

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

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The Manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is a compilation of various legal texts including *Kutaramanawa Darmastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengker*, *Adbilullah*, *Angger Surya Ngalam*, and *Angger Angger Mataram*, which consist of legal codes from Javanese kingdoms of their time. This study aims to explore the legal history and culture found in the manuscript within the Kesultanan Cirebon, using a qualitative descriptive method with a juridical-sociological approach. The data were obtained through interviews, observations, and documentations. 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 *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC or Dutch East India Company)

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 the promotion of multicultural values.

Manuskrip Hukum *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* adalah gabungan dari berbagai kitab hukum seperti *Kutaramanawa Darmasastra*, *Purwadigama*, *Pepakem Raja Niscaya*, *Jayalengker*, *Adhbilullah*, *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, 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.

**Keywords:** *Kesultanan Cirebon; legal culture; Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*

## **Introduction**

The kingdoms of Java, Indonesia, have played a significant role in shaping a diverse political and cultural landscape over several centuries. The predominant form of governance within these kingdoms was characterised by a feudal system, where in a king or sultan held ultimate authority and often passed down their position through successive generations (Sugiyarto, 2020). At the centre of the royal domain stood the keraton, a magnificent palace that served as the centre of governmental and cultural activities. The architectural style of the palace embodied the grandeur and historical continuity of the kingdom. A hierarchical system of governance was established, whereby officials were appointed based on their expertise and loyalty to the supreme ruler (Agustina et al., 2016; Rosmalia & Prasetya, 2018; Trisyanti et al., 2023).

The kingdoms were rich Javanese culture where traditional art, literature, dance, and music were deeply intertwined with daily life. Cultural centres in the palaces supported the development of the arts and promoted the unique identity of Javanese society (Atrinawati, 2021; Cahyono et al., 2020; Sofiana et al., 2024). Over time, the Hindu-Buddhist religion played a significant role in shaping the moral and ethical foundation of society. This influence was evident in the art, architecture and religious rituals practiced within the palace and around the royal territory (Ristiningsih, 2023).

An advanced agricultural system, especially rice farming, emerged as the fundamental pillar of the economy in Java. A sophisticated system of irrigated rice fields was constructed to facilitate agricultural activities and guarantee food security. The communities were organised into a village system that characterised by its distinctive social and economic structure. In some kingdoms, a caste system was established, which categorised individuals based on their occupation and social standing (Tsabit & Eni, 2023).

Javanese kingdoms developed strong trade relations with neighbouring nations in Southeast Asia, supporting the economic growth and wealth of the kingdoms. In certain periods, traditional ceremonies, and religious rituals, such as *Grebeg* and *Kirab Agung*, were held. These ceremonies were believed to prevent calamities and strengthen the cultural and religious identity of the people (Ridwan, 2023; Syakur, 2021). As a result, the kingdoms in Java not only created a stable 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 culture. Amidst the palaces that served as centres of government, civilisation, 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 (Budiartha et al., 2020; Winaya & Munandar, 2021).

Javanese literary traditions thrived during the Mataram Kingdom, with classic texts like *Serat Centhini*, a story book about the struggle of the Mataram Kingdom, which narrates the struggles of the Mataram kingdom, and *Nagarakretagama*, a 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 emerged as the principal writing system, facilitating the creation and preservation 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 entrance of Islam into Java, the practice of writing using Arabic script also developed, producing Islamic texts in Arabic and Javanese (Burak, 2016; Jahuri & Fauji, 2022). These manuscripts encompass a broad range of subjects, including religion, Islamic law, and history (Halim, 2002). Some ancient manuscripts may have stemmed from oral traditions, preserved in written form as a means of safeguarding and transmitting stories, legends, and oral wisdom.

The kingdoms of Java also had a wealth of legal manuscripts that reflected the legal structures and norms that governed society at that time. In these manuscripts, there aware legal regulations and guidelines used by the rulers to manage the kingdom and maintain social order. These legal manuscripts covered 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 different aspects of studies concerning Islamic royal texts and local wisdom in the archipelago. The 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 studies demonstrate the adaptability of Islamic law 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. The presence of philosophers from various traditions, such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, reveals similarities in metaphysical concepts that reflect the still partially explored identity of Malay philosophy.

Furthermore, Gallop, and Fathurrahman (2022) looked at the British Library's collection of Islamic manuscripts from Aceh, emphasising the materiality of culture in

the 18th and 19th centuries. These manuscripts, which represent books in circulation during that time, contain numerous texts in Arabic, Malay and Acehnese. The researcher identified and provided context for the content of each volume in relation to the rest of the collection. Another research by Hidayat (2021) highlights the existence of manuscripts in Minangkabau, showing great potential for the development of scientific studies in the fields such as hadith, sharia, history, Islamic education, thought, philosophy, and *tasawwuf*. Finally, a study on Islamic palm manuscripts 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 provide deep insights into the diversity of Islamic studies in the archipelago and identify further potential for research in this area.

However, based on the previous research, there is lack studies that focus on the wealth of legal manuscripts, legal culture, and historical records of the kingdoms in the Kesultanan Cirebon. Cirebon, being one of the cities where the spread of Islam took place, is surrounded by comprehensive aspects, such as the role of Walisongo, pesantren, the kingdom, and cultural and literary treasures. The objective of this research is to delve the legal culture and uncover historical records within the Cirebon Sultanate through analysis the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript and to explore its implications in the present era.

## **Method**

This study employs descriptive qualitative method with a juridical sociological approach to describe the historical background and legal culture within the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript (Huda, 2021). The data consist of interviews conducted with historians who possess extensive knowledge of the manuscript. The manuscript's custodian serves as a key informant, providing invaluable insight into the manuscript's history, interpretation, and application of its legal values. In addition, direct observation of the manuscript and documentation studies are employed to further augment the interpretation and comprehension of its legal content. Analysis of the data involves a data reduction process, whereby data from interviews, observations, and documentation studies are organised to facilitate further interpretation. Subsequently, a data codification process is undertaken to identify patterns, themes, and relationships among the emerging information. The

conclusions are drawn based on a thorough analysis of the data.

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 is derived 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. Moreover, interviews were also conducted with Islamic legal experts from the descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, specifically Ahmad Rifqi Chowas. Direct observation of the manuscript and documentary studies were also employed to enhance the interpretation and comprehension of the legal content presented.

Data analysis was carried out through a process of data reduction, in which data from interviews, observations, and documentary studies were organised for further interpretation. Subsequently, a data presentation process was conducted following the pattern previously employed by Friedman (1975) in his book *Legal System*, which includes three elements of legal system research: legal structure, legal substance, and legal culture, encompassing both internal and external factors. 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 organisation, governance, and human resources. Organisation 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 organisational structure is influenced by the size and form of the organisation, thereby affecting administrative processes and decision-making. Governance, such as standard operating procedures (SOPs), serves as guidelines for executing these processes. Human resources are influenced by the legal values applied and their attitudes toward the law, which impact 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 that reflects its views on the law, determining how it is used, avoided, or misused (Fekete, 2017; Sebyar, 2023). 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 making Friedman's legal system theory highly relevant.

### **Legal structure of the Kesultanan Cirebon**

Kesultanan Pakungwati, also known as Kesultanan Cirebon, was founded around 1430 by Pangeran Cakrabuana, whose given name was Raden Walangsungsang. Pangeran Cakrabuana was the son of Prabu Siliwangi and Subang Larang, and he is also known as Mbah Kuwu Cirebon among the local people. Initially, the kingdom was called Keraton Pakungwati or Kesultanan Pakungwati, derived 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 propagated Islam in Indonesia (Muamar et al., 2024; 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. Sunan Gunung Jati, an Islamic scholar and one of the Walisongo, implemented Sharia law in the Kesultanan Pakungwati (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 (Izzuddin, 2022; 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 (Jumhur, 2023).

Kesultanan Pakungwati experienced significant growth and gained considerable recognition when Pangeran Grilaya, the 4th King, ascended to the throne. Prince Grilaya married a daughter of Amangkurat I, the king of Mataram. Although the precise number of descendants union remain uncertain, Mertasinga Manuscript. Providing historical accounts of Cirebon, document conflicts between Pangeran Grilaya and Amangkurat I. as consequence of these conflicts, Pangeran Grilaya and his two sons (not grandsons of Amangkurat I) were subjected to imprisonment. Pangeran Grilaya subsequently passed away in Mataram, and leaving his two sons to continue the leadership of the Kesultanan Pakungwati (Mertasinga, 1889).

However, following the reign of Pangeran Grilaya's son, a notable transformation occurred. Kesultanan Pakungwati was divided into two separate entities. The division was undertaken to ensure a fair distribution of leadership territories within the Cirebon Kingdom (Anwaruddin, 2023). Sultan Syamsuddin took over the Kesultanan Pakungwati, which was later renamed Kesultanan Kasepuhan. Meanwhile, Sultan Badaruddin established a new palace known Kesultanan Kanoman (Belinda et al., 2021). Considering these structural changes in the Kesultanan Cirebon depicted, significant transformation also took place within its legal system. This transformation encompassed the introduction of the "policy of two kings". Furthermore, this era witnessed the influence of the legal system from the Mataram kingdom permeating into Cirebon.

In the 18th century, a new Sultanate emerged, the Kesultanan Kacirebonan, with Sultan Chairuddin I as its first king (Riomandha, 2023; Royandi et al., 2021; Warliati, 2023). The establishment of the Kesultanan Kacirebonan reflected the political dynamics in the kingdoms of Cirebon. During this period, the kingdoms in Cirebon adopted a unified law called *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, which was a compilation of laws from in the Kesultanan Cirebon (Farihin, 2023). According to available information, the Kesultanan Kacirebonan was established with the aim of reducing the confusion caused by the VOC, as this period marked the beginning of VOC's influence in the region. It was also during this time that the laws contained in *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* were formulated.



Quoting Friedman (1975, 2021), who argue that the implementation of law is invariably influenced by political power and authority (Fekete, 2017; Friedman, 1975, 2021; Nastain et al., 2024; Ramli & Elatrash, 2021; Duhriah et al., 2024). He asserts that the legal system operates 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. However, this system changed as the politics of Amangkurat I started to influence the region. The Kesultanan Cirebon then split into two; Kesultanan Kasepuhan and Kesultanan Kanoman. However, the existence of these two kingdoms did not mean that the law in Cirebon disappeared. The legal system in Cirebon continued to operate with the implementation of Sharia and customary laws.

When the VOC entered Cirebon, they also introduced Western law. According to Friedman (Friedman, 2021), it was customary for the VOC to implement Western law upon arrival, while customary law would only be applied in the inland areas. In case of conflicts between two, customary law would be disregarded. However, in Cirebon, customary law was not disregarded (Al Farisi et al., 2023). With the political influence of the kingdom's leaders at that time, the sultanate was divided into three; 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**

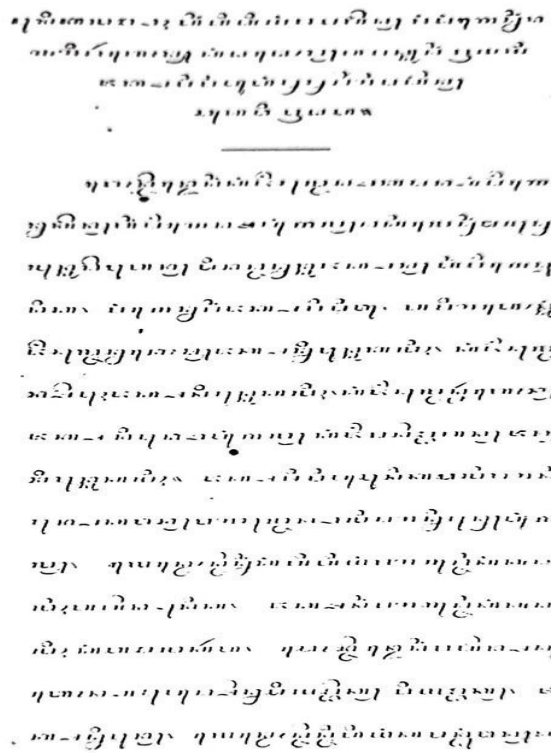
The origin and establishment of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, the main authority in adjudicating legal cases, remain unclear. However, it can be emphasised in this paper that *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* was not applied during the reigns of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati. In the beginning, the Kesultanan Cirebon followed the principles of Islamic law in resolving cases. According to a descendant of Sunan Gunung Jati, Cirebon relied on the Fiqh Syafi'iyah and considered the book *Fathul Wahhab* by Zakariya Al-Anshori as one of its main references (Chowas, 2023). Another informant stated that the judiciary during the period of Pangeran Cakrabuana and Sunan Gunung Jati was handed over to Syaikh Abdurrohman who was the son of Syaikh Nurjati (Jumhur, 2023). Additionally, Sunan Gunung Jati incorporated Javanese customs as a standard of law in Cirebon when the principles of fiqh did not

provide a suitable solution (Anwaruddin, 2023).

The introduction of the legal compilation presented in the manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* explains that the book records the grievances of the people of Cirebon who have encountered both civil and criminal legal cases. The manuscript states that *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* serves as a tool for resolving various disputes, including land disputes, inheritance, or others. Furthermore, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* also addresses domestic issues (Penghulu Gede Kesultanan Cirebon, 1768).

### Picture 1

Manuscript Portrait of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*



The photograph was obtained from the manuscript found in the Kesultanan Cirebon library. The photograph portrays an authentic manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, which currently explains the relocation of the courthouse, which is no longer situated in the mosque. The following 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 using Javanese script. In contrast to the book Adhilullah or Surya Alam which is written in Javanese Arabic Pegon (Satibi, 2013) *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* draws heavily from the influence of the Mataram kingdom. This is since Sultan Sepuh and the first Sultan Anom resided in the Mataram kingdom alongside their father, Pangeran Grilaya.

Based on the description, it can be deduced that the enactment of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* took place during a period when Kesultanan Cirebon had three kings; Sultan Anom who ruled kesultanan Kanoman, Sultan Sepuh who ruled Kesultanan Kasepuhan, and Sultan Cirebon who ruled Kesultnan Cirebon. Historians assert that *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*, a legal compilation book, was created with purpose of unifying the laws across the three sultanates (Farihin, 2023). The title “Tuan Panembahan” refers to the crown Pangeran (prince) of the Kesultanan Kasepuhan. This title holds significant for Kesultnan Kasepuhan due to its location in the Keraton Pakungwati, the original site of the kingdom established by Pangeran Cakrabuana (Anwaruddin, 2023). Another source states that the Tuan Panembahan refers to Pangeran Wangsakerta and his descendants, the third son of Pangeran Grilaya who did not ascend to the throne, is the younger brother of Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Anom (Tendi et al., 2019).

According to historians, it has been confirmed that the Kesultanan Cirebon had several judges responsible for making judicial decisions. In this context, the judge was referred to as *Pengbuhu Gede*, which translates to Supreme Judge. However, with the arrival of the VOC, the term *Pengbuhu Gede* was replaced by *Pengbuhu Landrat* (Anwaruddin, 2023). According to Dictionary of Indonesian Language (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia or KBBI), Landrat refers to the State Court (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2005). However, in the book “*Tjeribonsch Wetboek*” by Godard Arend Johannes Hazeu, it mentioned that Landrat originates from the Dutch word “*landraad*” which means defense (Hazeu, 1905). Later the term changed to *Pengbuhu Keraton*.

According to Djumhur (2023), one of the palace's Penghulu (now known as an advisor or mufti of the palace), the Cirebon Prosecutor's Office in the Kesultanan played a crucial role in laying the foundation for the Judiciary in Indonesia. Specifically, the Kesultanan in Cirebon contributed significant insights and perspective to the national development in term of the judiciary, particularly in matters pertaining to religion.

In essence, the legal framework in the Kesultanan Cirebon is rooted in Islamic law, which can be attributed to the arrival of the Walisongo to Indonesia. Notably, Sunan Gunung Jati, the king of Cirebon, played a pivotal role in the adoption of Islamic law (Hafizd, 2021; Ridlo, 2021). However, over time, the development of legal practice in the Kesultanan Cirebon was also influenced by Javanese customs and the influence of the Mataram kingdom owing to their son-in-law relationship. It is worth noting that the legal culture of the kingdom also contributed to the prevailing legal thought and judicial system in contemporary Indonesia (Lev, 2021).

### **Legal culture in Cirebon in the manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu***

The presence of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* in the legal field in the Cirebon region during the eighteenth century was influenced by various political dynamics and power. To provide a clearer understanding of the impact of different legal elements on *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* the following will be described.

The manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* references various penalties imposed on offenders in the form of the *Real* currency. While specific details about the particular *Real* currency are not provided, multiple sources suggest that Arab trade had entered Cirebon during the 18th century and significantly influenced the economic monopoly (Mujib, 2021). Farihin (2023) recounts:

“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 provides an insight into the existence of Arab influence dating back to the period of Sunan Gunung Jati. Chowas (2023) recounts:

“Sunan Gunung Jati went to Egypt to study religion. From there, he 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 clearly brought Arab political influence on Java with well-documented evidence of his lineage and place of study. This influence also had an impact on the legal decisions made under the Kesultanan Cirebon. In addition, the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* manuscript includes explicit that are in accordance with Islamic law.

*“..yen wonten sadaleming wijara iku prakara yang awrat, ora kena pinegat maka matur sewang-sewangan, ing gustine mantri pipitu, iku kang matur ing gustine, titi”* (Sudjana, 1981).

Meaning:

*“If a case cannot be decided by a judge or prosecutor, then the decision is returned to the king”.*

This is consistent with Islamic values that mandate obedience to *ulil amri* or the government (Kementerian Agama RI, 2016). The king in this instance assumes an active role in ensuring law enforcement participation. The principles of legality and equality before the law also demonstrate the influence of Islamic elements in carrying out legal duties. In addition, *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* refers to the legal manuscript of Adilullah or Surya Alam which adopts Islamic law as its guiding principle (Satibi, 2013).

Arab trade and the presence of Islamisation were intricately linked with Cirebon. However, this was not the sole aspect of the city's significance, as Cirebon was also gained renown as vibrant trade centre during the early 16th century. the establishment of kinship ties between Pangeran Grilaya and the Mataram Kingdom further fuelled the flourishing trade activities. Additionally, Cirebon served as a bustling port city during this period, facilitating the smooth influx and outflow of individuals from diverse backgrounds (Kartodirdjo, 2014).

Cirebon, endowed with abundant natural resources, experienced remarkable growth and prosperity owing to effective governance. The socio-economic life of Cirebon's society continued to develop. These changes were caused by the colonisation 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 pivotal trading centre (Susanti, 2018).

The arrival of the VOC had significant impact on the legal culture of the Kesultanan Cirebon. Although some people argue that their ancestors had no evidence of any association with the VOC, the *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* provide compelling evidence of the relationship between the Kesultanan Cirebon and the VOC, Article 20 of the Agreement dated September 8, 1688, between Cirebon and the VOC, explicitly demonstrate the substantial Western influence on Cirebon's legal affairs. The Company assumed the role of an advisor, responsible for the appointing of law enforcement officials (Hoadley, 1994; Tendi et al., 2019).

In the preceding discourse, reference was made to a distinctive connection between Pangeran Grilaya and the Mataram kingdom. However, this association engendered a discord that culminated in the incarceration of Pangeran Grilaya within the confines of the Mataram kingdom. Farihin (2023) recounts:

“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 demonstrates that the Kesultanan Cirebon encountered 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 authority over the internal affairs of the Kesultanan Cirebon during the period. Consequently, Javanese cultural elements became more deeply embedded in Cirebon, manifesting the legal systems and customs.

At the outset of the discussion, it was previously noted that the manuscript of *Jaksa Pepitu* was likely created circa 1800. This is evident in the initial section of the *Pepakem Jaksa*

*Pepitu manuscript* which references the Kesultanan Kacirebonan as one of the kingdoms in Cirebon. During this period, the influence of the Kesultanan Mataram in Cirebon was already significant and apparent. Moreover, historians cited that *Angger-Agger* Mataram as one of the references of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* (Farihin, 2023). This same notion is reiterated in several other literary works, which assert that the legal culture prevailing in Cirebon at that time was influenced by Javanese customs (Belinda et al., 2021; Hardjasaputra, 2011; Jamalie, 2022; Ristiningsih, 2023).

## **Conclusion**

The Manuscript of *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu* is an assemblage of several principal legal texts from different periods in the Javanese kingdoms, including *Kutaramanawa Darmastra*, and *Purwadigama*. In Conjunction with the political division of the Kesultanan Cirebon into the Kesultanan Kasepuhan, Kesultanan Kanoman, and Kesultanan Kacirebonan, the legal system in Cirebon also underwent transformation. Initially, Islamic law was implemented influenced by the early kings who were part of the Walisongo. However, with the influence Amangkurat I's politics from Mataram, this legal system gradually incorporated customary law alongside Islamic law. When the VOC arrived, they introduced Western law, which predominantly governed urban areas, while customary law was still implemented in rural areas. Despite conflicts between Western law and customary law, in Cirebon, customary law remained prevalent, thus giving rise to a distinctive legal system that harmoniously integrated elements of Islamic law, customary law, and Western law.

The legal system of Cirebon underwent changes that were influenced by various factors. These factors include Arab trade, the process of Islamisation, the influence of the VOC and Western culture, as well as the influence of the Mataram Kingdom. Following the division of the Cirebon Kingdom, Islamic law ceased to be the sole primary reference, and it was situated by the compilation book *Pepakem Jaksa Pepitu*. The values contained within this manuscript offer a historical perspective on legal traditions, support comparative legal studies, and contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage. The combination of these legal elements also enhances our comprehension of the history of Cirebon's legal system and its evolution over time. Furthermore, it underscores the significance of addressing

contemporary legal challenges within a diverse society and inspires discussions on legal pluralism and multiculturalism.

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