mataram is a descendant of Adam, the father of all men, descendants of prophets in Islam as well as the descendant gods in Javanese belief such as Batara Guru (Javanese version of Shiva) (Mas'ud 2004) (Purwadi and Siregar 2008).

Babad Tanah Jawa (Burhanuddin 2001), according to (Ras 1986) reinforces its role in the legitimacy of the kings of Mataram. BTJ of Balai Pustaka edition according Ras (1986) has in common with Pararaton and Negarakertagama, which began the story that King always has a direct relationship and gain the legitimacy of his power based on the concept of the macrocosm, upper realm. In BTJ mentioned that Panembahan Senapati, the founder of Mataram Kingdom as representation of Batara Guru (Shiva) married with Nyai Rara Kidul sacred unseen ruler of the South Coast, as a representation of the goddess Durga. It is told that Panembahan Senapati met Nyai Rara Kidul in Parang Tritis, southern beach of Jogjakarta. Panembahan Senapati even visited his palace, and fell in love and eventually married. Returning from there, in Kuta Gedhe, Nyi Rara Kidul stated that she will help Panembahan Senapati to conquer the Java with the power of unseen forces. This sacred marriage consecutively continued until Sultan Agung (third king Islamic kingdom of Mataram). BTJ version of the kingdom of Mataram has strong relations with the Negarakertagama and Pararaton manuscript of the Majapahit Kingdom, but in the genealogy of the kings it incorporates islamic elements namely the genealogy of the Prophet to legitimize to power of the King. Wali Sanga, Nine Saints as the prominent saint figures in spreading Islam in Jawa are not to be marginalized but rather they possess a distinct position in the realm of palace cult.

BTJ version Mataram according Ras through Wieringa mentioned that the rulers of Mataram base the legitimacy of the power through Babad Tanah Jawi text. As a result, the text has undergone several revisions and changes (Naim 2014). The last revision of BTJ was written during the reign Sultan Pakubuwono II King of Surakarta . The last revision is explained that there are two branches genealogies of the Mataram rulers. It is

told that Adam had two sons: Prophet Sis and Sultan Kayumarat. Sis inherited kanabean, prophethood from his father, while Kayumarat inherited his father's power (power) and became the ruler. Javanese rulers have two branches of Adam son descent. Right branch (Panengen) is descendants of the Prophet Adam, Prophet Sis, to the Prophet Muhammad, Fatima, Husain and his descendants. While the left branch, are descendants of Adam through the Sultan Kayumarat including Javanese gods and puppet figures to the descendants of the ancient Javanese kings.

Pesisiran version of BTJ shows different perspective than the Javanese court version. Wali Sanga's role was crucial in the course of the Islamic kingdom in Java. They were instrumental in lifting and raising the rulers of the Islamic empire. They also took part in the political realm. BTJ version of Pesisiran either explicitly or implicitly reveals that leadership cannot be detached from the prophet hood. Ruler is always in touch with the transcendent reality. The depiction of prophet hood is symbolized by the magical powers possessed by the saints and rulers of the Islamic kingdom of Java. Although the role of the saints is crucial in the manuscript, the leadership cannot be separated from the lineage of earlier rulers as the legitimacy of power. It is told that the king Raden Fatah founder of the kingdom of Demak descendant of King Brawijaya, the last king of Majapahit, which was appointed by the saints to establish the kingdom.

It cannot be denied that there are differences between Mataram court version and Pesisiran version. The difference lies on the affirmation of the persona of the two versions, Mataram version with its kings, and Pesisiran version with its Walisongo. Even so there are some similarities regarding to the belief of between the two. (1) Leadership is always legitimized with connecting to the descendant of the previous rulers, either direct or indirect descendants. (2) There is a prophetic dimension inherent in a leader that is expressed in terms of revelation that leadership is the result of God radiance, either directly or through an intermediary of the Saints. Succession of power in Javanese Islamic kingdom is based on appointment legitimized by the "instructions" that considered as revelation.

From an examination of the quality of the rulers in Java, the new ruler was considered had metaphysical signs inherent in him, so that the previous leader or the elite group legitimized to appoint him as a new ruler. We might say as if the quality of the leader was the fabrication and had necessarily the quality of charisma that inherent to him. In Islamic belief Java does not always happen so, there is an exception, and the leaders deemed to have inherent charisma to him. RatuAdil or SatriaPiningit will signify the belief that the leader had an extraordinary ability believed to bring change or solve the problems of his day. Typical leadership usually appears at times of crisis.

The emergence of the concept of Ratuadil is shown in the JangkaJayabaya prophecy. Jayabaya prophecy is written in many manuscripts. Not so obvious, of which the earliest occurrence of this prediction. This study use Jayabaya prophecy on QuraisyinAdammakna manuscript. The book is not yet clear who wrote. It is most likely written in circa 1800-1830 AD. That was the time of the chaos in the reign of Mataram Sultanate. In the context of leadership, the manuscript makes predictions about the future leader who will be capable to solve the problems in times of uncertainty.

Dene ingkang dipun wastani Jaman Kaliyuga punika inggih jaman Sangsara, utawi Jaman Kalabendu. Inggih ugi winastanan Jaman Akir (Akiring Jaman) kados kawursito ing serat Jangka Jayabaya

This is the age of Kali Yuga or the age of chaos. (The Age) is also called the last day as well as what is shown in Serat Jangka Jayabaya:

Pameca wontening jaman dahulu, tuwin ruwuhipun Ratu Adil Panetep Panatagama Kalipatullah. Pamecanipun Sang Prabu Jayabaya ing Kediri....Ratu Adil Panetep Panatagama Kalipatullah, utusan kang ngemban dawuhing Allah.

This is the story of the past and the coming of the Ratu Adil who will enforce the law as Caliph (leader) and the messenger of God. This was the King Jayabaya of Kediri. Ratu Adil who will enforce the law as Caliph (leader) and messenger of God, God's messengers who carry out the order. Ratu Adil described in the Book of Quraisyn Adammakna is the hybrid concept between Islamic teachings on Messiah or Mahdisme and pre-Islamic Hindu-Buddhist tradition (Burhanuddin 2001). The Hindu-Buddist tradition can be seen from the figure of Prince Jayabaya who was the incarnation of the god Vishnu (King Maker).

According to Reuter the Jayabaya prophecy not only contains forecast or prediction, but it contains imagination that actively participates to shape the future. In other word Jayabaya prophecy takes part to shape the perception of the motivation and expectations (Burhanuddin 2001), who actively participate to shape the future. The imagination or the shadow of the coming of Ratu Adil inspires the emergence of "heroes" leaders. Prince Diponegoro for instance, the figure was believed to be the incarnation of Prince Jayabaya who mandates to resolve the situation of Java in turmoil. The age did need a figure like himself. The javanese people at the time really were experiencing economic hardship due to forced labor policy during the reign Daendels in East Indies. The power of Javanese rulers was weak and the people could not rely on. However Prince Diponegoro was not an official heir of the King Hamengkubuwono III because his mother was *garwa ampeyan* King's concubine. He was able to legitimize himself based on a prophecy of the coming of Messiah. On the one hand he demonstrated the expected leadership figure by his people. He had the qualities that were born of a descendant of King, pious man, and populist. His birth was believed by the people had the signs the resurrection of the Prince Jayabaya. Likewise, the sign was repeated when he started his resistance that shown by the eruption of Mount Merapi (Burhanuddin 2001).

If the perception of leadership in the previous discussion is elitist, leadership characteristic of Ratu Adil is more egalitarian. Myth about Ratu Adil is hope of the people who are experiencing vulnerable conditions. The Egaliterian characteristic of Ratu Adil lay at (1) its mystical myth. Ratu Adil figure iis the God's secret, only He has the right to choose who will be Ratu Adil: 2) Ratu Adil emerges mong the people, embedded in the imagination of the people and was considered to represent the voice of the people. Diponegoro was believed to be the figure of Ratu Adil due not merely that he is King's son, but the charisma he has. He was populist among the people, and was present at the right moment makes him abled to mobilize the masses from diverse social statuses.

Melayu Traditional Belief on Political Leadership

Discussion on the traditions of the Malay indeed cannot be separated from Islam. Islam is one of the main shaper of Malay civilization. The idea of leadership in Javanese cultural tradition closely related to the idea of leadership in Hindu-Buddhist era that has instilled before the arrival of Islam. Malay tradition that very closes to Islam actually

cannot be detached completely from the Hindu -Buddhist that has long rooted in the life of the Malay community. The fundamental idea of leadership Hindu-Buddha tradition is the complete unity between the microcosm and macrocosm. The king is the center of a microcosm the world realm as the representation of macrocosm the upper realm. Thus the king or ruler is always associated with deities representing and working to achieve a balance or order in the world. Then the king symbol that most commonly used is the mountain. His figure is like the mountain containing the character of authority and blessing (fortune) to humankind.

In the Malay civilization, Sriwijaya was dubbed as a great Malay civilization in Sumatra that has extensive territory. However, the nature of Srivijaya is still debatable (Anderson 1990). Argues that Sriwijaya is centralized governmental structure in the form kadatuan, the place of the king (Ricklefs 2008). Who states that Sriwijaya was an early concentric form of government in Southeast Asia. Both Wolters and Kulke apply the concept of Tambiah's "galactic polity" and Indic concept of Mandala from the words: Kadatuan, Vanua (defined as a geographical territory), and huluntuhanu (slave-master). The dissenting opinion is delivered by Wisseman Christie (Anderson 1990), who considers that Sriwijaya is the center of the port from the networks of the ports in archipelago. Yet many experts agree that Sriwijaya is a center of power.

Unlike Majapahit, manuscripts concerning Sriwijaya did not found, the evidences on Sriwijaya are only found through encryptions scattered in various areas. Sriwijaya ruler conception can be trace in Syailendra name. Syailendra is often referred to the dynasty that rule in the 8th century. Syailendra name is derived from Sanskrit words. These consist of the words Syaila and Indra which means King of the Mountain "...It represents the character of the prestige and the welfare carrier as a distinctive character of the ruler in Hindu-Buddhist era. On the inscription of Kedukan Bukit made in the 7th century AD, the title of which was pinned to the ruler of Srivijaya is DapuntaHyang means King-God (Anderson 1990), which means a union between God and King. The title reaffirms that the King position in the world is the representation of upper realm in the world.

There is Kadatuan word in the Kedukan Bukit inscription (Naim 2014). De Casparis quoted Zacharov (2009: 2-3) defines Kadatuan as a palace or Keraton in the Java language, which has the meaning as residence of King. Some experts interpret kedatuan associated with the word Mandala, which then adopts structuralism point of view on the relationship between center and pheri-pheri, and galactic polity of Tambiah. Then, it was concluded that Kadatuan means the center of all the center, mandala as King's circle indicates that the power is constant and theism (Naim 2014).

Kedukan Bukit inscription also reveals the existence of the agreement and oath taking between the ruler and their subordinates. This may indicate loyalty to the ruler. Oath also signifies the duty of the ruler as protector of the people of both internal and external enemies. Ruler symbolizes in his ability to bring fertility and abundance for the people. Introduction of Islam in the Malay world was marked by new political change with the growth of the Islamic kingdom of Samudra Pasai (13th century AD) and Malacca (15th century AD). Just as we all know, every ruler is always looking for the legitimacy of the power to hold. Similarly, the new ruler of Samudra Pasai and Malacca sought legitimacy to rule. The patterns of power legitimation in the Malay rulers are almost identical to the pattern of legitimizing power in Javanese kingdom. Those are by finding lineage with the previous rulers, and by connecting the ruler to the upper realm.

In the Malay civilization, king or ruler claimed to have Alexander the Great lineage, the ruler who had a considerable influence in the history of the world. The persona of Alexander the Great is written in the Malay Annal and Hikayat Iskandar Zulkarnain manuscripts. The texts tell about his political and religious adventures. He is described as the great ruler who got directions from God. Throughout the course of his life, he was always accompanied by his friend, spiritual and political advisor: Prophet Khidr. In short, King Alexander the Great was the ruler blessed by the power given by God.

Malay Annals does not only describe the great Alexander the Great, but also the legitimacy of the Malay rulers who had a lineage with Alexander the Great. The text begins with the story of King Alexander the Great who traveled to the East India. There he met King Kida Hindi whose power covered almost to the entire India. King Alexander the Great conquered him. Eventually King Kida Hindi embraced the teachings of the Prophet Abraham. King Kida Hindi who had embraced the teachings of Abraham had a daughter named Sahrul Bariah who would inherit power after the death of King Kida Hindi. King Alexander the Great finally married her.

Malay rulers claimed to be a descendant of King Alexander the Great. It is told that on the Mount Siguntang Mahameru in Palembang where it controlled by the Palembang ruler named Demang Lebar Daun, miraculously appears a king named Bichitram who was later given the title of Sri Tribuana. The miraculously appearance of Sri Tribuana then obtained recognition of Demang Lebar Daun as the legitimate authority. The appearance of King Alexander the Great descendant in Bukit Siguntang Mahameru was characterized by the beam of sparkling light that transformed the surrounding land into gold (Ricklefs 2008). The emergence of King Alexander the Great descendant reminds the concept of Bodhisattva in Buddhism. He said "may have been Alexander the Great's but he is fully revealed. He and therefore Iskandar (The First Ruler of Melaka), move forward as God-King" (1970: 131). Wolters said that Siguntang Hill is a sacred place believed to be the center of the universe, and the king is the center of the world. In Buddhism-Mahayana, the Bodhisattva is a symbol of "the ruler of the world" that radiating light falling on the hill Jetavana and changing Sarasvati city in northern India into gold (Ricklefs 2008, 128–129).

Parameswara, the founder of the kingdom of Malacca, is the great-grandson of Sri Tribuana who married to Demang Lebar Daun daughter. Parameswara fled after Singapore defeated by Majapahit approximately in the year 1403 AD and established Melaka Kingdom there. In Sanskrit word the name Parameswara means the highest king and one of the names of Shiva. Parameswara himself legitimized himself as a descendant of the ruler of Srivijaya, and his followers regarded him as the successor to the kingdom of Srivijaya in Palembang.

Malay Annals tells that the marriage between Sri Tribuana and daughter of Demang Lebar Daun was not a unilateral marriage, but there was agreement required by Demang Lebar Daun. The agreement provided that the rulers and their descendants should not humiliate their people who are the descendants of Demang Lebar Daun. Instead, King Sri Tribuana required that people or followers might not disobey the rulers, although the later had done the unjust and evil. The covenant between Sri Tribuana and Demang Lebar Daun symbolizes three things: (1) Sri Tribuana as ruler, (2) Demang Lebar Daun as the lay people as well as (3) an intermediary man for the people by the authorities. Rulers are required to be just, generous, and decisive to enforce the

law. Meanwhile the ordinary people and authorities' subordinates are required to be loyal to the king. In Malay history, the relationship between the ruler and his subjects like a tree. Subjects or people are as the root, and the ruler is as a tree. Between the two are inseparable, "if there were no roots, the tree cannot stand". Therefore, the harmony between the roots and trees are needed "if the roots are strong then the tree will stand firmly".

The stories of Sri Tribuana and Demang Lebar Daun covenants find the concepts of Daulat and Durhaka in Malay tradition. Daulat means the power while the Durhaka means disobedience. According to Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Wahid (1966: 446), Daulat for the king is not only as a legal concept, it also includes cultural and religious concept. Daulat puts the King above people with all privileges and obligations. In addition Daulat also means the totality of the people's loyalty to the ruler. It is reinforced with the religious argument that Muslim has to obey the ruler among them.

Just as the Babad Tanah Jawa text, Malay Annals text was a way for the rulers to legitimize their rule. Patterns used is almost the same, namely to associate the ruler to the previous ruler ancestors and to associate with the upper realm. This also applies to other Malay texts. All of them suggest the legitimacy of power. Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai (The chronicles of King's Pasai) tells of a princess who was born in the bamboo shoots and a man who was taken by an elephant (special genealogy) as well as an assortment of stories about the greatness of the rulers against foreign conquerors (Anderson 1990) (Hill 1960) (Kratz 1989).

Hikayat Hang Tuah shows difference typical leadership than the Malay Annals. It is told about the chronicles of Hang Tuah, the son of a carpenter, who worked with his father. Since 10 years old Hang Tuah had studied martial arts with his colleagues such as hang Kasturi, Hang Jebat, Hang Lekir and Hang Lekiu. Hang Tuah showed his both physical and spiritual talent since a young age. Hang Tuah and his friends were trained by a teacher named Adi Putra a hermit who lived on the mountain. Hang Tuah and his friends became famous when they incidentally saved Tun Perak, a royal treasurer Melaka, which was being attacked by a pack of robbers. For his services, Hang Tuah and his friends were introduced by Tun Perak to the Sultan Muzaffar Shah. Then they were appointed by the king as a palace guard. Hang Tuah experienced a brilliant career then he was appointed to be the admiral that led the maritime army. Once upon a time Hang Tuah beat Majapahit envoy named Taming Sari and possessed Taming Sari's dagger that had a magical powers.

Hikayat Hang Tuah not only tells about heroic figure, but also about a palace intrigue and the feud between friends, Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat. The story began when the King Melaka accused Hang Tuah committing adultery with the royal ladies. Sultan sent the royal bodyguards to kill Hang Tuah. It might be the King conspiracy due to his popularity unrivalled. Hang Tuah was very popular to the people's eyes due to his success in every missions. He brought fragrant name of Melaka Kingdom in abroad. Even Tun Teja, Pahang royal princess ever felt happy when she heard that she would be proposed by Hang Tuah. Tun Teja expectation was vanished, because the intention Hang Tuah to visit Tun Teja in Pahang was to propose her for the king. Because the king's popularity was unrivalled, King obliged his guard to capture and kill Hang Tuah. When Tun Perak heard the news about death penalty against Hang Tuah, he hid Hang Tuah before the palace guards caught him. News about Hang Tuah arrests had been heard by Hang Jebat. Because Hang Jebat did not find Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat thought

that Hang Tuah had been killed by the guard. Hang Jebat became angry. Then he launched a rebellion against the king. During the breakout of Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat inherited his Taming Sari dagger.

King faced difficulty against Hang Tuah rebellion. None of guards were able to beat Hang musk because he possessed Taming Sari dagger. Then the King asked for help to the Tun Perak. Tun Perak filed Hang Tuah to face Hang Jebat with Hang Tuah's impunity as an exchange of his service. The king agreed with the requisition. The king then forgave and ordered Hang Tuah to embattle Hang Jebat insurgency. With high loyalty of Hang Tuah to obey the King, Hang Tuah faced against Hang Tuah. When confronted Hang Tuah, Hang Jebat said a popular adage "fair King is King to salute, Cruel king is King to refute". The battle between Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat lasted for seven days. On the fourth day, the Hang Tuah managed to fool Hang Jebat in order to seize Taming Sari dagger. Hang Tuah succeeded to injure Hang Jebat chest. Hang Jebat closed the wound with a bandage on his body and fled to run the amok in the center of town for three days. On the day of his death Hang Jebat asked Hang Tuah to open the bandages in his wound, suddenly the blood splattered. Hang Jebat died elegantly. Actually Hang Tuah was reluctant to kill Hang Jebat, but he did it based on the loyalty, consistency in the conviction carried, and Hang Tuah guilt that killed innocent people. Even so, Hang Tuah expected the change in the body of Melaka Sultanate. Hang Tuah advised Hang Jebat that he did not deserve to judge the King, only Allah would punish tyrants and unjust King.

Hikayat Hang Tuah does not only tell about the greatness of the hero or the main character of the story, but also about the values instilled both to the rulers and their followers. Hang Tuah figure is a symbol of loyalty, while Hang Tuah is a symbol of the antithesis of the style of fail leadership. The figure of Raja symbolizes the wrong behavior of ruler. Even though Hang Jebat figure is considered as a traitor, but he still gain the fame. Even in Malaysia the name Hang Tuah is embedded in the name of building and the road. Although Hang Tuah showed great loyalty, he gained the popularity among people. The king was jealous and intended to kill him.

The feud between Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat get a large enough portion in the Hikayat Hang Tuah. Indirectly Hang Jebat figure symbolizes people's imagination and hope of change against tyrant and unjust leadership. Although the emphasis of the stories is Hang Tuah loyalty to the leader. Hang Jebat figure strongly adheres in the imagination of the reader, it is criticism and satyr to the unjust ruler. It symbolizes the hope of the changes that regenerates fair leadership and bring prosperity and security for their people.

Power Relation in Javanese and Malay Political Tradition

The relationship between the people-king in coastal Malay Islamic kingdom shows interdependence. That is urban life, where the trade sector as the main livelihood. The merchant class began to grow rapidly and become the foundation of the economy of the Kingdom. Then the leadership must look at this opportunity, by releasing the totality of hegemony on the subject (people) and create mutual relation and the position of king-people as interdependent social institutions.

In Malay Annals the position of the two is described: "people as the roots and the ruler as a tree". Between the two are inseparable, "if there are no roots, the tree cannot

stand". Therefore, the harmony between the roots and trees are needed "if the roots are strong then the tree will stand firmly"

The covenant between Sri Tribuana and Demang Lebar Daun symbolizes three things: (1) Sri Tribuana as ruler, (2) Demang Lebar Daun as the lay people as well as (3) an intermediary man for the people to the authorities. Rulers are required to be just, generous, and decisive to enforce the law. Meanwhile the ordinary people and authorities' subordinates are required to be loyal to the king. It shows that the relationship between the king and the subject begins with the agreement. There was no authoritarian to make decision. It can be said that the relationship between the ruler and the subjects is in the form of negotiations in order to achieve a harmony. Rulers deserve to be obeyed otherwise people must be treated fairly.

This agreement has the same form as a trade. There is an exchange that has to be paid by each party, the relationship between the ruler, and intermediary as the representative was institutionalized in a constitutional structure of Melaka Sultanate. Sultan represents the symbols of power, Treasurer as a government administrator, as the intermediary between Sultan and the people.

While the relationship between king and subjects in the tradition of leadership in Java (Mataram) certainly cannot be said to be equal to the Malay Islamic kingdom due to the geographical location and systems of livelihood differences. In Javanese tradition the relationship between the ruler and the people referred in the structure of Kawula-Gusti. King has to possess of all power, both in matters of religion, running the government. The subjects are also united in him. In the Javanese Islamic kingdom, the ruling authority is stronger than the people, because there are ordinate-subordinate relations that bind each other in feudal culture or agrarian culture. The land and soil was considered as King's possession that the people manage it in order to fulfill the needs.

Many interpret the relationship Kawula-Gusti or King-Subject as the totality of King's power over the subjects. In the western modern point of view this relationship categorize as the totalitarian style of leadership. Even Anderson argues that the concept of power in the Java community shows the properties among others. (1) Power is concrete and definite. The authorities will show his power through the possession of objects that are considered to have supernatural power. (2) The power is homogeneous means that there is no difference on the types of power (3) Power is constant in terms of quality which means power that be achieved will be costly for the other, which means a win and loss relationship. (4) Power regardless the moral question such as how power can be achieved, in a good way or bad way is not important.

Even so, some ethical leadership in Java shows the different side of the totalitarian, as noted in Nitisruti Pupuh Pocung manuscript stanza 36, "the king must pay attention to the eight capability to be discussed and studied, elaborated, not to be forgotten every day to study the sciences of Hasta Brata (Eight Character)", The Hasta Brata, one of which is Bayu Brata (wind character) means that the leader must be able to know and comprehend the mind and will of the people and provide fresh air to the subject. Likewise, NitiKekawin I: 10 states "The lion is the guardian of the forest and constantly guards by forest. If a lion and the forest are at odds, they are angry, and the lion will leave the forest. The forests will be destroyed, trees will be felled, lion will run and hide in bulk, in the middle of the field, invaded and killed "Babad Tanah Jawi also discloses how a king should behave towards people. "When the capital city of Mataram moved to Kartasura there was a food crisis. Residents and soldiers felt miserable. The

price of the foods in the market was very expensive. This event made people despise to Amangkurat II, the king. Meanwhile Prince Puger later became King in Kartasura entitled Pakubuwono I, the king's brother intervened to observe the condition of the people and the market. He disguised as a lay people, dressed like them. After he observed the market then he prayed and made a solution to make the price cheap ". In short, the story suggests that the ideal king is not only able to understand the problems of his people but directly to involve overcoming the problems of the people.

Actually, if Kawula-Gusti relationship is pulled higher in spiritual understanding, Kawula-Gusti relationship that could mean the God-king relationship is not defined as manifestation of God into king thus making him absolute power. Rather it can be understood that the king is the embodiment of character of God on earth. There are a lot of will: the people, the universe, the king personally, and the whole world. They will only be understood and comprehended when he knows his God. Thus, it is mandatory for a king to understand the forms of high or God knowledge, and when he has reached the true knowledge, the harmony of this world can be realized.

If the pattern of leadership in Islamic Melaka Sultanate puts more emphasis on the differences of interdependence structure between the king and the subject, in Islamic Javanese kingdom, the relationship between King and subject is inseparable relationship. Both King and subject form an alignment to make a harmony. Harmony in Javanese culture is the key that is an inseparable relationship with each other and bring peace. Then the ruler is required to maintain balance. Means the king must be able to be a good reconciler in maintaining the harmony.

The relationship between king and subjects in both Javanese (Mataram) and Melaka leadership traditions can be said to be a paternalistic leadership. Subjects depicted as a children or family and King described as the father. Children have a request that the father should be able to know and understand the will of the child. Not all Children will is best for them. Thus the father has to able to give the best for his children. Similarly with the relationship between a lion and forests in Kekawin Niti Sastra, the relationship can be interpreted that the father should be able to provide protection to the family, the family is the place where the father can feel safe when come together with his family. In the Malay tradition, the paternalistic relationship can be seen in the concept of disobedience in relation king-Followers. As well as the relationship of parent and child, that child should not be to hurt their parents, because it would result in bringing misery. Conversely, if the parents are not able to give happiness to the child or the parents do unfair to the children, the family will be split. Allah will punish the parents, because they are not able to keep what entrusted by Him.

Islam and Power Relation in Java and Melayu

We cannot escape that the typical political leadership in Indonesia from Islam as the main idea. Islam has spread entirely that engaging in the structure of power (Asad 2009). According to Talal Asad (2009) (Zhou 2006) Islam as a discursive tradition means Islam as text that not only to comprehend of but also to reproduce by adjusting to the structure. We can call this process as a discourse. According to Asad, this discourse has a purpose that is always associated with the power relation. It is inevitable that as the text of Islam as value system is always constructed in a particular situation. It is no wonder as a text, it was able to be interpreted differently in a different situation. We can apply this process on the way how discourse of power is produced. It is not only an

attempt to instill moral conduct to the subjects but also to maintain the continuity and regularity of a ruling organization. It is a strategy and social engineering. In every change, the discourse will always be reproduced either through contestation and negotiation, which is associated with the place and time (past, present, and future) (Asad 2009) (Resi 2010).

From Asad's perspective, we can see how the contestation among structures which then forms Political Islamic tradition in Mataram. In Javanese Mataram, the concept of political leadership is integralist (borrowed Supomo concept). It is the typical leadership that tries to unite all the will in the hand of the ruler based on the realm of Javanese feudal society. This leadership is maintained in the form of legitimation. We can see it from the way Mataram rulers legitimized his power by not only based on the Javanese tradition that had been institutionalized in Javanese social system that has deep rooted for a long time, but also based on Islamic teaching such as the Islamic based lineages of Adam's power and prophethood and the inauguration of King as caliph. It was as an attempt to negotiate with other a structure of power, in which Islam had institutionalized with its own tradition in Javanese society.

Likewise with the Malay civilization, the ruler was still to maintain the power based not only on Buddhist concept of power as we can see from the legend of the emergence of Sri Tribuana in Bukit Siguntang, and Islamic teaching with the legend of Iskandar Zulkarnain. We can be said that Malay has managerial typical leadership as we can see from the covenants to deal with the power relations. Islam was able to perform to change the power structure through the merchant network. Thus the Melaka ruler tried to maintain the relationship between the people, the king, and the growth of the merchant class by making interdependence relation among them.

Conclusion

There is no leadership without authority Both Javanese and Malay traditional politics. In order to institutionalize the power the actor as the ruler has to be legitimized it based on the tradition. The type of leadership cannot come just based only on understanding the text, but always constructed based on space and time in which it is constructed. If we look at the functional glasses, each system leadership cannot be separated from the way the actor trying to maintain the stability and order of the social system.

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