

***Punggawa Baku* in the Mangkunagara I Leadership's Discourses**

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Abstract: In the 18th century, there is known a figure named Mangkunagara I or previously known as R.M. Said. He is one of the influential Javanese leaders which have the thought a concept of modern government. In the mid-18th century there is a political turmoil occurred, power seizure between the heirs of Mataram dynasty and Dutch also interference (*VOC*) in the government bureaucracy in Java. Henceforth, R.M. Said appeared as a central figure in the middle of Javanese's leaders who seek for power. The aims of R.M. Said emergence are to restore the government authority that suffered a setback after the internal and external conflicts. Furthermore, R.M. Said began the fight from the outside of the palace to fight the Dutch (*VOC*) through guerrilla warfare along with his loyal followers for about sixteen years and with about 200 battles. R.M. Said faithful followers serve as an elite force named *Punggawa Baku*. The number of these elite force are only 18 people, and then increased to 40 people. *Punggawa Baku* is the reliance force and Mangkunagara's I right-hand because of their loyalty toward R.M. Said. They always follow every fight of R.M. Said until achieve the title of K.G.P.A.A Mangkunagara I (MN I). Every step taken by Mangkunagara I always involves *Punggawa Baku*, including during making applicable rules in his leadership and government policy. The involvement of *Punggawa Baku* in every thing done by Mangkunagara I show a great thing owned and done by them, in which it is interesting to further discuss. The role of *Punggawa Baku* symbolically seems to be the discourse medium during Mangkunagara's I leadership. Henceforth, it needs a proper analysis to discuss this research case in this article. This article uses Cultural Studies paradigm which is eclectic and critical. The theory used is discourse theory proposed by Michael Foucault and using hermeneutic approach. The aims of this article are to shows the role of *Punggawa Baku* in the leadership discourse built by Mangkunagara I and to find out the action motive inside.

Keywords: *Punggawa Baku, Leadership, Discourse, Mangkunagara I*

Introduction

In the 18th century, there is a figure namely Mangkunegara I (MN I) who has childhood name R.M. Said. He is one of the influence leaders in Java and also has a modern government concept of thought. Some of his concepts applied in government during his reign are *Tri Dharma*, *Hanebu Sauyun*, and *Tiji Tibeh*. Those three concepts are the combination from Javanese's and Asian's thought that prioritize the unity of harmony and organic. Utilizing those three concepts, Mangkunegara I was able to shape the most successful and influential economics, bureaucracies, and laws in the entire Dutch East Indies. The leadership successfulness has proven Mangkunegara capability to rule himself and communities.

Mangkunegara I successful leading achievement can not be separated from various polemics including politics. The political turmoil happened in the 18th century is the power seizure between the heir of Mataram dynasty and the Dutch (*VOC*) interference in the government bureaucracy in Javanese. Furthermore, R.M. Said appeared as the central figure among other Javanese leaders who seek for power. The emergence of R.M. Said aims is to restore the government authority which experienced a setback during the previous internal and external conflicts. Therefore, R.M. Said began his fight from the outside of the Palace to fight the Dutch (*VOC*) through guerrilla warfare along with his loyal follower for about sixteen years and with

around 200 wars. R.M. Said's loyal follower acted as an elite force called *Punggawa Baku*. The number of its elite troop initially only 18 people then increased to 40 people.

Punggawa baku are the trusted force and also Mangkunegara I right hand because of their loyalty. They always accompany every R.M. Said's battle until he received the title of K.G.P.A.A. Mangkunegara I (MN I). R.M. Said always involve *Punggawa Baku* in every decision he made, including when creating the rules applied during his leadership and his government policies. The involvement of *Punggawa Baku* in every thing done by MN I, shows that there is something big and possessed by them which is very interesting to study further. Symbolically, *Punggawa Baku* role is visible in the form of discourse medium during MN I leadership.

There have many studies discussing about the Javanese leadership, such as Benedict Anderson entitled "*The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture*" (in 1972, reprinted in 1990) succeed in making convincing opinions about how Javanese political concepts are able to affect in countries management even in the modern era. Soemarsaid's opinion about Country and Stated Owned-Business in Javanese in the pas (1986) and it is about the basics of Javanese leadership. There is also Fachry Ali in his book entitled *The Reflection of Javanese Power's Ideology in Modern Indonesia* (1986).

There are also found some Javanese books and manuscripts discussing about Mangkunegara I, as written in *Babad Kemalon (Pakunegara)* manuscript. It is about Mangkunegara I fight along with his soldiers. There is also *Babad Kartasura* which tells about *Geger Pacina* incident and power shifting. Manuscript entitled *Babad Tutur* which is about Mangkunegara dialy routines and any other similar manuscripts discussing about the role of Mangkunegara I. furthermore, there is books discussing about Mangkunegara I written by Soedarmono, et all in *Mangkunegaran Governance* which is about ideologies, politics, economics, socials, cultures, and defenses aspects from Mangkunegara I until Mangkunegara IX. Fanie in his book entitled *KGPA Hamengkoenagoro I World Point of View in Babad Tutur* (1994) made an explanation of Mangkunegara I portrayal mentioned in the manuscripts. Hikmawati, in thesis entitled *Babad Kemalon (Pakunegara) Study about R.M. Said fight in establishing Mangkunegaran Duchy* (2014) which elaborates Mangkunegara I moral values and adopted as teaching materials of history subject for Senior High Students.

From the various sources of references, books, and manuscripts that focus on Mangkunegara I figure, therefore it is able to be a comparison for this article to study and make the main soldiers (*Punggawa Baku*) as the center point that will be used as research objects and have not been studied previously. To uncover this research problems, the researcher use Michael Foucault theory of discourse which is expected that this article later will enrich the discussion about the unrevealed history and able to provide the description of the previous political condition that can be adopted in the present era.

Method

This article employs Michael Foucault's theory of discourse as the research methodology. Foucault proposed methods and discourse theory about discourse as a knowledge production originated from language through discoursed in the society as it will produce power. Foucault interprets power as the ability to communicate the thoughts to influence the will of the others during a discursive process, spreading on every personals and inter-personals controlled by the knowledge which is already fused with the systems.

The applied theory proposed by Foucault in this article is more inclined to leadership discourse. Through the leadership discourse, it is shown that there is power relation and knowledge. A leadership authority can not be separated from political power. The strong leadership will create a strong impact of discourse in society also. The Javanese people who are especially have submission and obeying the authorities' habit will be easier to detect how strong the discourse effect because the community becomes more easily controlled by the leader. Therefore, this article will shows the relation between the leader (Mangkunegara I) and people implementation (*Punggawa Baku*) along with its relevance the present leadership.

The practice of power discourse by Mangkunegara I along with *Punggawa Baku* in terms of politics is interesting to study using cultural studies paradigm. In addition, cultural studies paradigm uses theories interpreted in critical thinking system. This research employs qualitative methods and descriptive qualitative and interpretative to analyze the data which use hermeneutic approach.

Results and Discussion

Mangkunegara's I Achievements during with Punggawa Baku

Before being entitled as Mangkunegara I, R.M. Said is his name. R.M. Said already start his wars even when he is still young accompanied by Punggawa Baku which initially only 18 people, but as the time past it is increase into 40 people. They have fight wars for about 200 times in 16 years and almost won every war they fought. These victories number are a great achievement because with smaller number of troops but they are able to dominate the warzone and win the wars. Thus, it makes them feared by the enemies. Among 200 wars done by Mangkunegara I and *Punggawa Baku*, there are some wars considered to have a large scale and iconic. The first war is during *Ontran – ontran Sukowati*, it was a war between R.M. Said and his troops fought the Prince Mangkoebumi armies. Furthermore, there is a fact discovered which is elaborated in *Babad Lelampahan, pupuh Sinom* in page 62-65, it is mentioned that R.M. Said was fully supported by one of *Punggawa Baku's* member, Patih Kundonowarso in seizing Sukowati area. Secondly, Kasatriyan war in Ponorogo, which is incidentally a civil wars between R.M. Said and his uncle also R.M. Said father-in-law. The third was in the coast, the fourth war is Sitakepyak's war in Rembang, and the fifth war is the attack of Vradenburg Fort in Yogyakarta. R.M. Said and *Punggawa Baku* won all of those five wars, thus it adds R.M. Said leadership prestige.

The victories achieved by R.M. Said were all thanks to the strong coordination and a strong war strategy also. Various strategies carried out by R.M. Said and *Punggawa Baku* were guerilla strategy and war tactic which later became very effective. There are four well-known defensive tactics used by them, such as: *wewelutan* (known as slippery as the eel or not easy to catch), *dhedhemitan* (quietly and invisible like the spirits), disappearance and *jejemblungan* (hide and seek) tactics which are effective in the countryside and mountains also in the jungle. Aside from warfare strategies, the decision made to support during the warfare in the logistic area was by approaching towards the nearby societies who were also trained military movement to increase the number of non-military troops. Especially with the achieved successive victories, it makes easier for R.M. Said and *Punggawa Baku* to gain support and sympathy from the societies who were the negligence victims of the highest authorities who favor VOC in terms of power rather paying attention on its societies.

After 16 years of fight, R.M. Said got his own regional authority to establish its government with some rules from Kasunanan palace. It was stated in Salatiga treaty on March 17th 1757.

Approving the terms in Salatiga treaty, the Dutch and Kasultanan Yogyakarta officially recognized the establishment of Praja Mangkunegara and R.M. Said were give title as KGPAA Mangkunegara I. Since possessing power and authority, Mangkunegara I and Punggawa Baku agreed to form government bureaucracy, state basis, and government project together. Together in terms of the leader and loyal follower of Mangkunegara I.

During his leadership, Mangkunegara I made several controversial policies. Among them are giving freedom to speeches; argues; learns; and military for the women citizen of Mangkunegara. In addition, he also made three basis state foundations which are different from the common leadership in Javanese, such as: *tri dharma*, *hanebu sauyun*, *tiji tibe* yang. Those three basics state are able to be quickly implemented in the psychology of Mangkunegara's societies and made politics, economics, socials, cultures, and religions aspect more advance than other leadership around. In fact, this has gained recognition from the others developed countries that *Praja Mangkunegara* during Mangkunegara's I leadership is the best in the Dutch East Indies areas. Except from state foundations, there was also made political contract between the ruler and its people. Those political contracts symbolize the sovereignty which will show the continuous cooperation between the ruler and its people. The rulers were represented by Mangkunegara I and the people were represented by *Punggawa Baku*. The creation of political contract is the manifestation of discourse made by Mangkunegara I to maintain the existence and power legitimacy. All punggawa Baku are considered as the discourse media of Mangkunegara's leadership.

The Role of Punggawa Baku

In the research background and discussion it is already mentioned that *Punggawa Baku* always participates in every move and decision taken by Mangkunegara I. This is shows that the role of *Punggawa Baku* beside as the main troops of Mangkunegara I but also as important figure participates in every fight and Mangkunegara's I leadership.

Below are the 40 name of Punggawa Baku members

- 1) Kyai Wirodiwongso / Kyai Tumenggung Kundonowarso
- 2) Raden Sutowijoyo
- 3) Mas Ngabei Joyo Dikromo
- 4) Kyai Ngabei Joyosantiko
- 5) Kyai Ngabei Joyorencono
- 6) Kyai Ngabei Joyopuspito
- 7) Kyai Ngabei Joyohutomo
- 8) Raden Ngabei Joyosentono
- 9) Raden Ngabei Joyomursito
- 10) Kyai Ngabei Joyowidento
- 11) Kyai Ngabei Joyosuwahyo
- 12) Kyai Ngabei Joyoprabowo
- 13) Kyai Ngabei Joyojoedo
- 14) Kyai Ngabei Joyotilarso
- 15) Kyai R.M.Ng. Joyoleyangan
- 16) Kyai Ngabei Joyosemito
- 17) Kyai Ngabei Joyodipuro
- 18) R. Ngabei Joyosutarmo
- 19) Kyai Joyosudarso

- 20) Kyai Surengpati Sepuh
- 21) Kyai Surojoyo
- 22) Kyai Surowongso
- 23) Kyai Condro Tanoyo
- 24) Kyai Surengpati Enem
- 25) Kyai Citrodiwongso
- 26) Kyai Surogerdjito
- 27) Mas Demang Poncowigeno
- 28) Kyai Kartomanggolo
- 29) Kyai Taliwangsul
- 30) Kyai Gunowijoyo
- 31) Kyai Singodiwongso
- 32) Kyai Kartolesono
- 33) Kyai Setroketu
- 34) Kyai Jemparing
- 35) Kyai Gagakeri
- 36) Kyai Gagakpranowo
- 37) Kyai Gagakrejo
- 38) Kyai Gunobau
- 39) Raden Mangunrejo.
- 40) Raden Hendropanitis.

From those names, the role of Tumenggung Kundonowarso and Raden Sutowijoyo are quite important. Tumenggung Kundonowarso served as Mangkunegara's I advisor starting from the beginning of warfare until during Mangkunegara's I leadership. He is not only acted as the advisor but also the reconciliation during the civil war occurred in fairly long period. In addition, Raden Sutawijoyo acted as financial supporter of R.M. Said warfare for 16 years of wars. This is because he is the heir from wealthy regent. Raden Sutowijoyo later was promoted into Kyai Tumenggung Ronggo Panambang because of his financial support. Therefore, he became the Mangkunegara War Commander. The promotion of Raden Sutowijoyo gives an inspiration for adding the word *Joyo* which means victorious or winning for the other members of *Punggawa Baku*. Other members of *Punggawa Baku* also have their own roles. It was implied in the *Punggawa Baku* nickname in the sense of Javanese names which have strong impression in terms of meaning. It were to shows their individuals roles and capabilities.

From the above explanation, it shows that the authorities discourse can not be separated from societies. The ruler needs followers to recognize his/ her leadership continuously. This will shows how big the ruler charismatic and prestige in front of its citizens. In this case, Mangkunegara I needs his loyal follower namely *Punggawa Baku*. The citizen who are elected as *Punggawa Baku* are not chosen freely, however they are people who are capable to give support from any other aspects needed by Mangkunegara I to gather support from the other civilians. The more civilians supporting Mangkunegara I, hereinafter the greater discourse made during Mangkunegara's I leadership period.

Relevance

In the 18th century, Mangkunegara's I leadership became a reference for any other political leaderships. It all because of Mangkunegara I was able to build a very big leadership's discourse and even able made his leadership's legitimacy last for a long time. Even at the present time,

Mangkunegara's I leadership still remembered, especially for those who are related to the previous events in the history. Moreover, his power's legitimacy in form of buildings and writings still exists and traceable. Therefore, it shows that Mangkunegara's I still has a great influence in his power's legitimacy. Not only it is remembered in history, but also the political tactics developed in the present era were have been implemented by Mangkunegara I in the 18th century. This is shows that Mangkunegara's I and Punggawa Baku insights are very far ahead of time.

At the present era and coincidentally happens political's year in Indonesia. Political tricks used are almost the same with the tricks used by Mangkunegara I in the 18th century. It appears that the present Indonesian presidential candidates are supported by the collaboration of political parties who becomes their liaisons. The liaison groups from each political party have their own roles to hegemony the societies to choose their president and vice president candidates. It is similar with Mangkunegara's I leadership, every liaison teams have their own figures as their financial supporters. The presidential and vice presidential candidates are trying to discourses their voters through work programs promises in the midst of communities seeking for the most voters support. It can be concluded that the present politics are adopted from the previous political period.

Learning the history, especially about Mangkunegara I it is strongly recommended to study more about Punggawa Baku. Thus, Mangkunegara I will not be able to reach the top without gaining the full support from Punggawa Baku. In addition, also do more clarifying about historical readings, thus it will minimize the historical search errors. The mistakes during historical search will be critical, which is still happen in Solo. There is an unfinished conflict between Kraton Kasunanan and Pura Mangkunegaran until now. It is happened because of the lack of historical understanding and the clarity of each party.

Mangkunegaran should be able to maintain and carry out the previous political contracts made by Mangkunegara I and Punggawa Baku. The contract has an important content about the command to keep the mutual respect between the rulers and its people, if it is violated it will be harmful for the leadership. It is similar with the authorities or rulers do what they without caring for their people, it will diminish the people's trust which resulting in the rulers lose their prestige and supporters. The people's disbelief for their ruler will topple the ruler and will only insulting the people who were hurt by their ruler.

Conclusions

The discourse proposed by Mangkunegara I considered Punggawa Baku as an object of his leadership discourse because Punggawa Baku have contributed a lot during his wars and Mangkunegara's I government in every aspects. The relevance of the present political are adopted from Mangkunegara's I politics in the 18th century, about the Ruler who are competing to gain support for his/ her legitimacy of power.

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