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Judul : Legal Culture Review and Judicial Track Record of the Kesultanan Cirebon in the Manuscript Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu

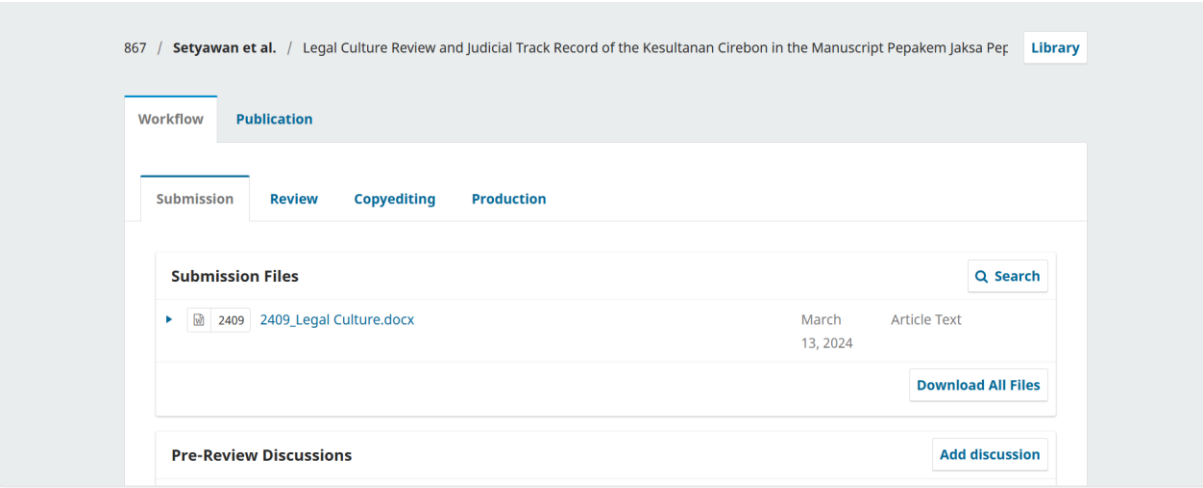
Jurnal : Ijtihad : Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan **Vol. 17 No. 2 (2023)**

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No.	Perihal	Tanggal
1	Bukti submit artikel dan artikel yang disubmit	13 Maret 2024
2	Bukti konfirmasi review dan hasil seluruh review serta bukti resubmit	4 April – 17 Mei 2024
3	Letter of Acceptance	10 Juni 2024

1. Bukti Submit Artikel



2. Bukti Konfirmasi Review dan Hasil Seluruh Review serta Bukti Resubmit

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Legal Culture Review and Judicial Track Record of the Kesultanan Cirebon in the Manuscript *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*

Abstract

The legal manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is a combination of various legal books such as: *Kutaramanawa Dharmastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengkera*, *Adhilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, and *Angger Angger Mataram*. The purpose of this research is to explore the track record and legal culture that exists in the legal manuscripts of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* in the Kesultanan Cirebon. This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with a juridical sociological approach to describe the track record and legal culture in the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript. The main data were obtained through interviews with manuscript holders, direct observation, and documentation studies. Data analysis involved a process of reduction, codification, and conclusion drawing to understand the legal framework. The results showed that in the beginning, Cirebon only had one kingdom, namely Keraton Pakungwati. However, after the leadership of Pangeran Grilaya, the kingdom of Cirebon was divided into two, namely Kasepuhan Sultanate and Kanoman Sultanate. In the early 18th century, with the addition of the Kacirebonan Sultanate, the kingdom of Cirebon became three. In the early days of the Cirebon kingdom, Islamic law became the main reference in determining the law. However, after the division of the Cirebon kingdom into three parts, namely Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan, all three refer to a legal compilation reference book known as *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The main reference in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is no longer limited to Islamic law. This change was influenced by several factors, including the influx of Arab trade and the process of Islamization, the influence of the VOC and Western culture, and the influence of the Mataram Kingdom during the leadership of Pangeran Grilaya.

Manuskrip Hukum *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* merupakan gabungan dari berbagai kitab hukum seperti: *Kutaramanawa Dharmastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengkera*, *Adhilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, dan *Angger Angger Mataram*. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah mengeksplorasi rekam jejak dan budaya hukum yang ada pada manuskrip hukum *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* di Kesultanan Cirebon. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan yuridis sosiologis untuk menguraikan rekam jejak dan budaya hukum dalam manuskrip *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. Data utama diperoleh melalui wawancara dengan pemegang manuskrip, observasi langsung, dan studi dokumentasi. Analisis data melibatkan proses reduksi, kodifikasi, dan penarikan kesimpulan untuk memahami kerangka hukum. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pada awalnya,

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Cirebon hanya memiliki satu kerajaan, yaitu Keraton Pakungwati. Namun, setelah kepemimpinan Pangeran Grilaya, kerajaan Cirebon terbagi menjadi dua, yaitu Kesultanan Kasepuhan dan Kesultanan Kanoman. Pada awal abad ke-18, dengan penambahan Kesultanan Kacirebonan, kerajaan Cirebon menjadi tiga. Pada masa awal kerajaan Cirebon, hukum Islam menjadi acuan utama dalam penentuan hukum. Namun, setelah terpecahnya kerajaan Cirebon menjadi tiga bagian, yaitu Kasepuhan, Kanoman, dan Kacirebonan, ketiganya mengacu pada buku rujukan kompilasi hukum yang dikenal sebagai *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. Acuan utama dalam *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* tidak hanya lagi terbatas pada hukum Islam. Perubahan ini dipengaruhi oleh beberapa faktor, antara lain masuknya perdagangan Arab dan proses islamisasi, pengaruh VOC dan budaya Barat, serta pengaruh dari Kerajaan Mataram pada masa kepemimpinan Pangeran Grilaya.

Keywords: *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu, Kesultanan Cirebon, Legal Culture*

Introduction

The kingdoms of the Indonesian island of Java shaped a rich political and cultural landscape for centuries. In their government structures, the feudal system predominated, with a king or sultan at the top of the hierarchy who held absolute power and often passed the position down through generations (Sugiyarto, 2020). At the center of the royal territory was the keraton, a magnificent palace that served as the center of government and cultural life. The palace's distinctive architecture reflected the majesty and continuity of the kingdom's history. A hierarchical system of government was in place, where officials were appointed based on their expertise and loyalty to the supreme ruler.

Rich Javanese culture dominated life in the kingdoms, with traditional art, literature, dance and music being an integral part of daily life. Cultural centers in the palaces supported the development of the arts and promoted the unique identity of Javanese society. Over time, Hindu-Buddhist religion played a significant role in shaping the moral and ethical foundation of society. This religion was reflected in the art, architecture and religious rituals performed in the palace and around the royal territory (Ristiningsih, 2023).

An advanced agricultural system, especially rice farming, became the backbone of the economy in Java. A sophisticated system of irrigated rice fields was built to support agriculture and ensure food availability for the population.

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Communities were organized in a village system that had its own social and economic structure. Some kingdoms implemented a caste system, dividing society based on occupation and social status (Tsabit and Eni, 2023).

In addition, the Javanese kingdoms established strong trade relations with neighboring nations in Southeast Asia, supporting the economic growth and wealth of the kingdoms. Certain periods were also characterized by the holding of traditional ceremonies and religious rituals, such as *Grebeg* and *Kirab Agung*, which strengthened the cultural and religious identity of the people (Syakur, 2021; Ridwan, 2023). Thus, the kingdoms in Java not only created a solid government structure, but also contributed greatly to the development of art, culture and economy in the region (Rahmi, 2021; Sedayu, 2022).

The kingdoms of Java, Indonesia, established a rich literary tradition, and ancient manuscripts are a valuable testament to their rich culture. Amidst the palaces that served as centers of government, civilization and education, scholars and religious leaders gathered to discuss and develop knowledge. During the heyday of the Majapahit Kingdom, manuscript writing in the Kawi language flourished, covering epics, religious literature, law and daily life (Budiarto, Setianingsih and Artiono, 2020; Winaya and Munandar, 2021).

Javanese literary traditions also continued to flourish during the Mataram Kingdom, with classical texts such as "*Serat Centhini*" and "*Nagarakretagama*" reflecting the rich culture and wisdom of Javanese society (Purwanto *et al.*, 2021). Javanese script became the main writing system, enabling the creation and storage of ancient manuscripts. Libraries within the palace became custodians of the wisdom recorded in these manuscripts, with library administrators taking care to carefully preserve the cultural heritage (Perdana, 2020; Suryanto, 2020).

Along with the entry of Islam into Java, the tradition of writing using Arabic script also developed, creating Islamic texts in Arabic and Javanese (Burak, 2016; Jahuri and Fauji, 2022). These manuscripts cover a wide range of topics, including religion, Islamic law, and history (Halim, 2002). Some ancient manuscripts may have originated from oral traditions, immortalized in written form as a way to preserve and pass on stories, legends, and oral wisdom.

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The kingdoms of Java also have a wealth of legal manuscripts that reflect the legal structures and norms that governed society at that time. In these manuscripts, there are legal regulations and guidelines used by the rulers to manage the kingdom and maintain social order. These legal manuscripts cover various aspects of life, including procedures for governance, civil law, criminal law, and the rights and obligations of the people (Masykhur, 2020a).

Some literacy is obtained from research articles that cover various aspects of studies related to Islamic royal texts and local wisdom in the archipelago. Research reviewed by Masykhur (2020) explores the intersection between Islamic Law and Customary Law in the Islamic Kingdom Legislative Manuscripts in the archipelago from the 16th to 18th centuries. The results show the flexibility of Islamic law in adapting to customary law, and vice versa, without any significant tension.

Another study discusses Malay metaphysics from the 7th to 17th centuries presented by Chuan (2023) by detailing the philosophical concepts involving the Srivijaya, Malay-Singapore, and Aceh governments. Forms of philosophers from various traditions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, show similarities in metaphysical concepts that reflect the identity of Malay philosophy that is still not fully explored.

Furthermore, Gallop & Fathurrahman (2022) in the form of codicological research looked at the British Library's collection of Islamic manuscripts from Aceh, emphasizing the materiality of culture in the 18th and 19th centuries. These manuscripts, apparently representative of books circulating in the 18th and 19th centuries, contain numerous texts in Arabic, Malay and Acehnese, and the full contents of each volume were identified and contextualized in relation to the rest of the collection.

Meanwhile, another research presented by Ahmad Taufik Hidayat (2021) highlights the existence of manuscripts in Minangkabau, showing great potential for the development of scientific studies in the fields of hadith, sharia, history, Islamic education, thought, philosophy, and tasawwuf. Finally, a study on Islamic palm manuscripts from Lombok presented by Meij (2022) examines the material and non-material aspects of the manuscripts, and compares the influence of Islam

on the Sasak and Balinese people of Lombok. These studies together provide deep insights into the diversity of Islamic studies in the archipelago and identify potential for further research in this area.

However, from all the descriptions of previous research there is no research that provides information related to the wealth of legal manuscripts, legal culture and royal track records, especially in the Kesultanan Cirebon. This research aims to explore the undisclosed legal culture and track record of the Kesultanan Cirebon through the manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*.

Method

This research uses a descriptive qualitative method with a juridical sociological approach to describe the track record and legal culture in the legal manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* (Huda, 2021). The main data sources come from interviews with historians who have in-depth knowledge of the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript. The manuscript holder became a key informant to explore in-depth understanding of the history, interpretation, and application of the legal values contained in the manuscript. In addition, direct observation of the manuscript and documentation studies were also involved to strengthen the interpretation and understanding of the legal content presented.

Data analysis was conducted through a data reduction process, where data from interviews, observations, and documentation studies were organized so that they could be interpreted further. Then, a data codification process was carried out to identify patterns, themes, and relationships between emerging information. Conclusions were drawn based on an in-depth analysis of the data collected.

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with a socio-legal juridical approach to elucidate the legal record and culture within the legal manuscript *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* (Huda, 2021). The primary data source derives from interviews with Farihin, a historian and custodian of the manuscript possessing profound knowledge of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The manuscript's custodian serves as a key informant to delve into a deep understanding of the historical, interpretative, and applied values of law contained within the manuscript. Additionally, interviews were conducted with other historians such as Muhammad

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Anwaruddin and Muhammad Djumhur. Interviews were also conducted with Islamic legal experts from the descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, namely Ahmad Rifqi Chowas. Direct observation of the manuscript and documentary studies were also involved to reinforce the interpretation and understanding of the legal content presented.

Data analysis was carried out through a process of data reduction, wherein data from interviews, observations, and documentary studies were organized for further interpretation. Subsequently, a data presentation process was conducted following the pattern previously employed by Lawrence Friedman in his book *Legal System*, which encompasses three elements of legal system research: legal structure, legal substance, and legal culture, encompassing both internal and external factors (Friedman, 1975). Conclusions are drawn based on a comprehensive analysis of the collected data.

Result and Discussion

Legal Structure of the Kingdom of Cirebon

The Kingdom of Cirebon was founded around 1430 by Pangeran Cakrabuana, who had the small name Raden Walangsungsang. Pangeran Cakrabuana was the son of Prabu Siliwangi and Subang Larang. The people of Cirebon also know him as Mbah Kuwu Cirebon. At the beginning of its establishment, the kingdom was named Keraton Pakungwati or Pakungwati Sultanate, taken from the name of Pangeran Cakrabuana's daughter who later married Syarif Hidayatullah, the second king of Pakungwati Sultanate (Hardjasaputra, 2011).

After the abdication of Pangeran Cakrabuana, the leadership of the kingdom was handed over to his son-in-law and nephew, Sunan Gunung Jati or Syarif Hidayatullah. Syarif Hidayatullah is one of the Walisongo who spread proselytization in Indonesia (Sunnyoto, 2018). He was the son of Abdullah Umdatuddin and Nyimas Rara Santang, who was also the daughter of Prabu Siliwangi and the sister of Pangeran Cakrabuana (Hernawan and Kusdiana, 2020; Munawar, Rahmat and Yahya, 2021).

Picture 1

Kesultanan Pakungwati by Farihin

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Baca: Friedman, L. M. (1969). Legal culture and social development. *Law and society review*, 29-44.
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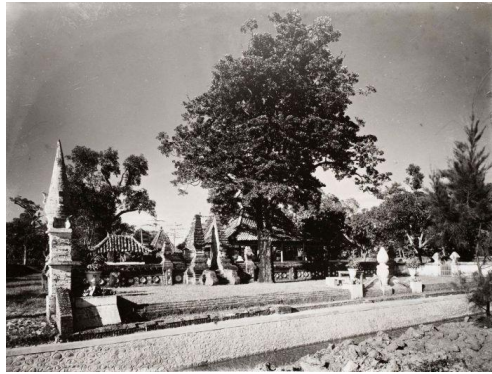
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The photo was taken by the historian, Farihin. It depicts the Pakungwati Kingdom of Cirebon in the past, captured from the royal museum. However, the photo was taken after the kingdom had changed its name to Kasepuhan, which will be further elaborated upon.

Picture 2

Portrait of the Great Mosque of *Sang Cipta Rasa* around 1900s



The photograph depicts a mosque constructed by Sunan Gunung Jati, which served as the initial site where legal proceedings were conducted. With a background in religious knowledge and also being a scholar and one of the Wali Songo, Sunan Gunung Jati applied the laws in the *Pakungwati* Kesultanan Cirebon with sharia law (Pradita *et al.*, 2020). One of the things initiated by Sunan Gunung Jati was the construction of the Great Mosque of *Sang Cipta Rasa* which means the

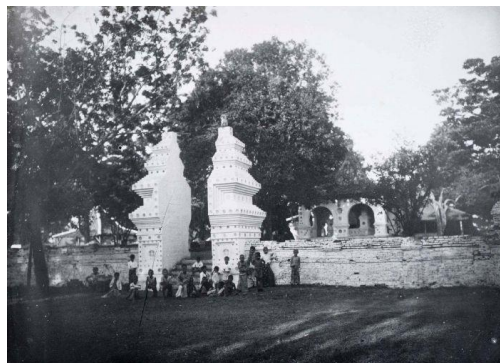
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majesty of the building used (Kartika *et al.*, 2020; Zainuri, 2021). According to the *Penghulu* (nowadays equivalent to Mufti) of the Palace, the mosque is not only used as a function for ritual prayer services, but judicial offices and discussions of scholars are also held in the Great Mosque of *Sang Cipta Rasa* (Muhammad Djumhur, 2023).

Picture 3

Portrait of Kanoman Sultanate in 1920



The photograph depicts the Sultanate of Kanoman. The inception of the Sultanate of Kanoman occurred when Prince Grilaya ascended to the throne. During his reign, the Pakungwati Sultanate experienced significant growth and garnered considerable recognition. Prince Grilaya later married a daughter of Amangkurat I, the king of Mataram. While the exact number of his descendants from this marriage is uncertain, Cirebon's historical records in the Mertasinga Manuscript mention conflicts between Prince Grilaya and Amangkurat I. These conflicts concluded with Prince Grilaya and his two sons (not grandsons of Amangkurat I) being sentenced to imprisonment. Prince Grilaya subsequently passed away in Mataram, and his two sons continued the leadership of the Pakungwati Sultanate (Mertasinga, 1889).

However, after the reign of Pangeran Grilaya's son, there was a significant change. Pakungwati Sultanate was divided into two parts. Information from observers of Cirebon history states that the division was carried out to ensure a fair division of leadership areas in the Cirebon Kingdom (Muhammad Anwaruddin,

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2023). Sultan Syamsuddin took over the Pakungwati Sultanate, which was later renamed Kasepuhan Sultanate. Meanwhile, Sultan Badaruddin established a new palace named Kanoman Sultanate (Belinda, Leonardo and Beni, 2021).

With the changes in the kingdom's structure depicted here, the legal system in Cirebon also underwent significant transformations. These changes included the implementation of the “policy of two kings.” This era also witnessed the influence of the legal system from the Mataram kingdom penetrating into Cirebon.

Picture 4

Portrait of Kacirebonan Sultanate



This photo is from Kacirebonan Sultanate. In the 18th century, a new Sultanate emerged, the Kacirebonan Sultanate with Sultan Chairuddin I as its first king (Royandi, Halim and Jonatan, 2021; Riomandha, 2023; Warliati, 2023). The birth of the Kacirebonan Sultanate shows the political dynamics in the kingdoms of Cirebon. In this period, the kingdom in Cirebon referred to one law, namely *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, which was a compilation of the laws that had been applied in the previous Cirebon kingdom (Farihin, 2023).

Legal Substance of the Kingdom of Cirebon

It is not clearly known when *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was formed and began to be the main source in adjudicating legal cases. However, we can emphasize in this paper that *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was not applied during the leadership era of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati. In the beginning, the Kesultanan Cirebon adhered to the understanding of Islamic law in adjudicating a case.

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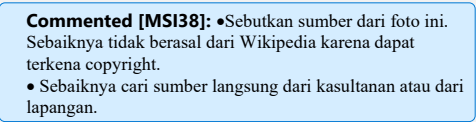
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According to one of the descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, the standard of law applied in Cirebon is Fiqh Syafi'iyah and makes the book Fathul Wahhab by Zakariya Al-Anshori as one of its main references (Chowas, 2023). According to another informant, the judiciary in the era of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati was handed over to Syaikh Abdurrohim who was the son of Syaikh Nurjati (Muhammad Djumhur, 2023). In the era of Sunan Gunung Jati also applied Javanese customs as a standard of law in Cirebon if it did not find the appropriateness of the decision in fiqh (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023).

In the opening of the legal compilation reflected in the manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, it is explained that the book is *the* ins and outs of the complaints of the people of Cirebon who experience legal cases both civil and criminal in nature. The manuscript also states that the legal compilation contained in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is to resolve disputes, whether they are land disputes, inheritance or others. *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* also takes care of household problems (Penghulu Gede Kesultanan Cirebon, 1800).

Picture 5

Manuscript Portrait of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*



"The court building is located on the west side of the square of the Kasepuhan Palace, this building is called the Prosecutor's Office. Here it should be explained that His Majesty the Sultan Anom is in charge of two prosecutors, His Majesty the Sultan Sepuh is in charge of two prosecutors, while His Majesty the Sultan of Cirebon is in charge of one prosecutor and His Majesty the Lord Panembahan is in charge of one prosecutor." (Sudjana, 1981).

The description of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is written in Cirebon language with Javanese script. Unlike the book Adhilullah or Surya Alam which is written in Javanese Arabic Pegon (Ibi Satibi, 2013). Although Adhilullah is one of the sources of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, the influence of the Mataram kingdom is very strong considering that Sultan Sepuh and the first Sultan Anom once lived in the Mataram kingdom with his father, Pangeran Grilaya.

From the description here, it can be concluded that when *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was enacted when the kingdom in Cirebon had 3 kings. Namely Sultan Anom who owns Kanoman Sultanate, Sultan Sepuh who owns Kasepuhan Sultanate, and Sultan Cirebon who owns Cirebon Sultanate. According to historians, the legal compilation book *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was formed to unify the laws under the three sultanates (Farihin, 2023). The meaning of Tuan Panembahan is the crown Pangeran of the Kasepuhan Sultanate. There is an element of specificity for the Kasepuhan Sultanate because the Kasepuhan Sultanate is located in Keraton Pakungwati, the original place of the kingdom built by Pangeran Cakrabuana (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023). Another source states that the lord Panembahan here is Pangeran Wangsakerta and his descendants, he is the 3rd son of Pangeran Grilaya who did not become king, the younger brother of Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Anom (Tendi, Marihandono and Abdurakhman, 2019).

Confirmed from historians, that in the Kesultanan Cirebon there were several judges who took care of judicial decisions. The judge in this case is called *Penghulu Gede* or which means Supreme Judge. After the VOC came, the term *Penghulu Gede* was replaced with the term *Penghulu Landrat* (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023). Landrat itself according to KBBI gives the meaning of the State Court (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2005). However, according to the book "*Tjribonsch Wetboek*" by Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, Landrat comes from the Dutch language with the origin of the word "*landraad*" which means defense (Dr. G. A. J. Hazeu, 1905). Later the term changed to the name *Penghulu Keraton*.

According to Muhammad Djumhur, one of the palace's *Penghulu* (the role is now more likely to be an advisor or mufti of the palace), the Cirebon Prosecutor's Office in the Sultanate is the seed of the Judiciary in Indonesia. That is, the sultanate in Cirebon contributed ideas and ideas in national development from the judicial side, especially in religious matters (Muhammad Djumhur, 2023).

In essence, the law in the Kesultanan Cirebon begins with Islamic law. This was motivated by the influence of the arrival of the walisongo to Indonesia, including the king of Cirebon himself, Sunan Gunung Jati, who applied Islamic law (Hafizd, 2021; Miftakhur Ridlo, 2021). However, over time, the development of

law in the Kesultanan Cirebon was also influenced by Javanese customs and the influence of the Mataram kingdom because of the son-in-law relationship. The legal culture of the kingdom also contributed to the thinking and judicial system that exists in Indonesia today (Lev, 2021).

Legal Culture in Cirebon in the Manuscript of Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu

The existence of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* in the field of law in the Cirebon region from the eighteenth century was influenced by various political dynamics and power that occurred. In order for the discussion of the influence of various legal elements on *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* to be clearer, it will be described as follows:

Arab trade and Islamization

The manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* mentions several fines against lawbreakers in the form of real currency. There is no specific information regarding the real in question, but several sources mention that the Arab trade had entered Cirebon in the 18th century and was quite dominant in influencing the economic monopoly (Mujib, 2021).

In addition, the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript also describes rules that clearly refer to Islamic law, namely:

"...yen wonten sadaleming witjara iku prakara yang awrat, ora kena pinegat maka matur sewang-sewangan, ing gustine mantri pipitu, iku kang matur ing gustine, titi".

Meaning:

"if a case cannot be decided by a judge or prosecutor, then the decision is returned to the king". (Sudjana, 1981).

This is in line with Islamic values that require obeying *ulil amri* or the government (Kementerian Agama RI, 2016). The king in this case plays an active role in providing law enforcement participation. The principle of legality and the principle of equality before the law also show the presence of Islamic elements in carrying out legal duties. In addition, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* refers to the legal manuscript of Adilullah or Surya Alam which uses Islamic law as the principle of the manuscript (Ibi Satibi, 2013)

Western and VOC influences

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The arrival of the VOC had a major influence on the legal culture of the Cirebon Sultanate. Although some people believe that their ancestors had no indication of a relationship with the VOC, the evidence contained in the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* clearly illustrates the relationship between the Kesultanan Cirebon and the VOC. In Article 20 of the Agreement dated September 8, 1688 between Cirebon and the VOC, it is clear that Western influence has played a major role in Cirebon's legal matters. The Company became an advisor who determined the appointment of law enforcement officials (Hoadley, 1994; Tendi, Marihandono and Abdurakhman, 2019).

Javanese Customs and Culture

At the beginning of the discussion, we mentioned that the formation of the manuscript of *Jaksa Pepitu* was probably around 1800. This is indicated in the first opening of the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu manuscript* which mentions the Kacirebonan Sultanate as one of the kingdoms in Cirebon. At that time, the influence of the Mataram Sultanate in Cirebon was already strong and visible. Moreover, historical experts mention that one of the references of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is *Angger-Agger Mataram* (Farihin, 2023). The same thing is emphasized in several other literatures that mention that the legal culture that existed in Cirebon at that time was influenced by Javanese customs (Hardjasaputra, 2011; Belinda, Leonardo and Beni, 2021; Jamalie, 2022; Ristiningsih, 2023).

Conclusion

From the synthesis of the above information, it can be concluded that the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* Law Manuscript is a combination of various law books, including: *Kutaramanawa Darmasastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengker*, *Adhilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, and *Angger-Agger Mataram*. In the beginning, Cirebon only had one kingdom, the Pakungwati Palace. However, after the leadership of Pangeran Grilaya, the Kesultanan Cirebon was divided into two, namely the Kesultanan Kasepuhan and the Kesultanan Kanoman. In the early 18th century, with the addition of Kacirebonan Sultanate, the kingdom of Cirebon became three.

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In the early days of the Cirebon kingdom, Islamic law was the main reference in determining the law. However, after the division of the Cirebon kingdom into three parts, namely Kasepuhan, Kanoman and Kacirebonan, all three refer to a legal compilation reference book known as *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The main reference in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is no longer limited to Islamic law. This change was influenced by several factors, including the influx of Arab trade and the process of Islamization, the influence of the VOC and Western culture, and the influence of the Mataram Kingdom during the leadership of Pangeran Grilaya.

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Legal culture review and judicial track record of the Kesultanan Cirebon in the manuscript Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu

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Abstract

The Manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is a compilation of various legal texts such as *Kutaramanawa Dharmastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengker*, *Adhilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, and *Angger Angger Mataram*, which are collections of legal codes from Javanese kingdoms of their time. This study aims to explore the legal history and culture contained in the manuscript in the Kesultanan Cirebon, using a qualitative descriptive method with a juridical-sociological approach. Data were obtained through interviews, observations, and documentation studies. According to Lawrence Friedman, law is always influenced by politics and power. Initially, the legal system in the Kesultanan Cirebon was governed by Islamic law due to the influence of the Walisongo. However, the politics of Amangkurat I from Mataram changed this, dividing the Kesultanan Cirebon into Kesultanan Kasepuhan, Kesultanan Kanoman, and then Kesultanan Kacirebonan in the early 18th century. Despite the division of the Kesultanan Cirebon, the law continued to apply Islamic law and customary law under the same courts. When the VOC entered, they introduced Western law, but customary law was still maintained. From the legal history and culture in the Kesultanan Cirebon, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* formed a combination of legal elements, namely Islamic law, customary law, and Western law. This combination created a unique legal system in Cirebon, reflected in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* as the main legal reference. This manuscript contributes to the tradition of law, cultural preservation, and multicultural values.

Keywords: *Kesultanan Cirebon, Legal Culture, Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*

Manuskrip Hukum *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* adalah gabungan dari berbagai kitab hukum seperti *Kutaramanawa Dharmastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengker*, *Adhilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, dan *Angger Angger Mataram*, yang merupakan kompilasi hukum kerajaan-kerajaan di Jawa pada zamannya. Penelitian ini bertujuan mengeksplorasi rekam jejak dan budaya hukum

dalam manuskrip tersebut di Kesultanan Cirebon, menggunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan yuridis sosiologis. Data diperoleh melalui wawancara, observasi, dan studi dokumentasi. Menurut Lawrence Friedman, hukum selalu dipengaruhi oleh politik dan kekuasaan. Awalnya, sistem hukum di Kesultanan Cirebon dijalankan dengan hukum Islam karena pengaruh Walisongo. Namun, politik Amangkurat I dari Mataram mengubahnya, membagi Kesultanan Cirebon menjadi Kasepuhan, Kanoman, lalu Kacirebonan di awal abad 18. Meskipun kerajaan Cirebon terbagi, hukum tetap menerapkan hukum Islam dan adat di bawah pengadilan yang sama. Ketika VOC masuk, mereka memperkenalkan hukum Barat, namun hukum adat tetap dipertahankan. Dari rekam jejak dan budaya hukum di Kesultanan Cirebon, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* membentuk kombinasi elemen hukum, yaitu hukum Islam, adat, dan Barat. Dan Kemudian membentuk sistem hukum unik di Cirebon, yang tergambar dalam *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* sebagai rujukan hukum utama. Manuskrip ini memberikan kontribusi dalam tradisi hukum, pelestarian budaya, dan nilai-nilai multikulturalisme.

Kata Kunci: *Kesultanan Cirebon, Budaya Hukum, Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*

Introduction

The kingdoms of the Indonesian island of Java shaped a rich political and cultural landscape for centuries. In their government structures, the feudal system predominated, with a king or sultan at the top of the hierarchy who held absolute power and often passed the position down through generations (Sugiyarto, 2020). At the center of the royal territory was the keraton, a magnificent palace that served as the center of government and cultural life. The palace's distinctive architecture reflected the majesty and continuity of the kingdom's history. A hierarchical system of government was in place, where officials were appointed based on their expertise and loyalty to the supreme ruler (Agustina, Sudaryono and Suryo, 2016; Rosmalia and Prasetya, 2018; Trisyanti et al., 2023).

Rich Javanese culture dominated life in the kingdoms, with traditional art, literature, dance and music being an integral part of daily life. Cultural centers in the palaces supported the development of the arts and promoted the unique identity of Javanese society (Cahyono et al., 2020; Atrinawati, 2021). Over time, Hindu-Buddhist religion played a significant role in shaping the moral and ethical foundation of society. This religion was reflected in the art, architecture and religious rituals performed in the palace and around the royal territory (Ristiningsih, 2023).

An advanced agricultural system, especially rice farming, became the backbone of the economy in Java. A sophisticated system of irrigated rice fields was built to support agriculture and ensure food availability for the population. Communities were organized in a village system that had its own social and economic structure. Some kingdoms implemented a caste system, dividing society based on occupation and social status (Tsabit and Eni, 2023).

Javanese kingdoms established strong trade relations with neighboring nations in Southeast Asia, supporting the economic growth and wealth of the kingdoms. Certain periods were also characterized by the holding of traditional ceremonies and religious rituals, such as *Grebeg* and *Kirab Agung* (a Javanese traditional ceremonial tradition), believed to prevent calamities and strengthen the cultural and religious identity of the people (Syakur, 2021; Ridwan, 2023). Thus, the kingdoms in Java not only created a solid government structure, but also contributed greatly to the development of art, culture and economy in the region (Rahmi, 2021; Sedayu, 2022).

The kingdoms of Java, Indonesia, established a rich literary tradition, and ancient manuscripts are a valuable testament to their rich culture. Amidst the palaces that served as centers of government, civilization and education, scholars and religious leaders gathered to discuss and develop knowledge. During the heyday of the Majapahit Kingdom, manuscript writing in the Kawi language flourished, covering epics, religious literature, law and daily life (Budiarto, Setianingsih and Artiono, 2020; Winaya and Munandar, 2021).

Javanese literary traditions continued to flourish during the Mataram Kingdom, with classic texts like "*Serat Centhini*," (story book of the struggle of the Mataram Kingdom) which narrates the struggles of the Mataram kingdom, and "*Nagarakretagama*," (civil law book of the Mataram kingdom) which elucidates the civil laws of the Mataram kingdom, reflecting the richness of Javanese culture and wisdom (Purwanto et al., 2021). Javanese script became the main writing system, enabling the creation and storage of ancient manuscripts. Libraries within the palace became custodians of the wisdom recorded in these manuscripts, with

library administrators taking care to carefully preserve the cultural heritage (Perdana, 2020; Suryanto, 2020).

Along with the entry of Islam into Java, the tradition of writing using Arabic script also developed, creating Islamic texts in Arabic and Javanese (Burak, 2016; Jahuri and Fauji, 2022). These manuscripts cover a wide range of topics, including religion, Islamic law, and history (Halim, 2002). Some ancient manuscripts may have originated from oral traditions, immortalized in written form as a way to preserve and pass on stories, legends, and oral wisdom.

The kingdoms of Java also have a wealth of legal manuscripts that reflect the legal structures and norms that governed society at that time. In these manuscripts, there are legal regulations and guidelines used by the rulers to manage the kingdom and maintain social order. These legal manuscripts cover various aspects of life, including procedures for governance, civil law, criminal law, and the rights and obligations of the people (Masykhur, 2020a).

Some literacy is obtained from research articles that cover various aspects of studies related to Islamic royal texts and local wisdom in the archipelago. Research reviewed by Masykhur (2020) explores the intersection between Islamic Law and Customary Law in the Islamic Kingdom Legislative Manuscripts in the archipelago from the 16th to 18th centuries. The results show the flexibility of Islamic law in adapting to customary law, and vice versa, without any significant tension. Another study discusses Malay metaphysics from the 7th to 17th centuries presented by Chuan (2023) by detailing the philosophical concepts involving the Srivijaya, Malay-Singapore, and Aceh governments. Forms of philosophers from various traditions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, show similarities in metaphysical concepts that reflect the identity of Malay philosophy that is still not fully explored.

Furthermore, Gallop & Fathurrahman (2022) in the form of codicological research looked at the British Library's collection of Islamic manuscripts from Aceh, emphasizing the materiality of culture in the 18th and 19th centuries. These manuscripts, apparently representative of books circulating in the 18th and 19th centuries, contain numerous texts in Arabic, Malay and Acehnese, and the full

contents of each volume were identified and contextualized in relation to the rest of the collection. Another research presented by Ahmad Taufik Hidayat (2021) highlights the existence of manuscripts in Minangkabau, showing great potential for the development of scientific studies in the fields of hadith, sharia, history, Islamic education, thought, philosophy, and tasawwuf. Finally, a study on Islamic palm manuscripts from Lombok presented by Meij (2022) examines the material and non-material aspects of the manuscripts, and compares the influence of Islam on the Sasak and Balinese people of Lombok. These studies together provide deep insights into the diversity of Islamic studies in the archipelago and identify potential for further research in this area.

However, from all the previous research descriptions, there is no study that provides information related to the wealth of legal manuscripts, legal culture, and historical records of the kingdoms in the Kesultanan Cirebon. Whereas Cirebon is one of the cities where Islam spread, surrounded by very comprehensive aspects, including the role of Walisongo, pesantren, the kingdom, and cultural and literary wealth. This research aims to explore the legal culture and uncovered historical records in the Cirebon Sultanate through the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript and its implications in the present era.

Method

Descriptive qualitative is the method in this study, with a juridical sociological approach to describe the track record and legal culture in the legal manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* (Huda, 2021). The main data sources come from interviews with historians who have in-depth knowledge of the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript. The manuscript holder became a key informant to explore in-depth understanding of the history, interpretation, and application of the legal values contained in the manuscript. In addition, direct observation of the manuscript and documentation studies were also involved to strengthen the interpretation and understanding of the legal content presented.

Data analysis was conducted through a data reduction process, where data from interviews, observations, and documentation studies were organized so that they could be interpreted further. Then, a data codification process was carried out

to identify patterns, themes, and relationships between emerging information. Conclusions were drawn based on an in-depth analysis of the data collected.

This study employs a qualitative descriptive method with a socio-legal juridical approach to elucidate the legal record and culture within the legal manuscript *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* (Huda, 2021). The primary data source derives from interviews with Farihin, a historian and custodian of the manuscript possessing profound knowledge of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The manuscript's custodian serves as a key informant to delve into a deep understanding of the historical, interpretative, and applied values of law contained within the manuscript. Additionally, interviews were conducted with other historians such as Muhammad Anwaruddin and Muhammad Djumhur. Interviews were also conducted with Islamic legal experts from the descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, namely Ahmad Rifqi Chowas. Direct observation of the manuscript and documentary studies were also involved to reinforce the interpretation and understanding of the legal content presented.

Data analysis was carried out through a process of data reduction, wherein data from interviews, observations, and documentary studies were organized for further interpretation. Subsequently, a data presentation process was conducted following the pattern previously employed by Lawrence Friedman in his book *Legal System*, which encompasses three elements of legal system research: legal structure, legal substance, and legal culture, encompassing both internal and external factors (Friedman, 1975). Conclusions are drawn based on a comprehensive analysis of the collected data.

According to Friedman (Friedman, 2021), the legal structure encompasses not only institutions but also involves organization, governance, and human resources. Organization constitutes parts of a unit with specific objectives, governance is the working system implemented within an institution, and human resources refer to individuals involved in executing the system, both within and outside the structure.

The organizational structure is influenced by the size and form of the organization, affecting administrative processes and decision-making. Governance, such as standard operating procedures (SOPs), serves as guidelines in executing

these processes. Human resources are influenced by the legal values applied and their attitudes toward the law, impacting performance in administrative processes or decision-making.

Legal substance encompasses rules and norms that bind and serve as guidelines for law enforcement. This creates legal certainty in actions, including societal responses to these rules and their relationship with legal structures and the interests of lawmakers.

Legal culture encompasses societal attitudes toward law and the legal system, including beliefs, values, ideas, and expectations. Every society has a legal culture reflecting their views on the law, determining how it is used, avoided, or misused (Fekete, 2017).

Based on the theoretical exposition, we aim to explore the legal culture in the Kesultanan Cirebon using the framework presented by Lawrence Friedman to ensure a scholarly focus in our research. This study delves into legal culture, thus Friedman's legal system theory becomes highly relevant.

Legal Structure of the Kesultanan Cirebon

Kesultanan Pakungwati (Kesultanan Cirebon) was founded around 1430 by Pangeran Cakrabuana, who had the small name Raden Walangsungsang. Pangeran Cakrabuana was the son of Prabu Siliwangi and Subang Larang. The people of Cirebon also know him as Mbah Kuwu Cirebon. At the beginning of its establishment, the kingdom was named Keraton Pakungwati or Kesultanan Pakungwati, taken from the name of Pangeran Cakrabuana's daughter who later married Syarif Hidayatullah (Sunan Gunung Jati), the second king of Kesultanan Pakungwati (Hardjasaputra, 2011).

After the abdication of Pangeran Cakrabuana, the leadership of the kingdom was handed over to his son-in-law and nephew, Sunan Gunung Jati or Syarif Hidayatullah. Syarif Hidayatullah was one of the Walisongo who spread Islamic proselytization in Indonesia (Sunyoto, 2018). He was the son of Abdullah Umdatuddin and Nyimas Rara Santang, who was also the daughter of Prabu

Siliwangi and the sister of Pangeran Cakrabuana (Hernawan and Kusdiana, 2020; Munawar, Rahmat and Yahya, 2021).

During Sunan Gunung Jati's tenure, he successfully built the first grand mosque of the Cirebon Sultanate, which was also used for judicial proceedings of the Kesultanan Pakungwati (Kesultanan Cirebon). With a background in religious knowledge and as a scholar and one of the Walisongo, Sunan Gunung Jati implemented Sharia law in the Pakungwati Sultanate (Pradita et al., 2020). One of the initiatives undertaken by Sunan Gunung Jati was the construction of the Great Mosque of Sang Cipta Rasa, which means the grandeur of the building used (Kartika et al., 2020; Zainuri, 2021). According to the Penghulu Keraton (currently equivalent to Mufti) the mosque was not only used for ritual prayer services but also served as judicial offices and for discussions among scholars (Muhammad Jumhur, 2023).

Kesultanan Pakungwati (Kesultanan Cirebon) experienced significant growth and gained considerable recognition when Pangeran Grilaya (the 4th King of the Kesultanan Cirebon) ascended to the throne. During his reign, Prince Grilaya married a daughter of Amangkurat I, the king of Mataram. Although the exact number of his descendants from this marriage is unknown, historical records of Cirebon in the Mertasinga Manuscript mention conflicts between Pangeran Grilaya and Amangkurat I. These conflicts resulted in Pangeran Grilaya and his two sons (not grandsons of Amangkurat I) being sentenced to imprisonment. Pangeran Grilaya subsequently passed away in Mataram, and his two sons continued the leadership of the Pakungwati Sultanate (Mertasinga, 1889).

However, after the reign of Pangeran Grilaya's son, there was a significant change. Pakungwati Sultanate was divided into two parts. Information from observers of Cirebon history states that the division was carried out to ensure a fair division of leadership areas in the Cirebon Kingdom (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023). Sultan Syamsuddin took over the Kesultanan Pakungwati, which was later renamed Kesultanan Kasepuhan. Meanwhile, Sultan Badaruddin established a new palace named Kesultanan Kanoman (Belinda, Leonardo and Beni, 2021). With the changes in the structure of the Kesultanan Cirebon depicted here, the legal system

in Cirebon also underwent significant transformations. These changes included the implementation of the “policy of two kings”. This era also witnessed the influence of the legal system from the Mataram kingdom penetrating into Cirebon.

Then, in the 18th century, a new Sultanate emerged, the Kacirebonan Sultanate, with Sultan Chairuddin I as its first king (Royandi, Halim and Jonatan, 2021; Riomandha, 2023; Warliati, 2023). The birth of the Kesultanan Kacirebonan reflects the political dynamics in the kingdoms of Cirebon. During this period, the kingdom in Cirebon referred to a single law, namely *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, which was a compilation of laws that had been applied in the previous Cirebon kingdom (Farihin, 2023). According to some information we obtained, the Kacirebonan Sultanate was established to reduce the confusion of the VOC, as this era marked the beginning of VOC presence in the region. It was also during this era that the laws contained in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* were formulated.

Quoting Lawrence Friedma, who stated that wherever there is law, its implementation is invariably influenced by political power and authority (Friedman, 1975, 2021; Fekete, 2017). He asserted that the legal system is a unit operating within certain boundaries. In the Kesultanan Cirebon, the legal system was initially governed by Sharia law, with the early kings being members of the Walisongo. This system changed when the politics of Amangkurat I began to influence the region. The kingdom in Cirebon then split into two, namely Kesultanan Kasepuhan and e Kesultanan Kanoman. However, the existence of these two kingdoms did not mean that the law in Cirebon disappeared. The law in Cirebon continued to operate with the implementation of Sharia and customary laws.

When the VOC entered Cirebon, they also brought Western law. According to Lawrence Friedman, typically when the VOC arrived, they would implement Western law, while customary law would only be applied in the inland (Friedman, 2021). And when conflicts arose between them, customary law would be set aside. However, in Cirebon, customary law was not sidelined. With the political influence of the kingdom’s leaders at that time, the sultanate was divided into three, namely:

Kesultanan Kasepuhan, Kesultanan Kanoman, and Kesultanan Kacirebonan. It was in Kesultanan Kacirebonan that the VOC applied some of their political influence.

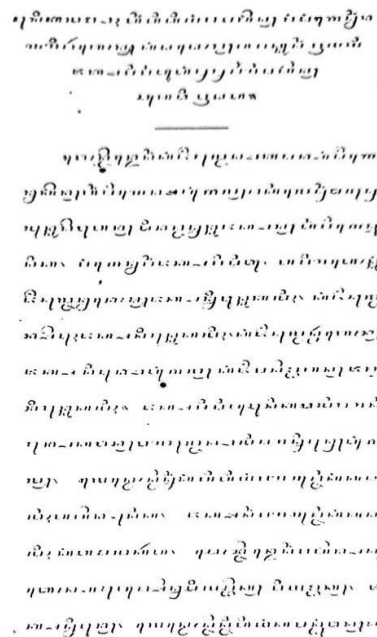
Legal Substance of the Kingdom of Cirebon

It is not clearly known when *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was formed and began to be the main source in adjudicating legal cases. However, we can emphasize in this paper that *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was not applied during the leadership era of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati. In the beginning, the Kesultanan Cirebon adhered to the understanding of Islamic law in adjudicating a case. According to one of the descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, the standard of law applied in Cirebon is Fiqh Syafi'iyah and makes the book Fathul Wahhab by Zakariya Al-Anshori as one of its main references (Chowas, 2023). According to another informant, the judiciary in the era of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati was handed over to Syaikh Abdurrohim who was the son of Syaikh Nurjati (Muhammad Jumhur, 2023). In the era of Sunan Gunung Jati also applied Javanese customs as a standard of law in Cirebon if it did not find the appropriateness of the decision in fiqh (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023).

In the opening of the legal compilation reflected in the manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, it is explained that the book is *the* ins and outs of the complaints of the people of Cirebon who experience legal cases both civil and criminal in nature. The manuscript also states that the legal compilation contained in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is to resolve disputes, whether they are land disputes, inheritance or others. *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* also takes care of household problems (Penghulu Gede Kesultanan Cirebon, 1800).

Picture 1

Manuscript Portrait of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*



We took this photo directly from the manuscript found in the Kesultanan Cirebon library. The photo depicts an original manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, which we obtained from the royal manuscript museum. The manuscript is currently explaining the relocation of the courthouse, which is no longer situated in the mosque. Below is the interpretation of this description:

“The court building is located on the west side of the square of the Kasepuhan Palace, this building is called the Prosecutor's Office. Here it should be explained that His Majesty the Sultan Anom is in charge of two prosecutors, His Majesty the Sultan Sepuh is in charge of two prosecutors, while His Majesty the Sultan of Cirebon is in charge of one prosecutor and His Majesty the Lord Panembahan is in charge of one prosecutor.” (Sudjana, 1981).

The description of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is written in Cirebon language with Javanese script. Unlike the book Adhilullah or Surya Alam which is written in Javanese Arabic Pegon (Satibi, 2013). Although Adhilullah is one of the sources of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, the influence of the Mataram kingdom is very strong considering that Sultan Sepuh and the first Sultan Anom once lived in the Mataram kingdom with his father, Pangeran Grilaya.

From the description here, it can be concluded that when *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was enacted when the kingdom in Cirebon had 3 kings. Namely Sultan Anom who owns Kanoman Sultanate, Sultan Sepuh who owns Kasepuhan Sultanate, and Sultan Cirebon who owns Cirebon Sultanate. According to

historians, the legal compilation book *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was formed to unify the laws under the three sultanates (Farihin, 2023). The meaning of Tuan Panembahan is the crown Pangeran of the Kasepuhan Sultanate. There is an element of specificity for the Kasepuhan Sultanate because the Kasepuhan Sultanate is located in Keraton Pakungwati, the original place of the kingdom built by Pangeran Cakrabuana (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023). Another source states that the lord Panembahan here is Pangeran Wangsakerta and his descendants, he is the 3rd son of Pangeran Grilaya who did not become king, the younger brother of Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Anom (Tendi, Marihandono and Abdurakhman, 2019).

Confirmed from historians, that in the Kesultanan Cirebon there were several judges who took care of judicial decisions. The judge in this case is called *Penghulu Gede* or which means Supreme Judge. After the VOC came, the term *Penghulu Gede* was replaced with the term *Penghulu Landrat* (Muhammad Anwaruddin, 2023). Landrat itself according to KBBI gives the meaning of the State Court (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2005). However, according to the book *"Tjeribonsch Wetboek"* by Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu, Landrat comes from the Dutch language with the origin of the word *"landraad"* which means defense (Hazeu, 1905). Later the term changed to the name *Penghulu Keraton*.

According to Muhammad Djumhur, one of the palace's *Penghulu* (the role is now more likely to be an advisor or mufti of the palace), the Cirebon Prosecutor's Office in the Sultanate is the seed of the Judiciary in Indonesia. That is, the sultanate in Cirebon contributed ideas and ideas in national development from the judicial side, especially in religious matters (Muhammad Jumhur, 2023).

In essence, the law in the Kesultanan Cirebon begins with Islamic law. This was motivated by the influence of the arrival of the walisongo to Indonesia, including the king of Cirebon himself, Sunan Gunung Jati, who applied Islamic law (Hafizd, 2021; Miftakhur Ridlo, 2021). However, over time, the development of law in the Kesultanan Cirebon was also influenced by Javanese customs and the influence of the Mataram kingdom because of the son-in-law relationship. The legal culture of the kingdom also contributed to the thinking and judicial system that exists in Indonesia today (Lev, 2021).

Legal Culture in Cirebon in the Manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*

The existence of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* in the field of law in the Cirebon region from the eighteenth century was influenced by various political dynamics and power that occurred. In order for the discussion of the influence of various legal elements on *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* to be clearer, it will be described as follows:

The manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* mentions several fines against lawbreakers in the form of *Real* currency. There is no specific information regarding the *Real* in question, but several sources mention that the Arab trade had entered Cirebon in the 18th century and was quite dominant in influencing the economic monopoly (Mujib, 2021).

According to Farihin (2023), in an interview:

“The currency used at that time was Picis, which was a thin, round coin made of tin with a hole in the middle for easy storage by piercing it little by little. There were also heritage coins from Sunan Gunung Jati made of copper, typically one or two pieces acquired from the Grami people (Middle Eastern traders). Additionally, there were coins made of salaka (silver), usually one or two pieces obtained from a distant land.”

Description from Farihin can provide an understanding that Arab influence existed since the time of Sunan Gunung Jati. In an interview with Ahmad Rifqi Chowas (2023):

“Sunan Gunung Jati went to Egypt to study religion. From there, Sunan Gunung Jati had a significant influence in introducing Arab culture to Indonesia. Additionally, Sunan Gunung Jati also studied Islamic politics from his predecessors, who themselves were of Arab descent.”

Sunan Gunung Jati brought Arab political influence to Java very clearly with the support of data on his lineage and place of study. This also affected the legal decisions under the Kesultanan Cirebon. In addition, the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript also describes rules that clearly refer to Islamic law, namely:

“...yen wonten sadaleming witjara iku prakara yang awrat, ora kena pinegat maka matur sewang-sewangan, ing gustine mantri pipitu, iku kang matur ing gustine, titi”.

Meaning:

“if a case cannot be decided by a judge or prosecutor, then the decision is returned to the king”. (Sudjana, 1981).

This is in line with Islamic values that require obeying *ulil amri* or the government (Kementarian Agama RI, 2016). The king in this case plays an active role in providing law enforcement participation. The principle of legality and the principle of equality before the law also show the presence of Islamic elements in carrying out legal duties. In addition, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* refers to the legal manuscript of Adilullah or Surya Alam which uses Islamic law as the principle of the manuscript (Satibi, 2013).

Arab trade and Islamization were deeply intertwined with Cirebon. However, it was not only that; Cirebon was also known as a bustling trade center in the early 16th century. Trade flourished even more when Pangeran Grilaya established kinship ties with the Mataram Kingdom. Additionally, Cirebon was known as a port city during that time, allowing people from various backgrounds to come and go with ease (Kartodirdjo, 2014).

Cirebon, with its natural wealth, became a fertile and prosperous region due to good management. The socio-economic life of Cirebon's society continued to develop. These changes were caused by the colonization of the VOC, which began to influence Cirebon through agreements starting on January 7, 1681. In 1752, the VOC issued regulations regarding the replacement of the Sultan and obtained the monopoly rights for importing goods such as clothing, cotton, opium, as well as monopolies on exports, including pepper, wood, sugar, rice, and other goods desired by the VOC. Additionally, the VOC also established Cirebon as a trading center (Susanti, 2018).

The arrival of the VOC had a major influence on the legal culture of the Cirebon Sultanate. Although some people believe that their ancestors had no indication of a relationship with the VOC, the evidence contained in the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* clearly illustrates the relationship between the Kesultanan Cirebon and the VOC. In Article 20 of the Agreement dated September 8, 1688 between Cirebon and the VOC, it is clear that Western influence has played a major role in Cirebon's legal matters. The Company became an advisor who determined the appointment of law enforcement officials (Hoadley, 1994; Tendi, Marihandono and Abdurakhman, 2019).

Previously, we mentioned there was a special relationship between Pangeran Grilaya and the Mataram kingdom. However, this relationship resulted in a conflict that led to Pangeran Grilaya's imprisonment in the Mataram kingdom.

Interview with Farihin:

“Pangeran Girilaya ascended to the throne of Cirebon (Keraton Pakungwati), succeeding his grandfather Panembahan Ratu I who passed away. A year after being crowned king, Pangeran Girilaya and his two sons, Mertawijaya and Kertawijaya, were detained in Mataram. Meanwhile, his third son, Pangeran Wangsakerta, assumed the position of governing in Cirebon.”

The statement illustrates that the Kesultanan Cirebon experienced intervention from the Mataram Kingdom, which ultimately influenced the strong presence of Javanese culture embraced in Cirebon. This intervention is evidenced by the imprisonment of Pangeran Girilaya and his two sons by Mataram, occurring a year after Pangeran Girilaya ascended the throne as the ruler of Cirebon. This indicates that Mataram had significant control over the internal affairs of the Kesultanan Cirebon at that time. Consequently, Javanese cultural elements became more deeply ingrained in Cirebon, including within the legal systems and customs.

At the beginning of the discussion, we mentioned that the formation of the manuscript of *Jaksa Pepitu* was probably around 1800. This is indicated in the first opening of the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu manuscript* which mentions the Kacirebonan Sultanate as one of the kingdoms in Cirebon. At that time, the influence of the Mataram Sultanate in Cirebon was already strong and visible. Moreover, historical experts mention that one of the references of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is *Angger-Agger Mataram* (Farihin, 2023). The same thing is emphasized in several other literatures that mention that the legal culture that existed in Cirebon at that time was influenced by Javanese customs (Hardjasaputra, 2011; Belinda, Leonardo and Beni, 2021; Jamalie, 2022; Ristiningsih, 2023).

Conclusion

The Manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is a compilation of various principal legal texts from different periods in the Javanese kingdoms, such as *Kutaramanawa Dharmastra*, *Purwadigama*, and others. Along with the political

division of the Kesultanan Cirebon into the Kesultanan Kasepuhan, Kesultanan Kanoman, and Kesultanan Kacirebonan, the legal system in Cirebon also underwent changes. Initially, Islamic law was applied due to the influence of the early kings who were part of the Walisongo. However, when the politics of Amangkurat I from Mataram influenced Cirebon, this legal system began to incorporate customary law along with Islamic law. When the VOC entered, they introduced Western law, which was typically applied in urban areas, while customary law was still implemented in rural areas. Despite conflicts between Western law and customary law, in Cirebon, customary law continued to be upheld, creating a unique legal system that blended elements of Islamic law, customary law, and Western law.

Changes in the legal system of Cirebon were influenced by several factors, including Arab trade, the process of Islamization, the influence of the VOC and Western culture, as well as the influence of the Mataram Kingdom. After the division of the Cirebon Kingdom, Islamic law was no longer the sole main reference, replaced by the compilation book *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The values contained in this manuscript provide a historical perspective on legal traditions, support comparative legal studies, and the preservation of cultural heritage. The combination of these legal elements also enriches our understanding of the history of Cirebon's legal system and its adaptation over time, the importance of addressing modern legal challenges in a diverse society, and inspires discussions on legal pluralism and multiculturalism.

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3. Letter of Acceptance

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

IJTIHAD: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan

E-ISSN: 2477-8036

Dear, **Edy Setyawan, Ahmad Alamuddin Yasin, Rahman Dahlan**

Warm Greeting,

It's pleasure to inform you that, your article, "**Legal culture review and judicial track record of the Kesultanan Cirebon in the manuscript Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu**" has been accepted and considered for publication after the peer review process.

The manuscript will be published in **Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan (E-ISSN: 2477-8036)** in volume 24 number (1), 2024 reguler Issue by following all requirement steps/revision. However, in case our manuscript mentioned above is published in another journal, we are ready that the forementioned names and institution are blacklisted for publication in Ijtihad: Jurnal Wacana Hukum Islam dan Kemanusiaan.

Thank you for submitting your work to this journal.

Salatiga, Indonesia 10th June 2024

Editor in Chief


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