

CIREBON KRATON IN THE FLOW OF HISTORY (1452-1809 AD.)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at reconstructing the history of the development of the Kraton Cirebon based on museum information, libraries, archives, and the community. It employed qualitative research through four stages in historical research methods, namely: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Ibn Khaldun's cycle theory with a multidisciplinary approach was used to enrich the study. The study found that Kraton Cirebon that was finally divided into Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan kraton formed from the war of influence from the rulers of Java at that time, namely the Sultanates of Mataram, Banten, and Cirebon. The study concludes that Kraton Cirebon was a strategic choice of Banten Sultanate leader in protecting the Cirebon Sultanate from the competitions among brothers (both descendants of Sunan Gunung Djati), even though it ended up weakening the sultanate. This research is important as a basic reference for micro-political history in the development of the History of Islamic Civilization in West Java and Indonesia.

Keywords: Cirebon kraton, Colonial, History, Sultan.

ABSTRAK

Tujuan penelitian ini untuk melakukan rekonstruksi historis mengenai sejarah perkembangan keraton di Cirebon berdasarkan sumber-sumber yang tersimpan di museum, perpustakaan, tempat arsip, dan masyarakat. Jenis penelitian yang dipakai adalah penelitian kualitatif melalui empat tahapan dalam metode penelitian sejarah, yaitu: heuristik, kritik, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Teori siklus dari Ibn Khaldun dengan pendekatan

multidisipliner sengaja digunakan untuk memperkaya kajian. Hasil dan pembahasan penelitian ini adalah sejarah perkembangan keraton di Cirebon sejak didirikan hingga terpecah menjadi Keraton Kasepuhan, Kanoman, dan Kacirebonan yang terbentuk dari perebutan pengaruh dari penguasa Jawa saat itu, yaitu Kesultanan Mataram, Banten, dan Cirebon. Kesimpulan penelitian ini adalah pilihan strategi dari penguasa Kesultanan Banten dalam pengayoman kepada para pihak dari Kesultanan Cirebon yang merupakan saudara (sama-sama keturunan Sunan Gunung Djati), meskipun berujung melemahkan kesultanan itu karena saling berebut pengaruh pula di Cirebon. Penelitian ini menjadi penting sebagai rujukan dasar sejarah politik-mikro dalam perkembangan Sejarah Peradaban Islam di Jawa Barat dan Indonesia.

Kata Kunci: Keraton Cirebon, Kolonial, Sejarah, Sultan.

INTRODUCTION

Kraton is the residence of the queen or king, or also called the king's kraton.¹ The kraton is synonymous with a large and luxurious building inhabited by the royal family, or royal officials. In Java, the residence of the king and family is also called *kedaton*, *pura*, or *puri*.² The kraton has an important meaning for a kingdom. Since the time of the Ma'in Kingdom (1300-630 BC) and the Qathban Kingdom (1000-200 BC) in the south of the Arabian Peninsula, kraton has been the center of government of a kingdom. In addition to being the center of government, the kraton is also often the place to hold official events of a kingdom.³

Another interesting thing about the kraton is that it is also a cultural center.⁴ In Javanese belief, the king is someone who receives *pulung*, *ndaru*, *cahya nurbuat* or divine revelation to

¹Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa*. Edisi Keempat. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2008, 677.

²R. M. Burhan, *Wawacan Babad Walangsungsang*. Bandung: TP., 1915, 2; 7; 13.

³Gregorius Budi Subanar, "Manunggaling Kawula-Gusti Dalam Transisi", dalam I. Wibowo dan Herry Priyono (eds.), *Esai-esai untuk Franz Magnis-Suseno: Sesudah Filsafat*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2006, 60-66.

⁴Franz Magnis-Suseno, *Etika Jawa*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2001, 103.

convey God's goodness to mankind on earth. A king is believed to be a person who has magic and is equated with the kings who rule the universe.⁵ The king is also an institution where all officials and people expect mercy. Inevitably, the kraton as the king's residence then becomes a place of learning for wise people, a place to receive education, guidance, and character development with virtue (prioritizing goodness), *ambeh adil para martha* (honest treatment for everyone), a place to live a life-oriented life by upholding respect, harmony, patience, *legawa* (openly accepting reality as it happens), and *memayu hayuning buwana* (preserving the beauty of the world).⁶ The kraton in its current development is archaeological evidence related to a civilization. The kraton became a marker for the era when the kraton was founded.⁷

In the mid-late 15th century AD. Of Cirebon, there was an influential kingdom called the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon.⁸ The kingdom was led by the *Sinuhun Kanjeng Susuhunan Jati Purba Panetep Panata Agama Aulya Allah Kutubiz-Zaman Kolifaturrasulillah SAW.*, or commonly called Sunan Gunung Djati.⁹ Sunan Gunung Djati ruled the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon after receiving a mandate from his father-in-law, Pangeran Cakrabuana.¹⁰ The Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon came into full power after liberating itself from the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom.¹¹ In ruling his kingdom, Sunan Gunung Djati was

⁵Franz Magnis-Suseno, 103.

⁶Gregorius Budi Subanar, 66.

⁷Intania Poerwaningtias dan Nindya K. Suwanto, *Ayo Mengenal Istana Kerajaan Di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, 2018, v.

⁸Atja, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari Karya Sastra sebagai Sumber Pengetahuan Sejarah*. Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat, 1986, 37.

⁹Wawan Hernawan dan Ading Kusdiana, *Biografi Sunan Gunung Djati: Sang Penata Agama di Tanah Sunda*. Bandung: LP2M UIN Sunan Gunung Djati Bandung, 2020, 78-79.

¹⁰Atja, 37.

¹¹P.S. Sulendraningrat, *Babad Tanah Sunda Babad Cirebon*. Cirebon: TP., 1984, 35.

based in the Pakungwati Kraton.¹² It was mentioned that Kraton Pakungwati continued to be used as the center of government of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon by Sunan Gunung Djati and his successors.¹³

However, the development of a power was not always linear. The Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon also experienced its decline and destruction.¹⁴ There are allegations, which is why the kraton as a symbol and center of the kingdom was then divided as found in its archaeological remains today, namely: (1) Kasepuhan Kraton, located at Jalan Kasepuhan No. 43, Kampung Mandalangan, Kasepuhan Village, Lemah Wungkuk Subdistrict, Cirebon City, West Java;¹⁵ (2) Kanoman Kraton, located at Jl. Winaon No. 40, Kanoman Village, Lemahwungkuk Village, Lemahwungkuk Subdistrict, Cirebon City, West Java;¹⁶ and (3) Kacirebonan Kraton, located at Jl. Pulosaren No. 48, Pulosaren Village, Lemah Wungkuk Subdistrict, Cirebon City.¹⁷

There are several opinions about the cause of the Cirebon Islamic Kingdom kraton divided into three: first, internal problems so that it split into Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and

¹²Atja, 37.

¹³Wawan Hernawan dan Ading Kusdiana, 104.

¹⁴Wawan Hernawan, "Ibn Khaldun Thought: A review of al-Muqaddimah Book," *Jurnal Ushuluddin* 23 no. 2 (2015): 178-179, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/jush.v23i2.1197>. Selanjutnya disebut, Wawan Hernawan, *Ibn Khaldun ...*

¹⁵Hafni Khairunnisa dan Diana Magfiroh, "Peran Keraton Kasepuhan dalam Membangun Ekonomi Kearifan Lokal Cirebon Melalui Tradisi Pasar Muludan," *Melancong: Jurnal Perjalanan Wisata, Destinasi, dan Hospitalitas* 4 no. 1 (2021): 32 – 41, <https://journal.unj.ac.id/unj/index.-php/melancong/login?source=%2Funj%2Findex.php%2Fmelancong%2Farticle%2Fview%2F20999>.

¹⁶Pandu Adikara Hidayat Nugrahadi dan Franseno Pujianto, "Kajian Teritorialitas Keraton Kanoman", *Jurnal RISA (Riset Arsitektur)* 4 no. 2 (2020): 195, <https://doi.org/10.26593/risa.v4i02.3806.190-204>.

¹⁷Aan Jaelani dan Edy Setyawan, *Cirebon Sebagai Destinasi Wisata: Potret Wisata Religi dan Pengembangan Ekonomi Kreatif Masyarakat*. Bantuan Penelitian Kompetitif Kolektif Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Islam Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam Kementerian Agama RI Tahun 2015. Cirebon: IAIN Syekh Nurjati, 2015, 77.

Kacirebonan.¹⁸ This opinion was expressed by Aan Jaelani and Edy Setyawan from IAIN Sheikh Nurjati Cirebon in their research entitled, *Cirebon sebagai Destinasi Wisata: Potret Wisata Religi dan Pengembangan Ekonomi Kreatif Masyarakat* in 2015. Second, Banten's strategy after the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was under the protection of the sultanate.¹⁹ This opinion was expressed by Happy Indira Dewi and Anisa from Gunadarma University-Depok, in the Proceeding PESAT (Psychology, Economics, Literature, Architecture & Civil), entitled: *Akulturasinya Budaya pada Perkembangan Kraton Kasepuhan Cirebon*. Third, the existence of the VOC along with being given the freedom by the Sultanate of Banten to organize Cirebon.²⁰ This opinion is found in a book entitled, *Baluarti Keraton Kacirebonan*, by R. Bambang Irianto and D. K. Laksmiawati, published in 2014. Fourth, Cirebon was divided into Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan at the discretion of Banten Sultan An-Nasr Abdul Kohar (son of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa) who was considered a descendant with the approval of the VOC. This opinion was expressed by Unang Sunardjo in his work entitled, *Selayang Pandang Sejarah Masa Kejayaan Kerajaan Cirebon: Kajian dari Aspek Politik dan Pemerintahan*, published in 1996.

Based on the description of the background, there are several research questions, such as: How was the pioneering of the Cirebon Kraton until the time of Sunan Gunung Djati? How was the development of Cirebon Kraton during the time of Sunan Gunung Djati's successors? How was the Mulajadi of Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan Kraton?

This research aims to investigate the development of the kraton through historical reconstruction efforts based on Cirebon sources stored in museums, libraries, archives, and communities. The reconstruction is to interpret the facts of some information

¹⁸Aan Jaelani dan Edy Setyawan, 77.

¹⁹Happy Indira Dewi dan Anisa, "Akulturasinya Budaya Pada Perkembangan Kraton Kasepuhan Cirebon", *Proceeding PESAT* (Psikologi, Ekonomi, Sastra, Arsitektur & Sipil) Universitas Gunadarma – Depok 3 (2009): D 55-D 66, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/143963549.pdf>.

²⁰R. Bambang Irianto dan D. K. Laksmiawati, *Baluarti Keraton Kacirebonan*. Yogyakarta: Deepublish, 2014, 1-2.

that is already available coupled with the support of the source (coroboration).²¹ Support from several independent sources can produce facts that are close to certainty (certainty fact). Conversely, if the source support is lacking, the facts produced are only alleged facts.²²

The study was conducted qualitatively through four stages in the historical research method, namely: heuristics, critic, interpretation, and historiography.²³ The approach used is multidisciplinary, considering that the study at hand requires a number of different approaches to enrich the study, namely historical, sociological, theological, and political.²⁴ The theory used is Ibn Khaldun's cycle theory.²⁵ Khaldun said that the state is built in three phases: first, the development phase, which submits with all simplicity and sincere solidarity to the power authority it supports; Second, the enjoyment phase, which is those who because they benefit economically and politically from the power system, are no longer sensitive to the interests of the nation and state; Third, the phase of no longer having an emotional relationship with the state.²⁶ When a state has reached this phase, said Khaldun, the collapse of the state as *sunnatullah* is imminent.²⁷ The phases of the state are then formulated into: (1) the pioneering phase; (2) the progress and golden phase; and (3) the decline and destruction phase.²⁸ Khaldun further said that great civilizations start from societies formed by hard life, poverty, and full of struggle. The desire to live prosperously and free from

²¹Nina Herlina, *Metode Sejarah*. Bandung: Satya Historika, 2008, 34.

²²Nina Herlina, 34.

²³Wawan Hernawan dan Ading Kusdiana, 13.

²⁴Wawan Hernawan, *Seabad Persatuan Ummat Islam (1911-2011)*. Bandung: Yayasan Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia Cabang Jawa Barat kerjasama with PW PUI Jawa Barat dan Bank Jabar Banten Pusat, 2014, 19-20.

²⁵Fu'ad Baali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988), 70.

²⁶Fu'ad Baali, 70.

²⁷Fu'ad Baali, 70.

²⁸Wawan Hernawan, "Ibn Khaldun Thought: A review of al-Muqad-dimah Book." *Jurnal Ushuluddin*. 23 no. 2 (2015), 179-179. <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/jush.v23i2.1197>.

hardship coupled with *ashabiyyah* makes them try to realize their ideals with hard struggle. These phases are then repeated again and so on until this theory is known as the Top of Form cycle theory.²⁹ The use of cycle theory is considered relevant to reconstruct the pioneers of the construction of the Cirebon Kraton until the time of Sunan Gunung Djati, the development of the Cirebon Kraton after Sunan Gunung Djati, and the events that led to the Cirebon Kraton becoming Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan.

It should also be stated that this research indirectly presents a country, namely the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon since its pioneering, golden age, decline, and destruction.³⁰ A number of Cirebon sources in the form of *babad* and *wawacan* became a reference for research with the consideration of quoting Ekadjati (1991^a), both types of sources can be included as historical works, because they have characteristics: First, the story is told in chronological order. Second, the story presented can be proven both the location, time, events, and characters. Thirdly, the story highlights the number of years experienced by the main character and other important events that occurred around the main character. In terms of methodology, *babad* and *wawacan* Cirebon can still be seen as historical sources, because they contain facts that can be used as sources to compile history.³¹ However, the facts raised in *babad* and *wawacan* are not real facts, because they have undergone processing. In effect, the researcher is faced with two things at once, namely as a story and as a historical source. What is not so surprising is that between one *babad* or *wawacan* and another there are word corruptions and lacunae. At this stage, corroboration is needed.³²

Based on the heuristics conducted, research on the history of the development of the kraton in Cirebon is considered fea-

²⁹Fu'ad Baali, 70-71; Ibnu Khaldun, *Muqaddimah Ibn Khaldun*, Jakarta: Pustaka Firdaus, 2000, 175.

³⁰Wawan Hernawan, 178-179.

³¹Edi S. Ekadjati^a, *Babad Cirebon Edisi Brandes Tinjauan Sastra dan Sejarah*, Bandung: Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 1991, 44. Selanjutnya disebut, *Edi S. Ekadjati^a ...*

³²Nina Herlina, 34-35.

sible. The reason is that in addition to the availability of initial data in the form of *babads*, *wawacan*, and books that have been transliterated and translated, there are also sources from Dutch writers that corroborate the events. Another reason is the ease of access to these sources. The openness of the kraton and the educated community of Cirebon has strengthened this research. Nevertheless, it is realized that this research does not present all aspects of the development of the kraton as the object of research. This is due to the existence of closed sources (which can only be accessed at certain times), and of course because this paper is limited by the word count in the style of this journal. Therefore, the research is more focused on the effort to bring out a 'small part' of the historical facts in the midst of Cirebon's history, which until today is still widely called *sejarah peteng*.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

1. The Pioneers of Cirebon Kraton until the Period of Sunan Gunung Djati

According to Sulendraningrat, since 1389 AD, the area that would later be called Cirebon named Caruban *Larang*.³³ The word *larang* according to Mukhtar Zaedin refers to the lowlands (sea). While the area that stretches towards the mountains is called Caruban *Girang*.³⁴ The most crowded areas in the Caruban *Larang* region are Pasambangan and Muara Jati harbor. The Pasambangan area is now the Astana Gunung Sembung complex and Muara Jati is called Alas Konda located to the east of *Astana Gunung Jati*.³⁵ While Caruban *Girang* at that time was not as busy as Pasambangan and Muara Jati Harbor with its center Wanagiri (now, Wanasaba). It was informed that both Caruban

³³P.S. Sulendraningrat, *Babad Tanah Sunda Babad Cirebon*. Cirebon: TP., 1984, 12.

³⁴*Interview* with Muhammad Mukhtar Zaedin, Demang Keraton Kacirebonan dan pengurus Rumah Budaya Nusantara Pasambangan Jati Cirebon Yayasan Tri Tunggal Indraprahasta, in Cirebon.

³⁵Atja, *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari Karya Sastra sebagai Sumber Pengetahuan Sejarah*. Bandung: Proyek Pengembangan Permuseuman Jawa Barat, 1986, 35.

Larang and Caruban *Girang* were subordinate areas of the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom. Both included the northern region of the Galuh Kingdom (which was centered in Ciamis). While the position of the Padjadjar Kingdom which is west of Caruban (now Rajagaluh, Majalengka) is a vassal kingdom (part) of the Galuh Kingdom which oversees the Palimanan and Cirebon areas.³⁶

From some Cirebon literature found, that the place that is now the location of the Cirebon Kraton was first dibabad by Walangsungsang at the suggestion of Sheikh Nurdjati after studying Islam for ± 3 years.³⁷ The area that was cleared by Walangsungsang was a wilderness located in Kebon Pesisir, Lemah Wungkuk. At that time, the Kebon Pesisir area was called Tegal Alang-Alang and was under the jurisdiction of Ki Gedeng Danusela nicknamed Ki Gedeng Alang-Alang (as the first *kuwu* of Caruban).³⁸ Based on the family tree according to *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, Ki Gedeng Danusela was the younger brother of Ki Gedeng Danuwarsi (Walangsungsang's teacher). Both were the sons of Ki Gedeng Danusetra, a high priest of Mount Dieng who had long resided in Galuh Pakuan. Ki Gedeng Danusela was in Tegal Alang-Alang after marrying Nyi Arumsari, the daughter of Ki Gedeng Kasmaya, the ruler of Caruban *Girang*.³⁹ According to Sulendraningrat (1984) and Atja (1986), the forest area that Walangsungsang cleared was ± 1000 square cubits in 1445 AD.⁴⁰

After the forest was cleared, Walangsungsang immediately made a *kuta biting* (fence or boundary made of small sticks).⁴¹ After making the *kuta biting*, he built a *tajug* (small mosque) in Pejlagrahan (now included in the area of Siti Mulya Village,

³⁶P.S. Sulendraningrat, 13.

³⁷Emon Suryaatmana & T. D. Sudjana, *Wawacan Sunan Gunung Djati*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1994, 5.

³⁸Atja, 33.

³⁹Atja, 32.

⁴⁰P.S. Sulendraningrat, 12.

⁴¹Raden Muhamad Burhan, 35-36.

Lemahwungkuk Village).⁴² At the same time, Walangsungsang also built a house in Pakuwon, Kanoman.⁴³ That is where Walangsungsang and Nyi Indang Geulis (his wife, daughter of Ki Gedeng Danuwarsi), and Nyi Larasantang (his sister) lived.⁴⁴

After having a place to live for his family, Walangsungsang did not show himself as the ruling line of the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom. He chose to live like an ordinary person by working at sea as a *rebon* (small shrimp) fish finder. It is said that he made *rebon* fish into shrimp paste. The water left over from making *terasi* (shrimp paste) is called *petis*. While the dregs are called *garage* (dregs in Sundanese, called *dage*).⁴⁵ The delicacy of Walangsungsang's *terasi* (shrimp paste) and *petis* became famous everywhere. Even Cakraningrat, the ruler of Padjadjar (Rajagaluh, now) loved Walangsungsang's *terasi* (shrimp paste) and *petis*. The king then asked Walangsungsang to send them every month.⁴⁶ It is believed that this was the reason why people from all over the country came to the place where Walangsungsang lived. It is also said that many of them chose to become local residents, so that gradually the place where Walangsungsang lived became a dense hamlet.⁴⁷ Until then, the ruler (*kuwu*) of the place where Walangsungsang lived was still Ki Gedeng Alang-Alang. Only after Ki Gedeng Alang-Alang passed away, Walangsungsang replaced him, known as *Ki Kuwu Sembung Liwung* or *Kuwu Sangkan*.⁴⁸

The name Cirebon itself according to Sulendraningrat (1984) was only pinned in 1447 AD., by *pepitu* (seven retainer *mantri*) sent by Senapati Palimanan, Ki Gedeng Kiban. *Babad*

⁴²Hermana, "Arsitektur Masjid Merah Panjunan Kota Cirebon", *Patanjala*, 4 no. 2 (2012): 332–348, <http://ejournalpatanjala.kemdikbud.go.id/patanjala/index.php/patanjala/article/view/143/-95>.

⁴³Titin Nurhayati Ma'mun, R. Achmad Opan Safari, dan Nurhata. *Cariyos Walangsungsang Transliterasi dan Terjemahan*. Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2018, 72.

⁴⁴Titin Nurhayati Ma'mun, R. Achmad Opan Safari, dan Nurhata, 72.

⁴⁵Dadan Wildan, *Sunan Gunung Djati, Petuah, Pengaruh, Dan Jejak-Jejak Sang Wali Di Tanah Jawa*. Jakarta: Salima, 2012, 105.

⁴⁶P.S. Sulendraningrat, 13.

⁴⁷Dadan Wildan, 105.

⁴⁸Titin Nurhayati Ma'mun, R. Achmad Opan Safari, and Nurhata, 72.

Tanah Sunda Babad Cirebon, mentions that *pepitu* was initially ordered to check and record the number of *cacahs* living in the Walangsungsang village area. The recording was a follow-up to the *sewaka/seba* (serving the king) attended by officials and regents of the Galuh Kingdom.⁴⁹ In the *sewaka*, in addition to the order to record the number of *cacah*, the tax value charged to *rebon* catchers was also determined.⁵⁰ However, after tasting the home-made treats at Walangsungsang's residence, namely *petis* or *rebon* water, the *pepitu* immediately announced to the residents of the village by calling it Dukuh Cirebon.⁵¹

According to Atja (1986), the name Cirebon comes from the words Caruban, Carbon, Cerbon, and finally Cirebon. Caruban means mixed, that the population in the area that Walangsungsang built came from various nations, religions, languages, and writings that they brought with them. Cirebon by its inhabitants at that time, because it was densely populated, was then called *Nagari Gede*. The term Cirebon according to volk-etymology (*kiratabasa*, *kirata* language) comes from the word *ci* (Sundanese, water) and *rebon* (small shrimp) which is the basic ingredient of shrimp paste.⁵²

Meanwhile, the construction of the Cirebon Kraton, according to *Babad Cirebon*, was only carried out by Walangsungsang after his maternal grandfather, Ki Gedeng Tapa with the title Ki Gedeng Djumadjan Djati (ruler of Singapore/Mertasinga) died. Walangsungsang was not willing to inherit the Mertasinga area, but focused more on building the Cirebon hamlet into the State of Cirebon.⁵³ Therefore, Walangsungsang received property from Mertasinga as his mother's inheritance.⁵⁴ *Babad Tanah Sunda Babad Cirebon* mentions that Walangsungsang built the Cirebon Kraton in 1452 AD.⁵⁵ According to Dadan Wildan, the construc-

⁴⁹P.S. Sulendraningrat, 14.

⁵⁰Atja, 161.

⁵¹P.S. Sulendraningrat, 14.

⁵²Atja, 28-29.

⁵³Ahmad Hamam Rochani, *Babad Cirebon*. Cirebon: Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kota Cirebon, 2008, 95.

⁵⁴Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 95.

⁵⁵P.S. Sulendraningrat, 20.

tion of the Kraton was intended for the first daughter of his marriage to Nyi Indang Geulis, Nyi Pakungwati. Therefore, Walangsungsang called it Pakungwati Kraton.⁵⁶ Through Keraton Pakungwati, Walangsungsang ruled the State of Cirebon with the title *Tumenggung* Cirebon and spread Islam to its inhabitants.⁵⁷

Walangsungsang's position as *Tumenggung* Cirebon was then replaced by Syarif Hidayatullah in 1479 AD. His coronation as *Tumenggung* Cirebon was with the blessing and support of Walangsungsang (his father-in-law). Walangsungsang chose to become *Manggala* (Commander of the Armed Forces).⁵⁸ Syarif Hidayatullah's coronation also received support from the Wali Songo led by Sunan Ampel.⁵⁹ By the *Wali Songo*, Syarif Hidayatullah was awarded the title panetep panatagama in Tatar Sunda. For this award, many figures spreading Islam in Cirebon and its surroundings surrendered their followers to Syarif Hidayatullah. Among these figures are: Sheikh Datuk Khafi, Sheikh Majagung, Sheikh Siti Jenar, Sheikh Magribi, Prince Kejaksan, and the Ki Gedeng in the region.⁶⁰ From then on, Syarif Hidayatullah was known as Pandita Ratu, a panatagama as well as a panatanagara (as *Wali Songo* who spread Islam as well as the head of government in Cirebon).⁶¹ While by tradition, Syarif Hidayatullah was called *Inggang Sinuhun Kangjeng Susuhunan Jati Purba Panetep Penata Agama Awaliya Allah Kutubid Zaman Kholipatur Rasulullah SAW.*, from then on Syarif Hidayatullah was called *Sunan Djati* or *Sunan Gunung Djati*.⁶²

With his position as *Tumenggung*, Sunan Gunung Djati's first political policy was to join forces with Demak and other

⁵⁶Dadan Wildan, 198.

⁵⁷Dadan Wildan, 198.

⁵⁸Atja, 37.

⁵⁹Heru Erwantoro, "Sejarah Singkat Kerajaan Cirebon", *Patanjala* 4 no. 1 (2012): 172, <https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/291812-sejarah-singkat-kerajaan-cirebon-fe8ac383.pdf>

⁶⁰Edi S. Ekadjati^b, *Sejarah Perkembangan Pemerintahan Provinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Barat*. Bandung: Pemerintah Provinsi Daerah Tingkat I Jawa Barat, 1991, 101-103. Selanjutnya disebut, *Edi S. Ekadjati^b ...*

⁶¹Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 102.

⁶²Wawan Hernawan and Ading Kusdiana, 82.

Islamic powers and break away from the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom.⁶³ Sunan Gunung Djati stopped the obligation to give *seba* (annual tribute) in the form of salt and shrimp paste to the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom. Sunan Gunung Djati's actions made the King of Sunda Padjadjaran furious and sent *Tumenggung* Djagabaja accompanied by 60 troops to urge Cirebon to submit tribute.⁶⁴ But when they arrived in Cirebon, Djagabaja and his troops did not carry out the orders of Ratu Padjadjaran. In fact, all of them defected and converted to Islam. Therefore, they did not return to Padjadjaran and chose to stay in Cirebon to serve Sunan Gunung Djati.⁶⁵ With the termination of *seba* to the Kingdom of Sunda Padjadjaran is a *ciren* (sign), that Cirebon broke away from the Kingdom of Sunda Padjadjaran. Subsequent periods were informed, that the area controlled by Sunan Gunung Djati became an independent country sovereign over its people and territory.⁶⁶

After liberating itself from the Kingdom of Sunda Padjadjaran, Cirebon declared itself to be the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon. Sunan Gunung Djati as king ruled from Pakungwati Kraton. During his reign (1479-1528 AD), the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon experienced rapid development.⁶⁷ At that time the fields of religion, politics and trade developed rapidly. During Sunan Gunung Djati's time, Islamization efforts were intensified. The spread of Islam to various regions became the king's priority policy.⁶⁸

In 1525-1526 AD, the spread of Islam began in the Banten region by placing Maulana Hasanuddin, his son from Nyi Kawunganten.⁶⁹ Banten was successfully controlled after Maulana Hasanuddin defeated the General Pucuk government cen-

⁶³Hasan Muarif Ambariy, *Menemukan Peradaban Arkeologi dan Jejak Islam di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1998, 13.

⁶⁴Atja and Ayatrohaedi, *Nagarakretabhumi 1.5*. Bandung: Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda (Sundanologi), 1986, 73.

⁶⁵Atja and Ayatrohaedi, 73.

⁶⁶Atja and Ayatrohaedi, 73.

⁶⁷Dadan Wildan, 219.

⁶⁸Dadan Wildan, 219.

⁶⁹Heru Erwantoro, 173.

tered in Banten Girang as the ruler of the Duchy of the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom. Furthermore, Maulana Hasanuddin formed a government based in Surasowan near the Cibanten Estuary.⁷⁰ The spread of Islam was also carried out to the East Priangan region, among others: Galuh in 1528 AD, and to Talaga in 1530 AD. It is known that the effort to spread Islam was not only to spread the religion, but also to expand the territory of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon. According to Lubis (2003), the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was involved in a series of wars in the face of attacks from subordinate dukes of the Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom in the Cirebon region.⁷¹ Still according to Lubis, at least the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon experienced three major battles, namely the battle to seize the port of Sunda Kalapa, the battle with Padjar, and the battle with Talaga.⁷²

During the reign of Sunan Gunung Djati, in addition to implementing a policy of territorial expansion, public facilities and infrastructure were also built.⁷³ It was mentioned that in 1483 AD, the old Kraton (Dalem Pakungwati), which had been built by Walangsungsang, was expanded by Sunan Gunung Djati by adding complementary buildings and a 2.5 meter high perimeter wall with a thickness of 80 cm on a land area of 20 hectares. Furthermore, for security, a 2-meter high wall was built around the capital, covering an area of 50 hectares. The perimeter wall was equipped with gates, one of which was named *Lawang Gada*.⁷⁴ The chief architect for the expansion of the Cirebon Kraton was Sheikh Malaya (Sunan Kalijaga) assisted by renowned Majapahit architects who had converted to Islam, Raden Sepat and Ki Gedeng Trepas.⁷⁵

⁷⁰Heru Erwantoro, 173.

⁷¹Nina Herlina Lubis et al., *Sejarah Tatar Sunda*. Jilid I. Bandung: Pusat Penelitian Kemasyarakatan dan Kebudayaan Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Padjadjaran dan Masyarakat Sejarawan Indonesia Cabang Jawa Barat, 2003, 187.

⁷²Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 187.

⁷³Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 180-181.

⁷⁴Wawan Hernawan and Ading Kusdiana, 87.

⁷⁵Edi S. Ekadjati^b, *Babad Cirebon Edisi Brandes Tinjauan Sastra dan Sejarah*. Bandung: Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 1991, 16.

2. Cirebon Kraton during the Period of Sunan Gunung Djati's Successors

When the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was at the peak of its glory, information was found that Sunan Gunung Djati made a decision that preferred his calling to serve as a panatagama. Of course, this decision surprised many people.⁷⁶ The decision was made by Sunan Gunung Djati in 1528 AD. It is suspected that from that time on, the affairs of government of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon were delegated to one of the sons from his marriage to Nyi Tepasari, named Pangeran Mohammad Arifin with the title Pangeran Pasarean.⁷⁷ P. Haryanto said that Sunan Gunung Djati concentrated more on efforts to spread Islam to the interior of the Sundanese Tatar.⁷⁸

Continuing P. Haryanto's statement, Mukhtar Zaedin said that the status of Pangeran Pasarean was only a deputy and had not yet become a full king as a successor to Sunan Gunung Djati.⁷⁹ It is suspected that the reason for this was that Sunan Gunung Djati was still *jumeneng* and had not yet delegated his authority to Pangeran Pasarean. Nevertheless, with his position, directly or indirectly, Pangeran Pasarean had been promoted by Sunan Gunung Djati as his successor in the future. However, fate had another say, although Pangeran Pasarean had represented Sunan Gunung Djati for ± 18 years, he did not have time to inherit the royal throne because he died in Demak in 1546 AD. For this reason, the affairs of government of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon were then represented by Fadhillah Khan, Sunan Gunung Djati's son-in-law.⁸⁰ However, information was also found that it was not Fadhillah Khan who was promoted to replace Sunan Gunung Djati, but Prince Sawarga, son of Prince Pasarean, grandson of Sunan Gunung Djati. Pangeran Sawarga had previously held an important position in the bureaucratic

⁷⁶Interview with P. Haryanto, Kepala Rumah Tangga dan Pemeliharaan Adat dan Budaya Keraton Kasepuhan, in Cirebon.

⁷⁷Interview with P. Haryanto, in Cirebon; Atja, 42.

⁷⁸Interview with P. Haryanto, in Cirebon.

⁷⁹Interview with Mukhtar Zaedin, in Cirebon.

⁸⁰Interview with Mukhtar Zaedin, in Cirebon.

structure of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon, so his name was changed to Pangeran Dipati Cirebon. Again, fate said otherwise, Pangeran Dipati Cirebon died without inheriting the throne, precisely in 1565 AD.⁸¹

In 1568 AD, Sunan Gunung Djati died at the age of 120 (1448-1568 AD). His remains were buried in *Giri Nur Sapta Rengga* (*Astana Gunung Sembung* Complex, ± 5 kilometers north of Cirebon). Sunan Gunung Djati died after 89 (eighty-nine) years as king of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon, which was sovereign and authoritative.⁸² The government of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was then entrusted to Fadhillah Khan until his death in 1570 AD. After that, the trustee of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was Pangeran Emas, the great-grandson of Sunan Gunung Djati from Pangeran Sawarga through his marriage to Nyimas Ratu Wanawatiraras, the daughter of Fadhillah Khan. After ascending the throne, Pangeran Emas was titled Panembahan Ratu I. He ruled for ± 79 years over the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon.⁸³

It was mentioned that during the reign of Panembahan Ratu I (1570 -1649 AD), the condition of the Cirebon Islamic Kingdom was still conducive. The Sunda Padjadjaran Kingdom is no longer a threat to the existence of Cirebon. Likewise with the Sultanate of Banten. They were still loyal and saw Cirebon as the source of their sultanate's existence.⁸⁴ On the other hand, Cirebon also had a relationship with the kingdom of Pajang. Cirebon's trade relations with foreign countries are running smoothly. The ports as an asset of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon were maintained. Many foreign merchant ships stopped by and transacted in Cirebon.⁸⁵ However, during the period of Panembahan

⁸¹Interview with Rudi Mulyana, Senior Guide of Keraton Kasepuhan and ex-journalist, in Cirebon.

⁸²Hasan Basyari, *Sekitar Komplek Makam Sunan Gunung Jati dan Sekilas Riwayatnya*. Edisi Revisi. Cirebon: Zul Fana Cirebon, 1989, 21.

⁸³Hasan Basyari, 21.

⁸⁴Hasan Basyari, 21.

⁸⁵Unang Sunarjdo, *Selayang Pandang Sejarah Masa Kejayaan Kerajaan Cirebon: Kajian dari Aspek Politik dan Pemerintahan*. Cet. 1. Cirebon: Yayasan Keraton Kasepuhan Cirebon, 1996, 44. PNRI.

Ratu I, the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon stopped expanding its territory to other areas as it did in previous times. He realized this very well, considering the position of Cirebon which began to be squeezed between two major powers, namely the Mataram Sultanate in the East and the Banten Sultanate in the West.⁸⁶

With the growing strength of the Sultanates of Banten and Mataram, the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon could even be overthrown by one of the two sultanates. However, both sultanates still respected the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon. Banten Sultanate honored Cirebon as the throne of its ancestor, Sunun Gunung Djati. While the Mataram Sultanate considered Cirebon as a holy place and teacher.⁸⁷

On the next trip, a source was found stating that the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon chose to be friendly with Mataram. Inevitably, the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon has always been used as a reference for Mataram in many ways. For example, in 1625 AD, the *Sitinggil* building in the Cirebon Islamic Kingdom Kraton was adapted by *Susuhunan* for the Mataram Sultanate Kraton. Similarly, the terracing model on the contours of the land of the sacred tomb of Sunan Gunung Djati was used as a model for the construction of the tomb complex of the founders of the Mataram Sultanate in Wonogiri. On this basis, in 1636 AD, when the General Assembly of the Mataram Sultanate was held, the elder and respected Sultan Panembahan Ratu I was invited to attend Mataram with the aim of expanding the *Susuhunan's* power.⁸⁸ There is also an opinion that during the time of Panembahan Ratu I, the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was closer to the Mataram Sultanate than the Banten Sultanate. As evidence, for example, Princess Ratu Ayu Sakluh (older sister) of Panembahan Ratu I who chose to marry Sultan Agung (*Susuhunan* Mataram). Through this marriage, a son was born who was later given the title *Susuhunan Amangkurat I*. At about the same time, one of *Susuhunan Amangkurat I's* daughters married Raden Rasmi from

⁸⁶Unang Sunarjdo, 44-45.

⁸⁷Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 88.

⁸⁸H.J. de Graaf and Th. de Pigeaud, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Islam di Jawa*. Jakarta: Grafitty Pers., 1989, 292.

the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon.⁸⁹ Other evidence of the close relationship is also marked by the construction of a *kuta* (wall) surrounding the Pakungwati Kraton. The construction, which was carried out in 1590 AD, was a gift from Senapati Mataram to Panembahan Ratu I.⁹⁰

3. The Mulajadi of Kasepuhan, Kanoman and Kacirebonan Kraton

3.1 Causes of the Split of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon

In 1649 AD, Panembahan Ratu I died. His position as king of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was succeeded by Pangeran Putra, whose real name was Raden Rasmi, the grandson of Panembahan Ratu I. After being crowned, Raden Rasmi took the title Panembahan Adiningkusuma, popularly called Panembahan Ratu II.⁹¹ After being crowned, Raden Rasmi took the title Panembahan Adiningkusuma, popularly known as Panembahan Ratu II. During his reign, the seeds of political conflict began to grow. These seeds were initiated by the political ambitions of the Susuhunan of Mataram, Amangkurat I, who was none other than Panembahan Ratu II's father-in-law.⁹² The seeds of conflict began when Amangkurat I asked Panembahan Ratu II to persuade the Sultan of Banten to be friendly with Mataram.⁹³ As proof of its friendship, the Sultanate of Banten had to end and stop its attacks on the Company.⁹⁴ Panembahan Ratu II had actually made efforts in this direction. Several visits to the Banten Sultanate had been made while conveying the purpose of his visit as requested by Susuhunan Mataram.⁹⁵ But his efforts did not bear fruit. In fact, the Sultan of Banten at that time turned around

⁸⁹Atja and Ayatrohaedi, 22; Uka Tjandrasasmita, *Arkeologi Islam Nusantara*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2009, 144.

⁹⁰Interview with Rudi Mulyana, di Cirebon.

⁹¹Tedjasubrata, *Sedjarah Tjirebon Kawedar Bahasa Daerah Tjirebon*, Djilid II, Bagian III-IV, Tjirebon: TP., 1966, 112. KITLV.

⁹²Tedjasubrata, 112.

⁹³Tedjasubrata, 112-113.

⁹⁴Unang Sunarjdo, 53.

⁹⁵Unang Sunarjdo, 53.

to invite Panembahan Ratu II to join Banten rather than Mataram. As a brother, the Sultan of Banten warned Panembahan Ratu II that the Mataram Sultanate could one day threaten the sovereignty of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon.⁹⁶

The failure of Panembahan Ratu II to convince the Sultan of Banten was fatal for the survival of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon. Susuhunan Amangkurat I was very disappointed with the failure and considered Panembahan Ratu II to have allied with the Sultan of Banten. For his failure, Susuhunan Amangkurat I deliberately invited Panembahan Ratu II to Mataram in 1662 AD.⁹⁷ According to the invitation, Panembahan Ratu II was asked to attend a ceremony of honor. Of course, Panembahan Ratu II could not refuse the invitation. Therefore, accompanied by his first and second sons, Pangeran Martawidjaja and Pangeran Kartawidjaja, he came to Mataram to fulfill the invitation. Predictably, Panembahan Ratu II and his two sons were not allowed to return to Cirebon after the ceremony.⁹⁸ For Panembahan Ratu II, the honoring ceremony performed by his father-in-law, Susuhunan Amangkurat I, was nothing more than his responsibility for not carrying out the mission of Mataram.⁹⁹ Further information in Mataram, Panembahan Ratu II and his two sons were made political prisoners. Nevertheless, his position still remained as king of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, mentioned in *Sejarah Tatar Sunda* Vol. 1, there are also those who claim that even though the three of them were political prisoners, they did not live in prison, but were placed in the Mataram noble housing complex and treated well.¹⁰¹ The book further recounts that this action was a political policy of the government of Susuhunan Amangkurat I towards the coastal rulers in line with the political policy of Susuhunan Mataram who tried to mobilize all his energy to control all

⁹⁶Unang Sunarjdo, 53-54.

⁹⁷Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 195.

⁹⁸Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 195.

⁹⁹Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 195.

¹⁰⁰Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 305.

¹⁰¹Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 196.

coastal areas in accordance with the interests of his country.¹⁰² The political strategy used was to make all coastal rulers as servants of Mataram. This was intended so that the coastal rulers who tended to be open to outside influences became harmless to Mataram as well as their power could be monitored by Mataram.¹⁰³

While Panembahan Ratu II and his two sons were in the political custody of Mataram, the government of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon was delegated to the third son, Pangeran Wangsakerta, who was not invited to Mataram.¹⁰⁴ In running the wheels of government, Wangsakerta was always closely monitored by Mataram people who were deliberately sent by *Susu-hunan* Amangkurat I.¹⁰⁵ The situation and conditions showed that the government of Cirebon Islamic Kingdom was always under the control of the Mataram people.¹⁰⁶ The situation and conditions showed that Cirebon had lost its authority and sovereignty. As Sultan Ageng Tirtajasa once said to *Panembahan* Ratu II, that Mataram could threaten the sovereignty of the Islamic Kingdom of Cirebon had become a reality. After several years as a political prisoner in Mataram, *Panembahan* Ratu II died in 1667 AD. His body was buried in Girilaya Cemetery. Since then his name was called *Panembahan* Girilaya.¹⁰⁷

In 1677 AD, approximately ten years after the death of Panembahan Girilaya, Raden Trunodjojo from the Kingdom of Kadiri launched a massive attack against the Sultanate of Mataram.¹⁰⁸ The attack not only succeeded in occupying the Mataram capital, but most importantly the two princes of Cirebon were freed from Mataram's political prison. Furthermore, Prince Martawidjaja and Prince Kartawidjaja became prisoners of Raden Trunodjojo's troops and were taken to Kadiri.¹⁰⁹ From

¹⁰²Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 196.

¹⁰³Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 196.

¹⁰⁴Unang Sunardjo, 139.

¹⁰⁵Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 305.

¹⁰⁶Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 305.

¹⁰⁷Unang Sunardjo, 139.

¹⁰⁸Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 306.

¹⁰⁹Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 306.

Kadiri, after careful diplomacy between Banten and Kadiri, the two princes were picked up by a delegation of the Sultan of Banten and brought to Banten.¹¹⁰

Upon arrival at the Kraton of the Sultanate of Banten, in 1677 A.D., after consultation and approval from Kapitan Emur,¹¹¹ Prince Martawidjaja and Prince Kartawidjaja were both crowned as rulers of Cirebon and titled sultan. On the initiative of the Sultan of Banten, the boundaries of each region and people were also determined.¹¹² The coronation of the two princes of Cirebon is told in the *Sejarah Peteng Sejarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali* in pupuh *Magatru* dangding 17th to 20th, as follows: (17) *Wus ora niyat angadegken lungguh/hing Carbon sadya den basmi/ajata Banten kang jungjung/ya mangsa ngadega mali/iku idheping boronjot.*¹¹³ Translation: Indeed, at that time there was no intention of occupying the throne/in the country of Cirebon/everything had been destroyed by Mataram/it was Banten who held (the Cirebon throne)/so that it could stand upright again/because of the kinship relationship between Banten and Cirebon. The 18th dangding states: (18) *Mangka Pangeran Anom Pangeran Sepuh/den papag ming Banten puri/empug lan Kapiten Emur/aro pada den istreni/jumeneng sultan sakaro.*¹¹⁴ Translation: Then Prince Anom and Prince Sepuh were taken to the Banten Kraton/conferred with Kapiten Emur/that a ceremony would soon be held/the coronation of both of them as sultans.

Furthermore, the 19th dangding states: (19) *Kasepuhan Kanoman samantukipun/dumateng Carbon nagari/pan Walanda ingkang tungguh/maintain lungguhing aji/ing Carbon Sultan sakaro.*¹¹⁵ Translation: Kasepuhan and Kanoman /after both arrived in the country of Cirebon/was it not the Dutch who supervised/ maintained the position of the two sultanates in Cirebon. In the 20th dangding, it is also mentioned: (20) *Nami-*

¹¹⁰Unang Sunardjo, 139.

¹¹¹Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., *Sajarah Peteng Sajarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali*, Yogyakarta: K-Media, 2020, 168.

¹¹²Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 307.

¹¹³Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., 82.

¹¹⁴Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., 82.

¹¹⁵Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., 82.

*ning Walanda kang ajagi iku/Kapitan Karang kinardi/andel-andel wiraripu/waktu samono pon masi/patugur maring Matahos.*¹¹⁶ Translation: The name of the person who guarded the two sultanates/was Captain Karang who was used as a confidant/who was relied upon in solving problems/at that time Cirebon was still assigned/on guard every year in Mataram.

Looking at the speech of *Sejarah Peteng Sejarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali*, it is understood that Pangeran Martawidjaja was appointed as sultan Sepuh (the first Kasepuhan sultan), and Pangeran Kartawidjaja as sultan Anom (the first Kanoman sultan). As sultan, Pangeran Martawidjaja was titled *Sultan Sepuh Abil Makarimi Muhammad Samsudin* (r. 1677-1697 AD), and Pangeran Kartawidjaja was titled *Sultan Anom Abil Makarimi Muhammad Badrudin* (r. 1677-1703 AD).¹¹⁷ Still looking at the narrative of *Sejarah Peteng Sejarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali*, it is also understood that the Sultan of Banten did not appoint the third son of Panembahan Ratu II, named Pangeran Wangsakerta as sultan. In *Babad Cirebon*, it is known that Pangeran Wangsakerta was only appointed as Panembahan of Cirebon with the title Pangeran Abdul Kamil Muhammad Nasarudin or Panembahan Tohpati (1677-1713 AD).¹¹⁸ Thus, it is strongly suspected that Prince Wangsakerta did not have his own territory and Kraton like his two brothers.

Further news was presented by Unang Sunardjo (1996), that as a sultanate, Sultan Sepuh (Pangeran Samsudin) occupied the Pakungwati Kraton as the center of his government. While Sultan Anom (Pangeran Badrudin/Komarudin) occupied the former house of Walangsungsang as the Kraton and the center of his government. Meanwhile, Panembahan Tohpati (Panembahan Cirebon) temporarily lived with Sultan Sepuh in the Pakungwati Kraton complex.¹¹⁹ After that, Panembahan Tohpati lived in a

¹¹⁶Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., 82.

¹¹⁷Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 307.

¹¹⁸Ahmad Hamam Rochani, 307-308.

¹¹⁹Unang Sunardjo, 153.

large house to the east of Pakungwati Kraton which was later known as Kacirebonan Kraton.¹²⁰

3.2 Aftermath of the Cirebon Kraton Breakdown

After the power of Cirebon was divided into two equal sultanates and one panembahan, it was difficult for them to restore the glory and authority achieved by Sunan Gunung Djati. In its development, the two sultanates and one panembahan had different concepts in organizing and managing their respective territories.¹²¹ As a result, unhealthy competition arose. Even conflict between the three was inevitable. The conflict was often fierce, so in the end they asked for help from the Company to mediate.¹²²

The request of the Cirebon sultans was certainly welcomed by the Company. For the Company, the situation was like the saying: *pucuk dicinta ulam tiba* (getting something more than expected/intended). This is where Company politics came into play. In other words, the Company welcomed the request of the sultans and Panembahan of Cirebon to act as a mediator in resolving the elite conflict in Cirebon.¹²³ At the same time, the Company sought opportunities to take power in the region. As part of the Company's strategy, a number of agreements were made. Under the guise of reconciliation among the Cirebon elite, the Company was actually strategizing to seize power in Cirebon, slowly but surely.¹²⁴

Several agreements between Sultan Sepuh, Kanoman and Kacirebonan were made:¹²⁵ First, on December 4, 1685 AD, the *Raad van Nederlandsch Indie* (Council of the Indies) as the initiator and protector of the Sultanate of Cirebon drafted an agreement to improve fraternal relations between the three

¹²⁰Unang Sunardjo, 153.

¹²¹Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 197.

¹²²Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 197.

¹²³Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 198.

¹²⁴Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, *Sejarah Cirebon Abad Ketujuh Belas*, Bandung: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Padjadjaran, 1992, 81.

¹²⁵Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 81-82.

families of the Cirebon Kraton. In the text of the agreement, it was mentioned about the degree of position between the three, namely: sultan Sepuh in the top position, then sultan Anom in the second position, and *panembahan* Cirebon in the third position.¹²⁶ The order of positions of course applies to the respective crown prince. In addition to resolving the issue of sultanate status, the agreement also resolved issues regarding the roles, functions and responsibilities of each sultanate and *panembahan*.¹²⁷

With the signing of the agreement, the sultans directly or indirectly accepted and recognized the Company's authority in Cirebon.¹²⁸ In its development, the condition of Cirebon worsened and the sultans of Cirebon could not do much. That was the political, economic and social development in Cirebon Kraton. Politically, economically and socially, the Sultans of Cirebon were also under the influence of the Company since the beginning of the treaty era. The situation became more complicated after the death of Prince Martawidjaja or Sultan Samsudin (Sultan Sepuh I) in 1697 AD. The property and heirlooms of Sultan Sepuh I were divided into two, one each for Prince Dipati Anom and Prince Aria Adiwidjaja. After the division of Sultan Sepuh I's heirlooms was completed, the next issue was who had the right to take the throne in Kasepuhan Kraton? This again caused a conflict that was no less fierce than before. Finally, they again invited the Company as a mediator.

The peace treaty between the two warring parties was signed on August 4, 1699. In the second treaty, the Company's dominance was very prominent. It was decided, among other things, that the position of Sultan Kanoman 1 would be first, Panembahan Cirebon 1 second and the two sons of Sultan Sepuh 1, namely: Pangeran Dipati Anom and Pangeran Aria Adiwidjaja, were ranked third in government affairs in the Sultanate of Cirebon.¹²⁹ With this decision, there were four rulers in Cirebon.

¹²⁶Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 81-82.

¹²⁷Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 82.

¹²⁸Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 82.

¹²⁹Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 123.

In 1703 AD, Sultan Kanoman I died. Two years later, in 1705 AD, another agreement was made. As a result, it was decided that Panembahan I held the highest title, followed by Sultan Sepuh I's son, Sultan Tadjul Arifin Djamaludin, and Abil Makarim Kaharudin, Panembahan I's son. The third title was taken by the son of Sultan Kanoman I, P.R.A. Manduraredja Muhamad Kadirudin.¹³⁰ In 1713 AD, Panembahan Cirebon I died. From 1715 AD, until 1733 AD, there were several shifts in the highest and lowest levels of the family in the sultanate of Cirebon. This paved the way for the Company to take control of Cirebon. Through various internal agreements, Cirebon gradually fell into the hands of the Company. When the agreement was made, the Company actually entered into an agreement with the sultans.¹³¹ The Sultanate of Cirebon continued to deteriorate until finally in 1809 AD, Governor General Herman Willem Daendels abolished the power of the Sultans in Cirebon.¹³²

3.3 Applying Historical Facts

Although several Cirebon sources mention the events that led to the split of the Kraton in Cirebon into Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan, such as: *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* by Atja (1986), *Babad Cirebon Editisi Brandes Tinjauan Sastra dan Sejarah* by Edi S. Ekadjati (1991), *Sajarah Wali Syekh Syarif Hidayatullah Sunan Gunung Jati: Naskah Mertasinga* by Amman N. Wahyu (2005), *Babad Cirebon* by Ahmad Hamam Rochani (2008), but those whose speech is not intermittent are found in *Sejarah Peteng: Sejarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali* by Muhamad Mukhtar Zaedin, H. Sariat Arifia, and Ki Tarka Sutarahardja (2020). In contrast, other Cirebon sources, namely: *Wawacan Babad Walangsungsang* by Raden Muhammad Burhan (1915), *Babad Tanah Sunda Babad Cirebon* by P.S. Sulendraningrat (1984), *Babad Cirebon Carub Kandha Naskah Tangkil* by Bambang Irianto and Ki Tarka Sutarahardja (2013), and *Cariyos Walangsungsang Transliterasi*

¹³⁰Tim Peneliti Jurusan Sejarah Fakultas Sastra Unpad, 123.

¹³¹Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 201.

¹³²Nina Herlina Lubis et al., 201.

dan Terjemahan by Titin Nurhayati Ma'mun, R. Achmad Opan Safari, and Nurhata (2018), the narrative does not reach the breakup of the Cirebon Kraton into Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan.

Furthermore, in studying the chronicles and *wawacan* Cirebon, at least four things must be considered, namely: characters, places, years, and events.¹³³ Manuscript of *Sejarah Peteng: Sejarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali*, judging from the storytelling that uses a number of *pupuh* can be included in the *wawacan*.¹³⁴ Related to the *burak* Cirebon Kraton into: Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan as revealed in *Sejarah Peteng: Sajarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali*, there are several figures that when sorted, become local and foreign figures.¹³⁵ There are many local figures mentioned in the *wawacan*, but only one will be taken, namely the Sultan of Banten who ordered the pick-up of two Cirebon princes from their status as Kadiri prisoners after previously being political prisoners of Mataram. In this figure, it is found that the history of the beginning of the Kraton in Cirebon is divided into three. While foreign figures, although still distinguishable, are only taken from the Dutch, namely: Kapitan *Emur* and Kapitan *Karang*. In this study, to simplify the presentation of characters, places, years, and events are mentioned simultaneously according to the topic of study, as follows:

First, the figure of Kapitan *Emur*. Told in the manuscript of *Sejarah Peteng Sajarah Rante Martabat Tembung Wali* *pupuh Magatru* dangding 18th, Kapitan *Emur* was a Dutchman who participated in negotiations and gave approval to two Cirebon Princes to be crowned by the Sultan of Banten to become rulers in Cirebon with the title of sultan. The reason for participating, because it is believed to be the incarnation (incarnation) of Ratu Mandapa who is white.¹³⁶ Ratu Mandapa is the younger brother of Ratu Pucuk Umun (Ruler of Banten *Girang*) who managed to

¹³³Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 47.

¹³⁴Agus Suherman, "Wawacan Pandita Sawang sebagai Naskah Keagamaan: Tinjauan Kedudukan dan Fungsi". *Manuskripta* 7 no. 2 (2017): 35, DOI:10.33656/manuskripta.v7i2.93.

¹³⁵Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 47.

¹³⁶Muhammad Mukhtar Zaedin et al., 167-168.

escape from the attack of Maulana Hasanudin's troops and married a Dutchman.¹³⁷ Kapitan *Emur* identity needs source support (corroboration), because the manuscript does not mention the year and event. From the search for sources, information was found that the character Kapitan *Emur* was adapted from the Portuguese *Capitao Mor* or *Morgel* to refer to a commander-in-chief, governor or high-ranking Company official.¹³⁸ The story of Kapitan *Emur* could also be the scriptwriter's opinion about the Company's (VOC) power in the archipelago. Another identity for Kapitan *Emur* is Kapitan *Jangkung*, which comes from the word Jan Zoon or Jan Coen. That is what translators and transliterators identify with Jan Pieterszoon Coen (J.P. Coen). The reason is that he was a Dutchman who served twice as Governor-General of the VOC in the Indies, namely the periods 1619-1623 AD, and 1627-1629 AD.¹³⁹ The identity of Kapitan *Emur* by placing J.P. Coen became weak after news was found that the role played by Coen had made Banten and Jakarta suspicious of each other. For Coen, negotiations to obtain a trading license from Banten were not worthwhile. Therefore, Coen preferred violent action.¹⁴⁰ The war between Banten and Coen's forces took place in December 1618 and May 30, 1619.¹⁴¹ Mataram's reactions to Coen's political monopoly policy at a time when they were aggressively expanding their influence were similar. Therefore, Mataram also reacted by raiding the VOC trading office in Batavia starting on September 21, 1628 AD, and September 21, 1629 AD.¹⁴² In history, Coen is considered a dictatorial and antagonistic leader. His cruelty remains a story to this day. For Coen, success could only be achieved through

¹³⁷Muhammad Mukhtar Zaedin, et al., 168.

¹³⁸Interview with Mukhtar Zaedin, in Cirebon.

¹³⁹G.L. Balk, F. van Dijk, and D.J. Kortlang, *The Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and the local institutions in Batavia (Jakarta)*. Netherland: Nationaal Archief, 2007, 191. ANRI.

¹⁴⁰Marwati Djoened Poeponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, 67.

¹⁴¹M.C. Ricklefs, *Sejarah Indonesia Modern*. Cet. Ke-9. Terjemahan Dharmono Hardjowidjono. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 2007, 44-45.

¹⁴²Marwati Djoened Poeponegoro and Nugroho Notosusanto, 73; 75.

blood and military might. Coen died unexpectedly on the night of September 21, 1629 AD, four days after his wife, Eva Ment, gave birth to a daughter, who died after giving birth.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, it could have been J.P. Coen or Company officials before and after him.¹⁴⁴

Pieter De Carpentier (1623-1627 AD), J.P. Coen's successor, can be included as a Governor-General of the Company who succeeded in establishing good relations with the sultans of Banten and Mataram. Coen began building schools, orphanages, and new city halls for the police and judiciary. The figure of Cornelis van Der Lijn (1645-1650 AD) can also be included as a Governor-General of the Company who succeeded in building good relations with the sultans of Banten and Mataram.¹⁴⁵ The figure of van Der Lijn can be referred to as *de Javanen noenden hem capitein pandjang* or *de lange capitein* (the Javanese call him captain *pandjang* or captain tall).¹⁴⁶ In carrying out his duties, van Der Lijn was assisted by a very capable Director General, a native of Brussels, named Francois Caron. In his time van Der Lijn was able to sign peace treaties with Banten in 1645 AD, Mataram in 1646 AD, and King Singha in 1649 AD.¹⁴⁷

Second, the figure of Kapitan *Karang*. The initials of Kapitan *Karang* as mentioned in *Sejarah Peteng* pupuh *Magatru dangding* 20 also need to be corroborated. It was mentioned that Kapitan *Karang* was a foreigner of Dutch nationality who was trusted in solving problems. At that time Cirebon still received guard duty every year in Mataram.¹⁴⁸ The mention of Kapitan *Karang* is found in the *Dagh Register* dated September 2, 1678 AD, with the word "Capitan Carrangh".¹⁴⁹ The footnote states that the Kapitan *Karang* in question was Jochem Michieles. He

¹⁴³F.W. Stapel, *De Gouverneurs-Generaal Van Nederlandsch-Indie In Beeld En Woord*. Den Haag: Van Stockum, 1941. KITLV.

¹⁴⁴Interview with Mukhtar Zaedin, in Cirebon.

¹⁴⁵G.L. Balk, F. van Dijk, and D.J. Kortlang, 191.

¹⁴⁶F.W. Stapel, 25.

¹⁴⁷F.W. Stapel, 25.

¹⁴⁸Muhammad Mukhtar Zaedin, Sariat Arifia, and Ki Tarka Sutardja, 168.

¹⁴⁹Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 54.

originally came to Sumedang to assist the Prince Adipati in securing the area from various riots that occurred. In 1680 AD, Jochem Michieles entered Cirebon as the leader of the Company's troops.¹⁵⁰

Michieles' name is also mentioned by Arovah (2018), as a negotiator who produced a decision, all the Sultans of Cirebon stated that they were willing to be under the Company's protection, on condition that they would provide protection to Cirebon from the attacks of Banten people.¹⁵¹ Meanwhile, in the *Dagh Register* of May-June 1682 AD, the Dutchman who came to Cirebon several times was named Marten Sampson. Sampson became the Company's envoy, because of his expertise in Malay. Another name was Francois Caron. Caron was a very capable Director-General, a native of Brussels. Due to his skill in winning over the native rulers, Governor-General Cornelis van der Lijn (1645-1650 AD) was able to sign peace treaties with Banten (1645 AD), Mataram (1646 AD) and King Singha (1649 AD).¹⁵² Up to this point, if the author of *Sejarah Peteng* is referring to the time when Cirebon still received annual assignments in Mataram, then most likely the initials of Kapitan Karang in question are Francois Caron. However, if what is meant is after Cirebon was divided into three sultanates, then it is very possible that the Kapitan Karang is Jochem Michieles. This means that the author of *Sejarah Peteng* knows the data/facts, but does not understand the relationship and problems of each data/fact.

Third, the identity of the Sultan of Banten. In 1651 AD, Sultan Abdul Mufakhir died. His successor was Abdul Mufakhir's great-grandson, the son of Abdul Ma'ali named Pangeran Adipati Anom Pangeran Surya titled *Sultan Abu Al-Fath Abdul Fattah Muhammad Syifa Zainal Arifin* or better known as Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. He ruled Banten in 1651-1684

¹⁵⁰Edi S. Ekadjati^b, 54.

¹⁵¹Eva Nur Arovah, *Cirebon 1681-1945: Dinamika Politik, Ekonomi, dan Sosial Budaya*. Disertasi Belum Terbit. Bandung: Program Pascasarjana Fakultas Ilmu Budaya Unpad, 2018, 75.

¹⁵²F.W. Stapel, 25.

AD.¹⁵³ Thus, when the Mataram troops attacked Banten for the second time in 1657 AD, Banten was already under the leadership of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa.¹⁵⁴

To strengthen his government, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa issued a free and active foreign policy. Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa helped equip Trunodjojo's troops with weapons around 1677 AD, when they rebelled against the Susuhunan of Mataram, Amangkurat I, who at that time had the support of his ally, the VOC. The rebellion was won by Trunodjojo's side.¹⁵⁵ At about the same time, cooperation with Makassar, Bangka, Indrapura and Cirebon was also carried out. Banten Sultanate argued that it needed good relations with Cirebon, because both parties were descendants of Syarif Hidayatullah. The relationship was demonstrated by Banten when it assisted Cirebon in freeing two sons of Panembahan Ratu II (Panembahan Girilaya), namely Prince Martawidjaja and Prince Kartawidjaja following the defeat of Mataram who later became prisoners of Trunodjojo's troops.¹⁵⁶ Information about the efforts to free the Cirebon princes is mentioned in *Dagh Registers* 2 and 22 in February 1678 AD, that the two Cirebon princes were taken captive by Trunodjojo from the capital of Mataram and brought to Kadiri (Cadiry). From Kadiri they (*Sepo and Annum*) were then brought by Keye Nara (kyai Nara), the envoy of Banten, to Banten and received protection from the Sultan of Banten.¹⁵⁷ Trunodjojo's troops were then defeated by Mataram in 1679 AD. The throne of the Mataram Sultanate was given to Adipati Anom with the title Amangkurat II.

At the end of 1677 AD, three sons of Panembahan Ratu II were confirmed by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa to be the rulers of Cirebon. First, Pangeran Martawidjaja as Sultan of Kasepuhan with the title Sultan Raja Sjamsuddin was entitled to occupy the existing Kraton (Keraton Pakungwati). Second, Prince Kerta-

¹⁵³Nina H. Lubis, *Banten ...*, 223.

¹⁵⁴M.C. Ricklefs, 106.

¹⁵⁵Eva Nur Arovah, 35.

¹⁵⁶Eva Nur Arovah, 35.

¹⁵⁷Eva Nur Arovah, 36.

widjaja with the title Sultan Moh. Badridin was entitled to occupy the house built by Walangsungsang (Kanoman Kraton). Third, Prince Wangsakerta with the title Panembahan Tohpati temporarily lived in the Kasepuhan Kraton. The place had long been a library that collected a number of manuscripts and books containing various sciences. Because of this, Pangeran Wangsakerta was later known as a sultan who wrote diligently.¹⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

The portrait of the Kraton in Cirebon where a country was built, developed, and maintained with the community is a valuable lesson for the people of Cirebon and Indonesia about the importance of a sense of shared responsibility as citizens of the nation in the order of the state. Cirebon Islamic Kingdom like kingdoms and nations in the world experienced phases of pioneering, golden, and decline as hinted by Ibn Khaldun in the theory of cycles. The founding fathers of Cirebon as mostly found in *babad* and *wawacan* is a fact. The development of the Kraton Cirebon into three, namely: Kraton Kasepuhan, Kanoman, and Kacirebonan is a fact on the initiative of the Sultan of Banten to minimize family divisions after Panembahan Sepuh II passed away. This was done as a sense of brotherhood with Cirebon, because they were still descendants of Sunan Gunung Djati. However, problems became more complicated after the first-generation sultans died. The involvement of foreign parties resulted in the decline and destruction of the existence of the Kraton in Cirebon. Several agreements with the colonial government are suspected of adding to the loss of power of the Kratons in Cirebon. The parties often recorded in Cirebon sources are Banten, Mataram, and the Company, with figures: Sultan Mataram, Sultan Banten, Kapitan Emur, and Kapitan Karang. The content is full of state governance teachings so that the parties realize that the involvement of foreign parties in state affairs actually worsens the continuity of the country. This study recommends that further research to be carried out on a number

¹⁵⁸Eva Nur Arovah, 36.

of ancient Nusantara manuscripts in strengthening the experience of statehood in Indonesia.

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