



SUPARMAN, SULASMAN & DADAN FIRDAUS

Political Dynamics in Cirebon from the 17th to 19th Century

ABSTRACT: After being left by Girilaya in 1662, the situation of Cirebon was not conducive. His generation, the Prince of Wangsakerta, was in the difficult situation because he was the prisoner of Trunojoyo in Kediri. Then, he asked for help to Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten to freed and protect him. Afterward, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa inaugurated the Princes of Cirebon, namely: Syamsuddin Martawijaya as “Sultan Sepuh” or Old Sultan; Badrudin Kartawijaya as “Sultan Anom” or Young Sultan; and Pangeran Wangsakerta as “Panembahan” or Prime Minister of Carbon. After being together in Cirebon, there was quarrel though there was no civil war among them. The internal conflict of the Cirebon palace family gave chance to outside, which was VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie or Dutch East India Company) to do intervention. Finally, the VOC bound Sultans of Cirebon by variety of contracts (engagement) under the cloak to make a peace either to get commercial monopoly. Since 1681, the authority of Cirebon Sultans had experienced degeneration as the impact of change had brought Dutch colonialism. Although, the title of Sultan was still carried, the authority had been disappeared. Every decision considered important things, including the change of Sultan had to get agreement from Governor-General in Batavia or Jakarta now. At 1809, H.W. Daendels organized government reorganization by issuing “Reglement van Bestuur voor de Cheribonsche Landen” that ended the political authority of Cirebon Sultans.

KEY WORDS: Political Dynamics; Internal Conflicts; History of Cirebon Sultanates; Reorganization; Dutch Colonialism.

INTRODUCTION

The situation in Cirebon, West Java, after the death of Girilaya in 1662 to 1681 was uncertain. In 1668, the first and second sons of Girilaya, Prince Shamsuddin Martawijaya and Prince Badruddin Kartawijaya, were captured by Trunojoyo with occupying Kartasura as a capital city of Mataram kingdom (Miksic ed., 2006; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012). They then were taken to Kediri in East Java, the headquarters

of Trunojoyo’s army; and then allowed to leave for Banten in West Java, where both for several months enjoyed a sumptuous feast of the Sultan of Banten (Hoadley, 1975:37).

According to Uka Tjandrasasmita (1999), the departure of Girilaya’s sons from Kediri to Banten was possible, because the Sultan of Banten at that time, Sultan Abdul Fattah or Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, from 2 December 1676 until November 1677, sent aid to Prince Trunojoyo in the form

About the Authors: Suparman, Sulasman, and Dadan Firdaus are the Lecturers at the Faculty of Adab and Humanities UIN SGD (State Islamic University, Sunan Gunung Djati) Bandung, Jalan A.H. Nasution No.105, Cipadung, Bandung 40614, West Java, Indonesia. For academic interests, the authors are able to be contacted via e-mail at: suparmanjassin@yahoo.com

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of weapons, equipment, and even combat troops (Tjandrasasmita, 1999:288). In the *Nagarakertabhumi's* manuscript, it is said that in Kediri, the two Princes of Cirebon were treated well by Trunojoyo (cited in Atja & Ayatrohaedi, 1986).

Prince Wangsakerta intended to free his two brothers and then asked for help to the Sultan of Banten, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. Prince Wangsakerta entourage along with Banten troop sailed with Banten war fleet to East Java with letters and gifts from the Sultan of Banten. The contents of the letter expected the two Princes from Cirebon, together with the Blitar Queen to be released. Trunojoyo, then, granted the request of the Sultan of Banten and the two Princes of Cirebon with his retinue to be released (Ricklefs, 1993; Thalens, 2004; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

Prince Wangsekerta, entourage with his two brothers, returned to Banten and after having arrived, they were greeted with joy. Sultan of Banten, then, inaugurated the Princes of Cirebon: Prince Shamsuddin Martawijaya as *Sultan Sepuh* or Old Sultan; Prince Badrudin Kartawijaya as *Sultan Anom* or Young Sultan; and Prince Wangsakerta as *Panembahan* or Prime Minister of Cirebon (Atja & Ayatrohaedi, 1986:75-76; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

How far the validity of the information in the *Nagarakertabhumi* manuscripts is related to the release of the two sons of Girilaya and who was the character played a role in the event could have been doubted, because the Prince Wangsakerta as the author of the script highlighted his own role (Atja & Ayatrohaedi, 1986; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

However, the liberation effort was also confirmed by the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company) government's diary or *Dagh Register*. In the *Dagh Register* dated on 2 and 22 February 1678, it was mentioned that both Princes of Cirebon were captured by Trunojoyo from the capital of Mataram and taken to Kediri (*Cadiry*) in East Java. Then, they were taken by Keey Nara (Kyai Nara), an envoy of the Sultan of Banten, to Banten; and then the three Princes of Cirebon were

protected by the Sultan of Banten.¹

After all three reunited in Cirebon, there was a dispute, although it did not lead to civil war. The Sultan of Banten tried to reconcile them by inviting all three to Banten, but the dispute did not end (Thalens, 2004; Atsushi, 2006; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

On the other side, the split that emerged in Cirebon can be explained based on the conflict theory.² Disunity or conflict can arise from the scarcity of positions and resources. The fewer positions or resources of each member or group could gain the sharper, the conflict and the competition between them to seize the position and source were (*cf* Pirages, 1982:7; and Anderson, 2010).

If it refers to the concept of conflict above, the dispute among the three sons of Girilaya is on low conflict, because it does not lead to civil war. Nevertheless, they could not solve the problems faced, so that they were "forced" to involve another party, which in this case was the VOC (Lubis, 2010; and Rosita, 2015). The question is why it was precisely what was asked for assistance as mediator in the dispute was the VOC in Batavia, not Banten kingdom in West Java, or Mataram kingdom in Central Java?

According to Hasan Muarif Ambary (1996), it is due to that Cirebon region was located between Mataram in the East and Banten in the West; and Cirebon was often used by Mataram in an unfair friendship to be a liaison between Mataram and Banten, which in case of conflict would complicate the position of Cirebon. Therefore, Cirebon finally chose the VOC or Dutch protection (Ambary, 1996:48; Thalens, 2004; Atsushi, 2006; Guillot, 2008; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

In the writers' opinion, the Cirebon choice to the VOC to serve as mediator of the conflict was based not only on the situation and conditions at that time, but also on

¹See, for example, "Dagh Register, Anno 1678". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta, p.58.

²The concept of conflict relates to the difference and contradiction of business, opinion, idea or view in the form of neither violence or "low content" which is not using violence. See, for further information, Ted R. Guur (1972:22); Albert F. Eldrigde (1979:2); and Kevin B. Anderson (2010).

something to do with previous events. As the dispute proceeded, Mataram was facing a Trunojoyo rebellion. On the contrary, the upheaval that occurred in Mataram and the Trunojoyo rebellion gave Banten freedoms to increase its influence, especially after the VOC and Mataram forces were allied, Banten felt more threatened (*cf* Kartodirdjo, 1993:204; Thalens, 2004; Atsushi, 2006; Guillot, 2008; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

In April 1679, Banten troop under Aria Surya and R. Bagus Abdulkadir attacked the VOC *loji* (warehouse of a colonial trading company) in Indramayu, West Java; and in January 1680, the attack spread to the northern coast of Central Java, such as Pekalongan and Kaliwungu. Even, in the same year (1680), Banten attacked Cirebon, but could be driven with the help of the VOC.³

Thus, perhaps the three sons of Girilaya considered Banten still ambitious to control Cirebon, although the second son of Girilaya, Prince Badruddin Kartawijaya, was the sister-in-law of the Sultan of Banten. On the other hand, the Cirebon's hatred towards Mataram was reasonable, since the Prince Girilaya and his two sons had been taken as prisoner in the capital of Mataram, and Mataram was constantly ambitious to control Cirebon; so, according to three Girilaya's sons, the only option deemed appropriate in overcoming the crisis was to request VOC's help.⁴

The delegation of power established among them was based on seniority, status, and power symbols on each Prince, such as the area and composition of land ownership and the number of vassals (Sulendraningrat, 1985; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012). The internal conflict began when Prince Shamsuddin Martawijaya, as the eldest son, demanded that the throne felt upon him,

³See "De Cheribonsche Vorsten" in *TNI*, XI(1), 1849, pp.430-435.

⁴According to Mason Claude Hoadley (1975), the Netherlands solved the problems in a unique way. They divided the authority of the kingdom government among the three brothers, who were disputed to one another, although how the *Kompeni* or VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company) made such this decision was not recorded in VOC's sources, but it was clear in the treaty made fairly and wisely among them; and the most important thing was the peace division of authority became *Kompeni's* interest since 1680 (Hoadley, 1975:51).

because he considered himself as a legitimate heir. As a peak, he conveyed his own wish to the VOC delegate, van Dijk, to enter into an agreement for Cirebon under the protection of the VOC, in return for his recognition of the eldest king's son as sole ruler of Cirebon (Iswara, 2009; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Manse, 2016).

The eldest son's desire got resistance from the second son, Prince Badruddin Kartawijaya, who based on his demand on the help of his brother-in-law of Banten, who had appointed both the *Sultan Sepuh* (Old Sultan) and *Sultan Anom* (Young Sultan). For that, he often visited Banten to communicate with the Sultan of Banten. However, the third son, Prince Wangsakerta, demanded for the fact that during the years of Mataram's occupation, and the chaos of 1676 and 1678, he remained in Cirebon for running the government. He argued that his attempts in governing Cirebon during his two brothers being absent was recognized by Susuhunan Mataram, and he was promised to be appointed as sole ruler of Cirebon (Hoadley, 1975:49-51; Carey, 1997; Tjandrasasmita, 1999:288-289; and Ricklefs, 2002).

The internal conflicts among the Cirebon royal family, then, provided an outsider opportunity, which in this case was the VOC to intervene either by being asked by the disputing party or by under the pretext of creating peace. Requesting assistance to the VOC to deal with the problems faced by Cirebon began when at the end of 1678, Banten troop under the leadership of Ciliwidara invaded the area of Priangan in West Java. The capital of Sumedang could be occupied by Banten troop, but the Regent of Sumedang could escape to Indramayu area. With the incident, Cirebon called for protection to the VOC;⁵ and in the following year (1679), the Banten army was besieged by Captain Jochum Michielsen.⁶

The direct involvement of the VOC in the internal conflict in Cirebon was begun

⁵See "Dagh Register, Anno 1678". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta, pp.738-739.

⁶See "Dagh Register, Anno 1679". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta, p.525.

when in 1680, it was asked to help evict the robbers of Prince Kidul,⁷ who attacked Cirebon when the three Girilaya's sons were not in Cirebon. Therefore, although after the death of Girilaya, Cirebon still acknowledged Mataram's appeals, but the Cirebon Sultans declared that the Cirebon Sultanate was under the protection of the VOC, because the VOC had merit to set Cirebon free from the Prince Kidul's troop, who occupied Cirebon in 1680 (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Ricklefs, 1993; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

The VOC, then, strengthened its position by entering into a contract (agreement) between the Cirebon rulers sponsored by the VOC; and it was signed on 7 January 1681. The contents of the agreement included asserting that Cirebon was a protectorate of the VOC; and the VOC protected Cirebon with a fort built near the palace (Ali, 1974:106; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012). It was also stated that the King of Cirebon should not strengthen his defenses along the coast; the VOC was exempted from purchasing pepper, rice, wood, sugar, and exempted from import-export tax; and the VOC was also allowed to build a *loji* in Cirebon (cf Brandes, 1894:449-488; Lubis, 2010; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Rosita, 2015).⁸

The agreement of 7 January 1681 was actually the first contract between Cirebon and the VOC to strengthen its position as ruler of Cirebon. Its contents were related to the rights and interests of the VOC, not regulating the rights and position of the three Cirebon rulers, namely: *Kasepuhan*, ruled by Prince Shamsuddin Martawijaya as *Sultan Sepuh* or Old Sultan; *Kanoman*, ruled by Prince Badrudin Kartawijaya as *Sultan Anom* or Young Sultan; and *Panembahan*, ruled by Prince Wangsakerta as *Panembahan* or Prime Minister of Cirebon (Atja & Ayatrohaedi, 1986; Iswara, 2009; and Manse, 2016).

Therefore, with the signing of the agreement, the history of Cirebon as a sovereign state was over. After that, the VOC

tied up the Cirebon Sultans with various contracts (covenants), under the pretext of creating peace to obtain a trade monopoly. The VOC's position grew steadily, when it succeeded in making a contract with the King of Mataram, Pakubuwono I, in 1705 AD (*Anno Domini*). In the agreement, it was stated that Mataram waived all his rights over the Cirebon kingdom and so on; and Mataram's rights over Cirebon was handed over to the VOC (*ibidem* with footnote 8; Carey, 1997; Ricklefs, 2002; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

According to Mason Claude Hoadley (1975), after the above agreement, the historical picture of Cirebon was a special form of the dominant role of the VOC in the early years of the 18th century with the issuance of resolutions 1706 and 1708, two resolutions which were a special form of indirect VOC involvement in Cirebon (Hoadley, 1975:65-70).

This study tries to describe the political dynamics in Cirebon from the 17th to 19th Century by using the historical method (Gottschalk, 1975; Kartodirdjo, 1992; Kuntowijoyo, 1997; and Sjamsuddin, 2007). In working with this method, four steps of historical methods were conducted, they were: heuristic as a step to collect historical data; criticism as an activity to criticize the data; interpretation as a step to provide elucidation on data; and historiography as a phase of history writing (Kuntowijoyo, 1997; and Sjamsuddin, 2007).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Political Dynamics in Cirebon from the 17th to 19th Century. The situation and condition in Cirebon sultanate from 1681 to 19th century can be described as follows. Between the years 1681-1697, in the sultanate of Cirebon, there were three rulers, namely: *Kasepuhan*, ruled by Prince Shamsuddin Martawijaya as *Sultan Sepuh* or Old Sultan; *Kanoman*, ruled by Prince Badrudin Kartawijaya as *Sultan Anom* or Young Sultan; and *Panembahan*, ruled by Prince Wangsakerta as *Panembahan* or Prime Minister of Cirebon (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Atja & Ayatrohaedi, 1986; Iswara, 2009; and Manse, 2016).

⁷"Dagh Register, Anno 1680". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta, pp.105-110.

⁸See also "De Cheribonsche Vorsten" in *TNI*, XI(1), 1849, pp.430-435.

After 1697, with the death of *Sultan Sepuh I*, the land and property were divided between his two sons; so, in Cirebon, there were four rulers of *Kasepuhan*, *Kacerbonan*, *Kanoman*, and *Panembahan* (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012). This situation lasted until 1768, because when *Kacerbonan* was abolished and the Sultan was banished to Maluku, the land and property were returned to *Kasepuhan*, so that the situation resumed before 1697 (Schrieke, 1957; Sulendraningrat, 1985; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).⁹

The situation changed again when in 1772, *Panembahan* died without heredity, then the land and property were divided between *Kasepuhan* and *Kanoman*, so that there were only two Sultans in Cirebon (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Manse, 2016).

During the period between 1787-1802, the political situation in Cirebon was uncertain or chaotic situation. During that time, there were a series of events that caused the Cirebon people to suffer, such as famine, pestilence, and a number of rebellions (Siddique, 1977:42). In the 1773 and 1775, there were epidemics in the city of Cirebon; and each day around 50 people died (Abdurachman, 1982:57).

Port of Cirebon, in the late 18th century until the early 19th century, became so unhealthy that the resident had to move his headquarters elsewhere. This situation was followed by the emergence of rebellion as a result of dissatisfaction with the situation at that time. Among them was the rebellion of Ki Bagus Rangin, who managed to collect the rebel forces as many as 2,000 people armed with fire (Abdurachman, 1982:61). In 1793, a riot occurred when the son of *Kacerbonan* Sultan, who was exiled to Maluku rebelled, then captured and taken to Batavia or Jakarta now (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Ward, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

When Sultan of *Kanoman* died in 1798, and the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company)'s

government placed his eldest son as his successor, there was chaos that culminated in 1802. When Sultan of *Kanoman* was captured by the VOC and taken to Batavia, the people of Cirebon protested. They came to Batavia to claim the petition to the Governor-General of VOC. Finally, Sultan of *Kanoman* was exiled to Ambon and the VOC asked for help to Bangkalan Regent in Madura to send his son, Mangkudiningrat, with his troop to secure the situation. At the urging of religious leaders, such as Ki Arsitem, Ki Bagus Serit, and Ki Bagus Rangin, in 1808, H.W. Daendels returned *Kanoman* Sultan from his exile in Ambon and gave him 1,000 *cacah* (Ward, 2009).¹⁰

Because the land where he lived, formerly belonged to *Panembahan* of Cirebon who died in 1773, Sultan of *Kanoman* directly rebuilt the dynasty of *Kacerbonan* which was abolished in 1768. Since that time, in 1808, there were three palaces in Cirebon: *Kasepuhan*, *Kanoman*, and *Kacerbonan* (Sulendraningrat, 1985; Iswara, 2009; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012). Thus, the *Kacerbonan* dynasty, that was built in 1808, was not a continuation of the *Kacerbonan* which appeared in 1697. *Kacerbonan* which appeared in 1697, also called *Kriyan*, was a fragment of *Kasepuhan*; while the *Kacerbonan* that emerged in 1808 came from *Kanoman*, although the land they occupied formerly belonged to *Panembahan* of Cirebon (Schrieke, 1957; Sulendraningrat, 1985; Iswara, 2009; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Manse, 2016;).

In 1809, H.W. Daendels organized a reorganization of the government, issuing *Reglement van Bestuur voor de Cheribonsche Landen* (Regulation of Cirebon State Administration), dated on 2 February 1809 (Sulendraningrat, 1985). With the issuance

¹⁰In Javanese dictionary, the word "*cacah*" is translated as the number of inhabitant or residence unit in one village. See, for example, S. Robson & Singgih Wibisono (2002). According to Peter Boomgaard (2004), the word "*cacah*" is literally meant as grade, as it is equal as "family" or "household" consisting of 4-6 people, which was firstly used to indicate land, man, or tax unit. In the 18th century, *cacah* related to a certain number of managed land. A synthesis among *cacah* as a unit of man, land, and tax is found in the report of F.J. Rothenbuhler as a Resident of Pekalongan in Central Java (1794-1799) and as a *Gezagheber of Ujung Timur Jawa* or East Java (1800-1809). However, in some places or area, *cacah* does not merely relate to man/women, and not all men/women are counted or regarded as *cacah* (Boomgaard, 2004:354-366).

⁹See also "Res. 11/8/1768". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta; and "Res. 7/17/1770". *Unpublished Archive*. Available in ANRI [National Archive of the Republic of Indonesia] in Jakarta.

of the regulation, the political power of the Sultans in Cirebon ended. The three Sultans of Cirebon were regarded as officers (*ambtenaren*) of the Dutch Queen; and in the field of government, their status were equated with “Regent” in Java (*cf* Schrieke, 1957; Sulendraningrat, 1985; Truhart, 2003; and Tjandrasasmita, 2012).

They were part of the Dutch colonial bureaucracy by receiving a salary, obtaining the right to land for the maintenance of the palace and traditional ceremonies, and for the living expenses of the relatives of the palace. Each year, they received F. 10,000 (ten thousand Gulden Dutch); and when Britain came to power in 1811, their income increased to F. 15,000 (Brandes, 1894:460).

Cirebon sultanate area was divided into two areas, namely: *Kasultanan* and Cirebon region in Priangan, West Java. After the Dutch reigned, the government of the Netherland Indies, through Resolution No.6, on 19 October 1819, stated that the Sultan of Cirebon got pension rights and some land. Sultan of *Kasepuhan*, for example, got F. 18,000 pension rights and 210 paddy fields; Sultan of *Kanoman* got F. 18,000 pension rights and 136 paddy fields; while the widow of Sultan of *Kacerbonan*, died in 1814, received F. 7,200 and 32 paddy fields. In 1848, Sultan of Cirebon received F. 3,000 for the maintenance of the Sunan Gunung Jati’s tomb complex (Brandes, 1894:461).

From the above explanation, it appears that since 1681, the power of the Sultans of Cirebon declined as a result of the changes brought by Dutch colonialism. Although the title of the “Sultan” was still bearing, his power ended. In the agreement preface of 4 December 1685, the status of Cirebon as the territory of the VOC was explicitly stated, as follows:

Punika surat jangjih sarta mufakat, ratu katiga sanak, karihin Sultan Sepuh, kapingkali Ratu Anom, kapingtiga Pangeran Tohpati, amutusaken sarta anyataken saking aran Tuwan Gubernur Jendral Joanis Kampus sarta Raden pan Indiyah ingkang amariksah sarta angraksa nagari Ciribon (cited in Brandes, 1894:467).

Any important decisions, including the Sultan’s turn, had to be approved by the

Governor-General of VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch East India Company), and then the Dutch colonial government, in Batavia or Jakarta now. It lasted until 1940, where then the palace served only as a means of preservation of the universe (Siddique, 1977:29-50).

When one of the rulers (sultans) died, a contract was made among Cirebon rulers sponsored by the VOC. The agreement, in addition to establishing status and position among Cirebon rulers in a hierarchical manner, was also intended to strengthen the VOC’s position as Cirebon’s patron. In the contract signed on 4 December 1685 by *Sultan Sepuh* or Old Sultan of *Kasepuhan* Sultanate; *Ratu Anom* or Young Queen of *Kanoman* Sultanate; *Pangeran Tohpati* or Prince *Togpati* of *Panembahan I* Cirebon; and *Prancois Tak* as VOC representatives, it was determined that the three Cirebon brothers, or *ratu katiga sanak*, reigned together in Cirebon or *dados rencang sarenging amarentah nagari Ciribon* (cited in Brandes, 1894).

They were not allowed to be at war in their respective cases and to make their own orders, but were required to negotiate with the *Mantri* or Ministers of the three brothers, or *agawe wicara maring mantri katiga sanak*. If there were severe problems that could not be decided, it had to be reported to the *pepitu mantri* or seven ministers, and they would report them to the King (cited in Brandes, 1894:449-488). In this contract, it was also mentioned the membership structure of *jaksa pepitu* (seven prosecutors) or *wong pepitu*, i.e. three of *Kasepuhan* sultanate, and two each from *Kanoman* sultanate, and *Panembahan* of Cirebon (*cf* Brandes, 1894; Hazeu, 1926; Kern, 1974; Sudjana, 1981; Sulendraningrat, 1985; and Satibi, 2014).

In a friendship treaty among Cirebon rulers – sponsored by the VOC and signed by *Sultan Sepuh*, *Sultan Anom*, *Pangeran Dipati Tohpati* or *Panembahan Cerbon*, and *Johannes Hertogh* as VOC representatives, on 8 September 1688 AD (*Anno Domini*) or on the day of *Rabo*, 12 *Zulkaidah* year of *Alif 1100 AJ* (*Anno Javanese*) – stipulated that the *Sultan Sepuh* as the oldest Sultan had to be respected at every opportunity. Meanwhile, *Sultan Anom*

was in the second place, and in the third place was *Panembahan Cerbon*. This contract was actually a renewal of the previous contract, on 4 December 1685, so that in terms of its contents, they were not much different (Brandes, 1894; Schrieke, 1957; Kern, 1974; Sulendraningrat, 1985; Iswara, 2009; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Manse, 2016).

Similarly to who signed the contract were same, namely *Sultan Sepuh*, *Sultan Anom*, and *Pangeran Dipati Tohpati* or *Panembahan Cerbon*; while on the VOC side, it was represented by Opper-Koopman Johannes de Hertogh. In addition, this contract was signed by 12 officers with details of 5 from *Kasepuhan*, 4 from *Kanoman*, and 3 from *Panembahan*. They were Tumenggung Raksanagara, Raksawinata, Surangemarta, Aria Raksadipura, Raksadimenggala, Aria Suradimanta, Suradinata, Mancanegara, Natanegara, Angabei Raksamenggala, Demang Lingganata, and Wiratmaka (Brandes, 1894).

This contract consisted of 26 articles, in chapters 3-6, among others specified in detail the protocol of the Sultans in royal ceremonies, both with respect to the seat of the Sultan and the royal officials, and who became priority if there was one Sultan who was sick or absent. In chapters 14-15, among others, it contained the commands of making currency (coins), which would be united under the direction of two people of *tumenggung* (title of high-rangking royal official), specifically to be appointed by the VOC and the Sultan (Brandes, 1894:449-488).

After *Sultan Sepuh* died in 1697, *Kasepuhan* sultanate was divided between his two sons, namely *Pangeran Dipati* and *Arya Wijaya*, who then held the *Prince Dipati Anom* or *Sultan Sepuh II* and *Prince Arya Adiwijaya*. In relation to that, there was also a shift with regard to the status and position of the rulers. For this purpose, a contract was signed on 4 August 1699, with the aim of reorganizing the status and position of the Cirebon rulers in connection with the death of *Sultan Sepuh I* (Brandes, 1894).

In the agreement, it was stipulated that the status and position of *Sultan Sepuh*, as the first ruler, moved to *Sultan Anom*; and the position of *Sultan Anom*, as the second ruler,

moved to *Panembahan Cerbon*; while the status and position of *Panembahan Cerbon*, as the third ruler, replaced the two sons of the *Sultan Sepuh* who had died. Thus, at that time, in the sultanate of Cirebon, there were hierarchically 4 rulers: *Sultan Anom* of *Kanoman* sultanate; *Pangeran Wangsakerta* of *Panembahan Cerbon*; *Pangeran Dipati Anom* or *Sultan Sepuh II* of *Kasepuhan* sultanate; and *Pangeran Arya Adiwijaya* or *Pangeran Arya Cerbon* of *Kacerbonan* sultanate (Brandes, 1894; Schrieke, 1957; Sulendraningrat, 1985; Iswara, 2009; Tjandrasasmita, 2012; and Manse, 2016).

In an agreement among the rulers of Cirebon signed on 17 February 1708, it was determined that *Panembahan Cerbon* was the first king, because in 1704 (another source mentioned 1702), *Sultan Anom* died. However, after *Panembahan Cerbon* passed away in 1715 (another source mentioned 1713), an agreement was made between the Sultans of Cirebon, who was signed on 18 January 1752. In the agreement, it was established that in Cirebon, there were three Sultans, namely: *Kasepuhan*, *Kanoman*, and *Kacerbonan*. The position of *Sultan Kanoman*, from number two shifted to number three (Brandes, 1894:477).

CONCLUSION

From the above explanation, it can be deduced that although at one time there were more than one rulers (sultans), it does not mean that the Cirebon sultanate was divided into two, three, or four sultanates. This conclusion reinforces R.A. Kern (1974)'s earlier assumption that when there were four Kings in Cirebon, it remained a kingdom and there was a judicial institution. There was no division of territory, only a division among the rulers. It was stated that *Sultan Sepuh* or Old Sultan and *Sultan Anom* or Young Sultan ruled alternately once a year.

Similarly, local and foreign sources (Netherland) never mentioned the boundaries of the *Kasepuhan* sultanate's region, the *Kanomanan* sultanate's region, the *Kacarebonan* region (*Kryan*), and the *Panembahan* region. In the source of the VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or Dutch

East India Company), it was only mentioned the boundaries of Cirebon region. Based on the contents of the contract or agreement made among the rulers of Cirebon, the entire area of Cirebon was ruled together with some exceptions to certain places.

It has been mentioned that since 1681, Cirebon sultanate was under the protection of the VOC, although the authority to run the government was still operationally conducted by the sultanate. This strategy was run by the Dutch colonial government throughout the territory of Indonesia, especially to the territories which were then self-governed. Although the Dutch came to power and introduced the modern bureaucracy by placing an officials (Resident, Assistant-Resident, *Gezagheber*, or Controller), but operationally that ran the government was the traditional bureaucracy.

The function of the VOC Resident in Cirebon was to maintain a balance between Princes and Sultans. If any Sultan died, the Resident immediately came to the palace to take the *keris* (sword of inauguration) and the royal ring was given to his successor at the time of his inauguration. In addition, the Resident was obliged to accommodate complaints arising from competition between *Sultan Kasepuhan* and *Sultan Kanoman*.

In addition to being based on contracts made among the Cirebon rulers, the integrity of the Cirebon sultanate territory was manifested in the governance system. Operationally, the government in the Cirebon sultanate area was implemented by an institution called *jaksa pepitu* or *wong pepitu* (seven prominent figures). This institution was once led by *Pangeran Wangsakerta*, in which in the contract on 4 January 1685, it consisted of 7 high officials: 3 from *Kasepuhan* sultanate, and 2 from *Kanoman* sultanate and 2 from *Panembahan Cerbon* respectively. These seven officials participated in signing contracts made between the Cirebon rulers and the VOC.

Likewise, the law or *pepakem* enforced throughout the Cirebon sultanate was the same as the *Nitih* Act and the laws governing civil or criminal matters. The law was enacted in the land of Cirebon on the orders of "the great *wongs* of the warriors" (the four rulers

of Cirebon). In making an agreement with Cirebon, the VOC never did it separately with one of the rulers, whether with *Sultan Sepuh*, *Sultan Anom*, *Pangeran Aria* of *Panembahan Cerbon*, but involved all rulers, including his top officials.

On the other hand, the remaining archaeological remains support this conclusion. There was only one mosque and the royal grave of *Sang Cipta Rasa* Great Mosque and Sembung Mount's Mausoleum Complex, managed jointly. Inside the *Cipta Rasa* Great Mosque, there were two *krapyaks*, which was in front on the left of the *mihrab*, on the north, for *Sultan Sepuh* as the Old Sultan; while the rear on the right (south) of the *Nerpati's* door, as main door, was for *Sultan Anom* as the Young Sultan. The main hall of the mosque was divided into two *sigar kupa*t systems, or diagonally from the south-east direction, so that the *mihrab* and pulpit were in the *Sultan Kasepuhan*, while the *Nerpati's* door was in the *Sultan Kanoman*.

Although there was a separation between the burial sites of the *Kasepuhan* and *Kanoman* sultanates in the Sembung Mount's Mausoleum Complex, it was not accompanied by a fence (boundary wall) and the separation started from the fourth to seventh yard; while on the first, second, and third, the segregation was no longer valid. The VOC gave privileged status to *Sultan Sepuh* and it was reflected in the attitude and behavior of the VOC that only allowed the square of *Sang Kalabuana* or the square of the *Kasepuhan* court as the place for the holding of official ceremonies.

Sultan Sepuh was rewarded with a cannon fire 11 times, while *Sultan Anom* was 9 times. Besides, a gold-plated inlay sword was only given to *Sultan Kasepuhan*. Thus, although there were two or three officials in Cirebon who held the Sultan in the terms of territory and government, Cirebon sultanate remained one. The Dutch did not want the division of territory, because since 1681, Cirebon sultanate became the territory of the VOC.¹¹

¹¹**Statement:** We, hereby, declare that this article is our original academic work, so that it is not product of plagiarism, due to all sources used and cited in the analysis are showed clearly and available in the References. This article is also not submitted, reviewed, and published yet in other scholarly journals.

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