

Land Regulations in the Yogyakarta Sultanate *Rijksblad* In the Second Decade of the 20 Century

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Abstract: Land regulations are made to organize life together in the community hoping that there are regulations that can provide legal certainty and resolve agrarian conflicts. However, in feudal times, the theory of royal property (*vorstendomein*) and royal property rights (*vorsteneigendoorsrecht*) said that all royal lands belonged to the king. Since the signing of the Giyanti treaty in 1755, the Sultan has made rules to regulate life in the communities enshrined in *Rijksblad*. Therefore, it is necessary to study land regulations during feudal times as part of the history of legal changes and developments in Yogyakarta society. Using the historical research method and the law approach through the *Rijksblad*, this research shows that even though the land regulations in the feudal era said that the king was the absolute owner of the land, the Sultan had made the rules.

Abstrak: Pengaturan pertanahan dibuat untuk menata kehidupan bersama dalam masyarakat dengan harapan ada regulasi yang dapat memberikan kepastian hukum dan menyelesaikan konflik agraria. Namun, pada zaman feodal teori kepemilikan kerajaan (*vorstendomein*) dan hak milik kerajaan (*vorsteneigendoorsrecht*) mengatakan bahwa semua tanah kerajaan adalah milik raja. Sejak penandatanganan perjanjian Giyanti pada tahun 1755, Sultan telah membuat aturan untuk mengatur kehidupan masyarakat yang diabadikan di *Rijksblad*. Oleh karena itu, perlu dikaji regulasi pertanahan pada masa feodal sebagai bagian dari sejarah perubahan dan perkembangan hukum di masyarakat Yogyakarta. Dengan menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah dan pendekatan hukum melalui *Rijksblad*, penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa meskipun peraturan pertanahan pada zaman feodal menyatakan bahwa raja adalah pemilik mutlak atas tanah, namun yang dibuat oleh Sultan adalah peraturannya.

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INTRODUCTION

The second decade of the XX century is a new period in land law in the Yogyakarta Sultanate undergoing changes. The change was that the Kasultanan and Pakualaman Governments granted *anggaduh* rights to the villages (article 3 paragraph 1) turned into *andarbeni* rights or *andarbeni* authorities (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan No. 6/1926 & *Rijksblad* Pakualaman No. 26 of 1925). As for land that is outside the provisions of Article 3 paragraph 1 does not include the authority of the village (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan No 11 of 1911 & *Rijksblad* Pakualaman No 15 of 1919), however, the village can request to be converted into village land or people's land, if the Government is *Kasultanan* or *Pakualaman* do not wear it. Such is the change in land law that occurred in Yogyakarta.

Previously, in discussing land ownership in the Yogyakarta region, it is necessary to note that it relies heavily on the king's power that is characterized by tradition. The concept of a king's power is not far from the definition of power in gen-



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eral, which is absolute. The king is a legislator, enforcer of laws, and at the same time as a judge (Moedjanto, 1987, p. 77). Thus, the power of a king seems great and unlimited. The people recognize the king as the owner of everything, both property and the people who use the land in their territory.

The king as the ruler of all the land in his territory then took part in the land and labor (*kawula*). However, in its development, the control and ownership of land by the king transformed, especially after the agrarian reorganization was held. Communities are allowed to own land privately. Likewise, with foreign nations, they are allowed to manage the land they occupy. This is related to the understanding of the concept of property rights based on The Dutch Civil Code (*Burgerlijk Wetboek*) which emphasizes that land ownership is in the hands of the government.

Along with the rule of foreign nations, especially Europe in Indonesia, it rose to two views regarding land control. The cultural power of the king as the leader in the land of *Vorstenlanden* was the absolute ruler of the land. On the other hand, the colonial government as the ruler of the colonial state also considered all the land in Indonesia to belong to the colonial ruler as well. More precisely, following the *Domein Verklaring* principle that was applied by the colonial government to claim land belonging to the bumiputra group, both rights to individuals and common law associations could not prove who owned it to become state land. Thus it can be understood that the policy of applying the *Domein Verklaring* theory was based on the fact that the Dutch government considered the kings in Indonesia who had domineering power over land so that the domain's rights were automatically taken up by the Dutch. Furthermore, based on this theory, the colonial government could lease lands to onderneming companies on a larger scale.

Therefore, in connection with the *Domein Verklaring* principle, there is a new understanding that a person who cannot prove the land he controls, then the land concerned is state land. If the land is controlled by the state, the state can lease it or control it. In connection with this, various kinds of land rights have emerged, including *Eigendom* rights, *Opstal* rights, *Erfpacht* rights, collection rights (*vruchtgebruik*), and mortgage rights (Setiawati, 2001, p. 18).

The definition of law is a set of rules used in regulating life together in society, the implementation of which can be enforced with punishments (Sudikno Mertokusumo). Thus, a law is a set of regulations that have the aim of managing people's

lives to achieve a just, prosperous, and orderly life. In the feudal era, land in the Sultanate of Yogyakarta and Pakualaman, which was part of the former *Swapraja* in Yogyakarta, was regulated by a law called *Rijksblad* Kasultanan Year 1821 Number 16 and *Rijksblad* Puro Pakualaman Year 1821 Number 18.

Rijksblad is a regulation used to organize the life of the people of Yogyakarta during the reign of the Sultanate and Pakualaman. Thus, *Rijksblad* is a legal product of an autonomous region and not a result of the law of indigenous peoples. The Sultanate and Pakualaman areas were called *Swapraja* areas because they were self-governing areas. This situation causes the status of SG and PAG land not to be transferred to the state because that land cannot apply the UUPA.

Rijksblad was used by the Sultan and Pakualaman to administer land in their territory. In the theory of the king's property (*vorstendomein*) and the property of the king (*vorsteneigendoormsrecht*) which are deeply rooted in society, it is said that all royal land is for the king and the property of the king. The domain rights for the Sultan to land ownership rights in the Special Region of Yogyakarta have existed since the Giyanti agreement was signed in 1755. This condition has resulted in an understanding that the king is everything. As stated by Rouffaer who put forward the theory of *vorstendomein* (king's property rights) that the king owns the land throughout the kingdom (G.P. Rouffaer). This view is in line with Kusumoharyono's opinion, which states that people only have the right to use forever and cannot sell their land to other parties (Kusumoharyono, 2006). Likewise, Ong Hok Ham argued that according to absolute tradition, the king was the sole owner of the land.

In Traditional times there are several types of land ownership, namely *narawita* land (land owned by the king) and *lungguh* land (the land was given to employ the nobles or officials). The pattern of land ownership and ownership in Java as such, cannot be released with the authority of a king as a ruler. The Sultan is the absolute ruler over the land in his territory. In the management of the land, the king ordered his servants to manage the land in his territory.

After the colonial administration in Indonesia, the colonial government carried out an agrarian reorganization by issuing the 1870 Agrarian Law. This Agrarian Reorganization has shown that there is a modernization process in the agrarian sector which has a broad impact on the people of the Special Region of Yogyakarta. The agrarian reorganiza-

tion carried out by the Dutch colonial government had an impact on the people, namely the people who initially only used land with the status of cultivating rights (*anggaduh*) to ownership rights (*andarbe*). As for the Dutch colonial government, an agrarian reorganization was used for the economic interests of its government, at which time the Dutch colonial government was also carrying out ethical politics. Thus, the land reorganization in 1870 can be said to have overthrown the feudal system in the natural system. In the early days of feudalism's collapse, land conflicts were characterized by individual land disputes, ranging from issues of use, inheritance, purchase, and sale of land to claims of the people against *priyayi*.

After Indonesian independence, especially after the reorganization in 1960, land in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, both urban and rural areas, underwent a fundamental change due to ownership and control. Agrarian rearrangement in this period was made to eliminate dualism in the Agrarian law, namely common law and Agrarian law based on Western law. In this period, Agrarian conflicts in D.I. Yogyakarta were increasingly structural. Thus, the existence of Agrarian reorganization has implications for an increase in land conflicts in Yogyakarta.

Research on land law has been conducted by several authors including Huda (2000), Sari (2016), Jati (2014). The research has emphasized various land laws and various political, cultural, social issues in a broader way that are different from the research I have conducted. This paper will explain and analyze the ins and outs of *Rijksblad* as the land law in D. I. Yogyakarta. The main questions in this paper will be who made *Rijksblad*, how, when, and where, and for what it was made.

Departing from this background, the subject matter of this paper is what is meant by *Rijksblad*, why *Rijksblad* appears, when *Rijksblad* appears, where and when *Rijksblad* appear. Yogyakarta as a *vorstenlanden* or *praja kejawen* received different treatment than other areas in the Dutch East Indies. Yogyakarta is one of the *vorstenlanden* areas, from the other three regions, all of which are termed *catur sagatra*. As for what is meant by *catur sagatra* includes (1) the Yogyakarta Sultanate; (2) Surakarta Sunanate; (3) *Praja Mangkunegaran*; and (4) *Kadipaten Pakualaman*. Regarding legal issues there, it was mentioned at the beginning that there are differences from other areas. Apart from the decision of the Dutch East Indies Government, the *Rijksblad* also applies which is studied in depth in the following discourse.

METHOD

This research was conducted to explain *Rijksblad* as the land law in Yogyakarta. This research is library research. The method used is the historical method, which consists of four steps, namely heuristics, verification, interpretation, and historiography, verification, interpretation, and historiography.

Heuristics is an activity to look and find the necessary resources. This activity is done to find and collect traces of events that reflect various aspects of past activities. The goal is that the framework of understanding obtained based on relevant sources can be formulated clearly, completely, and thoroughly. The sources used in this paper are primary and secondary. The primary sources used were the *Rijksblad* published by the Sultanate and Pakualaman. Meanwhile, the secondary source is the testimony of anyone who is not a witness, namely witnesses who were not present at the incident (Gottschalk, 1986, p. 43). Another definition of secondary sources is a source that comes from the writings of historians and other scientists that are relevant to the research topic. Efforts to find sources relevant to this research were conducted at the Central Library of Gajah Mada University (UGM), St. Ignatius Library, Yogyakarta Palace Library, Para Pakualam Library, and private library. Secondary sources used in this study include Wasino (2008), Suhartono (1991), and Huda (2000).

The next stage is source criticism or the verification as a source testing step and critically analyzing the authenticity of the sources that have been collected (Kuntowijoyo, 1995, p. 99). Source criticism eventually provides a conclusion to make a decision.

The next stage is the interpretation of the various facts that exist in historical sources as an effort to assemble the evidence that has been discovered and determined through external and internal source criticism to become an interconnected meaning. This evidence is arranged, linked with other evidence so that they appear as a series of logical proof and show meaning. Interpretation is very close to subjectivity. At this stage, in seeing a story, historians are required to suppress subjectivity (Pranoto, 2010, p. 37).

The final stage is historiography as an imaginative reconstruction phase looking at the past based on the data obtained by going through the process of critically examining and analyzing the legacy records obtained (Gottschalk, 1986, p. 32). The purpose of historiography is to write the results of the interpretation so that it becomes an objective historical story so that later it will form a historical

story. At the historiography stage, it is necessary for the writer to have technical skills in using quotations, notes, critical and analytical, and think in detail so that the descriptions presented are related to one another. This stage is the final stage for the writer to present the facts of the *Rijksblad* content into historical writing.

DEFINITION OF RIJKSBLAD

Rijksblad is a word from Dutch which can mean a royal chapter. The contents are about the regulations that apply in *Vorstenlanden*, in this context is the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Kadipaten Pakualaman. The Yogyakarta Sultanate *Rijksblad* prevails in the cities of the Sultanate, Yogyakarta Regency, Bantul, Gunung Kidul, and Kulon Progo. Meanwhile, the RPA applies in the city of *Pakualaman* and *Adikarto* Regency (Suryo et al., 2013, p. 144).

Each year, 1 volume of the *Rijksblad* is made. The number of regulations contained in it ranged from three to over ten of the regulations issued by the Sultan and *Pakualam*. Thus, it can be seen that the *Sultan* and *Pakualam* were given the freedom to issue *Rijksblad*. However, it should be noted that the freedom referred can be said to be conditional because there is the role of a *Pepatih Dalem* as a rijksbestuurder. This, at the same time, implies the placement of the *Dalem Pepatih* indirectly also shows that there is an intervention in the policies of the *Sultan* and *Pakualam*. Thus, it can be understood that a *Patih Dalem* has an essential position. This very significant position was what the Dutch tried to take advantage of. The information that appeared indicated that *Pepatih Dalem* could be used; therefore it could not be separated from the control of the Dutch East Indies Government towards the *Sultan* and *Pakualam*. Even though the *Pepatih Dalem* is *bumiputra*, it could be that his loyalty is in the Western camp (Nugroho et al., 2018, p. 79).

Pepatih Dalem really has the most important position in the *Rijksblad*, even more important than the *Sultan* and *Pakualam*. This can be seen from the analysis of the signature structure in each *Rijksblad* which can be seen from the top to the bottom signature. The most important person, usually the signature is at the bottom. For example, in RPA Number 8 of 1921 concerning people classified as the people, several signatures are seen on the back. As an example of the learning about "*Bab kang digolongake kawulane kanjeng gupermen ing sajrone pasesidhenan Surakarta lan Ngayogyakarta. Bab anglumrahake nawala kakancingane kanjeng*

gupermen katiti mangsan ning 27 September 1921 angka 2x (setatblad angka 566) bab pranatan tumrap kang digolongake kawulane kanjeng gupermen ing bawahe paprentahan Jawa ing pasesidhenan Surakarta lan Ngayogyakarta" It can be seen that there are three signatures in it, first on the right side there is *Kanjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Arya Pakualam*. Second, the left side is *Kanjeng Tuwan Residhen Ngayogyakarta*. Third, at the bottom middle between the two signatures is *Pepatih Dalem, Raden Mas Tumenggung Brata Atmaja*. This means that the signature of the *Pepatih Dalem* is the crucial signature that determines whether the *Rijksblad* can be issued or not. It can also be seen that the three people who signed it were people involved in the process of making *Rijksblad* (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 8 of 1921).

So, why was *Rijksblad* made? *Rijksblad* was also created to regulate the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the *Kadipaten Pakualaman* as an institution, along with the people in it. This is because the words of the *Sultan* and *Pakualam* were heard more by the people than the words of a resident of West-blooded Yogyakarta who had been labeled a colonizer. It is like the son's earth will listen to the son's earth, so will the West who listens to the West. Besides, *Rijksblad* was also made as a form of affirmative action to complement, accompany, add to, or replace regulations made by the Dutch East Indies Government that did not apply in *Vorstenlanden* (Antoro, 2014, p. 435). A simple example can be seen in the *Rijksblad Kasultanan* Number 16 of 1918 and *Rijksblad Pakualaman* Number 18 of 1918 which accompany (a) the *Domeinverklaring* Rule; (b) *Staatsblad* Number 179 of 1875; (c) *Staatsblad* Number 474 of 1915; and (d) *Burgelijk Wetboek* made by the Dutch East Indies Government (Murniatmo et al., 1989, p. 58; Hadisuprpto, 1976, p. 8).

Viewed historiographically, *Rijksblad* can be interpreted as a source of local historiography, in this case Yogyakarta during the colonial period. Local historiography is a reflection of the culture of the local community in various aspects, including social, economic, cultural, political and legal. The word local is often connoted with traditional, although there is already an intellectual awareness in it (Kartodirdjo, 1983, p. IV). The connotation with the traditional is not because of the existence of myths or oral traditions, but because of several traditional historiographical features contained in the *Rijksblad*. The characteristics referred to include regional or regional and religious-centric or palace-centered regions (Mulyana & Darmiasti, 2009, pp.

34-38). These two characteristics were also used as a means of strengthening the ties between the *Sultan* and / or *Pakualam* and the people. It can be an alternative to answer challenges to grand narratives about the dynamics of power (Nordholt, Purwanto, & Saptari, 2013, p. 2). That is the dynamics of the relationship between the power holders, namely the *Sultan* and/or *Pakualam*, with the people. Local historiography can be used as a reference for historical writing. Also, it can be used to make comparisons between periods (Djajadiningrat, 1983, pp. 318-319). The reason is, each period must have a different era spirit which was created from the cultural movement (*zeitgeist*) (Kartodirdjo, 1983, p. IV). Besides, the spirit of the *Rijksblad* era was not only created from cultural movements, but also from the movement and dynamics of the Dutch-Indian scale which was converted into local scales, to be precise the Yogyakarta scale. The concepts in *Rijksblad* reinforce its presence as local historiography, including concepts related to land.

LAND REGULATION IN RIJKSBLAD

The *Rijksblad* contains various regulations, one of which is related to land affairs. The linkages are expressed through the concepts. Say there is the concept of *Sultan* Ground and *Pakualam* Ground which means crown land or land that belongs to the *Sultan* and *Pakualam* (Antoro, 2014, p. 435). The position of *Sultan* ground and *Pakualam* ground is clarified through agrarian reformation which is a reform of land regulations in *vorstenlanden*. The reformation mentioned includes the determination of the boundaries of the lands of the *Sultan* and *Pakualam*, the elimination of feudalism over land, and the provision of wages in the form of land in exchange for money. In addition, leases and taxes on land also came into effect (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 16 of 1918; *Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 18 of 1918; *De Locomotief Newspaper*, 17 August 1918; *De Locomotief Newspaper*, 29 October 1931). In the following year, in the *Rijksblad* in 1925 “*Bab owah-owahane pranatan bab inggone anetepake lan bab pamupuran pajeg bumi ing bawah Kadipaten Pakualaman*” regarding tax was clarified. Tax on land, also known as *pajeg bumi*, is imposed on land used by the people for their personal interests. *Pajeg bumi* is paid to the *Sultan* and *Pakualam* in the form of money with a predetermined nominal (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 30 of 1925; Yuliantri, 2013, p. 70). Agrarian reform also requires every land to have proof of ownership or to be registered. Otherwise, the land will belong to the *Sultan* or *Pakualam*, as stated in Article 1 RK

No. 16 years 1918 below:

Sakabehe bumi kang ora ana tanda yektine kadarbe ing liyan mawa wewenang eigendom, dadi bumi kagungane kraton ingsun Ngayogyakarta.

All the land that is not proven to be owned by some people with eigendom rights belongs to the Yogyakarta Palace. (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 16 of 1918; *Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 18 of 1918).

In simple terms, the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the *Kadipaten Pakualaman* are divided into two parts, namely central and external. Included in the central part are *Negara Agung* and *Bumi Narawita*. The great country is the center, while *Bumi Narawita* is the center which is the special residence for the royal aristocrats (Carey, 2019, p. 315; Tauchid, 2009, p. 180). The buildings that belong to the *Sultan* or *Pakualam* are often referred to as *Keprabon* buildings, which are also divided into two, namely *Tanah Keprabon* and *Tanah Dede Keprabon* (Notoyudo, 1975). *Keprabon Land* (Crown Domein), is the land that cannot be given rights and cannot be inherited because it is part of an attribute of government. Examples include the core complex of the *Keraton*, namely performances, *Siti hinggil ler*, *Siti hinggil Kidul*, *kamandungan Lor*, *Sri manganti*, *Kedaton*, *Kamangan*, *Kamandungan Kidul*, *Alun-alun Lor* and *Kidul*, *Kasultanan Great Mosque*. Apart from those already mentioned, there is also a land that cannot be contested, namely the land used for the tomb of the king in Imogiri, Bantul. This land is an inviolable instrument of Yogyakarta government, functioning as a support for the running of the government in the Yogyakarta Palace so that this land is the absolute property of Yogyakarta which is only inherited from each *Sultan* from one *Sultan* to the next as the legitimate leader of the Yogyakarta Palace (Sugiarto, 2017, p. 152; Notoyudo, 1975). Meanwhile, *Tanah Dede Keprabon* (*Rijks Domein*) is land and/or buildings belonging to the *Sultan / Pakualam* outside the central palace which is used for: (1) Build houses for the sons of *Sentana Dalem*, such as *Adipati Anom* Prince, *Hanggabehi* Prince, and so on; (2). Build houses for servants such as *Pepatih Dalem*, *Kayaanan*, and so on; (3) As payment for the salaries of the sons, *sentanan Dalem*, and servants of the *Dalem*; (4) For *kawula dalem* with *ngindung*, *magersari*; (5) Loaned to non-native (foreign) residents with use rights and / or opstal rights (Hasim, 2016, p. 217).

For those who were not royal aristocrats, they were considered *wong numpang* (hitchhiking). *Wong numpang* are often referred to as the people

of *Magersari*, which means using the land belonging to the *Sultan* or *Pakualam* to be used as a place to live, a place of business, or an office (Dikih, 2018). In more detail, there are provisions in *magersari*, namely: First, the land belongs to the Sultanate or relatives of the *Sultan*. Second, the party that can provide *magersari* is the *Sultan* or a relative of the *Sultan* by appointing *Kawedanan hagenng Punokawan Wahono Satria Kraton Ngayogyakarta*. Meanwhile, those who are given *magersari* are *abdi dalem* (courtiers) or people who have a special relationship or relatives of the *sultan*. Third, *magersari* holders are given the right to build a building for a certain period of time determined by the *Sultan* and then pay their rights to the palace, which numbers vary. Fourth, the obligations that must be carried out by rights holders are to comply with the provisions in the *kekancingan* letter to care for, maintain, and are not allowed to make transfers to third parties, except with the permission of the *Sultan* or relatives of the *Sultan*. Fifth, the *Magersari* Land cannot be sold, but the *magersari* itself can be inherited from generation to generation, with the same rights, namely *magersari*. Sixth, buildings and plants planted by *magersari* users can be taken back by the user when the land expires and is not extended with a note proving the *Kekancingan* certificate issued by the Yogyakarta Palace. Meanwhile, those outside the center of the kingdom were *Pasisiran* and *Mancanegara*. *Pasisiran* refers to areas that are near the sea or coast, while *Mancanegara* refers to areas that are inland (Carey, 2019, p. 315-316).

The *Rijksblad* also includes various types of land and land rights. There are *Tanah Lungguh* and *Tanah Bangkok* that are given to someone as a reward for the work and/or position they hold (Huda, 2000, p. 94). There is another such thing as *Tanah Perdikan* or *Pradikan* as stated in the 1931 RPA: “*Bab Wawenang Bumi, Pamundhute Bumi kang Kaparingake Mawa Wawenang lan Darbe Utawa Dinggo Tumrap Perluning (Wong) Ngakeh*”. It means *Tanah Perdikan* which means tax-free land given by the *Sultan* and/or *Pakualam* for the public interest (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 1 the Year 1931). If the intended public interest is related to religion (Islam), then the land is referred to as *Tanah Mutihan* (Huda, 2000, p. 98). However, if the land is used for planting trees, fruits, and vegetables, then it is called *Tanah Kebonan* (Notoyudo, 1975). Therefore, the naming of land in the *Rijksblad* depends on its designation.

Furthermore, these lands were still equipped with the rights attached to them. In 1924 the lands belonging to the Sultanate and Pakualaman were no

longer in use, were given to the *abdi dalem* and ones who complied with the *Andarbe* Rights. *Andarbe*'s rights can be inherited (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 23 of 1925; *Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 16 of 1918). For western people, they are given *Eigendom* rights which are land ownership rights, which can also be in the form of lease rights. This is stated in RPA No. 1 of 1921, regarding the authority of *Engendom* and *Opstal* rights “*Bab anumrapke pranatan-pranatan bab bumi kang kadarbe mawa wawenang opstal eigendhom sapanunggalane kang tumindak ing tanah gupermen marang para kawulane Kadipaten Pakualaman ing ngatase bumi ing bawah Kadipaten Pakualaman kang kadarbe dening kawula mawa salah sawijining wawenang-wawenang kang kasebut ing layang ing gerberngan kawet buk tumrap Hindiya-Nederlan*” (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 1 of 1921). Both *Andarbe* Rights holders and *Eigendom* Rights are required to pay land tax paid in advance. *Rijksblad* Kasultanan terms land tax as *Inlandsche Verponding* Tax which is paid every June and November (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 24 of 1925; *Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 25 of 1930).

Apart from that, there is still something called *Hak Anggaduh* which means the right to use, manage, and take the crops from the land that belongs to the *Sultan* or *Pakualam*, which when the *Sultan* and *Pakualam* are not used, it can be used as the property of the village. Regarding this, it can be seen in the *Rijksblad* “*Bab Wawenang Bumi, Pranatan Bab Amuwuhi lan Angowahi Pranatan Tumrap Amaringake Wawenang lan Darbeni lan Wawenang Anggaduh Bumi*” (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 6 of 1929). For example, the people may take the crops from *Tanah Kebonan* and if the land is no longer used, it can become the village property. This *Anggaduh* right has been stated since the beginning of agrarian reform, to be precise in the *Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 16 of 1918. One thing to remember, even though there is the *Anggaduh* Right, still has to carry out the applicable registration system (*Rijksblad* Kasultanan Number 16 of 1918). Apart from that, land with *Anggaduh* Rights, the *Sultan* or *Pakualam* still can ask for it at any time, as stated as follows:

ing samangsa-mangsa ingsun kena mundhut kondur bumi sawatara bageyan kan padha diparingake marang kalurahan mawa wewenang penggaduh, menawa bumi mau bakal diparingake marang kabudidayan tetanen.

I can take back any time part of the land given to the village with *Anggaduh* Rights at if the land is used for agriculture/plantations (companies)

(*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 18 of 1918).

Then, there is *Ngindung* Rights which is interpreted as the right to buy land, of course, the land that is allowed to be sold in the *Rijksblad* (Huda, 2000, p. 98). When conducting a land buy and sell transaction, some people may come first. Those who take precedence are called owners or users of *Blenget* Rights (Huda, 2000, pp. 95-96). There is a note in the transaction, that the land sales and purchases cannot be made to people who are not *bumi putera* (not *kawula dalem*), they are now referred to as non-Indonesian citizens (WNI). This principle is unique in the land affairs of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and *Pura Pakualam* for non-indigenous land ownership which is still valid today. This rule appeared in the *Rijksblad* as the background of the concern of the Yogyakarta Sultanate and *Pura Pakualam* to prioritize the people's fate. As stated in RK Article 6 No (1) of 1918, "Selling or transferring ownership or use rights over land ... to non-Javanese (non-Indonesian citizens) and also renting or tearing up land to non-Javanese. .. prohibited" (Anggeraeni. 2012, pp. 60-61). So, what about immigrants who are not from Yogyakarta? They can still have land rights in Yogyakarta. The right in question is the Right of *Anggarap* (Yuristiadhi & Purwanto, 2006, p. 19).

The *Rijksblad* also includes people assigned to land affairs, such as the *Mantri Tani* and *Mantri Tani* Assistant, as well as the *Mantri Tondo Pananggap*. *Mantri Tani* and *Mantri Tani* Assistant are people who are assigned to collect data on land and land products in an area and/or village. This can be seen in "*Bab punggawa among tani ananing and blanjane punggawa among tani ing Bawah Kadipaten Pakualaman*" (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman Number 13 of 1917). Meanwhile, the *Mantri Tondo Pananggap* is the person assigned to be the direct subordinate of the *onderdistricthoofd* (for example: *lurah*), whose job is related to land registration. The rules regarding this can be seen in "*Belastingen Mantri Tondo Pananggap. Regeling van de inning en overstorting van de Landschapsbelastingen en andere Landschapsinkomsten in het Pakoe Alamsche gebeid*" (*Rijksblad* Pakualaman No. 12/1926). They are assigned legally and are given a wage at an amount which is already regulated in the *Rijksblad*. They live side by side to complement *Paniti Kismo*, a legal entity in charge of regulating land affairs, both inside the palace and outside the palace which still belongs to the palace (Sari, Silviana, & Prasetyo, 2016, p. 8). The meaning of side by side is that *Paniti Kismo* takes care of what belongs to the palace, while the *mantri* takes care of what does not belong

to the palace, but is still under the palace's supervision. Until 1930 the *Rijksblad* still contained a lot of land matters, while after 1930 there were not so many, only occasionally. The attention was no longer with land, but with taxes, particularly income and luxury taxes, which were probably intended to generate income due to the economic depression of 1930.

THE POLITICAL POSITION OF THE KINGDOM IN THE COLONIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

In the government, there is a formation which political system with the bureaucracy is a vehicle for controlling the government through the regulations issued by *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman*. For this reason, the implementation of the rules demands a smooth operation of the government to the regions. Related to this, in this context, the ruler as a bureaucrat exercises his authority to strengthen his feudal ties. The feudal orientation was intended to strengthen the position of the Sultan so that his subordinates became dependent on him.

This is related to the understanding that land ownership in the *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta and the *Kadipaten Pakualaman* originally adhered to a feudal concept. In this case the king is placed as the owner of the land and its contents throughout the kingdom as mentioned in the Javanese proverb, *sakurebing Langit salumahing bumi* or everything under the heavens and on earth belongs to the king, while the people is the servants. The people only have the right to use or cultivate the land, including the royal family (aristocrats) and royal employees, technically, only have the right to use the land while in office, or in other words, in managing the king's land, assisted by officials and palace relatives. Land is used by the king as a form of attachment to the employees or palace relatives with the royal party; this can be seen from the salary based on land (Suhartono, 1991, p. 29).

However, on the basis of burdens and obligations that were considered too heavy for the people, especially peasants, then the idea emerged, that people should be free from attachment to the land and there should be a separation between the people who enjoy the produce of the land and the power over the people who live on the land until finally the agrarian policy emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, known as "Agrarian Reorganization of the Land Ownership System". The reason for the reorganization of the colonial government was to improve the socio-economic life of the population. However, that does not mean that the policy is free from manipulation, because there are indications of

the real intention of enacting the 1870 *Agrarische Wet* Law such as in the *Gubernemen* area.

Starting from this policy, the ongoing reorganization of land ownership and control, indirectly, has shown the success of the political penetration of the Dutch Colonial Government. However, it cannot be denied that the consequence of this policy made the court officials and the *priyayi* (royal bureaucrats) *tanah lungguh* holders truly lose control of land management. They were then given only the land which they used as a residence, while most of the land had to be returned to the sultan. At the same time, both relatives and *priyayi* who held positions were then paid with money and no longer used the land as real compensation.

Thus, it can be understood that reorganization brings about a fundamental change in the status of land ownership for which ownership rights are transferred. The main changes that are quite significant are (1) abolition of the *apanage* system, (2) establishment of villages as administrative units, (3) transfer of land use rights to farmers, and (4) revision of land lease regulations. With this reorganization, *kabekelan-kabekelan* (districts) was merged into sub-districts which had administrative duties. So, a sub-district government was formed and registers were made to record the condition of the land. *Bekel* who was deemed competent was given a place in the village administration and received the land of office as the village administrator. If not included in the village administration, he will get a pension land. If he dies, this pension land is combined with the village treasury land.

Regarding to this, the *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman* also issued RK and RPA, which stated their control over land within their kingdom. From this changed land regulation, new land rights were granted to indigenous people through the village administration. This can be seen when the RK is issued in number 16, article 1 of 1918, which states that all land that cannot be proven by an identity by other parties is the domain of the Sultanate (Muhsin, Nafisah, & Siswanti, 2019, p. 14). On the basis of the domein's statement in the *Rijksblad*, the *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman* governments granted rights of use or *Angaduh* rights to the villages they formed (Yuliantri, 2013, p. 36). It is more clearly regulated in the *Rijksblad* that all land which is actually used by the people, whether occupied or processed permanently or not permanently, as recorded in the village administration register, is given *angaduh* rights, except for *tanah lungguh* and *tanah pengarem-arem*. So it is only given the right of *angganggo* or right of use to users from genera-

tion to generation.

Then based on RK No. 6 of 1962 and RPA No. 26 of 1925 the *Anggaduh* Right was changed to the *Andarbeni* Rights or *Andarbeni's* authority. Land that is outside the provisions of Article 3 paragraph 1 does not fall under the authority of the village, however, if the *Kasultanan* or *Pakualaman* government does not use it, the village can use it or the village can ask for it to become village land or people's land. Authorities over lands under village control include: (1) Determining its designation as *tanah bengkok* (salary) for village officials who are still active and *tanah pengarem-arem* (pension) for village officials who have quit with the right to a pension; (2) Arranging themselves to temporarily move, such as selling or renting and moving them for hereditary use; (3) Arranging and supervising so that someone does not buildup or accumulate land. Regarding how much land a person can control so that he can be assessed as a landlord is left to each village considering local conditions only. In practice, it depends on whether the village activity is held or not; (4) Deciding issues of transfer of rights over land carried out by way of *lintiran* (inheritance) (Huda, 2000, p. 90).

In performing these powers, the village is limited by a regulation, that the village may not transfer forever and may not burden the village land with debt, except with the written power of the Regent or Resident Assistant concerned. Apart from that, *Andharbeni's* authority can be revoked if within 10 consecutive years if it is not used and if it is needed for the public interest with compensation.

In more detail, with the reorganization of lands related to the interests of the king and his family, it actually did not change. Meanwhile, what has changed are rights related to the interests of the people. These rights can be stated as follows: First, the hereditary *angganggo*-use rights as stipulated in RK No. 16 of 1918 and RPA No. 18 of 1918, as an effort to provide stronger rights to the people.

According to Ni'Matul Huda regarding the importance of this hereditary authority, the explanation is not found, however, in reality the people can inherit their rights to their descendants and can even transfer their rights temporarily or permanently, as is the case with only owned land. Such rights are similar to those in Gunung Kidul and Kulon Progo Regencies. Second, the *Andarbeni* Rights are given to land users within the Kotapraja Yogyakarta based on RK No. 23 of 1925 Chapter I number 2. Land that has been given to the people, both hereditary *Angganggo* Rights and *Andarbeni* Rights, are obligated to pay taxes. Apart from that,

it is also about the prohibition of transferring, renting or, claiming ownership rights over their land to non-Indonesian citizens, as stated in the *Rijksblad*. Thus it can be understood that the transfer of *Anderbeni* Rights, either permanently or temporarily, can only occur by way of changing names and recording changes in the land registration list at the land affairs office. Likewise, transitions based on twist or inheritance. Third, the right to collect results is a right that can be owned by a person by planting or cultivating land that does not belong to him with the permission of the Head of the Guild (Village Head). Fourth, a person belonging to a member of the association has a priority right against a member of another member of another association, thus that person obtains priority rights from outsiders who both want to work on the land mentioned. Fifth, the *Blengket* Right is the right to prioritize buying land located next to each other, if the land is to be sold. If this right is not used, the right is given to another person who is at the same price, in terms of a general price or that has been agreed upon. Rights related to land as stated above are rights are known in common law (Huda, 2000, pp. 90-91).

In accordance with what was disclosed, it is also necessary to know that the *Kasultanan* and *Pura Pakualam* as providers of land ownership and use rights also continue to make adjustments and developments which are then complemented by the issuance of RPA Number 25 of 1925. Property rights as referred to in *Rijksblad* No. 18 of 1918, added and amended by the ordinance of 30 September 1925 in a manner that would be determined by the *Pakualam* regulation (*Rijksblad* Pakualam Number 25 of 1925).

Thus, as previously disclosed, it can be seen that the *Kasultanan* and *Pakualaman* through the publication of the *Rijksblad* have implemented agrarian law regulations. It is clear that through politics and government in administering agrarian rules legally collaborate. This is possible because traditional rules have been tied to a bureaucratic structure in a very strong organization. The unit of rules is tied in the rules of the kingdom lead by a *Sultan* who is also a mediator who connects the traditional rulers with the people. The rules in this traditional system indirectly protected them from interference by the Dutch Hindi colonial government. What happened was the publication of the *Rijksblad* role to complement, accompany, add to, or replace regulations made by the Dutch East Indies Government that did not apply in *Vorstenlanden* (Antoro, 2014, p. 435). The system that has been built on the

foundation of the traditional organizational structure in many ways benefits *Kasultanan* and *Pakualam* for implementing policies that are different from those of the *Gubernemen* region.

CONCLUSION

Before the 20th century, power and ownership of land in Yogyakarta, including the *Adikarto* area, was feudal. Land tenure is largely determined by the *apanage* system. In the *apanage* system, the land is owned and controlled by the *sultan*, while the people of *kawula dalem* who live as residents of the land only have *nggadhuh* rights and are obliged to give up part of the produce. To supervise and manage the land of *Kasultanan*, the *sultan* gave his trust to the relatives of *sentana dalem* and *priyayi* employees with the status of being the *sultan's* land cultivators. They are called *patuh*, while the land that is vested in them is called *tanah kepatuhan* (the land of obedience). With this right, the *patuh* is given the authority to manage the land which implies an important position as a tax collector from the product of their land.

However, it cannot be denied that centralized control of land with complex rules became an obstacle to the continued interests of the Dutch East Indies Colonial Government in the *Kasultanan* Yogyakarta including the *Kadipaten Pakualaman* in it. Until finally, based on the agreement between the Dutch Colonial Government and the *Sultan*, a legal rule called the *Rijksblad* was enforced especially the RK and RPA, which eliminated the power of *patuh* over land owned by the *sultan*. Furthermore, the people of *kawula dalem* are given the opportunity to use *anganggo* land with hereditary use rights, ownership rights over *anderbeni* land, inheritance rights, lease rights, and liens.

Thus, it can be seen that long before the formation of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, various laws and regulations in the field of agriculture were regulated as contained in the RK and RPA. The presence of *Rijksblad*, both in *Kasultanan* and in *Pakualaman* can also be said to be evidence of special treatment from the Dutch East Indies government towards Yogyakarta. This treatment is manifested in the form of granting more rights to issue separate regulations as outlined in the *Rijksblad*.

Furthermore, what *Rijksblad* has mentioned can also be used as a source in historical writing (historiography), especially those related to local historiography in the Yogyakarta. This statement is based on the fact that there are local concepts contained in the *Rijksblad*. The point of the local concept is a concept that only applies to Yogyakarta. As

a result, an in-depth analysis of it can produce separate writing. As well as producing writings on land in Yogyakarta, mainly photographing facts after the 1918 agrarian reform which resulted in a detailed explanation of the types of land, land ownership rights, and the people involved in it.

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