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Patriarchal hegemony of Javanese kings power in *Wulang Putri* text

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ABSTRACT

Colonialism has turned the gender relations in Java into something considerably complex. Through marriage, women were positioned to promote the harmonization of strategic politics of kingdoms. Such a condition results in many studies on several Javanese literary works of *Wulang Putri*. This research investigates the socio- historical background of the writing of *Wulang Putri* in the context of the hegemony of Javanese kingdom power. A sociological, literary work in the Gramscian hegemony theory was applied in this study. All data comprised nine literary works of *Wulang Putri* written in the nineteenth century. The result showed the effect of the literary works in instilling the political influence of the author through a cultural discourse. Such is seen in the post-Java War demilitarization (1825–1830) to maintain the integrity of the kingdom. In addition, there are still traces of efforts to unite the Mataram dynasty through marriages between princes and princesses in four palaces.

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Introduction

Colonialism has led to significant changes in the social structures of every sector in human life; among the examples is the monopolistic economy, which is notoriously known for its impact on a social and political dimension. Only aristocrats benefited from the system in such a situation (yet they should pass strict processes, including monitoring and agreement). Self-government areas (*vorstenlanden*) had the absolute right to manage their country, yet the colonies' authority was inevitable. Between the autonomous regions and the colonial powers lied pseudo boundaries that were difficult to define. In fact, the relationship between the four kingdoms has always experienced a dialectic in the development of Javanese politics. The arrival of the Dutch to Indonesia indirectly built a caste system which led to nobility and commoners. Then women's rights are also affected by the stratanization pattern. The influence of colonialism made control on Javanese kings with a system of intermarriage between kingdoms. Women became one of the instruments to build harmony between kingdoms so that it could be fully controlled by the Dutch.

In the Sultan Agung era (1593–1645), Mataram and VOC had no special cooperations. However, during the Amangkurat I period (1646–1677), there was a dualism of political hegemony between the governor-general and Sunan Mataram. This hegemony led to the fall of the integration of Mataram. Further, disputes between Puger Prince and Amangkurat II arose in the next period. VOC's intervention appeared when the institution acknowledged Prince Puger as King of Kartasura with the title of Paku Buwana I, triggering the Java Throne War I. The internal conflict of the kingdom continued during the Amangkurat IV period (the Second Java Throne War, 1719–1726) and in the early days of the emergence of the three kingdoms, which were motivated by the Giyanti treaty. The warfare was caused by an internal royal conflict between Paku Buwana III, whom the Dutch recognized, Prince Mangkubumi (later Hamengku Buwana I), and Prince Sambernyawa (later Mangkunegara I).

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In addition to armed coalitions, military alliances are also built through marriage. In the early days of his struggle, Prince Mangkubumi betrothed his daughter, Raden Ajeng Inten or Ratu Bendara. This political relationship was hampered when the military guerrilla of Prince Sambernyawa asked for the division of Mataram areas into two. At that time, the coalition of Surakarta, Yogyakarta, and VOC tried to suppress the guerrillas of Prince Sambernyawa (Santosa, 2011). Based on Babad Prayud, there was a divorce between KGPAA Mangkunegara I and Ratu Bendara after the Salatiga agreement.

Marriage was considered a middle ground in creating royal peace. According to Marihandono and Juwono (2008), the marriage between Yogyakarta and Surakarta was initiated by the ruling king at that time. Hamengku Buwana I wanted to betrothe Raden Mas Sundoro (later became Hamengku Buwana II) to the daughter of Paku Buwana III. However, this was unsuccessful because KGPAA Mangkunegara I also wanted the same daughter to be married. In addition, the loosening of relations between the two great kingdoms blamed the lack of physical boundaries that governed their territory. Kinship relations between kingdoms determined the border of the two regions. Such conditions highlighted the complexity of promoting a harmonious relationship between the kingdoms.

The end of the Diponegoro War was one of the causes of a decline in the militaristic approach to achieving peace. At that time, autonomous regions' lives were dominated by social, cultural, and artistic development. In the Surakarta area, a massive literary development dominated by didactic monologues took place during the reigns of Paku Buwana VII (1830–1858), Paku Buwana VIII (1858–1861), and Paku Buwana IX (1861–1893). The condition also applied in

Mangkunegaran during the reign of Mangkunegara IV. At that time, *Serat Wedhatama* and several literary works focusing on warriors (e.g. *Wirawiyata*, *Tripama*, etc.) were written. The development of culture in Kraton Yogyakarta took place during the reign of Sultan Hamengku Buwana V (1822–1855). As many as 120 literary works were published at the time, where narrative poems of Kartasuran dominated the genre of the works (Nugroho, 2020). Historical texts, e.g. *babad* (or chronicles), were also written. Such a significant change brought a change in the efforts to consolidate Mataram. The attitude of classical literature is a form of royal autonomy through ideologically binding written works. War is, without doubt, a form of political hegemony. Through military devices, a kingdom is able to impose an idea or goal to be realized.

Geger Spehi incident and the Diponegoro War led to the demilitarization of the Javanese royal soldiers. Despite the loosening of military tension, new instruments were essential to creating ideological hegemony. Literary works were considered practical efforts in forming a framework of hegemony other than the marriage system between royal families. During the reign of Paku Buwana IX, the two components were arranged to result in a literary style resembling two sides of a coin. The literary style reflects how *piwulang* literature portrayed social life in response to political hegemony within the framework of Javanese royal culture.

The emergence of the *piwulang* literary writing tradition is also one of the reforms in the field of Javanese literature. The view of society has shifted, no longer centered on the individual as an element of the '*jagad gedhe* (big universe)', but the individual has independently been valued as a '*jagad cilik* (little universe)'. The moral teachings contained in the fiber *piwulang* basically lead the individual to be responsible for his or her own '*jagad cilik* (little universe)'.

The phenomenon of the rise of *piwulang putri* in the tradition of palace literary writing in the 19th century AD could not be separated from the conducive political stability in the palace environment at that time. The rulers of the Javanese palace began to focus on the physical construction of the palace such as the main *kedhaton* building, wards, *keputren*, beautiful gardens, and solid perimeter walls.

Spiritual development was carried out for the sons and daughters of the king, courtiers and court relatives through *piwulang* texts.

The reading and study of *piwulang* texts is an important part of the aesthetic transformation of values in *ndalem kasatriyan* (prince's palace) and *ndalem keputren*. The type of reading text for the princes and men of the men's *ndalem* in *ndalem kasatriyan* is different from the reading text for the princesses in *ndalem keputren*. Texts such as *Serat Panitisastra*, *Serat Astabrata*, *Serat Nitipraja*, *Serat Sewaka*, and *Serat Wulang Sunu* are generally read by and for princes and relatives. While texts such as *Serat Wulang Putri*, *Serat Darma Duhita*, *Serat Darma Rini*, *Serat Wara Yatna*, *Serat Wulang Wanita*, and *Serat Candra Rini*, are special texts presented to the king's daughters and female relatives in the *keputren* environment. In this

study the texts are termed as *piwulang putri*. In general, *piwulang putri* texts contain moral teachings addressed to the king's daughters in order to achieve balance and harmony in the world of birth and inner harmony.

The text written by the king and poet is entirely full of advice or exhortations addressed to the king's daughters in living their lives as women and as wives. The discussion of women is a very dominant aspect in *piwulang putri*. This moralistic didactic literary work was deliberately created with the aim of providing teaching for women, maintaining the dignity and dignity of nobility, and to uphold social and religious values and norms upheld by Javanese society.

Along with the growth of political life in the Javanese palace in the 19th century AD, the presence of *piwulang putri* texts was increasingly numerous and increasingly varied. The ruler of the Javanese palace through his poets wrote many works of fiber *piwulang putri* which was actively used to carry out moral and behavioral formation in the keputren environment. From a variety of relics of the *serat piwulang putri* text that are still stored in various Javanese script scriptoriums, found 16 bundle (collection) of *piwulang* manuscripts containing teachings about women. After an inventory of the contents of the manuscripts on the bundles, nine variations of the *serat piwulang putri* manuscript were found which were finally determined as the object of study in this study. The nine *piwulang putri* examined in this study are: *Serat Wulang Putri Adisara (SWPA)*, *Serat Dharma Duhita*

(SDD), *Serat Darma Rini (SDR)*, *Serat Wara Nyatna (SWY)*, *Serat Menak Cina (SWC)*, *Serat Panji Jayengsari (SPJ)*, *Serat Candra Rini (SCR)*, *Serat Wulang Estri (SWE)*, and *Serat Wulang Wanita (SWW)*. The similarity of the nine *piwulang putri* texts is that they are all *piwulang* texts that are specifically used as teaching materials for character education for women at the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace.

Research method

Research approach

This study employed a sociological approach in the Gramscian hegemony theory to examine the existence and pattern of hegemonic ideology in *wulang putri* literature. Hendarto (1993) divides three levels of hegemony in the Gramsci concept: integral hegemony, declining hegemony, and minimum hegemony. Within the integral hegemony is assimilation or agreement between aristocrats and people without triggering contradictions. A fall in rulers' ideas is found in the stage of declining hegemony. In that stage, people have the opportunity to get different agreements. Such agreements, however, seem to favor the authorities. Contradicting ideas between aristocrats and people are found in the minimum hegemony stage.

Gramsci's view is a review of Karl Marx concepts where the particularism of ideologies among people is considered to be common (Harjito, 2009). Each group has its global interest to gain control over the ideology and political system. To attain such a goal, a statement emphasizing the group's dominance is essential. They need to cooperate in developing a public interest. Negotiation is the approach so that all groups involved can accept the action. In addition, literature or art is seen as an effort to form a new ideology.

Data and sources of data

All data comprised nine literary works of philological edits entitled *wulang putri* written in the nineteenth century: *Serat Wulang Putri Adisara*, *Serat Darma Duhita*, *Serat Darma Rini*, *Serat Wara Yatna*, *Serat Menak Cina*, *Serat Panji Jayengsari*, *Serat Candra Rini*, *Serat Wulang Estri*, and *Serat Wulang Wanita*.

These manuscripts were from several libraries (perpustakaan) in Indonesia, i.e. Perpustakaan *Sono Budoyo* Yogyakarta, Perpustakaan *Sana Pustaka* Kraton Surakarta, Perpustakaan *Reksa Pustaka* Mangkunegaran, Perpustakaan Pura Paku Alaman Yogyakarta, Perpustakaan Fakultas Sastra (FIB) Universitas Indonesia, Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, and Perpustakaan Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta.

Data collection

All data were collected using documentation and archival study of the cultural history at the time of writing the literary work. The first step of data collection was to obtain responsible manuscript edits from

the existing manuscript collection using a philological approach. Following this step was heuristic reading to comprehend the literary works' language structures and grammatical and lexical meaning. This aims to identify the link in each literary work as a whole text. Secondary data were retrieved using a historical, cultural archive study that specifically targeted information regarding the social structure of Javanese society.

Data analysis

The data were analyzed using a semiotic-hermeneutic model. According to Supriyanto (2021), the semiotic analysis uses a marking mechanism in determining the meaning of language in a text. This is because the use of language in literary works applied the second level of language, which is different from the daily language with its first level language. Hermeneutic reading is used in interpreting meaning in the text, enabling one to comprehend the text easily according to the context.

The concept of hermeneutic semiotics is integral in interpreting the meaning of the text as based on the cultural conditions of the community. This concept results in three interrelated conventions between language, literature, and culture (Teeuw, 1984). At this stage, the collected data from the reading of heuristic signs were reviewed using hermeneutic semiotic analysis to obtain the context of the content related to the writing culture.

All data were examined using a triangulation method. The data of semiotic-hermeneutic interpretation were re-examined by comparing them with data from studies on the history of Javanese people's culture. Hegemonic ideology signs were retrieved from the explorative analysis; these data can be examined empirically using historical data. Results of the analysis were presented using the approach of qualitative descriptive research based on the literary works studied in the present work.

Discussion

The hegemony principle in Javanese literary works entwines with the influence of ruling kings. Such is seen in the majority of *piwulang* literary works. Javanese people were used to viewing their king as an entity to worship. This, however, is only a tiny part of the worldly phenomenon visible to the world (Suwondo et al., 1994). In other words, a king dominates all elements of royal life. Based on the concept offered by Gramsci, it can be explained that hegemony is leadership by the ruling party to the ruled party with morals and intellectuals formed naturally and consciously.

Hegemony in literary works is not only seen in the ancient era, where the phrase *puja magi sastra* (divine worship by writing literary works) is written to refer to the ruling king. Recitation of literary works in certain events or places, e.g. *Paningrat* (dormitory) between *Sasana Sewaka* (king's throne) and *Parasdy* (house to receive guests at the palace), also highlights the hegemony of the ruling king in classic literature (Soeratman, as cited in Nugroho, 2018). Such events are not without reason; *piwulang* literature has been deemed a manifestation of sacred teachings that become the life guide of all people in the kingdom. This concept emphasizes the integral hegemony that is automatically implemented without triggering excessive contradictions.

The above situation also applies in the writing of *piwulang putri* manuscripts. A king is not only an absolute figure in stipulating a regulation but also a leader for his family. In some situations, a king can have more than one wife, and four of the wives can be appointed as empress. This situation demands the king as the head of the family to educate his wives and the rest of the family members.

The emergence of the *wulang putri* manuscripts is not coincidental. Of the king's sons and daughters, the proportion of daughters was more than that of sons; the daughters mostly live in *Keputren* (a part of the palace specifically built for empresses or princesses) with their mother. Further, some of the sons were re-elected to occupy structural positions in the palace or participate in the army. These are depicted in literary works about military life in the palace.

The empress as a political and ideology driving force

The leadership role in the realm of the kingdom is technically centered on the king. In *Keputren*, however, an empress (*prameswari*, *Queen mother*, or *sorining narpati*) is in charge of the leader position with harems as her subordinates. Most of *wulang putri* literature explains that the role of the empress is significantly dominant in hegemonizing a *pranatan* (institution) or *patuladhan*. Adhering to the empress gives blessing to the women in *Keputren*. This is stated in the third stanza of *Serat Wulang Estri*, a traditional Javanese poem.

tur ta akeh ibunira, tilas sorining narpati, pantes pinintanan wulang, lalakon lakuning sori, kang utamaning nguni, dhuh gendhuk pantes tiniru, supadya ntuka barkah, para ibu nembadani, mawantua nugraha kang prapteng sira

(also) many of your mothers, who became consorts of kings, who have the right to teach lessons, about how to behave as an empress, the prominent figure in her time, o my daughter! that is what you need to do; thus you shall be blessed, and by the blessing of your mother, you shall be granted one day

(Wulang Estri, Sinom/3)

The above excerpt illustrates the concept of government monodualism in the empire. This concept is presumably the result of a cultural genealogy that positions the king and queen as the embodiment of gods and goddesses called *parameswara-parameswari*. The title originates from the Old Javanese language, where *parameswara* is the highest title of the king (as well as Mahadewa for Shiva), and the word *parameswari* means the tallest woman (Zoetmulder, 1974). On that ground, the dualism of the king and empress is the embodiment of gods and magic to bring blessings to the kingdom. The two prominent figures are likened to a proverb *curiga manjing warangka* (keris with sarong). In Gramsci's eyes, the dominants must not only feel ownership and internalize the values and norms of the ruler, but they must also approve of their subordination. This is what Gramsci meant by 'hegemony' or mastering with 'moral and intellectual leadership' consensually (Sugiono, 1999), namely leadership that occurs because of voluntary approval from the lower class or society to the upper class who lead, especially the approval of the main groups in a society (Hefni, 2011).

The position of the empress is central to the Javanese state administration. Almost all of *Wulang Putri* texts order the princesses to compete for the position of empress. The chosen one was selected by demonstrating the empress's quality; the empress's predecessor should also develop her qualities, physically and mentally, as written in *Serat Wulang Putri* Adisara.

Wulang Putri Adisara (henceforth, WPA) comprised three *pupuh* (traditional forms of Javanese poem) *tembang* (song) *macapat Kinanthi, Maskumambang, and Sinom*. This text was written in 1816 in two periods during the reign of Paku Buwana IX by a female poet named Adisara. This is seen in two colophons of writing in the same year, i.e. *osiking rat esthi nata* (changing the world to organize power) and *ebahing para wanodya esthining driya* (changes in women's behavior by organizing thoughts). Generally, the text told about how the king was affected by the sorrow of his daughters due to the queen's death. To fulfill their longing, the king wrote a text for his daughter to be the prominent woman figure in the kingdom (*dyah utama*) like his wife, the past queen. All of the princesses needed to consider the teaching of the king written in the text (Nugroho, 2020).

In the first point of the teaching, a woman must have an eighth of a man's reasoning skills (*saprahassthaning pra putra*). The expression *saprahassthaning pra putra* emphasizes that women, physically, have limited capacities in some aspects compared to men. Further, the expression implies a patrilineal system in the culture of the kingdom. Women were associated with the concept of *kanca wingking* (women's primary tasks, i.e. to household chores and serving their husbands in terms of a sexual relationship) as their responsibilities were limited to the *Keputren* area. In other words, women have fewer responsibilities than men. They are not urged to work as a breadwinner of the family nor govern the palace as political figures. Despite the above interpretation, *saprahassthaning pra putra* encourages women to be actively involved. This is seen in the way the princesses viewed the empress as a role model, a prominent figure in the palace who can affect the perspective of the king and the ideology of the kingdom.

The second point written in the teaching is *aywa pasang sumeh jroning ati*, or the prohibition of rejoicing in silence. Such an excerpt is the turning point of the first teaching as it pinpoints that women

have strategic positions in the government sector. This is evident from repetitive styles complimenting the empress in several *wulang putri* texts. Balancing of gender is based on the philosophy of *curiga manjing warangka* (kings, consorts, or empresses) as monodualists in creating political influence, thus establishing internal and external harmony. The idealism is seen in the excerpts below.

mrih pinasthi rahayu, yen rahayu sapa manggih, gumuyu dennya kasrambah, basuki sajroning puri, puraya bisa angambar, nglimputi marang nagari

hoping for salvation, if saved, everyone will be happy, peace will be all over in the palace, splendor the name of the kingdom in all countries.

(WPA, Kinanthi: 19)

The concept of salvation here is a semiotic meaning, emphasizing that an empress has the political power to solve conflicts, resulting in political reconciliation. An empress can be a mediator or negotiator in every dialectic of palace life. For this reason, the empress is another individual in the kingdom, in addition to the elders or senior princes, who provides insight whenever the king asks for help.

In pupuh *Maskumambang*, the grief of the loss of the empress encouraged the king to teach his daughters to become the next empress. The process, without doubt, was inseparable from the influence of other women, such as Adisara, the female poet. Nyai Adisara had a central role to the education of the princesses (Nugroho et al., 2020a). The king's hope was seen in one of the last parts of tembang *Kinanthi* and the first two stanzas of *Maskumambang* below.

titi palesthaning wuruk, mring putraning putra putri, ri soma tanggal sapisan, ruwah be dipun tengeri, osiking rat esthi nata, nata nitik dyah utami

this note of the teaching was passed to my daughters on the first Monday of the month of Ruwah in the year Be with candrasengkala: osiking rat esthi nata. As the king educates the empress

tumimbula riningsun garwa pademi, tega temen sira, aninggal raka nira ji, tujune manira bisa

My wife, the empress, has come to me, how dare you leave your husband, how lucky of you (Adisara)

aman namur nyandhak kalam gandrung nganggit, katawangsitama, tumrap mring putrengsun putri, dhuh ngger para putraningwang

who can heal my sorrow through your writing, telling the message of the heaven, to my daughters, o my daughters...

(WPA, *Maskumambang*)

Although not explicitly mentioned in literary works, the description of the empress as a model of the ideology is mentioned repeatedly in the corpus of *wulang putri*. The status of empress must be formed through family institutions or marriage with other kings concerning external and spiritual qualifications. Its orientation leads to the interpretation of four concepts of achieving happiness: (a) *gunawan*, i.e. having more skills than other wives; (b) *wiryawan*, i.e., possessing better individual moral qualifications than other wives; (c) *hartawan*, i.e., wealthy or come from a rich family; (d) *berawan*, i.e., having many offspring in constituting the legitimacy of the integral hegemony of the majority. A woman can be said to be the first woman when she can fill her life with the virtues of life that are both physical and spiritual (Partini, 2000).

Central to the position of princes and princesses is the political status of the empress. According to Margana (2011), there is a manuscript explaining the birth celebration of the sons and daughters of King Surakarta. The manuscript states that when *prameswari* (empress) gives birth to a child, she will be greeted with a march of the orchestra of *gamelan kodhok ngorek* at *Siti Hinggil* (king's throne) accompanied by *drel* or salvo fire and cannons from *jaba* and *jero* soldiers depending on the sex of the newborn. Male babies are accompanied by three times of salvo and cannon fire and 13 *Loji Gedhe* (large building) at the palace. Female babies are accompanied by nine cannon fire without the firing of *Loji Gedhe*. The ceremony was held because in the future prince and princess would become kings and empresses. The shower cannon would be different in the birth of the son of *garwa ampeyan* or non-empress wives. Their sons or daughters rarely became kings and they would just be ordinary princes and princesses.

The existence of the empress as one of the ideological figures dominates the practice of governance in Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In addition to the king and crown prince (Prince Adipati Anom), the empress has the right to political power. The political influence might remain the same, although she no longer served as the empress. Such a system had been practiced for a long time. An example of the existence of a political role is Bhaṭāra Kṛtarājasapatnī, wife of Raden Wijaya (1293–1309), who oversaw the reign of Ratu *Tribhūwanottuṅgadewī* (1328–1351). In the next period, *Tribhūwanottuṅgadewī* became the head of the *Saptaprabhu bhaṭāra* overseeing the leadership of Hayam Wuruk (Nastiti, 2016). This situation also occurred during the early reign of Hamengku Buwana V (1823–1855), when the king's guardians accompanied him. Two among the guardians were Ratu Ageng (grandmother) and Ratu Kencana (mother of the king). Such political influence was also found in the reign of Hamengku Buwana VII (1877–1921), during the change of the primary empress. This political rotation is suspected to be associated with hegemonic interests to prevent prolonged conflicts (Safitri, 2019). Paku Buwana XII (1945–2004), in his early reign, was also accompanied by Ageng (mother of the king/husband of Paku Buwana XI).

The ideological-political influence had encouraged the king to remind his daughters to be an empress like their mother when they are going to get married. Such is because they can instill power through several ways, i.e. *keputren*, *kraton* or palace, and even two kingdoms. *Serat Lampah-lampah Krama-dalêm Inggang Sinuhun Kangjêng Susuhunan Pakubuwana, Senapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurahman Sayidin Panatagama Inggang Kaping Sadasa* tell the story of Sunan Paku Buwana X (1893–1939) who intends to establish a relationship with the Yogyakarta Palace through marriage with Gusti Bendara Raden Ajeng Mur Sudarinah, the daughter of Sultan Hamengku Buwana VII. The marriage took place in 1915. Previously, he married GKR Paku Buwana, daughter of KGPAA Mangkunegara IV.

Chapter 2 of the script states that, '*Ing dintên Sênèn tanggal sapisan wulan Dulkijah (Bêsar) ingkang sinuhun kangjêng susuhunan, utusan dhumatêng nagari Ngayogyakarta, maringakên raja kaputrèn saha ampilan, punapa dene upacara kaprabonipun badhe pramèswari dalêm, mênggah ingkang sami kautus, punapa dene lampah-lampahipun, kados carangan kanthinipun pranatan punika*'.

On Monday the first of the month of Dulhijah kanjeng susuhunan, sent to the Yogyakarta palace, brought the prince, to be married to the princess and held a ceremony to be empress, with such steps and procedures,

(*Serat Lampah-lampah Krama-dalêm Inggang Sinuhun Kangjêng Susuhunan Pakubuwana, Senapati ing Ngalaga Ngabdurahman Sayidin*

Panatagama Inggang Kaping Sadasa)

The political influence remained the same when the king's daughter married Paku Alam VII (1906–1937). Such is seen in the collection of Paku Alaman manuscripts number 2459/PP/73 entitled *Niti Sastra Kawi Jarwa*. The manuscript was passed to Paku Alam VIII (1937–1998), the grandson of Susuhunan Paku Buwana X (Seno, 2005). The historical records mentioned above signify the critical role of the empress. Explaining the concept of being empress in a sacred and philosophical manner in literary works is a must, concerning the strict process to become an empress.

Social relationship among aristocrats

In addition to the roles of the empress in encouraging the king to educate their daughters, another deconstruction has noted the efforts of the ruling king's hegemony to build political relations through marriage with other kings or leaders of the community. The marriage, in general, was influential to religious and political communities, as stated in *Serat Candrarini* that explains the story of Arjuna's family.

Serat Candrarini was written by Raden Ngabehi Ranggawarsita during the reign of Paku Buwana IX in 1863 AD. A chronogram (*sengkalan*) *piyarsakna trusing kang sabda narendra* (sees the king's words directly) is written in the text. *Serat Candrarini* contains a metaphor of women in establishing their household. The metaphor encouraged women to possess inner and outer beauty in establishing their family that could be seen from their obedience and respect (Pikatan, 2012; Puspitasari & Tri, 2016). All of the messages function to make a lasting marriage, as Arjuna's family had modeled.

Serat Candrarini serves to actualize ideas about a symbolic image of how a man is loved by every woman (*lelanang jagad lancuring bawana*). This notion forms a paradigm that places men as husbands

and leaders. Such influence grows stronger when supported by superior women, as seen in *Layang Wiwaha's* diction, referring to *Serat Arjunawiwaha* or *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha*. The manifestation of knights and angels in strengthening this legitimacy could be part of the hegemony of the Mataram kings in addition to the dogma of the descendants of Dewi Nawangwulan and Ki Ageng Tarub from Majapahit. It is no exaggeration if the description used is a form of *panyandra* (parable) metaphor, which implies that the beauty of a Javanese woman is similar to an angel.

Behind the concept of beauty mentioned previously, the woman plays a significant role in maintaining the harmony and stability of the kingdom. The selection of Arjuna's wives with the classification of the king's daughter and sage was a form of how the king maintained balanced situations at that time. Further, the king was considered a religious leader and a political leader. There needs to be a strong relationship through marriage to harmonize communities supporting the leadership. A metaphor depicting the relationship between Sembadra-Kresna- Baladewa and Srikandi, Gandawati, reflects how women become mediators in building relationships with political communities. This condition was common in the Javanese kingdom and its territory in strengthening their political power.

In the story of wayang performance, Arjuna has many wives and children, and they all live in harmony. Sembadra's position as the first wife is said to have a *pamomong* (advisor) attitude, which is illustrated in the quote, '*...Ing maru kadi sudara*' with Arjuna's other wives (who were considered as sisters). This function was significant because qualifications and seniority were usually exclusive to the king consort. The empress's modesty and patience are essential qualities that other wives should emulate.

In the story of Sumbadra Larung, Arjuna was very sad when he heard of Sembadra's death. The emotional similarity is also seen in the events following the death of the empress Paku Buwana IX, which is described in *Serat Babad Surud Dalem Kanjeng Ratu* (Sasana Pustaka collection, Catalog number: KS 107 618Ha SMP 107/8). This text was written around two months before the writing of *Serat Wulang Putri Adisara* (Nugroho, 2019). It can be said that the emergence of a pattern of political legitimacy of a king will diminish along with the death of his government supporters.

In addition to possessing spiritual and political abilities, a wife excelling in the arts and military becomes a pillar of power. One example is Srikandi, a woman possessing chivalry qualities (*iringe galak amanis*) and art skills who respected her parents-in-law (*bekti marang maratuwa, gumati mring Dewi Kunthi*). This is evident from one stanza of tembang Kinanthi below.

lawan sukane sang ayu, maos sagung srat palupi, kang sekar wisatikandhah, swara arum tan mbrebegi, kenut sanggya kang miyarsa, yen sampun den warsitani

Another of the goddess's favorites is reading *serat piwulang*, one of which is sung by Sekar Wisatikandhah. Her voice is so melodious that it makes anyone feel that they are in the scene that they are viewing.

(SCR, Kinanthi)

Chivalries and women are two entities intertwined with each other. Carey and Houben (2018) elaborate that in the Surakarta Resident's notes, women serving bedhaya and srimpi in Surakarta were skillful dancers and soldiers. A similar scenery could be seen in Kraton Yogyakarta; this is evident from *Serat Rerenggan Kraton* where it explained the king's troops called Langen Kusuma (Aryono, 1981). The troops were women dressed in their dance costumes equipped with weapons called *cundhuk mentul* with their sharp edges; they also wore chelates as their shield and *keris patrem* (a traditional Javanese sword) on their waist.

From the description above, the five wives of Arjuna, with all their accompanying characteristics, illustrate how the integration of hegemony in political and ideological stability is built through inter-community marriages. The quality of women as the most prominent figure after the king, if observed from the area of origin of the empress, reflects the development of social relations. Such was common in the nineteenth century. Many noble daughters played a major role in building political relationships with other *kadipaten* or *priyayi* (the Dutch-era class of the nobles). According to Koentjaraningrat (1985), *priyayis* are not only limited to those who have blood ties to the descendants of the king but also traders or merchants, or respected scholars. In Gramsci's view, the literary text was both a site of hegemony and a tool of hegemony. As a site of hegemony, literary texts become a place for ideological struggles. Within the literary text there are many ideologies of texts that compete with each other towards the hegemonic

ideology. However, literary texts can also be used by other ideologies to shape society in order to hegemonize society.

The noble wife and her position in the household

In some conditions, princesses are not only matched with kings or princes. They often were betrothed to another nobleman who had a close relationship with the king. In maintaining the relationship, women are positioned as 'messengers' whose reputations of their parents and the kingdom were at their stake.

The royal family consists of the main family, e.g. parents and children; siblings from different mothers were also considered the members of the central family. Although the king acts as the head of the family, each wife's operational tasks were borne with the help of several *abdi dalem* (courtiers) of the keputren. One of the archives of the Sasana Pustaka Keraton Surakarta Library mentions several courtiers serving in the Keputren during the Susuhunan Paku Buwana VII period in 1830: *Pangageng*, *Tumenggung*, *Keparak*, *Sedhiahah* (those who serve offerings), *Niyaga* (musicians), *Narataka*, *Gandek* (liaison), *Kaklik* (special tasks), *Pasarean* (bedroom manager), *Dhulangan* (baby feeder), *Tukang Wos* (the one who provides rice), *Juru Pawon* (cook), *Dhaharan* (waitress), *Kalawija*, *Sukertaris* (notekeeper), and *Jamban* (janitor who cleaned bathroom). Each has different positions depending on their responsibilities (Nugroho, 2020). Margana (2011) states that the position of Nyai Tumenggung, in several archives, is said to have a technical relationship as the coordinator of the king in every palace institution.

There is an adage noting that *Keputren* is a state within a state. In general, the position of the empress is critical as the general leader. The position, however, became the individual responsibility in practice. The empress is urged to be a good wife to her children. Such a requirement also applies to all noble wives living outside the kraton area.

The dichotomy of different positions between empresses, mistresses, and other wives is only limited to the hierarchy. In the context of kinship, all of them are regarded as wives who are responsible for serving their husbands. This is influenced by the patriarchal system that exists in Javanese society. In the Javanese culture, there is terms affirm the inferiority of women before men, for example in the Javanese term wife as *Kanca Wingking* means friend behind. A term that indicates that women are only in charge of managing household affairs, especially child care, cooking, and washing (Hermawati, 2007). This concept can be identified in the spiritual structure of *Serat Darmarini*, *Darmaduhita*, *Wulang Estri*, *Wulang Wanita*, and *Warayatna*. These texts explain how a wife should serve her husband in general. This was a form of hegemony of literary texts deliberately spread by the rulers at that time as teachings for women. The fundamental idealism about the teachings of patience and sincerity is, without question, a turning point in reality. Polygamy concepts enable wives to realize the situation.

kang tinutur marna reh mring para sunu, wanodya kang samya, manungku ing palakrami, pan mangkana ingkang pinedharing kata

explained in this *serat* as the teaching to children, (primarily) women who are already bound by household relations, this is my advice

dipun tuhu anglakonana puniku, kang sangang prakara, wijange sawiji- wiji, dhingin mantep lire tan niyat mring liyan
live it as best you can, about nine teachings, which are tied to one another, first, avoid immorality (obedient to husband)

kajaba mung ngamunna ingkang amengku, iku lakinira, kapindho temen winarni, temen iku nora silip ing sabarang

only obey to the one who proposes you, your husband; second, be honest, do not make a mistake

dora wuwus dene ta kang kaping telu, dipun anarima, apa sapanduming laki, ping pat sabar tegese ywa sinung duka
or lying; third, accept everything that your husband gives to you; fourth, be patient, do not let anger or

cepak nepsu pinglima bektiyeng kakung, de bekti mangkana, tan wani sarta ngajeni, nora lancang ywa wani angin-ingina

lust consume you; fifth, filial piety to your husband, obey your husband, avoid being presumptuous, and do not force your

barang laku mengku ngekul nora ayun, babaganing priya, wedia beduning laki, kanemira kang gumati marang priya

intentions, be afraid of sin for your mistakes; sixth, be faithful to your husband

kusung-kusung sasaji ngopeni kakung, barang kang kinarsan, tanapi yen suker sakit, mularasa sung usada mrih waluya

strive to present the best for her husband, fulfill everything he needs, when your husband is sick, you have to take care of him, finding the cure;

kang kapitu mituhu sabarang tuduh, manut nora pugal, kawolu rumekseng laki, bisa simpen yen ana wadining garwa

seventh, obey everything your husband ordered to you; eighth, maintain the dignity of your husband, hide his weaknesses

tyasira sru ngeman ngowen ywa katempuh, sakehing babaya, kasanga wiweka pasthi, pradikaning wiweka ingkang santosa

be affectionate, if forced to tell his weakness, do not cause harm; ninth, be cautious, a cautious wife means an independent life

(SDR, Pocung)

The description above confirmed that marriage becomes one of the substantial means of forming an integral hegemony. Women are ideologically bound by two norms—religion and customary law—to carry out these sacred duties. Politically, this approach is far more profitable than going to war and had been a common practice in the past, especially in Europe. The matrimonial diplomacy through marriage had brought significant changes in the state administration of European empires. Such an approach is impactful in determining the throne's predecessor (Pennini, 2017). An example of this approach is seen in Java kingdoms before the Surakarta-Yogyakarta era, such as the marriage between Sultan Agung and the princess of Cirebon Sultanate that was central to the unification of Java. According to Nastiti (2016), the marriage of two dynasties as a form of reconciliation was also practiced during the era of Ancient Mataram, i.e. the marriage of Rakai Pikatan-Pramowardhani and Airlangga, son of Mahendradatta and daughter of Dharmawangsa Tguh. This concept is more successful than using a militaristic approach. It was also in line with the process of hegemony conveyed by Gramsci that culture was continuously maintained which had become a habit agreed and established by society at that time. This shows that in perpetuating power, the class leads through physical coercion in subtle or unmanifest ways, so it is considered a natural value (Setiawan et al., 2016).

Conclusion

The corpus of *Serat Piwulang Putri* was primarily written in the nineteenth century AD. This text is intended as a form of educational content for the king's daughters when they were going to get married. Behind the educational purposes, other studies revealed the hidden purposes of the text as a form of political hegemony of the king of Java. Marriage was considered an approach of actualizing idealism as customary and religious norms confirm its approach. Obedience to fathers and husbands as family leaders is a value that cannot be contested.

Marriage as a means of instilling legitimacy and hegemony has existed before the existence of *vorstenden*. Several kingdoms of ancient Java placed women as important figures in kinship and government. However, the war outbreak in Java resulted in enormous material losses for all parties. Marriage is seen as one of the logical means in actualizing the ideals of uniting and harmonizing the kingdom of the Mataram dynasty without triggering conflicts. This concept was applied from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

The position of women in the practice of hegemony is subject to their status. An empress is a prominent female figure with responsibilities equal to the king regarding women's empowerment. In addition to the qualifications and skills, women also support legitimacy. This leads to the consideration of marriage for political harmonization, despite the king being superior to the empress due to implementing the patrilineal system.

The results of this study provide a foundation for the development of women's education in Indonesia today. The development of women's character in Indonesia today still has to look at the history and cultural roots of the treatment of women. By men in this case represented by the ruler (king).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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