



ISSN 2303-243X

HERITAGE OF NUSANTARA

International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage

Vol. 5 No. 1 June 2016



Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage
Office for Research and Development and Training
Ministry of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia

HERITAGE OF
NUSANTARA
International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage

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International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage

Vol. 5 No. 1 June 2016

ISSN 2303-243X E-ISSN: 2442-9031

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Address : Gedung Kementerian Agama RI Lt. 18, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No.6 Jakarta-Indonesia,
Phone/Fax. 6221-3920713, 6221-3920718

E-mail : heritage@kemenag.go.id

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THE TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF THE LEIDEN MANUSCRIPT COD. OR. 5626 ON THE *SIJILL* OF THE QADI OF BANTEN 1754-1756 CE.¹

Ayang Utriza Yakin

Universite Catholique de Louvain (UCL), Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgique

Abstract

This article provides a critical edition of the Leiden Manuscript Cod. Or. 5626. It gives the transliteration from pegon (Javanese in modified-Arabic letters) into Latin script and a translation from Javanese into English. The publication of this edition is intended to reach a wider readership, especially philologists and scholars of Islamic law, in order to have access to the original text. It should serve as a precious source for those who are interested in Islamic legal history. This is the oldest and the first register of qadi ever known from Southeast Asia. The document contributes tremendously to the field of Islamic law and Southeast Asian studies.

Keywords : *qadi, Banten, Leiden, Javanese, and register.*

Abstrak

Artikel ini menyajikan suntingan teks dari Naskah Leiden berkode 5626. Ia menyajikan alihaksara dari pegon (bahasa Jawa dalam aksara Arab yang telah digubah) ke dalam aksara Latin dan alihbahasa dari bahasa Jawa ke dalam bahasa Inggris. Penerbitan edisi ini dimaksudkan untuk menjangkau pembaca yang lebih luas, terutama kalangan ahli pernaskahan dan para sarjana hukum Islam, agar memiliki pintu masuk ke teks aslinya. Makalah ini haruslah menjadi sumber berharga bagi mereka yang tertarik dalam sejarah hukum Islam. Ini adalah catatan hukum tertua dan pertama

Kata Kunci: qadi, Banten, Leiden, Jawa, dan catatan.

Introduction

Bantěn is located on the western tip of Java's north coast facing the Sunda Straits. Tradition asserts that the Shivaist-Hinduist-Javanese immigrants coming from Central Java founded it around 993. The newcomers made *Bantěn Girang* (Bantěn up-the-river) the central administrative center and capital city, lying around 10 km inland on the Cibantěn River. Bantěn, as a new political entity in the region, was attacked and defeated by the Buddhist-Sriwijaya Empire from Sumatra, in the first half of the 11th century. However, this did not stop the principedom of Bantěn Girang from engaging as an independent state in international trade with mainly China during the 12th-15th centuries thanks to its pepper production. *Bantěn Girang* suffered from a second attack and was invaded by the Hinduist Kingdom of Sunda-Padjajaran at the beginning of the XVth century.² *Bantěn Girang* was under Padjajaran rule until its defeat in 1527 by Muslim troops from Cirebon (assisted by Demak) that consciously intended to Islamize its inhabitants. The Muslim army from Cirebon and Demak took the country that had been prospering for centuries from the international pepper trade from the hands of the 'infidels.' After having conquered Kelapa³, Sunan Gunung Jati and his son Maulana Hasanuddin established a Muslim kingdom in Bantěn Girang in 1527, in the old central 'kingdom'. Afterwards they moved out the city from *Bantěn Girang* into the port in Bantěn.

During the Islamic period of the 16th-17th centuries, Bantěn grew rapidly and reached its peak politically and economically. From the mid-sixteenth century until the late seventeenth century, the agricultural sultanate flourished economically due to its strategic location on the

East-West international trade route and its agricultural production, especially of pepper. European traders coming from Portugal, France, England, Denmark, and the Netherlands, as well as Asian traders from the Arabian Peninsula, Persia, and China visited Bantěn. With the arrival of the Europeans and people from other nations, Bantěn became more diverse, richer, and complex at the same time. The Muslim kingdom of Bantěn reigned during a relatively long period of time: it ruled during more than 150 years as an independent state, from 1527 to 1682. Later on, for more than 120 years, Bantěn was under the control of the Dutch-East India Company (VOC), based at Batavia, as the Sultanate of Bantěn lost independence after the defeat of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, the fifth Sultan of Bantěn (r.1651- 1682), in its battle against the Dutch in 1682⁴.

The sultanate came under the domination of the Dutch-Company resulting in an economic and political colonization leading to the Sultanate's decline. The loss of the Sultanate of Bantěn's autonomy had serious consequences for the waning of its political might. During the 18th century, Bantěn suffered from the internal intrigues between the elites fighting for wealth and power. Its enormous economic potential was on the verge of ruin due to continual political instability which harmed pepper production, further leading to the impoverishment of the Bantěn population. The Sultanate of Bantěn was finally abolished by the British in 1813 and disappeared completely⁵. In 1816, Bantěn was annexed by the newly formed Dutch East Indies and in 1833 the last sultan was forced by the Dutch into exile in Surabaya⁶.

The Qadi of Bantěn

The first qadi known in the sultanate of Bantěn was Ki Ali or Kyai Ali⁷ according to the *Sajarah Bantěn*, a 16th century chronicle of Bantěn. He was called Ali and was given the honorary title for a respected person, "Kiyahi" or "Kyai". Ki Ali was also known as Kyai Dukuh. As he lived in the village of Kasunyatan, he was also called Pangeran (Prince) Kasunyatan.⁸ However, the term "prince" did not mean that he was a royal. Kasunyatan⁹ was the religious center located at the outside of the city of Bantěn. Prince Kasunyatan became "the master and the teacher of the religious center" in Bantěn. We might assume this village of 'Kasunyatan' was a kind of Islamic education centre or madrasah where judge-candidates were supposedly trained.

The function of the qadi Prince Kasunyatan was central. He had important duties in religious matters, but also in political issues. He was a religious teacher for the royal family, initially for the sultan and the crown prince¹⁰. He acted as a guardian of the crown prince when he was still a child and represented him in everything¹¹. He was a regent when the Sultan and the Prime Minister were absent from the kingdom¹². More importantly, he was in charge of legal affairs. Indeed, after the Sultan and Prime Minister he was the most important person. Without doubt, the qadi was the highest authority in religious matters and legal affairs. When the Dutch first came to Bantěn in 1596, while discussing issues with the Prime Minister (Mangkubumi Kyai Mas Patih) in the royal square they observed that the qadi (Pangeran Kasunyatan) was a very important person.¹³

The qadi Prince Kasunyatan was the son of a ruler of Medina named Sheikh Muhammad Madani Syah. He traveled around the world before he arrived at Minangkabau, Sumatra. The king of this country learned the Quran from him and gave him a wife. Afterwards, he went to Bantěn where he was received by the king to teach Islam to Prince Muhammad (1580-1596)¹⁴. Thus, it seems that the first qadi of Bantěn came directly from Medina and was of Arab origin. Presumably, the main reason for the coming of Ki Ali or Prince Kasunyatan was to strengthen the religious legitimacy of Bantěn as an Islamic kingdom.

During the reign of the fifth ruler of Bantěn, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1682), the qadi obtained a special title, namely *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin* (or *Kyai Fakiḥ Najmuddin*).¹⁵ It was a title which was granted for the first time to Enthol Kawista¹⁶ around 1651. The Sultan of Bantěn appointed him as a qadi, following the refusal of Prince Jayasantika to accept this position¹⁷. After Kawista, the title of *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin* was systematically borne by all qadis of Bantěn. The last qadi having borne this title was Haji Muhammad Adian until his death in 1855 or 1856.¹⁸



Image 1. The Prime Minister and the Qadi in 1596 (Lodewycksz; 1929:114)

In brief, qadi was the official position and functional name for a judge in Bantën according to the chronicle local source, the *Sajarah Bantën Besar*,¹⁹ which is also apparent from the seal of the qadi of Bantën. One seal, dated 1139/1726-7, reads “*Alamat Cap Kadi Bantën*” (This is the seal of the qadi of Bantën) and another, dated 1733, “Pangeran Kadi Syamsuddin” (Prince Qadi Syamsuddin), both of them were written in pegon²⁰. “*Kiyahi Pëqih Najmuddin*” was the official title of the qadi of the Sultanate of Bantën according to a local source, namely the Undhang-Undhang Bantën²¹ and manuscript LOr 5626 which is the source this study.²² A large part of the archive of Bantën kept in the National Archive of Indonesia (ANRI) in Jakarta contains the seals of the qadi of Bantën bearing the official title “*Kiyahi Pëqih Najmuddin*”²³.

The Transliteration and the Translation

The aim of this paper is to provide a critical edition of Cod. Or. 5626 from the register of the qadi court covering the years 1754-1756. The codicology of the manuscript and the analysis of its content will published separately from this essay. This article hopefully will contribute to Islamic legal history in general by providing textual evidence that the qadi record (*sijill*) existed in Southeast Asia in the 18th century. The publication of this edition is intended to reach a wider reader, especially to philologists and scholars in Islamic law, in order to have access to the original text. It should serve as a precious source for those who are interested in Islamic legal history.

No.	Javanese Transliteration	English Translation
1	[1.] <i>Pun Ayu matur ing ḥakim: “Kula dh-y-d y-n-j-h den-gětik dening Mas Muṣlih. Kula botĕn suka.” Kula nyata saḥakim. Maka saking iki ḥakim amariksa. Maka nyata t-b-t-ng- gĕgětik munggah ing geger nĕnĕm w-w-l-w-r-y.</i>	[1.] Ayu informed the ḥakim²⁴ [judge]: “I (.....) was beaten by Mas Muslih, which I do not accept. I explained this to the judge.” Based on this information, the judge investigated [the case]. It was clear (.....) that the knee was hit, continuing until it reached the back, six times (.....) (?) [the case is not dated].
2	<i>‘Alamat pun Damirah wus den-ṭalāq dening Pĕqih, sabab lakine den pun Dawat nambang wus tĕlung tahun, oranana kĕkirime oranana tĕtinggale. Maka Ki²⁵ Pangulu Muḥammad Ṣaleḥ ingkang angaturakĕn ing ḥakim ing aturipun Damirah wong Gunung Jĕning yen anjaluk ṭalāq sĕrta ḥalal maskawine, sabab lakine nambang wus tĕlung tahun oranana kĕkirime oranana tĕtinggale, sĕrta Ki Pangulu wus amariksa ing pun Dawat²⁶ a-ny-l-r rolas s-l-r-. Ḥakim wus a-ng-r-ny-b ing Ki Pangulu Muḥammad Ṣaleḥ ing dina Ḥĕmis tanggal ping 4 wulan Rabī’u al- ‘Awwal tahun Ba’ 1168 Hijrah</i>	The matter is that Damirah had been divorced by the pĕqih²⁷ [judge] because her husband, Dawat, ignored her for three years, never sending [food] parcel and not providing the obligatory financial support.²⁸ It was Kyai Pangulu²⁹ Muhammad Saleh³⁰ who informed the judge about the statement of Damirah, a resident of Mt. Jĕning, asking for a ṭalāq³¹ [divorce] and a ruling on the lawfulness of the dowry, because her husband ignored her for three years, leaving her without [food] parcel or the obligatory financial support. Kyai Pangulu had investigated the husband, Dawat, who raised (?) 12 (.....) [<i>reyal</i>]. The judge handed (?) this [money] to Kyai Pangulu Muhammad Saleh [as compensation for Damirah] on Thursday the 4th of the month of Rabī’u al-‘Awwal 1168 A.H., in the year Bā’ [19th December 1754 C.E.].³²

3	<i>Ing dina Tēlata tanggal ping sanga likur saking wulan Ramaḍān tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah, kala iki Mas Zulaykah Mabita rabine Raden Tubagus Kusuma³³ Nagara kalane angzahirakēn anake wadon, maka tēka ing 'umur patang puluh dina, maka nuli Tubagus Kusuma³⁴ Nagara aweh ingon-ingone anake, sing kangongkon dening Tubagus Kusuma Nagara wong wadon arani pun Sahudah, kang anampa Mas Zulaykah³⁵ dhewek. Akehing ingon-ingon satengah reyal. Hakim anēksēni ing ature Mas Zulaykah³⁶ saking ature kongkonane wong wadon arani pun Piyah. Kalane kongkonan matur ing hakim iki ing dina Jumungah tanggal kalih kawan likur saking wulan Zū al-Qa'idah tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah.</i>	On Tuesday the 29th of the month of Ramaḍān 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [9 July 1755 C.E.], [Nyi] Mas Zulaykah Mabita, the wife of Raden³⁷ Tubagus Kusuma Nagara, stated that when her baby girl was forty days old her husband immediately had given care of their baby to a woman named Sahudah, accepted by [Nyi] Mas Zulaykah herself. The cost of care is a half <i>reyal</i>.³⁸ The judge witnessed this statement through the testimony of a female servant of Nyimas Zulaykah called Piyah. The date of this testimony to the judge was Friday 28 of the month of Zū al-Qa'idah, 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [5th September 1755 C.E.].
4	<i>Ing dina Jumu'ah tanggal ping sanga likur saking wulan Zū al-Qa'idah tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Manamar anikahakēn anake pun Jamal, arani pun Da'im, kalawan pun Aripa rong puluh reyal, sabab den- wakili dening pun Jamal anikahakēn anake kalawan pun Aripa. Ana dening pun Jamal lan rabine pun Jamal iku padha wong mardika. Ana dening kalaning arēp nikah iki wus den-pariksane ing saḥ ṭalāq lan ing pawate 'idahe. Yen ujare wong</i>	On Friday the 29th of the month of Zū al-Qa'idah, 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [6th September 1755 C.E.], I, Kyai Mas Manamar joined in marriage the daughter of Jamal, called Daim, and Aripa with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> because Jamal had given me power of attorney to marry his daughter to Aripa. Jamal and his wife are free persons. Before the marriage, it was ascertained that Daim was lawfully divorced and her waiting period [<i>'idah</i>] was finished. Her parents stated that the divorce is lawful because her

	<i>tuwane ṭalāq wus ṣaḥe sabab den-ṭalāq sawiji lapaze “sira sun ṭalāq sawiji.” Sērta wadon iki wus anyukakēn maskawine. Samono ujare wong tuwane. Ḥakim anēkseni.</i>	former husband had pronounced the divorce formula: « <i>You are divorced from me with one ṭalāq</i> » and the dowry was returned. ³⁹ This is what was stated by Daim’s parent. [The marriage] was witnessed by the judge. ⁴⁰
5	<i>Ing malēm⁴¹ Itnen tanggal pitu saking wulan Zū al- Ḥijjah w-n-j- j-m- sasanga tahun Bā’ 1168 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Manamar anikaḥakēn pun Ḥalimah kalawan pun Usad wali ḥakim, sababing wali ḥakim bapahe wus mati, sing liyan tēbih saking bapahe oranana. Ana dening maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Ana dening kalaning nikah iki wus baliḡ. Ana dening sing lanang iku anake Ki ‘Abdul Salang (?). Ana dening sing wadon iku anake pun Saki. Padha asli Kayudan. Samono pangakune ing ḥakim⁴². Ḥakim anēkseni.</i>	On the night of Monday the 7 th of the month of Zū al-Ḥijjah 1168 A.H. (.....) in the year Bā’ [14 September 1755 C.E.] I, Ki Mas Manamar, as a magistrate guardian [<i>wali ḥakim</i>] joined in marriage Halimah and Usad, because her father, as the lawful guardian, was dead and she had no paternal uncle. The dowry is twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. At the time of the marriage both were of age. The bridegroom is the son of Ki Abdul Salang (?); the bride is the daughter of Saki. Both come from Kayudan. This is what was acknowledged [by them] to the judge. [The marriage] was witnessed by the judge.
6	<i>[3] Ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping lima saking wulan Muḥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki Gus Ajim apiksa ing ḥakim yen akon anggulasi kēbone kang ilang, kēbo ireng, dengiri. Kang den-akon anggulasi: wong lanang mardika aranpun Maḥalli, dulture ki pangulu Ḥalidin, pangulu Cimanuk, sarta den-gawani pēndhok salaka wērat patang reyal, lan rupa reyal karo tēngah reyal, lan kēkēmbēn sabaki sawiji</i>	[3] ⁴³ On Saturday the 5 th of the month of Muḥarrām, 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [11 th October 1755 C.E.] Gus Ajim testified to the judge that he ordered [someone] to look for his missing black buffalo that was used for plowing. The person ordered to search is a free person, named Maḥalli, brother of Kyai Pangulu Kholidin, the pangulu of Cimanuk, who was given a silver keris sheath worth 4 <i>reyal</i> , 1,5 <i>reyal</i> [cash], a tray

	<i>rĕgane karo tĕngah reyal, lan pahating pĕndhok sa reyal: jumlah wolung reyal, bakal tĕtĕbusing kĕbo kang ilang iku. Aĥir-aĥir kĕbo oranana lan sekehe rupa kang bakal tĕbus kĕbo ora den-balikakĕn maning.</i>	of cloth worth 1,5 <i>reyal</i> , and a sheath of a craving knife worth 1 <i>reyal</i> . The sum is then 8 <i>reyal</i> for redeeming the missing buffalo. However, the buffalo was not found nor was the ransom returned [to Gus Ajim].
7	<i>Lan sapĕrkara maning Gus Ajim apiksa ing ĥakim aduwe piyutang rong puluh reyal ing Ki Sajim. Aĥir-aĥir Ki Sajim anahur utang. Kang den-ĕnggo⁴⁴ panahur: sawah patang puluh kothak. Panggonane ing Gunung Sikung. Malah Gus Ajim wis tampa ing sawahe iki. Ana dening tekĕnan iki anĕksĕni ing ature Gus Ajim bahe.</i>	[On the same day 5-1-1169/11-10-1755] Gus Ajim testified before the judge that he had loaned 20 <i>reyal</i> to Ki Sajim. Eventually, Ki Sajim paid the debt. To pay it, he gave 40 plots of rice fields [to Gus Ajim]. The place of rice field is in Mt. Sikung. Gus Ajim has received these rice fields. This recording serves as proof of Gus Ajim's statement.
8	<i>Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping pad bĕlas saking wulan Muĥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki ĥakim angulihakĕn gĕgĕlangange Mas Marija ing Mas Marija kehe sarakit gĕgĕlang mas blongsong, asal titiping Nyi Ayu Syapiqah, kang den- kongkon nampakakĕn Mas Marija.</i>	On Monday the 14 th of the month of Muĥarram 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [20 th October 1755 C.E.] the judge returned a pair of bracelets wrapped in gold to its owner, Mas Marija. The person who was entrusted [with giving this bracelet to the judge] was Nyi Ayi Syafiqah, who was ordered to do so by Mas Marija.
9	<i>Ing dina Aĥad tanggal tĕlu wĕlas saking wulan Muĥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki pun Apiq anampakakĕn duwene Ki Arya Dipa Sĕdana rupa gĕgĕlang ĕmas sarakit lan gĕgĕlang salaka sarakit. Kang atampa wakile wong lanang roro padha mardika sarta padha 'aqil baliġ aran Mas 'Abdullah lan Mas 'Abdul Ĥayyi.⁴⁵</i>	On Sunday the 13 th of the month of Muĥarram 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [19 th October 1755 C.E.] Apiq returned the property of Ki Arya Dipa Sedana, namely a pair of golden bracelets and a pair of silver bracelets. Those who received them were his envoys: two free persons of sound mind and of age named Mas Abdullah and Mas Abdul Hayyi

10	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal nēm bēlas⁴⁶ saking wulan Muḥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar anikaḥakēn, wali ḥakim, sabab den-wakili dening Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin, sabab wong wadon aran pun Aripa iki ora duwe bapa ora duwe kaki, mongkono maning sing paduhure saking kaki lan sangangsore saking bapa. Lanange aran pun Qasim. Dene maskawine sapuluh reyal samono ajale. Kongkonane Nyi Arip⁴⁷ ing ḥakim wong lanang mardika aran pun Mas Ḥamil, omahe ing Kubang. Kang lanang omahe ing Sawah Kalorahan, kang wadon omahe ing Gunung Kubang. Ana dulur satunggal sabiyang, liyane saking iki ora dadi wali, maka waline iki ḥakim.</i>	On Wednesday the 16th of the month of Muḥarram 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [22nd October 1755 C.E.] I, Ki [Mas] Manamar, representing Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin⁴⁸, as magistrate guardian, joined Aripa in marriage because she has neither father, grandfather, nor their descendants. The bridegroom is Qasim. The dowry has the value of 10 <i>reyal</i> as a deferred debt. He who is delegated by Nyi Aripa to inform the judge is a free person, Mas Hamil living in Kubang. The residence of the bridegroom is Sawah Kaloran and that of the bride is Mt. Kubang. The aforementioned Aripa has <i>dulur</i> [uterine brother or sister], but he/she cannot act as a guardian and accordingly it was the judge who did so.
11	<i>Ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping wolulas saking wulan Muḥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 H., kala iki isun Ki Manamar anikaḥakēn pun Tayibah anake pun Bayudin. Omahe ing Gunung Badang Batu. Wong tuwane wus mati. Kang liyan saking wong tuwane oranana. Maka saking arah iki waline ḥakim, maka ḥakim wēwakil ing insun. Lanange aran pun Tamim, wong lanang mardika. Ature ing ḥakim maskawine rong puluh utang. Maka kono maning pun Tamim asal Badang Batu.</i>	On Saturday the 18th of the month of Muḥarram 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [24th October 1755 C.E.], I, Ki [Mas] Manamar, joined in marriage Tayiba, the daughter of Bayudin. Her residence is in Mt. Badang Batu and her parents are deceased. Because she has no relatives, the guardian is accordingly the judge who has conferred powers of attorney to me [Ki Mas Manamar]. The bridegroom is Tamim, a free person. He stated to the judge that the deferred dowry has the value of 20 [<i>reyal</i>]. Tamim also comes from Badang Batu.

12	[4] <i>Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping pitulikur saking wulan Muḥaram tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar anikahakēn pun Walisah wong Sawah Pacek. Waline wali ḥakim, sabab wus orana waline kang liyane. Saking ḥakim den-nikahakēn kalawan pun Madir. Maskawine sapuluh reyal. Ana dening kang kinon ngaturakēn rarasane pun Walisah ing ḥakim iki wong lanang mardika aran pun Ratimah pěrjaka padha mardika tur balig aněksēni 'Abduṣ Ṣamad kalawan Mu'adin Jidin⁴⁹.</i>	[4] On Monday the 27th of the month of Muḥarram 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [2nd November 1755 C.E.] I, Ki [Mas] Manamar joined in marriage Walisah, from Sawah Pacek, and Madir. The guardian is the magistrate guardian because the bride no longer has anyone to act as a guardian. The dowry is 10 <i>reyal</i>. The person who informed the judge [of Walisah's intention to marry] was Ratimah, a free person of legal age as witnessed by Abdus Samad and Mu'adin Jidin.
13	<i>Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping lima saking wulan Ṣapar tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar anampakakēn dhuwit nēm buntěl ing pun Basidin. Pamēnange pun Basidin saking pun Bondhol. Kang anampa pun Basidin dhewek kalawan bature aran Raden Ṭahir, wakile Pangeran Surya. Ana dening ingkang sabuntěl iku akehe nēm ewu punjul limang kupang</i>	On Monday the 5th of the month of Ṣafar 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [10th November 1755 C.E.] I, Ki [Mas] Manamar returned six parcels of <i>dhuwit</i>⁵⁰ to Basidin. Bondhol was entrusted by Basidin [to receive it], who did so personally accompanied by a batur⁵¹ [subordinate], named Raden Thahir, the representative of Pangeran⁵² [Prince] Surya. One bag amounted to 6.000 [<i>dhuwit</i>] and 5 kupang⁵³.
14	<i>Ing malam Jumu'ah tanggal ping sanga saking wulan Ṣapar tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar anikahakēn pun Kuwuk, wali ḥakim, den-nikahakēn kalawan pun Sajid Kala kalawan maskawine rong puluh reyal. Kang den-kongkon dening</i>	On Thursday night⁵⁴ the 9th of the month of Ṣafar 1169 A.H. in the year Wāwu [14th November 1755 C.E.], I, Ki [Mas] Manamar, as a magistrate guardian, joined in marriage Kuwuk and Sajid Kala with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i>. In the absence of a lawful guardian, Tubagus⁵⁵ Mamak was asked to

	<i>Kuwuk: Tubagus Mamak, maka sabab waline oranana, yen Tubagus Mamak. Lan wis nyata den-ṭalāq dening lakine kang dihin, sarta wis pot ‘idahe.</i>	report [to the judge] by Kuwuk. It is clear that she had been divorced by her former husband and that the waiting period was completed.
15	<i>Ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping wolu wēlas saking wulan Šapar tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar den-idini anikaḥakēn, wali ḥakim, dening Kiyahi Pēqih⁵⁶, wadone aran pun⁵⁷ Minten ašal Lēbak, lanange aran pun Japakur asal Kabojanan. Maskawine rong puluh reyal. Kang den-kongkon dening pun Minten pun Baqo. Saking arah niki isun anēksēni ing ature pun Baqo bahe yen wujare orana wali saking liyane saking hakim. Lan ing nyatane wus den-ṭalāq dening lakine ašal den-ta'liq. Ta'liqe “Samangsane andika nyampun nyuka maskawine, tiba ṭalāq kula sawiji ing andika Minten.”</i>	On Saturday the 18 th of the month of Šafar 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [23 rd November 1755 C.E.], Kiyahi Pēqih [Najmuddin] had authorized me, Ki [Mas] Manamar as magistrate guardian, to join Minten, a woman from Lebak, and Japakur, a man from Kabojanan, in marriage with a dowry of twenty reyal. Baqo was asked by Minten to inform the judge that she had no lawful guardian except the judge. It is clear that she had been divorced by conditional divorce [ta'liq ṭalāq]. The ta'liq formula was “In the event you have already given me back your dowry, then one ṭalāq will fall upon you, Minten.”
16	<i>Ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping padlikur saking wulan Šapar tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar anikaḥakēn Nyi Dawiyah, wali ḥakim, sabab den-idini dening Kiyahi Pēqih kalawan pun Asma. Ana dening maskawine sapuluh reyal den-utang.⁵⁸ Karone iki⁵⁹ pangakune padha mardika. Ana dening kang wadon iku asal Sawah Tēgal Tanjung, maka ḥakim anyara ing pun Haram lan ing jarone wong Tēgal Tanjung, maka</i>	On Saturday the 24 th of the month of Šafar 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [29 th November 1755 C.E.] Kiyahi Pēqih [Najmuddin] had authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as magistrate guardian, to join Nyi Dawiyah and Asma in marriage with a dowry of ten reyal deferred as a debt. Both of them acknowledged that they are free persons. The bride comes from Sawah Tegal Tanjung. The judge sent Haram and the village head of [Sawah] Tegal Tanjung to determine whether

	<i>roro iku padha angestokakēn yen pun Dawiyah iki mardika, sabab wong tuwane karo iki padha mardika ujure jaro Tēgal Tanjung. Ana dening waline iki ga'ib. Maka hakim anyara⁶⁰ ing tibane ga'ib, maka nyata ga'ib sabab lunga ing Lampung. Ana dening lakine lawas wus anṭalāq. Lawase wus nyata satahun. Lafaze "Sukakēna mas kawinira, maka kocap 'kula suka,' maka nuntēn kula dipun ṭalāq. Lafaze "tiba ṭalāq isun tetēlu amah kabeh." "Aṣale kula palampah ṭalāq."⁶¹</i>	[Nyi] Dawiyah is in fact a free person. The two confirmed that she is because her parents were free persons as well. However, she had no legal guardian. Accordingly, the judge ordered to find out why it was that she had no legal guardian [ga'ib], who in fact, went to Lampung. In addition, she had been divorced by her former husband [by conditional divorce] one year earlier. The divorce formula [of the former husband] was: "Give me back your dowry," I replied "I agree" and thus I was divorced." He pronounced "My three ṭalāq, all, falls upon you." [I replied] "I accept this ṭalāq."
17	<i>[5] Punika aturipun Raja ing utusaning⁶² hakim pun Siyadin kaliyan pun Nata: inggih samangke somah kula, kula⁶³ fasah. Lafaze "Kula samangsa-mangsa amalilakakēn maskawine, tiba ṭalāq kula sawiji ing somah kula, wasta pun Yadisah." Maka Yadisah wus anēmbadani⁶⁴ ing ta'liqe pun Raja. Kang anēmbadani wakile wong lanang aran pun Nata. Ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping likur saking wulan Ṣapar tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki tibaning ṭalāq, sabab kula iki anēmbadani ta'liqe pun Raja.</i>	[5] This is the statement of Raja to the envoys of the judge, Siyadin and Nata, "It is right that I dissolved the marriage [fasah⁶⁵] with my wife." He [Raja] had pronounced [the conditional divorce]: "Whenever she gives me back her dowry, then my first ṭalāq falls upon my wife, namely Yadisah." She [Yadisah] fulfilled this conditional divorce of Raja. He who carried out this [proclamation of the conditional divorce to Yadisah] was a representative of Raja, a man called Nata. On Saturday the 21th of the month of Ṣafar 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [26th November 1755 C.E.66] "The ṭalāq falls upon me [Yadisah] as I fulfilled the conditional divorce of Raja."

18	<i>'Alamat pun Mas Midah utange ing Raden Pringga Nata tēlung puluh reyal punjul kawan⁶⁷ tēngah reyal, wis nutur ajen-ajen tēlulikur tēngah reyal, kari limolas reyal, lan woh sa reyal, jumlah kari utange: nēmbēlas reyal kabeh iki. Kang atampa Ki Ngabehi 'Abdul, wakile rabine Raden Pringga Nata.</i>	The matter is that Mas Midah had owed Raden Pringga Nata thirty-four and three and half [37,5] <i>reyal</i> . He repaid his debt the sum of twenty-two and half [22,5] <i>reyal</i> and the rest was fifteen <i>reyal</i> . He also owed one <i>reyal</i> , bringing the amount of his debts to sixteen <i>reyal</i> . Ki Ngabehi Abdul, a representative of Raden Pringga Nata's wife, received this [settlement of debt]. [This case is not dated].
19	<i>Ing dina Jumu'ah tanggal ping rolikur saking wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, ḥakim anampakakēn sahure Nyi Lanang ing Nyai Nasibah rupa suwēng swasa sarakit rēgane patang reyal. Kang atampa wakile Nyi Nasibah wong wadon aran Yalilah⁶⁸. Yalilah iku dulure Nyi Nasibah.</i>	On Friday the 22 nd of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [26 th December 1755 C.E.] the judge handed over a pair of golden earrings worth four <i>reyal</i> as a repayment of the debt of Nyi Lanang to Nyi Nasibah. The person who received this [repayment of the debt] was the representative of Nyi Nasibah, a woman called Yalilah. She is the sister of Nyi Nasibah
20	<i>'Alamat pun Sarudin apiksa ing ḥakim rabine den-tombak dening wong, tatu lērēs susu kang tēngēn lan⁶⁹ tapak tanganipun tatu kang kiwa. Kula tibeng(?) wontēn dhateng Ki Arya Wagiya Dimarta pamayut(?). Kula punika kula r-s-ng r-w-n- ng(?) dhatēng Ki Arya Wagiya Dimarta adarbe paben mas'alah dhēkēh Barayang kalawan Lurah Jakib. Mangsaning katajak(?) ba'da Maḡrib malam Jumu'at tanggal ping 21 wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah.</i>	The matter is that Sarudin informed the judge that his wife had been attacked by someone wielding a pike, wounding her right breast and the palm of her left hand. I went to (.....) Ki Arya Wagiya Dimarta. I (.....) to Ki Arya Wagiya Dimarta having the problem upon the village of Barayang with its chief Lurah ⁷⁰ Jakib ⁷¹ . The time of (.....) was after sunset [<i>maḡrib</i>] on Thursday night the 21 th of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H. in the year Wāwu [25 th December 1755 C.E.].

21	<i>Ing dina Tělaṭa tanggal ping nēmlikur saking wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki paliwara bumi aran pun Qabir anggawa wong lanang 'abdi, bature Mas Arya Kusuma Yuda, aran pun Bayududdin, apiksa yen den-dhodhokī⁷² dening wong wadon aran pun Jijah, anake Ki Arya Jaga Laksana wong Kajoran. Ana dening kang den- dhodhoki iki omahe ing Pakalangan.</i>	On Tuesday the 26th of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [30th December 1755 C.E.] the <i>paliwara</i>⁷³ [officer of the judge], named Qabir, had brought a male slave [abdi⁷⁴], called Bayududdin, the servant [<i>batur</i>] of Mas Arya Kusuma Yuda, to [the judge] to inform him that Jijah, a daughter of Ki Arya Jaga Laksana from Kajoran, had been spending the nights in his [Bayududdin] house in Pakalangan.
22	<i>'Alamat pun Kandur duwe utang ing Pangeran Syarif Muḥammad Ṭahir. Utange rong puluh reyal. Ing samangko iki rabine aran pun Tijah melu anglěboni ing sautange lakine. Hakim aněksēni ing pangakune ing dina Tělaṭa tanggal ping nēmlikur saking wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah.</i>	The matter is that Kandur owed Prince Syarif⁷⁵ Muhammad Tahir twenty <i>reyal</i>. Until then the wife of Kandur, Tijah, shared the debts of her husband. The judge witnessed the acknowledgement on Tuesday the 26th of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [30th December 1755 C.E.].
23	<i>Ing dina Jumu'ah tanggal ping sangalikur saking wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki pun Na'im ana'liq ing rabine aran pun Tiyah. Ta'liqe "Samangsa-mangsane pun Tiyah anyukakakēn maskawine rong puluh reyal, lan tinggal napqahe anaq kula ing sa'umure arěpe, maka tiba ṭalāq kula sawiji ing pun Tiyah." Maka pun Tiyah aněmbadani ing sakehe ta'liqe</i>	On Friday the 29th of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [2nd January 1756 C.E.] Naim pronounced the conditional divorce to his wife, namely Tiyah. The <i>ta'liq</i> formula was "<i>In the event Tiyah gives me back her dowry for twenty reyal and takes a responsibility for maintenance of my child forever; then one ṭalāq will fall upon my wife Tiyah.</i>" Naim had uttered the conditional divorce and Tiyah had fulfilled it before the judge.

	<i>iki</i>⁷⁶. Ana dening kalaning ana'liq lan nĕmbadani ta'liq iki pada hađir ing ajĕnganing ĥakim, maka saking arah iki pun Na'im lan pun Tiyah wus mari laki rabi. Aşale pun Tiyah anyatu řalāq ing ĥakim, sabab lakine aran pun Na'im totohan pupugiyān, maka pun Na'im angaku ing ĥakim, ingħale wus ana'liq⁷⁷. Ta'liqe kang wus sĕbut iki, maka saking iki pun Tiyah anĕmbadani ta'liqe bahe. Saking tibaning řalāq, ĥakim anĕksĕni.	Accordingly, Naim and Tiyah were divorced and no longer husband and wife. The reason why Tiyah asked for divorce [řalāq] was that her husband, Naim, had been using as gambling stakes the "pupugiyān"(?). Naim admitted this before the judge. He had proclaimed the conditional divorce with the aforementioned conditional divorce formula, so that Tiyah had only to fulfill this conditional divorce [which she did]. The řalāq fell upon Tiyah and was witnessed by the judge.
24	[6] Ing dina Jumu'ah⁷⁸ tanggal ping sangalikul saking wulan Rabī' al- 'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah., kala iki Bayuĵing tuku tapih kawasita ing Cina Tambi Malak; kawasita Abang Songo Gatab řĕgane tĕlung puluh reyal. Tembene nahur rong puluh reyal, kari sapuluh reyal maning kang durung. Ana dening akehing tapih iki satĕngah kodhi⁷⁹, woh angalap kĕkĕmbĕn lilang sakodi řĕgane sĕlawe reyal lan tapih cili-cili satĕngah kodi řĕgane⁸⁰ rong puluh reyal⁸¹ punjul, rong reyal, sangang reyal; lan cili ġĕdhe wolung wiji, řĕgane rong puluh reyal punjul, wolung reyal; lan romal kawasita rong wiji, řĕgane satĕngah reyal lan kawasita songket sawiji řĕgane patang	[6] On Friday the 29th of the month of Rabī' al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [2nd January 1756 C.E.] Bayuĵing purchased cloth from Cina Tambi Malak and Abang Songo Gatab, amounting to thirty reyal. He paid twenty reyal, with ten reyal remaining, for the purchase of ten pieces for the aforementioned cloth. Afterwards, he purchased twenty good kĕmbĕn [for women to cover the upper part of the body] for twenty reyal. Then, [he bought] ten small size cloth for twenty reyal [each] and additional ones for two reyal, and nine reyal. [He bought] also eighty-one cloths, medium size, for twenty-two reyal and eight reyal [each]. [He purchased as well] two Javanese batik male

	<i>reyal kurang satali, lan tapih kakade kukupu tarung sĕkodhi rĕgane tĕlung puluh papat reyal iki, jangjine lamun ora payu narima kabalen maning si Cina Tambi.</i>	headdresses [<i>blangkon</i>] for a half <i>reyal</i> , one gold woven cloth [<i>songket</i>] for four <i>reyal</i> and one tali ⁸² , and twenty pieces of cloth having the design of palm shoots and butterflies (.....) (?) for thirty- four <i>reyal</i> . He [<i>Bayujing</i>] had a contract that if [these things] were not sold, they could be returned [by the vendor] to Si Cina Tambi [<i>Malak</i>].
25	<i>Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping sanga saking wulan Rabi' al-'Aĥir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Manamar anikahakĕn wong Gunung Gadu Malĕm, padha 'abdi lanang wadone. Kang lanang aran pun Kuci. Kang wadon aran pun Ripah.</i>	On Monday the 9 th of the month of Rabi' al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [12 th January 1756 C.E.] I, Ki [Mas] Manamar joined in marriage a man and a woman from Mt. Gadu Malem. Both are slaves, the man is named Kuci and the woman Ripah.
26	<i>Ing dina Hĕmis tanggal ping rolas saking wulan Rabi' al-'Aĥir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki Raden Gembong apiksa ing ĥakim, sabab katĕkanaan bocah Gunung Cipucung, Pagunungan Wetan, tĕtangane Gunung Gubukan. Maka Raden wus analar ing papahamane, maka ora oleh salar⁸³. Saking arah iki ĥakim andokonakĕn ing Raden Gembung sakalaning durung ana kang angaku. Ana dening aran ing bocah iki, pangakune, aran pun Sandeka. Wong tuwane karo wis mati pangakune bocah iki.</i>	On Thursday the 12 th of the month of Rabi' al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [15 th January 1756 C.E.] Raden Gembong informed the judge of the [unexpected] arrival/visit of a child from Mt. Cipucung in the eastern mountainous area near Mt. Gubukan. Raden [Gembong] had inquired about the child's origins, but without results. Based on this, the judge placed the child with Raden Gembong as long as nobody would claim him. The name of the child is Sandeka, according to his acknowledgment. The child confessed also that his parents were dead.

27	<i>Ing malēm⁸⁴ Jumu'ah tanggal ping rolas saking wulan Rabī' al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar anikaḥakēn Nyi Dhēmpul kalawan pun Sanududdin, wali ḥakim sabab orana waline, den-ḍini dening Kiyahi Pēqih. Ana dening maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Kang anēksēni Mu'adīn 'Abdul Qahar kalawan 'Abduṣ Ṣamad. Ana dening ṭalāqe wis ṣaḥ yen aturipun Dhēmpul ing ḥakim. Ana dening ṭalāqe lakine kang analaq iki, yen aturipun Dhēmpul,: "Sukakēna maskawine andika". Maka ujare pun Dhēmpul "Suka maskawine isun". Maka ujare lakine aran pun Landung "Tiba ṭalāq isun tētēlu ing andika". Ḥakim anēksēni ing ature pun Dhēmpul. Ana dening 'idahe pangakune wus lewat saking patang sawiji.</i>	On Thursday night the 12th of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [15th January 1756 C.E.] Kiyahi Pēqih [Najmuddin] authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as magistrate guardian, to join in marriage Nyi Dhempul and Sanududdin, due to the absence her lawful guardian with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. <i>Mu'adīn</i> Abdul Qahar and Abdus Samad witnessed the marriage. Nyi Dhempul had been divorced legally as she stated to the judge. The <i>ṭalāq</i> formula of her former husband, which she acknowledged, was: "Give me back your dowry." I replied "I am pleased to give you back my dowry." Then, her former husband pronounced: "My three <i>ṭalāq</i> fall upon you." The judge witnessed the statement of [Nyi] Dhempul. Concerning her waiting period [<i>idah</i>], it was completed four days ago as stated.
28	<i>Ing dina Jumu'ah tanggal ping tēlulas⁸⁵ saking wulan Rabī' al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki pun Abu Sa'id angaturi saksi sabab kadhodhokan misane wadon, aran pun Raḥima. Ana dening aṣale pun Raḥima: Mlani. Andhodhoki ing pun Sa'id, sabab arep den-totohi utang dening wong tuwane lanang, aran pun Kahimah. Samono ature pun 'Abu Sa'id ing ḥakim.</i>	On Friday the 13th of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [16th January 1756 C.E.] Abu Said stated that his female cousin, Rahima, is staying at his home. She comes from Mlani. Her parents have placed her in Abu Said's home because she had become a guarantee for her parents' debts to a man called Kahimah. This was what Abu Said told the judge.

29	<i>'Alamat Nyayi Amamung wus anusur ing Cina Tamba Malak rong puluh reyal ing wulan Rabī' al-'Awwal, lan nusur ing Cina Tambi limalas reyal ing wulan Rabī' al-Ākhir.</i>	The matter is that Nyai Amamung had repayed her debts to Cina Tambi Malak of twenty <i>reyal</i> at the end of the month of Rabī' al-' 'Awwal [3rd January 1756] and of fifteen <i>reyal</i> at the end of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir [1st February 1756]⁸⁶.
30	<i>[7] Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 3⁸⁷ wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm lan ra'yate aran Hanipah padha padu. Pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm da'wane ing Nyi Mas Hanipah Husen satus sawiji reyal. Ana dene Nyi Mas Hanipah da'wane ing pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm satus rongpuluh reyal. Maka wong roro iku padha matur ing ḥakim. Wontěn dening da'wane⁸⁸ kula ing pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm, kula lebarakěn. Mangkono maning pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm da'wane ing pun Hanipah wus den-lebarakěn⁸⁹, ḥakim angrīdani ing ṣuluḥe wong roro ika padha dhewek. Ana dene laki rabine wong roro iki maksih tětēp duwene. Pun 'Abd al-Raḥīm duwe utang maskawine rong puluh reyal ing rabine wus oranana padu pawicaran maning. Ḥakim aněkseni ing ature wong roro iki yen wus padha ṣuluḥ⁹⁰.</i>	[7] On Wednesday the 3rd of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [22nd August 1754 C.E.],⁹¹ Abdur Rahim and his wife Hanipah had a dispute. Abdur Rahim accused Nyi Mas Hanipah Husen, his wife, of owing him one hundred-one <i>reyal</i>, while Nyi Mas Hanipah accused Abdurrahim, her husband, of owing her one hundred-twenty <i>reyal</i>. The couple [appeared before] the judge to inform him of [their dispute]. "I [Nyi Mas Hanipah] revoke my accusation of Abdur Rahim." In the same vein, the accusation of Abdur Rahim against Hanipah was revoked. The judge was very pleased to see they came to an amicable settlement [ṣuluḥ]. They are indeed still husband and wife. [However], Abdur Rahim owes his wife a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i>. There is no longer any dispute between them. The judge witnessed their testimony and reconciliation.

31	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 10 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki hakim amētot padune pun Dhokan kalayan pun Nur. Ašaling mas'alah pun Dhokan angarah ing pun Nur atampa reyal nēmbēlas reyal saking jējalukane. Ašal da'wane pun Dhokan "Kula ayun rabi ing pun Nur. Kula dipunpalimpahi nēmbēlas reyal, maka kula sunge. Sampuning kula sunge, pun Nur alaki. Dadosipun kang nēmbēlas reyal punika kula palimpahi." Pun Nur munkir anampa nēmbēlas reyal saking pun Dhokan inghale 'adm al-bayyinah. Maka saking arahe hakim pun Nur sēpata, wus pun Dhokan, mēnang pun Nur.</i>	On Wednesday the 10th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H., in the year Dāl [29th August 1754 C.E.]⁹² the judge ruled on a dispute between Dhokan and Nur. The origin [of the dispute] was that Dhokan had accused Nur of receiving sixteen <i>reyal</i> as she had requested. In fact, Dhokan had wanted to marry Nur and had been asked to give her the aforesaid money. "If I give the money, Nur would marry me. So I gave her sixteen <i>reyal</i>." Nur however refused to acknowledge that she had received sixteen <i>reyal</i> from Dhokan and there was no a proof [<i>'adm al-bayyinah</i>]. The judge ordered Nur to swear an oath against [the allegations of] Dhokan. Nur won [the case].
32	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 10 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki hakim amtēhot padune pun Ya'mbak kalayan pun Jali. Ašal mas'alah pun Ya'mbak anēmu cina rupa kēris jēnēng: "Carita Ganja Qamur." Saking pun Jali kēris kang ilang. Kang den- pasaksekakēn "Ganjane" iki wulung. Kari-kari kēris "Ganja Qamur" iki kang den-aku, maka tinolak da'wane. Sabab kang den- anggo cina ora muwafaqat kalawan paseksene.</i>	On Wednesday the 10th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H., in the year Dāl [29th August 1754 C.E.]⁹³ the judge ruled on a dispute between Yambak and Jali. The problem was that Yambak found proof in the form of a keris [Javanese dagger], called "Carita Ganja Qamur." Jali [on the other hand] acknowledged that he had lost his keris. Evidence for this case was the keris, namely "[Carita] Ganja [Qamur]" with black and blue colors. Jali claimed the keris, namely "[Carita] Ganja [Qamur]," as his lost keris. His claim was rejected due to the inconsistency between the evidence and the testimony.

33	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 10 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki hakim amethot padune Mas Bari kalawan Nyi Mas Wadon. Aşal mas'alah Nyi Mas Wadon duwe pihutang tunggon ing pun Aripah. Utange sapuluh reyal. Piyagême lawas ana. Maka pun Aripah den-turuni dening pun Kërěšěk sapuluh reyal. Kang atampa reyal mas Bari angaku den-wakili dening Nyi Mas Wadon. Kari-kari Nyi Mas Wadon matur ing hakim yen ora wěwakil ing Mas Bari. Maka hakim putusan ing Mas Bari kinon amětuni padu. Maka Mas Bari mětū ing Bale Watangan. Ature "Inggih kula kang atampa artane sadasa arta saking pun Kërěšěk, sabab kula dipunwakili dening pun wadon." Milanipun arta sadasa punika boten kula tampakakěñ dhatěng pun Wadon. Sabab pun wadon anarima sambětan sadasa arta dhatěng kula sabab şah⁹⁴. Pun Wadon punika amaměruh sade kancing kula kěncana dipunsade nēm arta. Lan kula aken dhatěng pęcil kula. Kula ken numbasakěñ dangdang. Artanipun sampun kula tampakaken dhatěng pęcil kula kawan arta⁹⁵. Artanipun dipunangge malih dening pun Wadon. Dhatěng ing rorompok kula, kocape pun Wadon dhatěng kula wontěñ dening</i>	On Wednesday the 10th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [29th August 1754 C.E.],⁹⁸ the judge ruled on a dispute between Mas Bari and Nyi Wadon. Nyi Mas Wadon had lent ten <i>reyal</i> to Aripah, the repayment of which was deferred. The certificate of the debt [<i>piyagēm</i>] existed. Aripah's debt of ten <i>reyal</i> was then paid off by Keresek. The one who received the money was Bari, who claimed that he had been delegated as the agent of Nyi Mas [Wadon]. [But] Nyi Mas Wadon testified before the judge that she had never delegated Mas Bari [to accept this money]. Consequently, the judge sent a message to Mas Bari that he should appear to face this accusation in the courtroom [<i>Bale Watangan</i>]. He [Mas Bari] said: "Yes, it is true. I, as the authorized agent of Nyi Mas Wadon, received ten <i>reyal</i> from Kërěšěk. [However], I did not give this ten <i>reyal</i> to [Nyi Mas] Wadon, because she had legally a debt of ten <i>reyal</i> to me." In reality, [Nyi Mas] Wadon had sold my gold button amounting to six <i>reyal</i> as he stated. Then she took my four <i>reyal</i> from my child that I had given it to him to buy a rice cooker [<i>dandang</i>]. But [Nyi Mas] Wadon came then to my home and told me that she did not acknowledge this aforementioned ten <i>reyal</i> as there was no witness ['adam
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	<i>arta kang sadasa munkir 'adam saksi. Wontěn dening saḥ⁹⁶ punika dados panahur kula ing ngandika Mas Bari, maka kocap kula dhatěng iya sun tarima. Maka jawabe Nyi Mas Wadon "Arta sadasa punika, arta kula piya'mbak, lan kula botěn wěwakil." Maka saking arah ḥakim andhěp mas Bari, měnang Nyi Mas Wadon.⁹⁷</i>	saksi]. [She added] <i>'If this [kind of exchange] was legal, then that money was used to settle my debt to you Mas Bari.'</i> Mas Bari replied <i>'Yes, I accept'.</i> However, Nyi Mas Wadon answered <i>'This money of ten [reyal] is my own money [from the debt settlement of Aripah paid by Keresek] and I never delegated [anyone to receive this money].'</i> From the judge's viewpoint, he ruled that Nyi Mas Wadon won the case against Mas Bari.
34	<i>[8] Ing dina Aḥad tanggal ping 14 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim anampakakěn pěkalahe Mas Bari ing Mas Wadon kehe sapuluh reyal. Kang tanpa Thul Banhir.</i>	[8] On Sunday the 14th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [2nd September 1754],⁹⁹ the judge received the [money as the consequence of the] defeat of Mas Bari by [Nyi] Mas Wadon amounting to ten <i>reyal</i>. Thul Banhir received [this money on behalf of Nyi Mas Wadon].
35	<i>Ing dina Aḥad tanggal ping 14 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim amethot padune pun Raḍiyyah lan pun Sidin. Aṣaling mas'alah pun Sidin den-těrka dening pun Raḍiyyah angucapakěn jemer(?) lan anabok. Pun Sidin munkir ingḥale 'adam bayyinah. Maka saking ḥakim pun Sidin sěpata, wus sěpata, měnange pun Sidin rolas reyal.</i>	On Sunday the 14th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H., in the year Dāl [2nd September 1754]¹⁰⁰ the judge ruled on a dispute between Rodhiyyah and Sidin. The origin of the problem is that Sidin was accused by Rodhiyyah of uttering bad words(?) and beating her. Sidin denied [the accusations]. Since there was no proof [<i>'adam bayyinah</i>], the judge [ordered] Sidin to swear an oath, which he did. Sidin then won the case [and received a compensation] of twelve <i>reyal</i>¹⁰¹.

36	<i>Ing dina Tělaṭa tanggal ping 16 saking wulan Dū al- Qa'dah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim anampakakěṅ kěris jěṅṅe "Mayut Lanang" pun Mulud. Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 17 wulan Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim ametot padune pun Dhokan kalayan pun Ĕnur. Aṣaling mas'alah pun anu...</i>	On Tuesday the 16 th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [4 th September 1754], ¹⁰² the judge handed over a keris, namely "Mayut Lanang", to Mulud. On Wednesday the 17 th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [5 th August 1754 C.E.], ¹⁰³ the judge [ḥakim] ruled on a dispute between Dhokan and Nur. The problem is that... ¹⁰⁴
37	<i>Punika ature Munah: "Kula den-taboki ping tělu dening pun¹⁰⁵ Alqa Astar, kula botěṅ suka."</i>	This is what Munah informed [the judge]: "I have been beaten three times in my face by Alqa Astar and I do not accept this." [This case is not dated].
38	<i>Ing dina Aḥad tanggal ping 28 saking Žū al-Qa'idah tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim amethot padune Muḥammad Ṣaleḥ lan Mas'ud lan rabine. Aṣal mas'alah Mas'ud den-arrah dening pun Bandhol atětuku ing dhirine, durung reyale, lan ambobori omahe pun Bandhol, maka wis den- petangi kalayan pidhanane ambobori omah, ana ajine patang puluh sanga reyal. Maka dening Mas'ud sakabehe pengarahe pun Bandhol den-munkiri inghale orana saksi. Maka saking ḥakim Mas'ud sěpata, wus sěpata, maka katolak da'wane pun Bandhol. Měṅang Mas'ud . Měṅkono maning rabine Mas'ud den- arah atětuku maning dening</i>	On Sunday the 28 th of the month of Žū al-Qa'idah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [16 th September 1754 C.E.], ¹⁰⁹ the judge ruled on a dispute between Muhammad Saleh [alias Bandhol] and Masud with his wife. The origin of the problem was that Bandhol accused Masud of purchasing [something] from him, without paying Bandhol and even breaking into his house. After calculating the damage to Bandhol's house and the fine levied from Masud, it amounted to forty-nine <i>reyal</i> [that Masud has to pay]. However, Masud denied all Bandhol's accusations as there was no witness. The judge ordered Masud to swear an oath [denying the allegations], which he did.

	<i>pun Bandhol, durung ana reyal, aji-ajine¹⁰⁶ sanga welas tēngah reyal. Maka rabine Mas'ud munkir inghale orana saksi. Maka saking arah hakim, rabine Mas'ud catu ing dhirine sēpata, maka naqol ing pun pun Bandhol, wus sēpata pun Bandhol. Maka tētēp ing rabine Mas'ud sapēngarahe pun Bandhol sanga wēlas tēngah reyal, maka den-cuthat limalas tēngah¹⁰⁷ reyal, maka den-lakokaken ing pēkalahe ing tapih rabine wasta Mas Siti. Maka pun Bendhol ora duwe utang ing¹⁰⁸ Mas Siti. Mongkono maning mas Siti ora duwe utang ing pun Bandhol.</i>	Accordingly, the accusations were rejected and Masud won the case. In the same vein, Bandhol accused the wife of Masud of purchasing [something] from him without paying, the sum amounting to eighteen and a half <i>reyal</i>. Masud's wife denied the accusation since there was no witness. The judge asked her to swear an oath [denying the accusation, which she did]. It was then the turn of Bandhol to swear an oath [supporting his accusation against her], which he did. The wife of Masud remained vulnerable to the accusation of Bandhol [and had to pay] the amount of eighteen and a half <i>reyal</i>. However, it was reduced to fourteen and a half <i>reyal</i>.¹¹⁰ For the rest [i.e. four <i>reyal</i>] will be paid by taking a cloth belonging to the wife of [Masud], called Mas Siti. Accordingly, [Bandhol] had no debt, neither to Mas Siti nor Mas Siti to Bandhol.
39	<i>'Alamate hakim anampakakēn tinampane sēlaka ing ibune Mas Siti wasta Mas Dawiyah.</i>	The matter is that the judge handed over the silver tray of Mas Dawiyah, the mother of Mas Siti. [The case is not dated]
40	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal 1 saking wulan Haji tahun Dāl 1167 Hijrah., kala iki hakim amēthot padune pun Sakih lan pun Sirah¹¹¹. Aṣaling mas'alah pun Sakih den- da'wa dening pun Syarip angaku dhukuhe panggonan ing Baringkuk. Aḥir-aḥir angaku panggonaning dhukuh iki ing</i>	On Wednesday the 1st of the month of Żū al-Ḥijjah 1167 A.H. in the year Dāl [18th September 1754 C.E.] the judge ruled on a dispute between Sakih and Sirah. The origin of the problem is that Sakih was accused [of lying] by Syarip over the former claiming that his dwelling was in the village of Baringkuk,

	<i>Gedhong Lilis. Pangakune pun Sakih oleh suku saking pun Sirah rolas reyal. Kula yen angundhuh wowohanipun kula dipuncĕgah, lan wiwitanipun sami dipuntĕbangi, lan tĕgalipun dipunpagari¹¹², kula botĕn suka. Maka¹¹³ tuturi pun Sakih asal Mĕratur wasta pun Sirah andarbekakĕn dhukuh panggonan ing Gedhong Lilis sajĕrone, maka kula tumbas pitulas reyal. Maka kula duduki sarta dhukuh punika. Kula anĕnga malih kula saluware wontĕn dening wugating pĕ[r]kawis saking kidul watĕs pagĕr dhadhah, lor watĕs pagĕr dhadhah, kilen watĕs pagĕr dhadhah, wetan watĕs pagĕr dhadhah. Wontĕn dening katuranipun warni s-m-h-m-b-l- wolung wit kulutoh nĕm wit kokosan.</i>	although he eventually acknowledged that his dwelling was actually in the village of Gedhong Lilis. Sakih admitted that he purchased [land] from Sirah for twelve <i>reyal</i>. [Due to his acknowledgement], "I [Sirah] am prohibited from picking fruit, cutting down trees, and fencing a farm [on my own land] and I do not accept it." [However], Sakih said that someone, called Sirah, from Meratur had sold land in the village Gedhong Lilis and that he [Sakih] had purchased it. "Then, I [Sakih] remained on this land in that village. I got out from the land and found that there was a border, on the edge of the land. From South, Nord, West and East directions, the border is the fence from fruit trees. "What was reported is that (.....) eight trees of "<i>kulutoh</i>"(?) and six trees of "<i>kokosan</i>" [<i>lansium domesticum</i>]¹¹⁴.
41	<i>[9] "Tiba ʔalāq sawiji ing ndika," maka saking arahe hakim: "tiba ʔalāqe pun Thahir ing nalik iki". Tibaning ʔalāqe pun Thahir iki munjaz bakal ta'liqe. Lan talaq iki ʔalāq ba'in. Milaning ba'in, sabab durung duhul. Ana dening patuku lan parbeya iki wis orana pamicarane. Pun Thahir kalah, kari maskawine¹¹⁵. Pun Hisbah den-tĕrka anghalalaken. Pun Hisbah munkir 'adam saksi.</i>	[9] "My one <i>ʔalāq</i> falls upon you," thus, according to the judge, Thahir pronounced the formula of divorce, being a conditional divorce, which is lawful. [In this case] the formula is an irrevocable divorce¹¹⁶ called <i>ʔalāq ba'in</i> because Thahir had not consummated the sexual relationship.¹¹⁷ There is no dispute concerning the dowry and other costs [of marriage]. [However, Thahir] accused Hisbah of asking to make

	<i>Maka saking arahe hakim pun Hisbah sěpata.</i>	[the dowry] legal for her, which was rejected because there was no witness. The judge ordered to Hisbah to swear an oath [refuting the allegation of Thahir]. Thahir lost the case and the dowry was left [for his former wife]. ¹¹⁸ [The case is not dated].
42	<i>Tanggal dina, kala iki hakim amariṭ tětinggale pun Sayan¹¹⁹. Sayan mati atinggal rabi, lan anak wadon, lan dulur lanang. Ana tětinggale ajin-ajin sanga likur. Maka den-para tělu. Maka sadumane sangang reyal punjul patang ewu ketheng, maka rong dadine sanga wělas reyal punjul rong ewu ketheng. Maka nuli kang rong duman iki den-para wolu, maka prawolune kang saduman rong reyal¹²⁰ rong ewu limang kupang ketheng. Maka anak wadon oleh nisfu¹²¹. Nisfune sapuluh těngah reyal punjul, sewu keteng. Ana dene rabine oleh tumun. Tumune rong reyal lan rong ewu limang kupang ketheng¹²². Ana dene karine iku akehe pitung reyal punjul¹²³ limalas atus ketheng iku olehe dulur lanang, sebab 'aşabah. Maka tembeke¹²⁴ tělung reyal kurang sasuku, kari kalima těngah, maka kalima těngah iku wus atampa maning Ki Ngabehi 'Abdul¹²⁵.</i>	On this date and day [not given], the judge apportioned the legacy left by Sayan. He had died, leaving a wife, daughter, and brother. The sum of his legacy is twenty-nine [<i>reyal</i>]. Accordingly, it should be divided into three parts. The first part is nine <i>reyal</i> and four thousands <i>ketheng</i> ¹²⁶ and the second nineteen <i>reyal</i> and two thousand <i>ketheng</i> . This second part is further divided into three. [1.] The widow gets one eighth [from the 19 <i>reyal</i> and 2.000 <i>ketheng</i>] so that she receives two <i>reyal</i> and two thousand-five kupang <i>ketheng</i> . [2.] The daughter receives one half [of the 19 <i>reyal</i> and 2.000 <i>ketheng</i>] so that she gets nine and a half <i>reyal</i> plus one thousand <i>ketheng</i> . [3.] The brother gets the rest [' <i>aşabah</i>], that is seven <i>reyal</i> one thousand five hundred <i>ketheng</i> . Now, back to the [first part] 9 <i>reyal</i> and 4.000 <i>ketheng</i> , three <i>reyal</i> less one suku ¹²⁷ and the rest is four and a half <i>reyal</i> ¹²⁸ . Ki Ngabehi Abdul ¹²⁹ had already received four and a half <i>reyal</i> . [This case is not dated].

43	<i>Ing¹³⁰ dina Aḥad tanggal ping 9 saking wulan Rajab tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim amēthot padune Tubagus Udin kalawan Tubagus Bakir, Tubagus Aḥmad, Tubagus Ishaq Tubagus Ḥaram. Ing dina iki kang pinadu kēris sarta pēndhoke slaka wastaning Dhayung,¹³¹ pun Dhayung den-tatah sarabah, rēgane tēlung puluh reyal; dalēm purun, kalih dasa, lan pēndhok mas wērat kawan arta kirang wolung saga¹³² rēgane sekēt kurang tēlung reyal; lan kēris sarta pēndhoke sēwasa rēga rong puluh reyal. Maka da'wane Tubagus Udin kēris pun Dhayung pēcatune kang rama, lan pēndhok mas kagungane Tubagus Udin dhewek. Tubagus Udin, Tubagus Ishaq angaku den-wehi dening Kang Rama. Orana paseksi. Ana dening Tubagus Bakir, Tubagus Aḥmad, Tubagus Ḥaram, Mas Jamal pada angestukakēn tētinggale Pangeran Raja Santika. Maka saking arah iki dening ḥakim den-undhi antaraning tētinggal lan paweweh, maka undhiane tiba ing paweweh¹³³. Maka tiba ing Tubagus Udin kēris kang aran pun Dhayung. Mongkono maning pēndhok mas kang den-aku duwene. Undhiane tiba ing duwene Tubagus Udin. Wis ḥakim anampakakēn kēris</i>	On Sunday the 9th of the month of Rajab 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [21st April 1755 C.E.],¹³⁸ the judge ruled on a dispute between [plaintiff I] Tubagus Udin and Tubagus Ishak versus [plaintiff II] Tubagus Bakir, Tubagus Ahmad, and Tubagus Kharam. This day what had been disputed was: [1.] a keris [Javanese dagger]; [2.] its silver sheath, named <i>Dhayung</i>, which is decorated with carved deer motifs and valued at thirty <i>reyal</i>; [3.] [a keris called] <i>Dalem Purun</i> valued at twenty [<i>reyal</i>]; [4.] its gold sheath weighing four <i>arta</i>¹³⁹ less eight <i>saga</i>¹⁴⁰ valued at forty-seven <i>reyal</i>; [5.] another keris; and [6.] its gold sheath valued at twenty <i>reyal</i>. [plaintiff I] Tubagus Udin pleaded that the keris <i>Dhayung</i> was a gift from his father and the golden sheath was his own. Tubagus Udin and Tubagus Ishak acknowledged that [the keris] was the gift of their father. However, there was no witness. [Plaintiff II] Tubagus Bakir, Tubagus Ahmad, Tubagus Kharam, and Mas Jamal [on the other hand,] claimed that [the keris] was the legacy left by Prince Raja Santika. Under these circumstances, the judge ordered [the case to be settled by] casting lots between those claiming the objects as a gift [plaintiff I] and those claiming a legacy [plaintiff II]. The casting favored the 'gift party'
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	<i>lan pëndhok keris ing Tubagus Udin. Mongkono maning kēris sarta pëndhoke sēwasa, undhiane tibaning paweweh. Maka¹³⁴ tiba ing Tubagus Ishāq, wis ḥakim aně[m]pakakēn sing dhingik den-tatah sarabah¹³⁵ pamēndhak mas¹³⁶. Ḥakim wis nampakakēn pēdhang ing Tubagus Udin rēgane limalas reyal¹³⁷.</i>	Accordingly, the keris, called <i>Dhayung</i>, fell to Tubagus Udin. In the same vein, the golden sheath [plaintiff I]. of keris, after casting lots, also fell to Tubagus Udin. Again, after casting lots, the draw favored the 'legacy party [plaintiff II]. A final lot fell to Tubagus Ishak and the judge handed over the aforementioned golden sheath carved with a deer motif. [Beside that], the judge handed over a sword amounting to fifteen <i>reyal</i> to Tubagus Udin¹⁴¹.
44	<i>[10] Weh saking pandum oleh bēbati[h] patang puluh papitu reyal lan sētali, maka den-para padlikur. Sadumane rong reyal kurang sētali tēlung puluh ketheng. Maka den-alap tūmune¹⁴², tūmune iki tēlung duman. Kehe reyale nēm reyal pitung atus ketheng tiba ing Ratu Sa'idah, durung tampa. Maka den-alap suduse¹⁴³, suduse iki patang duman. Kehe reyale: wolung reyal kurang sangang atus sēdhuwit tiba ing Yabiba durung tampa. Kari¹⁴⁴ pitulas duman, maka den-para wolu, kang sadumane patang reyal punjul tēlung kupang, kang samono iki tiba ing anak wadon. Anak lanang rong mono, kehe reyale wolung reyal punjul tēlung atak ketheng Tubagus Udin, Tubagus Bakir. Ana dening Tubagus Bakir wis jangkēp pandume, sabab angalap kēris</i>	[10] The family legacy¹⁴⁶ was forty-seven <i>reyal</i> and one <i>tali</i>. [The common denominator] is twenty-four for this share [of inheritance].¹⁴⁷ The first portion is two <i>reyal</i> less one <i>tali</i> and thirty <i>ketheng</i>.¹⁴⁸ Ratu Saidah was entitled to an eighth [1/8] or 3/24 part [of the legacy]. Therefore, the sum is six <i>reyal</i> and seven hundred <i>ketheng</i>, but she had not yet received it. Yabiba was entitled to a sixth [1/6] or 4/24 part [of the legacy]. Therefore, the sum is about eight <i>reyal</i> less nine hundred <i>dhuwit</i>, but she has not yet received it. The remainder is seventeen [of 24] parts, which should be divided into eight[?]. The portion for the daughter is four <i>reyal</i> less three <i>kupang</i>; that for the son is double that of the above-mentioned [daughter]. Therefore, the sum is eight <i>reyal</i> plus three atak <i>ketheng</i> and this

	<i>Cingirung rēga kanēm tēngah reyal, lan tumbak Jahar Kayu rēga tēngah reyal. Tubagus Udin utang kalima tēngah reyal¹⁴⁵ Tubagus Udin tanpa podhi, kehe asanga, lan ali-ali ěmbanan swasa, kehe papat, lan dodot mudang roro, lan sinjang sarung roro, rasukan songket tulis.</i>	is for Tubagus Udin and Tubagus Bakir. Concerning the portion for Tubagus Bakir, it is nulified because he had already received is a share in the form of the keris "Cingirung" valued at five and half <i>reyal</i> and the pike "Jahar Kayu" valued at a half <i>reyal</i>. [In the same way], Tubagus Udin had a debt of four and a half <i>reyal</i>.¹⁴⁹ Tubagus Udin received nine diamonds, four golden rings, two pieces of <i>mudang</i> cloth, two <i>sarong</i>, and one golden hand-woven <i>songket</i>¹⁵⁰. [This case is not dated]
45	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 2 saking wulan Ša'bān tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah, kala iki ĥakim anampakakēn ali-ali intēn sarakit ěmbanan k-x-x- n- Raja Wardi Irēng ing Ratu Ayu. Rēgane ali-ali iki kang sarakit rong atus¹⁵¹ reyal. Ĥakim dhewek kang anampakakēn, kang tanpa Ratu Ayu dhewek, iki milike.</i>	On Wednesday the 2nd of the month of Ša'bān 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [14th May 1755 C.E.], the judge handed over a pair of diamond rings (.....) to Ratu Ayu [from] Raja Wardi Ireng. The price of that pair of rings is two hundred <i>reyal</i>. The judge himself presented it and Ratu Ayu herself received it as her possession.
46	<i>Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping 2 saking wulan Ša'bān tahun Bā' 1168 Hijrah, kala iki ĥakim amēthot padune Pangeran Mudha lan pun Mirah. Ašaling mas'alah pun den-da'wa dening Pangeran Mudha tanpa tukon nēm bēlas reyal. Jangjine Pangeran Mudha nikah ing masjid. Yen wis nikah, suka den-gawa ing Lampung. Maka pun Mirah suka nikah ing masjid lan den- awa ing Lampung. Malah lunga wong roro ing masjid. Tēka</i>	On Wednesday the 2nd of the month of Ša'bān 1168 A.H., in the year Bā' [14th May 1755 C.E.], the judge ruled on a dispute between Prince Mudha and Mirah. The origin of the problem was Prince Mudha's accusation that [in order to marry her] Mirah had received a dowry of sixteen <i>reyal</i>. Prince Mudha had promised to marry Mirah in the mosque and that after the marriage he would take her to Lampung. Indeed, Mirah agreed to marry him in the mosque and

<i>ing Kamanduran den-toleh pun Mirah dening Pangeran Mudha, pun Mirah oranana. Sěmono těrkanne Pangeran Mudha. Maka jawab pun Mirah "Sapunika ašale pun Dipati Mudha sarěng-sarěng dhatěng ing griya kula, dhirinipun anggakěn sakit, anging kocapipun dhatěng kula, kula andika tamian." Maka jawabe, katrima isun agrupiya(?), Ki Dipati, mapan isun kula naqeqani(?) supata pamajikan andika. Jawab kula Tuměnggung Sulaiman utangi kula sapuluh reyal, nuntěn pun Dipati Muda anampekakěn arta sělaka ing Tuměnggung Sulaiman. Nuntěn mentak paring kalayan pun Dipati Mudha sampuning dhatěng, dhatěng rorompok kula. Maka kula kocap Ki Dipati reyal sapuluh punika kěpripun, maka jawabipun reyal sapuluh iki samangsa isun waras aweh isun ing ndika. Lan maning Dipati Mudha angaku aweh reyal sapuluh reyal ing Tuměnggung Sulaiman. Saking pangakune pun Mirah, kawulaning wong, utang kula sapuluh reyal, da'wane Dipati kang tanpa sapuluh reyal pun Mirah¹⁵², Mirah munkir. Kari-kari angaku aweh něm bėlas reyal pun Mirah munkir saksi oranana. Maka saking iki pun qađa, maka katolak</i>	to follow him to Lampung. Furthermore, they agreed that they would go [together] to the mosque. [However], having arrived in the village of Kamanduran, Prince Mudha looked for Mirah, but could not find her. This is the [beginning] accusation of [Prince] <i>Dipati</i>¹⁵³ Mudha. Mirah replied "In fact, Prince [Dipati] Mudha and I [agreed] to come together to my house, but he said that he was sick." He told me that he would be visiting her [later]. Then, [Prince] Ki Dipati [Mudha] replied, "I accept that I (...) I prepared myself (...) and swore an oath to marry you." [But,] I [Mirah] replied "Tumenggung¹⁵⁴ Sulaiman asked repayment of my debt of ten reyal." Afterwards, Prince Ki Dipati Mudha paid off her debt in silver money to Tumenggeng Sulaiman. Once I arrived in my house, I [Mirah] asked [Prince] Ki Dipati Mudha about the repayment [to Tumenggung Sulaiman]. I [Mirah], asked him: "[Prince] Ki Dipati [Mudha], what about that ten reyal?" He answered, "I had given you that money of ten reyal when I was healthy." Furthermore, [Prince] Dipati Mudha acknowledged that he had given ten reyal to Tumenggung Sulaiman. Mirah, the <i>kawula</i> [subordinate] of someone, admitted that she had a debt of ten reyal. [Mirah replied] "The accusation of [Prince] Dipati [Mudha] was in fact that I had received the ten reyal. I totally deny this. Again, [Prince Dipati Muda] claimed suddenly that he gave me sixteen reyal. I [Mirah] denied
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	<i>da'wane Dipati Mudha. Ana dening reyal sapuluh kang den-wehakēn ing Tumenggung Sulaiman dadi anahur utange pun Mirah.</i>	this accusation because there was no witness." Based on this information, a judgement [<i>qada</i>] was made in which the accusation of [Prince] Dipati Mudha was rejected. Concerning ten <i>reyal</i> that had been given to Tumenggung Sulaiman [by Prince Dipati Mudha], it was considered as a repayment of Mirah's debt ¹⁵⁵ .
47	<i>[11] Ing dina Arba' tanggal ping sangalikul saking wulan Jumādi al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim anampakakēn rupa reyal sēwidak reyal ing Cina Tambi¹⁵⁶ Malak. Kang tanpa dulure aran Šayḥ Mirah Labi Cina Tambi dhewek, dihin tanpa kapat sasur(?) reyal. Ana dening¹⁵⁷ rupa tapih kukupu tarung kang den-balekakēn maning ing Cina Tambi, wakile Cina Tambi, wolung wiji¹⁵⁸ rupa tapih lilang pitung wiji. Kang tanpa Šayḥ Mirah Labi, kala iki bature pun Šayḥ Mirah Labi: Pěqir Tambi.</i>	[11] On Wednesday the 29 th of the month of Jumādi al-Ākhir 1169 A.H. ¹⁵⁹ , in the year Wāwu [31 st March 1756 C.E.] the judge handed over a sum of money amounting to sixty <i>reyal</i> to Cina Tambi Malak. The brother of Cina Tambi [Malak], Šayḥ Mirah Labi, received the money, [but] first three sasur(?) <i>reyal</i> . The cloth with the <i>kupu- kupu tarung</i> [fighting butterflies(?)] motif was returned to Cina Tambi [Malak], in all eight pieces and the <i>lilang</i> [beautiful] cloth, in total seven pieces. The <i>batur</i> [subordinate] of Šayḥ Mirah Labi, namely Pěqir Tambi, received all the merchandise ¹⁶⁰ .
48	<i>Ing malēm Tēlaṭa tanggal ping sanga saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar ingidinan anikahakēn pun Aripa kalawan pun Nasyidin wali ḥakim ingidinan dening Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin. Maskawine rong puluh reyal</i>	On Monday night the 9 th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [10 th February 1756 C.E.] Kiyahi Pěqih [Najmuddin] authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian with the power of attorney to join in marriage Aripa and Nasyidin with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred

	<i>den-utang. Pangakune wong wadon iki wis den-ṭalāq dening lakine aran pun Jati, lan wis liwati 'idahe. Pangakune ana dening lafaḡe kalaning analaq "Sukakēna maskawine nira," maka kahana suka, maka nuntēn kocap somahe "Tiba ṭalāq isun sawiji ing sira," lan kula dereng dipunwangsul. Ana dening wong roro iki pangakune ing ḡakim yen padha mērdika.</i>	as a debt. Aripa acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband, called Jati, and that her waiting period had been fulfilled. The divorce formula of her former husband was "Give me back your dowry." [Aripa] agreed. Immediately, her husband said: "My first ṭalāq falls upon you", but he has not yet returned me [to my parents] ¹⁶¹ . The two persons [bridegroom and bride] acknowledged that they are a free persons.
49	<i>Ing malēm Ḥēmis tanggal ping sēwēlas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki matine 'Abdul Ṣamad, lakine Nyayi Labidah. Mangkono maning matine Mas Siti, rabine Ki Ngabehi Murdakērti tunggal dina. Den-pēndhēm 'Abdul Ṣamad kalawan ibune Tubagus Mamak Bakar Ḥathib.</i>	On Wednesday night the 11 th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [12 th February 1756 C.E.] Abdul Samad, the husband of Nyayi Labidah, passed away. On the same day, Mas Siti, the wife of Ki Ngabehi Murdakerti, passed away as well. Abdul Samad was buried [in the same grave] with the mother of Tubagus Mamak Bakar Khatib.
50	<i>Ing malēm Sēbtu tanggal ping rolas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-ḡdini dening Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin anikaḡakēn wong wadon aran pun Mintēn kalawan pun Sarudin. Karone iki pangakune padha mērdika. Kang lanang asal Ponthag Pakayon. Pangakune mērdika. Maskawine wolung reyal den-utang.</i>	On Friday night the 12 th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [13 th February 1756 C.E.] Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin conferred on me, Ki Mas Namar, the power of attorney to join in marriage Minten and Sarudin. Both declared that they are free persons. The bridegroom comes from Pontang Pekayon and he declares that he is a free person. The dowry is eight reyal deferred as a debt.

51	<i>Ing dina Sěbtu tanggal ping rolas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar anikaḥakěṅ pun Inah kalawan pun Sa'ud. Padha wong mērdika. Ana dening waline: dulure aran pun Kadudu ora tēka. Anging, kongkonane aran pun Raksa Jaru Tunjung kang kinon matur ing Kiyahi Pěqih: "Kiyahi kang kinon anikaḥakěṅ dening waline." Maskawine sapuluh reyal den-utang. Ana dening pun Inah yen ature kongkonane wus ingidini ing dulure tingkahe nikah kalawan pun Sa'ud.</i>	On Saturday the 12th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year of Wāwu [13th February 1756 C.E.] I, Ki Mas Namar, joined in marriage Inah and Saud, [both] free persons. The lawful guardian is her brother named Kadudu, but he did not come [to the marriage]. [However], Raksa Jaru Tunjung, the envoy of [Kadudu], was ordered to inform Kiyahi Pěqih [Najmuddin] that "Kiyahi [<i>the judge</i>] is expected to marry them¹⁶²." The dowry is ten <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. According to the information of the envoy, the brother [Kadudu] had authorized Inah to marry Saud.
52	<i>Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping limolas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar kinon anikaḥakěṅ wali ḥakim dening Kiyahi Pěqih Najmudin sabab 'adam wali. Wadone aran pun Samidah wong Gunung Karunju. Lanange aran pun Šadiq wong Gunung Caruyung. Karone iki padha mērdika. Ana dening maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Ana dening kang kinongkon dening pun Samidah pun 'Aripudin.</i>	On Monday the 15th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [16th February 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pěqih Najmudin</i> ordered me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian to join in marriage [a couple] because the woman has no a lawful guardian [<i>'adam wali</i>]. The bride is Samidah from Mt. Karunju. The bridegroom is Sadiq from Mt. Caruyung. The dowry is twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. Aripuddin was ordered by Samidah [to inform the judge about her condition].

53	[12] <i>Ing malem Hěmis tanggal ping wolulas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar angidinan anikaḥakēn dening Kiyahi Pěqih pun Sikah wong Gunung Girimarta kalawan Ki 'Abdus Salam, wong Cina Islam, kalawan idine Pangeran Kusumaningrat. Kang ingutus dening Pangeran Kusumaningrat: Ki 'Abdul Qasim. Ana dening maskawine wěrat rong reyal kěncana den-utang. Milaning wali ḥakim sabab 'adam waline.</i>	[12] On Wednesday night the 18th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [19th February 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pěqih</i> [Najmuddin] authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, to join in marriage Sikah from Mt. Girimarta and Ki Abdul Salam, a Chinese Muslim, who had permission from Prince Kusumaningrat¹⁶³. Ki Abdul Qasim was the envoy of Prince Kusumaningrat [to the judge giving his permission]. The dowry was two golden <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. The bride had no lawful guardian [<i>'adam waline</i>] so she [asked the judge to marry her] as a magistrate guardian.
54	<i>Ing dina Hěmis tanggal ping wolulas saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini anikaḥakēn, wali ḥakim, dening Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin. Kang wadon aran pun Angling wong Gunung Pananggungan. Kang lanang aran pun Ḥamid tinggal Gununge. Maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Ana dening wong wadon iki pangakune wis den-ṭalāq dening lakine aran pun Ēmur, sarta wus liwat 'idahe. Ana dening ṭalāqe lafaze¹⁶⁴ "Saya diṭalāq siyose." Kang aněksěni mua'dīn Qahar lan mua'dīn Qamarudin. Wong roro iku pangakune padha mērdika.</i>	On Wednesday night the 18th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [19th February 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin</i> authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian, to join in marriage Angling from Mt. Panunggungan and Hamid from Gunung [mountainous area] with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. The bride acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband and her waiting period [<i>'idah</i>] was fulfilled. The divorce formula was: "<i>I am fully divorced.</i>" The witnesses were Mua'dīn Qahar and Mua'dīn Qamarudin.

55	<i>Ing malēm Tēlata tanggal ping tēlulikur saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini anikaḥakĕn, wali ḥakim, dening Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin, sabab waline fāsiq sarta ḡā'ib. Ana dening lanange wong mērdika aran pun Barusuwita. Kang wadon mērdika aran pun Siyah. Maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Lan wong wadon iki wus den- pariksani dening ḥakim pangakune wus den-ṭalāq tētēlu dening lakine aran pun Saki sarta wus pot 'idahe. Lafaze kalaning "Analaq sira sun ṭalāq tēlu." Kang anēkseni Marabot Pati lan pun Asan Papalaku.</i>	On Monday night the 23th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1160 A.H., in the year Wāwu [24th February 1756 C.E.] Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian, to join in marriage Barusuwita, a free person, and Siyah, a free person, with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. Her lawful guardian was a sinful person [<i>fasiq</i>] and absent [<i>ḡā'ib</i>]. The [status of the] bride was examined by the judge. She acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband and her waiting period was finished. The divorce formula was: "You are divorced with my three repudiations." The witnesses were Pati, employee of the mosque, and Asan Papalaku.
56	<i>Ing dina Tēlata tanggal ping tēlulikur wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini dening Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin anikaḥakĕn¹⁶⁵ 'abdi Kadu Malēm aran Sisangko nikah kalawan amate Pangeran Amad kang putra Pangeran Saca. Amat asal Gunung Kēmuning aran pun Rēntēb. Maskawine rong reyal. Jangjine sisih sasen. Ana dening Pangeran Amad awakil insun kang ingutus dening Pangeran Amad: Ki Ngabehi Martawana.</i>	On Monday night the 23th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1160 A.H., in the year Wāwu [24th February 1756 C.E.], Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, to join in marriage a male slave from Kadu Malem, called Sasongko, and a female slave of Prince Amad, the son of Prince Saca. The female slave, Renteb, was from Mt. Kemuning. The dowry was two <i>reyal</i>, but he promised one cent as a debt. Prince Amad had delegated Ki Ngabehi Martawana, as his envoy [to inform the judge about her slave].

57	<i>Ing dina Jumu'ah tanggal ping pitulikur saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar aněksěni panalaga Ki Arya Abu Pagamal ing rabine aran pun Saqiyam. Lafaze "Tiba ṭalāq isun sawiji ing Saqiyam." Lan mongkono maning isun Ki Mas Namar aněksěni ing lafaze Nyi Saqiyam anyukakakě maskawine rong tahl ēmas, rēgane wolung reyal. Lafaze Nyi Saqiyam "Kula sukakakě maskawin kula rong tahl ēmas ing Ki Arya Abu."</i>	On Friday the 27th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [28th February 1756 C.E.]¹⁶⁶ I, Ki Mas Namar, witnessed the divorce of Ki Arya Abu Pagamal from his wife, [Nyi] Saqiyam. He pronounced: "My first ṭalāq fell upon you Saqiyam." In the same way, I, Ki Mas Namar, witnessed the response of Nyi Saqiyam at the moment she returned her dowry of two tahl¹⁶⁷ in gold amounting to eight reyal. Nyi Saqiyam said: "I hand you over my dowry of two tahl in gold to you Ki Arya Abu [Pagamal]."
58	<i>Ing dina Sěbtu tanggal ping pitulikur saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki pun Ki Raja angsul ing ḥakim sabab kadudukan dulare wadon aran pun Bidah, lakine aran pun Wahab. Sabab den-tundung dening lakine lan angaku den-tabok dening lakine. Ora suka. Lan ana pangakune anggěgawa rupa reyal. Limang reyal iki pangakune reyal sakaya. Mangkono maning lanang tabok apiksa, sabab ika pēkarěpane. Lan pangakune kalaning durung den-nikah den-wehi reyal sapuluh reyal dening pun Wahab.</i>	On Saturday the 27th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [28th February 1756 C.E.]¹⁶⁸ Ki Raja returned to the judge [to inform him] that his sister, Bidah, was staying at his house. She had been expelled by her husband, Wahab, from their house. She acknowledged that she had been beaten by her husband. She did not accept this. [Beside that,] she acknowledged that she was bringing money to the sum of five reyal. [However,] she said that the money was owned jointly. Likewise, the husband testified that he had struck Bidah due to his own willingness¹⁶⁹. Bidah acknowledged that before her marriage Wahab had given her the sum of ten reyal.

59	[13] <i>Ing dina Sěbtu tanggal ping pitu likur saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-ıdini dening Kiyahi Pěqih anikaḥakěñ, wali ḥakim, sabab waline 'aḍal. Wadone aṣal Sawah Luhur. Mangkono maning lanange aṣal Sawah Luhur. Kang wadon aran pun Jijah. Kang lanang aran pun Marabu. Maskawine rong puluh reyal den-utang. Kang den-utus dening ḥakim amariksani 'aḍal waline: Marabot Asan lan pun Aḥmad. Mangkono maning amariksani wadone tingkahe ıdın ing Kiyahi Pěqih anikaḥakěñ. Ana dening kang angěreben(?) iki labět lakine lawas.</i>	[13] On Saturday the 27th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [28 February 1756 C.E.], <i>Kiyahi Pěqih</i> [Najmuddin] authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian, due to the reluctant guardian [<i>wali 'aḍal</i>] to join in marriage a woman named Jijah from Sawah Luhur and a man namely Marabu from Sawah Luhur with a dowry of twenty <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. The judge sent Asan, employee of the mosque, and Ahmad to inquire why the lawful guardian was reluctant [to sanction the marriage]. Similarly, they examined the behavior of [Jijah] and her [request] for permission to be joined in marriage by <i>Kiyahi Pěqih</i> [Najmuddin]. In addition, she had been divorced(?) by her former husband in the past.
60	<i>Ing dina Iṭnen wěqtu 'Aṣar tanggal ping sanga likur saking wulan Jumādī al-'Awwal tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki ḥakim angaturakěñ pěpugute Tubagus Kidin ing Kangjěng Sulṭan Agung Kasěmen rupa pěndhok swasa wěrat patang reyal kurang sasuku. Milane den-aturakěñ ing Sulṭan, sabab pěndhok kang den- anggo pěpugut dening Tubagus Kidin iki gagaduhakěñ Kangjěng Sulṭan Kasěmen dhipěrcanthěñ ing Tubagus Kidin. Kang ingutus dening ḥakim Mas Namar kalawan měrbot aran 'Abdul Jabar.</i>	On Monday afternoon the 29th of the month of Jumādī al-'Awwal 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [1st March 1756 C.E.] the judge handed over a harvest knife with its golden sheath, worth four <i>reyal</i> less one <i>suku</i>, from Tubagus Kidin to His Majesty Sultan Agung Kasemen. In fact, the [knife with] its sheath which had been handed over had been used to harvest was the property of His Majesty Sultan [Agung] Kasemen and had been entrusted to Tubagus Kidin. The judge sent his envoy Ki Mas Namar and Abdul Jabar, employee of the mosque, [to deliver this knife and its sheath].

61	<i>'Alamat Ki Arya Wangsa Duta duwe piyutang ing wong wadon aran pun Kima tēlulas reyal. Wus anusus rong reyal. Kang angaturaken iki ing ḥakim wong wadon aran Nyi Rapiyah. Ana dening ḥakim anampakakēn panusus iki ing wakile Ki Arya Wangsa Duta aran pun Mas Mana. Ana dening kalaning Nyi Kima kasaksi dening ḥakime ngaku duwe utang ing Ki Arya Wangsa Duta iki ing dina Sēbtu tanggal ping tēlulas saking wulan Rabī' al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah. Ana dening kalaning anusus iki ing dina Arba' tanggal</i>	The matter that is reported is that Ki Arya Wangsa Duta had lent the sum of thirteen <i>reyal</i> to a woman, named [Nyi] Kima. She repaid her debt two- <i>reyal</i> in installments. A woman, named Nyi Rapiyah, brought the money to the judge. [Afterward], the judge handed over this repayment in installments to the agent of Ki Arya Wangsa Duta, namely Mas Mana. Nyi Kima acknowledged that she owes Ki Arya Wangsa Duta as witnessed by the judge on Saturday the 13 th of the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [16 th January 1756 C.E.] ¹⁷⁰ . She repaid her debt in installments on Wednesday the 1 st of
61	<i>ping sapisan saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah. Kari utange pun Kima ing Ki Arya Wangsa Duta sēwēlas reyal.</i>	the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [3 rd March 1756 C.E.]. The remaining debt of Nyi Kima to Ki Arya Wangsa Duta was eleven <i>reyal</i> .
62	<i>Ing malēm Aḥad tanggal ping lima saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-iḍini dening Kiyahi Pēqih anikaḥakēn pun Adang lan pun Ṣaraf. Maskawine sapuluh reyal den-utang. Wali ḥakim sabab 'adam. Pangakune wus den- ṭalāq tēlu dening lakine kang lawas aran pun 'Ali. Lafaze "Aweha sira ing isun reyal sapuluh, mēngko sira sun pēgat". Maka ujare si wadon "nyah kisi reyal sapuluh." Maka nuli angucap lanange</i>	On Saturday night the 5 th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [6 th March 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pēqih</i> [Najmuddin] authorized me, as a magistrate guardian due to the absence [<i>'adam</i>] of a lawful guardian, to join in marriage Adang and Sorof with a dowry of ten <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. She acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband, named Ali. The [divorce] formula was: "Give me ten <i>reyal</i> , I will divorce you then." The wife replied: "Here is a wallet ¹⁷³ of

	<i>iya: "Sira isun ṭalāq tēlu." Ana dening kalaning si laki nibani ṭalāq, kang anēkseni pangakune ing ḥakim Tubagus Jamudin lan pangiwane aran pun Sahipah, lan anake Tubagus Jamudin aran pun Tubagus Amad, lan marbot pangulu Qahar aran pun Qamarudin, lan Mas Aḥmad. Lan maning¹⁷¹ pangakune 'idahe wus pot. Ana dening wong roro iki pangakune padha mērdika. Sing lanang asal Tanahara. Sing wadon asal Bantēn. Lan maning pangakune wong roro iki dudu ra'yate Kumpēni¹⁷²</i>	<i>ten reyal.</i>" Then, the husband said to her: "You are divorced with my three ṭalāq." When her former husband divorced her it was witnessed by Tubagus Jamuddin and his son, named Tubagus Amad, Sahipah, the village official, Qamaruddin, the pangulu Qahar's official as employee of the mosque, and Mas Ahmad. Also she acknowledged that her waiting period [<i>'idah</i>] was finished. These two persons [Adang and Sorof] declared that they are free persons. The bridegroom came from Tanahara. The bride came from Bantēn. They acknowledged that they were not subjects of the <i>Kumpēni</i>¹⁷⁴.
63	<i>Ing¹⁷⁵ malem Iṭnen tanggal ping nēm saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini anikaḥakēn Nyi Wadon kalawan pun Aḍin. Karone iki pada aṣal Sawah Kalimarēng. Karone iki bature Pangeran Surya. Kang ingutus dening Pangeran Surya angaturakēn ing ḥakim pun Janudin. Karone iki pada mērdika. Maskawine sapuluh reyal den-utang. Pangakune wong wadon iki wis den-ṭalāq dening lakine kang lawas. Lafaze: "Tiba ṭalāq isun sawiji ing sira." Ana dening 'idahe pangakune liwat. Wali ḥakim sabab 'adam wali pangakune.</i>	On Sunday night the 6th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [7th March 1756 C.E.] I, Ki Mas Namar was authorized [by <i>Kiyahi Pēqih Najmuddin</i>] to join in marriage Nyi Wadon and Azin. Both of them came from Sawah Kalimareng. They were batur [subordinates] of Prince Surya. The later appointed Januddin as his envoy to the judge to inform him of [their status and marriage plan]. They are free persons. The dowry was ten <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. Nyi Wadon acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband. The [divorce] formula was: "My first ṭalāq falls upon you." She acknowledged as well that her waiting period [<i>'idah</i>] was finished. [They have been married] by the magistrate guardian because she had no lawful guardian [<i>'adam wali</i>].

64	[14] Ing dina Itnen tanggal ping nēm saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki Tubagus Muḥammad Saḥ angaturi paseksi ing ḥakim yen kapondokan mindhone: wong wadon aran pun Apiyah sarta anake roro wadon karo. Rabine wong Koja aran Amad Asin. Ature Tubagus¹⁷⁶: "Orana paněkane anggagawa pisan-pisan". Ana dening lakine iki mati. Sakehe duwene wis den-lelang. Kang anyěkēl mal iki ature Tubagus Muḥammad Saḥ dulure Amad Asin kang lanang aran pun Amad Kandu.	[14] On Monday the 6th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [8th March 1756 C.E.] Tubagus Muhammad Sah witnessed before the judge that his female cousin, named Apiyah, and her two daughters were staying in his house. The husband of Apiyah was a <i>koja</i>¹⁷⁷, named Amad Asin. Tubagus said: "Their coming does not bring [a problem] for me at all." The husband of Apiyah had died. All his assets had been auctioned. Tubagus Muhammad Sah said that the brother of Amad Asin, called Amad Kandu, held the [results] of the auction.
65	Ing dina Sěbtu tanggal ping pat saking wulan Jumādī al-Āḥir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar anampakakēn tumbake pun Badrudin, anake Ki Ngabehi 'Abdul ing Ki Ngabehi Lanang, lan anampakakēn kēris roro ora mawa landheyane. Ana dening tumbak iki akehe papat, kang jajar andung roro, kang jajar kayu sawiji, kang orana jajare sawiji. Iki yen ature Ki Ngabehi Lanang arēp den-ēdol¹⁷⁸ anggo anahur utange Ki Ngabehi 'Abdul. Akehing utang sekēt sasuh reyal lan patlikur reyal. Saking arah iki milane den-tampakakēn Ki Ngabehi Lanang dening ḥakim.	On Saturday the 4th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [6th March 1756 C.E.] I, Ki Mas Namar [the authorized agent of the judge] handed over the pike of Badrudin, the son of Ki Ngabehi Abdul, to Ki Ngabehi Lanang, and in addition two keris without hilt. The number of pikes was four: two with a row of torch(?), one with a row of wood(?), and a pike without row(?). Ki Ngabehi Lanang informed him that these [keris and pikes] would be sold and [the money from that sale] would be used to pay off the debts of Ki Ngabehi Abdul. His debts were forty-five(?) <i>reyal</i> and twenty-four <i>reyal</i>. Therefore, the judge handed over all of these things to Ki Ngabehi Lanang.

66	<i>Ing dina Aḥad tanggal ping rolas saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-ḡdini dening Kiyahi Pěqih anikaḥakěṅ, wali ḥakim, sabab waline ḡā'ib, kang wadon aran pun Raḥimah, kang lanang aran pun Jatma, maskawine wolung reyal den-utang. Wong roro iki pada mardika. Kang lanang asal Gunung Jajawe. Kang wadon asal Gunung Pakalongan, tinggal Kopo. Ana dening aněksěni kalaning mu'adin Qamarudin lan pun Samidin. Kang ingutus dening wong wadon iki aran pun Muršidin, kapěrnah kaponakane.</i>	On Sunday the 12th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [14th March 1756 C.E.] Kiyahi Pěqih [Najmuddin] authorized me, as a magistrate guardian because the lawful guardian was absent [ḡā'ib], to join in marriage a woman named Rahimah and a man named Jatma with a dowry of eight <i>reyal</i> deferred as a debt. Both of them are free persons. The man comes from Mt. Jajawe. The woman comes from Mt. Pakalongan, but lives in Kopo. Mu'adin Qamarudin and Samidin witnessed [this marriage]. The woman [Rahimah] sent Mursyidin, her nephew, [to inform the judge about her status].
67	<i>Ing dina Ḥěmis tanggal ping němbělas saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki ratu Siti¹⁷⁹ sing rayi Raden Anom amědak ing ḥakim yen angaturi pasěksi, sabab ora suka den-tambang dening lakine¹⁸⁰ limang tahun, lan ora den-ingoni, lan ora den- kirmi, lan ora den- tětinggal, lan ora den- omahi. Maka saking arah punika kula amit mondhoek ing Ratu Qadi, kang rayi Pangeran Surya, sabab iki sanake yen ature ing ḥakim.</i>	On Thursday the 16th of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [18th March 1756 C.E.] Ratu Siti, the sister of Raden Anom, came before the judge to testify that she cannot accept that her husband had been neglecting her for five years. He did not provide maintenance, nor send [food or money] nor leave anything [to live on], nor provide housing. Accordingly, she asked permission [from the judge] to stay in the [house] of Ratu Qadi, the sister of Prince Surya, because Ratu Qadi is her family, according to the information given to the judge.

68	<i>Ing dina Tělatā tanggal sělikur saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini anikaḥakěṅ, wali ḥakim, dening Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin sabab 'adam waline: wong Gunung Paragi. Karone iki qahume Pangeran Surya. Kang den- kongkon dening Pangeran¹⁸¹ iki wong lanang mardika aran pun Ma'il. Ana dening maskawine iki rong tahlil ēmas den-rěgani wolung reyal iki den-utang. Ana dening kang lanang aran pun Sanjaya. Kang wadon aran pun Kari. Pangakune wusden-ṭalāq dening lakine kang lawas aran¹⁸² pun Ismah kalawan den-ṭalāq sawiji, sarta wus liwat 'idahe. Ana dening lafaze "Sukakěna maskawinira." Maka ujure wadon: "Suka." Maka lafaze si lanang: "Sira wis ṭalāq sawiji."</i>	On Tuesday the 21st of the month of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [23rd March 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pěqih</i> [Najmuddin] authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian because the lawful guardian from Mt. Paragi was absent ['adam waline], to join [a couple] in marriage. These two persons were the qahum¹⁸³ [subordinate] of Prince Surya. A free person called Mail was sent by Prince Surya [to inform the judge about their marriage and civil status]. The dowry was two tahlil in gold, amounting to eight reyal, deferred as a debt. The name of the man is Sanjaya, while the woman is Kari. The woman acknowledged that she had been divorced by her former husband, named Ismah, with one ṭalāq and her waiting period ['idah] was completed. The formula of [divorce by Ismah] was: "Give me back your dowry." The wife, Kari, replied: "I agree." The husband then said: "My ṭalāq falls upon you."
69	<i>Ing dina Aḥad tanggal ping nēmlikur saking wulan Jumādī al-Ākhir tahun Wāwu 1169 Hijrah, kala iki isun Ki Mas Namar den-idini anikaḥakěṅ, wali ḥakim, dening Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin, sabab 'adam wali. Nikahē iki kalawan Tabet, lakine lawas. Padha wong Gunung Mulasirih. Wadone arangepun Seba. Lanange pun</i>	On Sunday the 26th of the month of of Jumādī al-Ākhir 1169 A.H., in the year Wāwu [28th March 1756 C.E.] <i>Kiyahi Pěqih</i> Najmuddin authorized me, Ki Mas Namar, as a magistrate guardian because there was no lawful guardian ['adam wali], to join in marriage [a couple]. The marriage of [the woman] with Tabet, her former husband, had [failed]¹⁸⁴. These two persons

<i>Samir. Maskawine rong tahl kěncana den-utang. Wong roro iki padha bature Ki Aris Baris Jaran.</i>	came from Mt. Mulasirih. The name of the bride is Seba, while the man is Samir. The dowry is two <i>tahl</i> gold deferred as a debt. Both of them are <i>batur</i> [subordinates] of Ki Aris Baris Jaran.
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Conclusion

The transliteration and translation of the manuscript L.Or. 5626 from the existing unique qadi record of the 18th's Southeast Asian countries, originating from the qadi's archive of the Sultanate of Banten, is a painstakingly pioneering effort. This article reveals the very extraordinary source for the history of Banten in particular and the Islamic legal history in general. It serves for historians as a priceless material to know further the social, cultural, and economic aspect of Banten. As for Islamic law scholars, this philological work shows that Islamic law is eventually the result of 'open' corpus combining human reasoning based on the principal sources of Islamic law (Quran and Hadits) and some Islamic legal methodology and the local custom about the daily basic human activities where the qadi and its apparatus being a main agent of this process¹⁸⁵. In the future, there will be hopefully time to undertake another study on other manuscripts from the collection of the qadi of Banten. Effectively, by studying all the qadi's Banten archive, it will give us a clear and complete vision of how Islamic law looked like in the history of Nusantara.

Endnotes

- ¹ The research on which this critical edition is based was carried out with the support of fellowships from the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (OXCIS) of the University of Oxford, Spring Semester, 2012, the Islamic Legal Studies Program (ILSP) of Harvard Law School, Spring Semester 2013, and from the Research Centre of State Islamic Universit (UIN) Jakarta, 2014, and SMRC Fellowship 2015-2016.
- ² Claude Guillot, 'La principauté de Bantěn Girang', *Archipel*, 50, Paris, 1995, pp. 13-24.
- ³ Kelapa (now is Jakarta) was the main port of the Sundanese-hinduist Kingdom of Padjajaran. This kingdom located at Pakuan, Bogor in West-Java now.
- ⁴ Claude Guillot, *The Sultanate of Bantěn*, Jakarta: Gramedia, 1990.

- ⁵ Ota Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Bantěn*, 1750-1830, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006, p. 146
- ⁶ *Universiteits bibliotheek Leiden* (UBL), Cod.Or. 7936 B, the letter of Sutadinata to Snouck Hurgronje dated 21 September 1892, 7 pages, p. 7.
- ⁷ It was during the second half of 16th century.
- ⁸ Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sajarah Bantěn*, Jakarta: Djambatan, 1983, p. 39, song 22.
- ⁹ Kasunyatan originates from the word “sunyi” that means ‘calm, peace or quiet’.
- ¹⁰ He was a religious teacher for three sovereigns of Bantěn: Maulana Yusuf (1570-1580), Maulana Muhammad (1580-1596), and grandson Abul Mafakhir (1596-1651), Djajadiningrat, 1983, p. 39 and p. 43.
- ¹¹ He was a guardian for the crown prince Maulana Muhammad during his infancy and childhood that the qadi relinquished when he became legally an adult as a king, Djajadiningrat, 1983, pp.39-41.
- ¹² The Sultan and Prime Minister had left to conquer the kingdom of Palembang, Djajadiningrat, 1983, pp. 41-43.
- ¹³ The image of the prime minister and the qadi is found in image 113 in the book “*Eerst Schipvaart...*”, see Willem Lodewycksz, *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders Naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman 1595-1597*, G.P. Rouffaer & J.W. Ijzerman (eds.), 3 volumes, ‘s-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1915-1929, vol. I, 1915, p. 114.
- ¹⁴ Djajadiningrat, 1983, p. 163.
- ¹⁵ *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin* consists etymologically of three words: *Kiyahi* is the Javanese honorary title given to respected people of a certain age; *Pěqih* is a Javanese form of the word *faqīh* (jurist, scholar, master in Islamic law), and *Najmuddin* is a combination of two words ‘the star of religion’ used here as a title.
- ¹⁶ *Enthol* was an honorary title and his name was *Kawista*.
- ¹⁷ Pangeran Jayasantika was a real prince and indeed a noble. It is interesting to note that it was very rare and would have been the first time a qadi of Bantěn had been a member of the royal family, had he accepted. Unfortunately, Prince Jayasantika refused this position. He preferred to go to Mecca and stayed there until the end of his life, Djajadiningrat, 1983, p. 71, song 55.
- ¹⁸ UBL, Cod. Or. 7936 B, the compilation of several leaf (31 lines per page in Roman script) including the explanation about *Fakih Nadjmoedin*, 12 pages, p. 2., the list of pangulu, 6 pages and 4 pages about the record of *Kyai Fakih Najmuddin* and 1 letter of *Kyai Fakih Najmuddin* (H. Abu Bakar.). I found this date in the explanation about *Fakih Najmuddin*, p. 9.
- ¹⁹ The word “*kadi*” is many times found in the text of *Sajarah Bantěn Besar*, see Titik Pudjiastuti, *Sajarah Bantěn: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan Disertai Tinjauan Aksara dan Amanat*, Disertasi Doktor, Program Pascasarjana Program Studi Ilmu Susastra, Universitas Indonesia, 2000, in the party of transliteration and translation; Djajadiningrat, 1983, pp. 40, 42-44, 48, 58, 71, song 24-26.

- ²⁰ Annabel Teh Gallop, *Malay Seal Inscriptions: A Study in Islamic Epigraphy from Southeast Asia*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2002, 3 volumes, vol. III, part. 2, Appendix, Bantěn, pp. 574-617, p. 585 and p. 593.
- ²¹ See my PhD thesis *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn : Étude Philologique de la Compilation des Lois du Sultanat de Bantěn (à Java, Indonésie) aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Thèse de Doctorat en Histoire, *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, Paris, January, 2013, p. 100 and p. 124.
- ²² See the transliteration and the translation of this manuscript in this paper, record no. 2, 10, 15-16, 27, 48, 50-56, 59, 62, 66, 68-69.
- ²³ The archive of Bantěn dated 1738, 1747, 1748, 1753, and 1789, see *ANRI*, no. 72, book 43/6, no. 73, book 43/7, no. 74, p. 2, seal B, no. 76, book 43/10, p. 17, No. 77, book 43/12, p. 37.
- ²⁴ *Ḥakim* : the arbitrator or more precisely the judicial magistrate, derived from the verb 'ḥakama' ; see *EI*, 1986, vol. III, p. 72, translated principally as a 'judge.' The word *ḥakim* in this manuscript refers to the qadi of Bantěn (*Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin*).
- ²⁵ Ki is a Javanese abbreviation of « *kiyahi* » which is a honorary way of addressing respected people; in the English translation I prefer to maintain the Indonesian version of Ki or Kiyahi, namely Kyai.
- ²⁶ The text reads 'Dawar-t'.
- ²⁷ *Pěqih*: the Javanese form of the Arabic term *faqīh*, meaning 'scholar' or 'jurist' in Islamic law. The term *pěqih* here is a short title refering to *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin*, the title of the qadi of Bantěn.
- ²⁸ *Tětinggale* means 'what is left' and should be understood here as referring to the nafaqah in Islamic law. It means what the husband should give, in money or otherwise, to his wife and family.
- ²⁹ *Pangulu* is etymologically derived from *hulu*, which means 'head'. It is a title that was previously used to refer to the representative of the Sultan of *Bantěn* in Lampung; later it was also used for a chef (in any function whatsoever), the responsible of the mosque or the legal representative of the *qadi*.
- ³⁰ Kyai Pangulu Muhammad Saleh was most likely the *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin* [*Qāḍī*]'s official, bearing the functional title of 'Pangulu', translated generally as 'judge'.
- ³¹ *Ṭalāq* (*ṭalāq*) means the dissolution of marriage, which should be distinguished from *fasaḥ* (by means of a judicial process). *Ṭalāq* is the exclusive right of a man to divorce his wife by a simple unilateral declaration with the word of *ṭalāq* or alike, *EI*, 1991, vol. II, p. 836.
- ³² There is a probability of a one day error in the date due to converting to Common Era in this study.
- ³³ Text : *Suma*. The scribe corrected this word in the margin on the left of sheet« *Kusuma*.»
- ³⁴ Before this word, we find "Kuma'.
- ³⁵ Text: *Rulayḥah*.

- ³⁶ Text: *Leḥah*.
- ³⁷ *Raden* : the noble title given to the children of the sultan with a woman who was not the queen, or to the grand-children of the sultan (the children of Ratu Bagus), see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 127, based on the analysis of the manuscript on the genealogy of the sultan of Bantěn, made at the request of the Governor General van Hoorn by Pangeran Purbaya, the son of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, in July 23, 1709, see KITLV, Leyde H. 234, *Translaat Geslacht Register der Onvervolgende Javaanse en Bantamse Vorsten*, and see also Van Den Berg, 1887, p. 14.
- ³⁸ *reyal*: the Spanish coin was used as a monetary unit from the second half of the seventeenth century in Bantěn.
- ³⁹ The form of this divorce was most likely *khulu'* divorce.
- ⁴⁰ Most likely what was witnessed by the judge was the marriage itself.
- ⁴¹ *Malēm*: Malay influence, the Javanese should be *běngi* or *daluh* for night.
- ⁴² Text: *ing ḥakim 2 aněksěni*.
- ⁴³ Page 2 contains one case on the deposit of property of Syarif Makhrus to the qadi, dated 1163/1750. This case is not transliterated nor translated as it is merely a unique case. Furthermore, the content of the case is solely a list of properties, and the terms for these properties are impossible to translate into English.
- ⁴⁴ Text: *den-go*.
- ⁴⁵ In the left margin, it is written “*Marbot Mas Urip sing langan Tubagus sing anampa saking marbot Ki Arya Raksa Dinata*.” It is unclear which case this incomplete sentence refers to.
- ⁴⁶ The words ‘*tanggal nēm bělas*’ appear above the line that separates the cases.
- ⁴⁷ Aripa and Nyi Aripa are the same person. *Nyi* is the honorary designation for Madame in Javanese.
- ⁴⁸ *Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin* : the title given to the qadi of Bantěn for the first time in ca. 1651 by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r.1651-1682) and used systematically by all of the qadis of *Bantěn* until its dissolution in 1855/6, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 33.
- ⁴⁹ The meaning of this sentence is unclear.
- ⁵⁰ *Dhuwit*: the name of a copper coin about 0,75 cent. The Dutch made a *duit* in the first half of XVIIIth century: 4 pieces of duit equal half a *stuijver* (2,5 cent), 8 pieces of *duit* equal 1 *stuijver*, and 160 pieces of *duit* equal 1 gulden.
- ⁵¹ *Batur*: subordinate, servant or serf depending on the context, while at the time of Majapahit, *batur* was applied to serf or servant, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 62, note 153. In this case, it is obvious that *batur* here means neither servant nor serf, but a subordinate or a person with a lower rang. That means that the rang of Raden Tahir, a royal family, was indeed lower than Prince Surya, who was the son of a sultan from a mother who was a queen.
- ⁵² *Pangeran*: the title corresponding to “prince” was essentially given to the sultan’s son born from the Queen and entitled to access to the royal throne.
- ⁵³ *Kupang*: the old name of a ‘copper’ coin in Nusantara back in the ninth century of

Java, about 10 cents.

- 54 *Malam jumu'ah* means Thursday night which entered already Friday since the Islamic lunar calendar system starts at sunset.
- 55 *Tubagus* : the noble title, abbreviation from *Ratu Bagus*, given to the sultan's children born from a mother who was not the queen, as well as to the children of princes (the grand-son of the sultan), see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 11, based on the analysis of the manuscript on the genealogy of the sultan of Bantěn, made at the request of the Governor General van Hoorn by Pangeran Purbaya, the son of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, in July 23, 1709, see KITLV, Leyde H. 234, *Translaat Geslacht Register der Onvervolgende Javaanse en Bantamse Vorsten*.
- 56 The letters *wāw*, *alif*, *dāl* come after this word, but were removed by the scribe.
- 57 After this word the word (g-t-l-) was removed by the scribe.
- 58 This sentence is written in the left margin of the page.
- 59 After this word "*padha*" has been deleted by the scribe.
- 60 *Anyara* comes from the word "*cara*" which means "to envoy, to examine, to spy", see P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kamus Jawa Kuna-Indonesia*, Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2006, p. 161 and S. Prawiroatmodjo, *Bausastra Jawa-Indonesia*, Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1995, I, p. 58.
- 61 The last sentence does not belong to this case: "*Ana dening dhodhoke bocah iki pangakune ana ing lisane ngenger bahe, lan orana duwe utang pangakune bocah iku, pangakune bocah iku*" "*Kula botěn dipuniwat saking kayun kula dhewek.*" It seems likely that this is an error of the scribe.
- 62 Text: *putusaning*, this should be '*utusaning*', but the scribe wrote it mistakenly by writing *fā* instead of '*alif*'.
- 63 Text: *kula2*.
- 64 *Aněmbadani* comes originally from "*sěmbada*" which means to fulfill, see Th. Pigeaud, *Javaans-Nederlands Woordenboek*, Dordrecht, Foris Publication, 1989 (1936), p. 519.
- 65 *Fasaḥ* means the dissolution of marriage which should be distinguished from *ṭalāq* (the unilateral divorce by the husband). The dissolution of marriage by way of *fasaḥ* takes place at the request of the wife or her family. Generally, it happens by judicial process due to the failure to fulfill a marriage condition or the irregularity of the marriage contract, EI, 1991, vol. II, p. 836.
- 66 The day and the date in this case did not corroborate: because 21/2/1169 or 26/11/1755 was Wednesday and not Saturday.
- 67 Text : kawon.
- 68 Text: *Yalilah2*.
- 69 After this word, the scribe erased the words "*tanganipun tatu*".
- 70 *Lurah* : the lowest title and rank for palace servants in the eighteenth century *Bantěn*, while the holder of this title was part of the elite in the local society, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 67, note 190 and Atsushi, 2006, p. 50.

- ⁷¹ The second part of this phrase is unclear as some words are unknown.
- ⁷² Text: *den-duduki*, the verb was written without a dot under the letter of *dāl*.
- ⁷³ *Paliwara* : according to Thomas Raffles this is the assistant or officer of the *Jaksa* (judge) in Java, but in Bantěn it was most likely the officer of the judge since I found this *paliwara* in the ‘code’ of Bantěn, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn*, p. 102, note 354.
- ⁷⁴ *Abdi*: the Javanese word originates from Arabic and means ‘slave’.
- ⁷⁵ *Syarif* is used for a person who possesses nobility, deriving from the word *syarafa* which means ‘honorable’ and ‘esteemed’, by inheritance or personal achievement thanks to his knowledge, glory and honourable conduct. The title was borne by those who were claimed to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, *EI*, 1997, vol. IX, p. 342. There was a very important Arab community in Bantěn, consisting of merchants and scholars. Furthermore, the sultan of Bantěn, Sultan Syifa Zainul Arifin (r. 1733-1748), was married to an Arab woman, Ratu Syarifah Fatimah, who was a daughter of Sayyid Ahmad, an Arab Scholar in Islamic law who was very respected in the court of Bantěn thanks to his profound knowledge of Islam. Later, she seized the royal throne from her husband and appointed herself as a Sultanah (r. 1748-1752) with the approval of the Dutch in Batavia. In fact, she intended to name her adopted son, Pangeran Ratu Syarif Abdullah, as a sultan, but she was arrested and banished to the Edam Island, in the bay of Batavia, Atsushi, 2006, pp. 59-60.
- ⁷⁶ The Javanese sentence “*Maka pun Tiyah aněmbadani ing sakehe ta'liqe iki*” is not translated into English because the information is repeated in the following sentence.
- ⁷⁷ Text: *ana'li*, the letter ‘*ayn*’ without two dots above.
- ⁷⁸ The scribe had written “*Sěbtu*” (Saturday), but removed it and changed it into “*Jumu'ah*”.
- ⁷⁹ Text: *godī*. It should be without a dot above ‘*ayn*’.
- ⁸⁰ The scribe had written “*rong puluh reyal*”, but removed it.
- ⁸¹ Text deleted by the scribe: “*punjul satěngah*.”
- ⁸² *Tali* (*sa[sě]tali*) : the name of a coin of 25 cent in the Malay Archipelago, while in Javanese people use *ikět* or *saikět* (*sekět*) that means 25.
- ⁸³ *Salar* : inform, information, to be informed, see Prawiroatmodjo, 1995, II, p. 160, or message or to receive message, see Pigeaud, 1937, p. 506.
- ⁸⁴ The scribe has been influenced by Malay word “*malēm*” (night) instead of “*běngi*” or “*daluh*” in Javanese.
- ⁸⁵ Text: *rolas*. The scribe wrote the wrong date. The Friday was the 13th of Rabī' al-Aḥir 1169 A.H., not the 12th. In that case it should have been “*těhulas*” instead of “*rolas*.”
- ⁸⁶ There is no date found for this case, but it should be the 30th of the month Rabī' al-Awwal 1169 for the first and the 29th of Rabī' al-Ākhir 1169 for the second (3 January and 1 February, 1756).
- ⁸⁷ From this case and the following cases, the scribe wrote a date in numbers, for example, here “3” instead of the term “*tělu*.”
- ⁸⁸ In the text, there is no dot for “*nūn*.”
- ⁸⁹ After this word, there is “*ana dene*”, but was deleted by the scribe.
- ⁹⁰ This last sentence is written in the left margin of the sheet.

- ⁹¹ This date, be it on the Islamic Calendar or in the Common Era (or Anno Domini, AD) was not on Wednesday but on Thursday.
- ⁹² This date falls on Thursday, not Wednesday.
- ⁹³ This date falls on Thursday, not Wednesday.
- ⁹⁴ This sentence is found in the right margin of the text.
- ⁹⁵ This sentence is found in the left margin of the text.
- ⁹⁶ Munkir 'adam saksi'. *Wontën dening şah*: this sentence is found in the right margin of the text.
- ⁹⁷ In the left margin of the text is written: "*Ature pun Bojo inggih kula selawe duhung datang pun Dana jenengipun carita mboten kanja qomur kula sade kalih tengah pasunganipun kula wasta pun Syuaib*". Yet the contents of this phrase have nothing to do with the cases mentioned on the page 7 of the manuscript.
- ⁹⁸ This date fell on Thursday, not Wednesday.
- ⁹⁹ This date fell on Monday, not Sunday.
- ¹⁰⁰ This date fell on Monday, not Sunday.
- ¹⁰¹ This compensation is probably taken from the fine that Rodhiyyah was sentenced to pay.
- ¹⁰² This date fell on Wednesday, not Tuesday.
- ¹⁰³ This date fell on Thursday, not Wednesday.
- ¹⁰⁴ This case is not finished by the scribe, but is most likely the same as number 32 above. The plaintiff and the defendant are the same persons, although the date is different. Thus I do not count this case, among the 69 cases considered here.
- ¹⁰⁵ After this word, there are some words deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁰⁶ Text: *ajine2*.
- ¹⁰⁷ After his word, "*dening hakim*" was deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁰⁸ After his word, the word "*pun*" was deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁰⁹ This date was Mondah and not Sunday.
- ¹¹⁰ It remains unclear as to why it was reduced. Was it the judge who decreased the amount of money that Mas Siti had to pay or Bandhol who asked this reduction ?
- ¹¹¹ Text: *Syarip*.
- ¹¹² Text: *dipun[w]pajari*.
- ¹¹³ After this word "*jawabe pun Sakih*" was deleted by the scribe.
- ¹¹⁴ This case is certainly not clear, as the end is missing, so the decision of the judge is unknown.
- ¹¹⁵ The scribe wrote the case down unsystematically. This sentence should have come at the end, which makes more sense.
- ¹¹⁶ *Ṭalāq ba'in (ṭalāq bā'in)*: absolute, irrevocable divorce, which becomes effective immediately. The husband may take back his divorced wife only by a new marriage contract and *mahr*. In this case it is a *ṭalāq bā'in suḡrā*, a term applied to the first and second divorce pronounced by the husband with the possibility of re-marrying

his former wife. When the third divorce comes about, it is called *ṭalāq bā'in kubrā*. This means the husband cannot re-marry her former wife, except if the former wife is married to another man and is divorced by the later.

¹¹⁷ The husband did not have intercourse with his divorced wife during the waiting period (three months) which makes the divorce effective after completion of the waiting period. The jurists agreed that the *ṭalāq bā'in* being irrevocable is, among others, due to the absence of marriage consummation, see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al- Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*, *The Distinguished Jurist's Primer*, translated into English by Imran Ahsan Khan Nyazee, Reading: Garnet Publishing, 1996, vol. II, p. 72.

¹¹⁸ Due to the unsystematic reporting, this case is difficult to understand. However, it appears that the husband divorced his wife before the consummation of marriage. Therefore, he brought it before the judge because, according to his allegation, his wife asked for the dowry. Yet, by Islamic law, the husband does not have to pay the dowry if he did not consummate the marriage according to QS. Al- Baqarah/2:236 "*There is no blame upon you if you divorce women you have not touched nor specified for them an obligation.*"

¹¹⁹ Text: *Sayan2*.

¹²⁰ After this word, the words "*sasuku, sasuku*" has been deleted by the scribe.

¹²¹ Text: *nisfu2ne*.

¹²² This sentence should come before the sentence concerning the daughter's part. It is repetitive, since it was already mentioned in the previous sentence. Therefore, in the English translation this sentence is joined with the previous one.

¹²³ After '*punjul*' the word "*sasuku*" has been deleted by the scribe.

¹²⁴ After '*tembeke*' the scribe deleted "*pitung suku*".

¹²⁵ Because the scribe reported this case very unsystematically, it is very difficult to follow. The sentence is very complicated.

¹²⁶ *Ketheng*: the old name of a 'copper' coin of 0,50 cents (a half cent) in Java.

¹²⁷ *Suku*: the old name of a 'copper' coin of 0,25 cents (a quarter cent) in Java.

¹²⁸ The last sentence should be put in earlier, along with the sentence dealing with the first part. It is unclear why the scribe put it in the end of the case. Even so, the sum is 7,5 *reyal*, so where is the rest of 2 *reyal* ? The division of the legacy in this case seems unduly complicated.

¹²⁹ It is unclear why this man received a legacy. It could be that Ki Ngabehi Abdul was an officer for bayt al-*māl* or the government treasury.

¹³⁰ Before this word, the scribe wrote "*tanggal*", but he deleted it later.

¹³¹ Text: *dh-w-ng-*.

¹³² After this word there are two words "*lan kēris*" deleted by the scribe.

¹³³ After this word, there are two words "*ḥakim wus anampakakēn*" deleted by the scribe.

¹³⁴ Above this word, there is a word "*d-r-w-ng.*"

- ¹³⁵ The letter *Bā'* was written without a 'dot'.
- ¹³⁶ There is a word deleted by the scribe under the word "*mas.*"
- ¹³⁷ In the left margin, the following long sentence can be read: "*Ali-ali susutya ěmbanan sĕwasa kabehe papat. Tubagus Udin kang tuku kanĕm tĕngah reyal. Ĥakim anampakakĕn ing weratane Ratu Tayyibah. Ing Ratu Tayyibah kang atampa Tubagus Ishaq aji-ajine¹³⁷ "62"*". It is unclear to which case this sentence belongs. It seems to be part of case number 45, although there is no clear indication.
- ¹³⁸ This date fell on Monday, not Sunday.
- ¹³⁹ *Arta* : the name of a golden weight in Java.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Saga* : the old name of a weight in Java, back in the ninth century, about 0,119 gram.
- ¹⁴¹ This case is difficult to understand. First, there is no sword in the list of the objects disputed between the two parties, but it appears suddenly at the end of the case and then the judge handed it over to Tubagus Udin. Where did the sword come from and how did the judge get it? Second, the scribe did not write this case down in a clear way. In fact there are three keris and their sheaths, two in gold and one made of silver. However, only two keris sheaths, both in gold, are mentioned as being handed over to plaintiff I (Tubagus Udin and Tubagus Ishak). It is not mentioned to whom the one sheath of silver was given. Eventually, the judge casted lots which favored the second party, but it is not stated what object was given to them. It seems likely that this silver sheath was given to them.
- ¹⁴² Text: *tumune2*.
- ¹⁴³ Text: *suduse2*.
- ¹⁴⁴ After this word, the words "*pitung duman*", which were deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁴⁵ This sentence is written in the right margin of the page.
- ¹⁴⁶ In Javanese, the word "*oleh*" means 'gain' or 'acquisition', but here it should be interpreted as "legacy/inheritance".
- ¹⁴⁷ For the calculation of the shares in this case the rule of the common denominator can be applied. 1/8 and 1/6 shares are mentioned, thus the common denominator is 24. Accordingly, the total sum of the legacy is 24/24, of which Ratu Saidah is entitled to 3/24 and Yabibah 4/24.
- ¹⁴⁸ The relevance of this sentence to the rest of the case is unclear.
- ¹⁴⁹ It is interesting to note here that neither received the full share of 8 *reyal* because Tubagus Bakir had received the keris and the pike and Tubagus Udin had a debt. However, one can calculate that the former received only 6,5 *reyal* and the latter only 4,5 *reyal*. What happened then to the rest of their legacy?
- ¹⁵⁰ It is difficult to understand why Tubagus Udin received all these luxuries, which are more valuable than the legacy itself and why others, i.e. sisters and brothers, did not.
- ¹⁵¹ This word could be identified, even though exactly in the text is damaged, thanks to the letters *alif*, *tā'* and the end of the letter *sīn*.
- ¹⁵² Text: *Mirah2*.

- ¹⁵³ *Dipati* (variant of *adipati*) : the title given to a head of a region, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 176, note 618.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Tuměnggung* : the functionary title given to the “external” Prime Minister (*patih jaba*) in the Sultanate of Bantěn, equivalent to Laksamana in the Malay world, see my *Undhang-Undhang Bantěn...*, p. 127, note 464.
- ¹⁵⁵ The case is complicated to understand.
- ¹⁵⁶ Before this word “*Tambi*” has been deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁵⁷ After this word “*rupa*” has been deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁵⁸ Instead of “*sawiji*”, the letter “*sīn*” was deleted by the scribe and it became “*wiji*”.
- ¹⁵⁹ It is very curious that this case of Jumādi al-Ākhir is found among the Jumādī al-’Awwal’s cases on the page 11.
- ¹⁶⁰ This case is related to case number 25, on page six, dated Friday, Rabī’ al-Awwal 29, 1169 A.H. [2nd January 1756 C.E.]. In that case, Cina Tambi Malak had agreed, that if the vendor could not sell all the cloth that he bought from him, it could be returned it to him. Case number 49 shows that the vendor had already returned the aforementioned cloth.
- ¹⁶¹ It is important to note that this sentence indicates that after divorce the husband should return his former wife to her parents as he “had taken” her from her parents when he married her according to both Javanese tradition and Islamic law. Even though the former husband did not return the divorced wife to her parents, the divorce is nevertheless valid.
- ¹⁶² Kadudu had conferred his guardianship to the judge through his envoy, but it was Ki Mas Namar who joined in marriage Inah and Saud. Ki Mas Namar was the officer of the judge acting on his behalf as a legal representative as we have seen in the majority of the marriages in this manuscript.
- ¹⁶³ Prince Kusumaningrat might have been Prime Minister at that time since non-Bantēnese men must have governmental permission to marry a local woman.
- ¹⁶⁴ Before this word, we found “*suka*”, but it was deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁶⁵ After this word was written “*wong*”, which was deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁶⁶ This date fell on Saturday, not Friday according to some conversion systems.
- ¹⁶⁷ *Tahil* : the name of a weight in the Malay Archipelago (Nusantara), amounting to 37,8 grams.
- ¹⁶⁸ Here we have two different cases with the same date, namely the 27th, but a different day, i.e. one on Friday and other on Saturday. This shows us that the scribe was confused between date and day of Islamic calendar.
- ¹⁶⁹ The pronoun ending ‘...é’, in the Javanese word *pěkarěpane*, could refer to the husband’s intention to beat his wife.
- ¹⁷⁰ According to my calculation, it was Friday and not Saturday.
- ¹⁷¹ Text: *baning*.

- ¹⁷² The last sentence is found in the left margin of page.
- ¹⁷³ Kisi means “basket, bag... of wood woven together” (Zoetmulder, 2006, p. 507), but should be interpreted here as a “wallet”.
- ¹⁷⁴ *Kumpěni* is the Javanese abbreviation of *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (The Dutch East India Company) established in 1602 and dissolved in 1799. The last phrase indicates that the couple were not living in the territory ruled by the Company whose central office was Batavia. Given the fact that the border between the Sultanate of Bantěn and the Company was the Cisadane River in Tangerang, this article shows the jurisdiction territory between these two “states”.
- ¹⁷⁵ Before this word “*ahad*” had been deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁷⁶ The scribe wrote “*Tubagus*” twice, but he deleted the second.
- ¹⁷⁷ *Koja*, Javanese variant of *khōdja*, is non-Arab Muslim coming from the West, wherever his origin.
- ¹⁷⁸ Before and after this word there are two words deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁷⁹ After this word there are two words deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁸⁰ After this word “*sarta*” has been deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁸¹ Below this word a word has been deleted by the scribe.
- ¹⁸² Before this word, there are two letters: *rā’* and *nūn*.
- ¹⁸³ *Qahum* is people serving in Islamic Communities or who provided their labour to Islamic communities according to the Bantėnese censuses around 1700, while according to Snouck Hurgronje is simply a people forming Islamic group, Atsushi, 2006, p. 34, p. 42, and p. 182 note 32. However, we do not know what it does mean *qahum* here in the text. As we see obviously that *qahum* of a prince was the private one, and it did not belong to Islamic community, was most likely sort of subordinate, like a *batur*.
- ¹⁸⁴ The sentence in Javanese is not complete “*nikahe iki kalawan Tabet, lakine lawas*” and difficult to understand. Therefore, some words have been added in order to make sense in the translation into English.
- ¹⁸⁵ To know more on the analysis of this philological work, see my The Register of the Qadi Court “*Kiyahi Pěqih Najmuddin*” of the Sultanate of Bantěn, 1754-1756 CE., *Studia Islamika : Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, 2015, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 405-442.

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هريتيج اوف

نوسانتارا

مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث الديني
السنة الخامسة، العدد 1، 2016

رئيس التحرير:

خير الفؤاد يوسف

مدير التحرير:

فخرياتي

هيئة التحرير:

عبد الرحمن مسعود (وزارة الشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية)

أدوين ويرينجا (جامعة كولونيا)

أنابيل تيه جالوب (المكتبة البريطانية، المملكة المتحدة)

نيكو ج غ كاتين (جامعة لايدن، هولندا)

أحادياتي إكرام (جامعة إندونيسيا، إندونيسيا)

أزوماردي أزرا (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكارتا)

امام طلحة (وزارة الشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية)

عائق سوسيلو (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكارتا)

جول خآن (جامعة ملبورن، أستراليا)

فواد وهاب (جامعة سونان غونونغ جاتي الإسلامية الحكومية باندونغ)

ها دا هدايات (جامعة شريف هداية الله الإسلامية الحكومية جاكارتا)

المحررون:

شرلي ا بكار

لقمان الحكيم

آيانج أتريزا يقين

الفان فيرمان تو

رضوان بوستانام

نور رحمه

ريزا بارويرا

عارف شبرا ملسي

مساعد هيئة التحرير:

آينو فاتخان

كوسانتو

الصورة في الغلاف الأمامي مأخوذة من الصورة في المقالة

Enlivening Cultural Environments through Sharing and Gotong Royong (Mutual Cooperation)

محور هذه المجلة هو تزويد القراء بمعلومات حول خطة إندونيسية ودولية في تطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني من خلال نشر المقالات والتقارير البحثية ومراجعات الكتب.

تركزت هريتيج اوف نوسانتارا للبحث في المؤلفات الدينية سواء كانت معاصرة أو قديمة، والتراث الديني الواقع في جنوب شرق آسيا، وترحب بمساهمات المثقفين والعلماء المتخصصين في هذا المجال.

مركز البحوث وتطوير المؤلفات والتراث الديني

العنوان: مبنى وزارة الشؤون الدينية الاندونيسية الطابق الثامن عشر، الشارع محمد حسني تامرين رقم 6 جاكارتا اندونيسيا

ت/الفاكس: +62 21 3920713 – 3920718

البريد الالكتروني: heritage@kemenag.go.id

الموقع: <http://jurnallektur.kemenag.go.id/index.php/heritage>

هریتیج اوف

نوسانتارا

مجلة دولية لبحث المؤلفات والتراث الديني

السنة الخامسة، العدد 1، 2016



LEMBAGA
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Ilmiah



SERTIFIKAT

Nomor: 707/Akred/P2MI-LIPI/10/2015

Akreditasi Majalah Ilmiah

Kutipan Keputusan Kepala Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
Nomor 1215/E/2015 Tanggal 30 Oktober 2015

Nama Majalah : Heritage of Nusantara: International Journal of Religious Literature and Heritage
ISSN : 2303-243X
Redaksi : Center for Research and Development of Religious Literature and Heritage,
Ministry of Religious Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia,
Gedung Kementerian Agama RI, Lt. 18, Jl. M.H. Thamrin No. 6, Jakarta Pusat

Ditetapkan sebagai Majalah Ilmiah

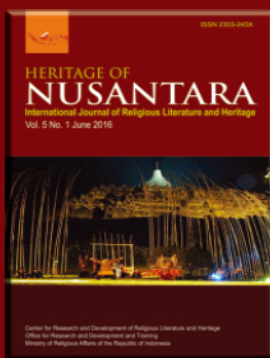
TERAKREDITASI

Akreditasi sebagaimana tersebut di atas
berlaku mulai Oktober 2015 - Oktober 2018

Cibinong, 30 Oktober 2015

Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia
Sekretaris Panitia Penilai Majalah Ilmiah-LIPI

Prof. Dr. Ir. Husein Avicenna Akil, M.Sc.;
NIP 195604111984121001



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ISSN 2303-243X



9 772303 243101