
The Subordination of the Queen in the Narrative *Lampahan Juměněngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu*, an Episode of *Langěndriya* Manuscript

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ABSTRACT

Lampahan Juměněngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu (LJNDKW) is a fragment of the legend of Damarwulan. It presents Kancana Wungu, a royal female figure who is represented in a more superordinate position than most of female characters in stories revolving around Javanese court life. The primary objectives of this study are: firstly, to explore the reason why this form of narrative becomes paradoxical and secondly, to find the meaning of it within its historical context. In order to achieve a more profound understanding of the narrative, a review of the positioning of women will be based on theories proposed by Sylvia Walby. By applying philological methods in collecting and providing readable narrative, this study then finds its interpretation of the narrative that “superordinate” position of the seemingly empowered queen is a form of segregation.

Keywords: *positioning, female, royal, subordination, segregation*

INTRODUCTION

“..sasurudnya sri narendra, punika sampun antawis, yogi samya ginalih, mamrih mulyaning praja gung, sintěn gumantya nata, ngrěnggani ing Majapahit, dene nata mung tilar putri sajuga.. (Patih Maudara in the manuscript *Langěndriya*, 1935:6)”

... after the death of the king, which had been quite a while, it is best to consider, for the glory of this great kingdom, who will replace the king, to reign in Majapahit, while the king himself only left a daughter ..

Quote above is an excerpt found in the narrative text of *Lampahan Juměněngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu (LJNDKW)*. It is an episode of a series of *langěndriya* texts that serve as the *pakem* or script of a *langěndriya* play, as well as of *wayang krucil*

performance. The text from which data for this article is drawn is from one of the collections of Javanese manuscripts in the Pura Pakualaman Library, coded as PJ-05 (Saktimulya, 2015). The manuscript, consisting of 15 episodes, was published by Bale Pustaka in 1935 in the forms of prose and poetry. In the *pakem*, written for each scene are information about: the puppets displayed, the songs sung and also the texts performed by the *dhalang* so that the overall form of the text includes prose as well as poetry that appears in *tembang* section.

LJNDKW begins with the coronation of Dewi Kancana Wungu, the only daughter of the recently deceased ruler of Majapahit, King Brawijaya III. It is followed by the outbreak of the Blambangan rebellion, and finally ends with the death of Adipati Sindura who fought against King Huruběsma. It can be implicitly

perceived in the excerpt that Patih Maudara, one of the king's four confidants, was concerned about the absence of sons to the king because this caused problems and created conflicts in the patriarchal system of succession to the Javanese throne.

Even though the king left an offspring, confusion regarding the succession of power remained because the descendant was not a male. Had the king left a son instead of a daughter, the question of who would succeed the king would not have been raised. It can be said that the existence of the only daughter of the king is nullified by the question "who will replace the king?", a question which would also be raised even though the existence of the princess is not discussed. In other words, the very existence of the princess as an heir to the throne is not taken into consideration. The princess existed but she was not visible because the *patih* did not see her as one who could succeed as king. Thus, the subordination of women's positions in the royal court can be traced back to the moment they, as individuals, entered the family institution with their existence dependent on their fathers or brothers.

The story continues with another confidant of the king, namely Adipati Ranggalawe, who suggested that Kancana Wungu, a descendant of the king from his empress Andyaswara, has the right to the throne. Despite the fact that she was a woman, he considered that her succession to the throne should be secured. Adipati Sindura was also in favor of this idea. However, it was firmly rejected by Adipati Menakjingga of Blambangan who asserted that a woman had no right to be king. The disagreement between Adipati Ranggalawe, Adipati Sindura and Adipati Menakjingga in turn led to a new conflict resulting in a rebellion which is written in another part of the story.

The narrative above is a fragment of the story of Damarwulan. It is found in the *Langëndriya* manuscript, which also functions as the standard basis for a *wayang krucil* performance. *Wayang Krucil* or *Wayang Klithik* (Tagliacozzo, 2014: 337) is a traditional shadow puppet show staged in the northern part of Central Java. It takes the story of Damarwulan, which is based on the conflict between the Majapahit rulers and the King of Blambangan.

Kancana Wungu was narrated as the queen of Majapahit as well as the ultimate object of Damarwulan's love. It is recounted that it was Kancana Wungu who chose Damarwulan based on the *wangsit* (divine revelation) she received from

the gods. Furthermore, Damarwulan also had to accomplish an additional task as a precondition to marry Kancana Wungu. He had to defeat and bring Menakjingga's head to her. In this case, Kancana Wungu becomes the active agent who brings about the pair's union, unlike most of princesses in stories who are subjugated within the hegemony of man-made rules to accept the fate to which they seem to be destined. Kancana Wungu is presented to be in a more dominant position. However, this appears paradoxical compared to what has been stated earlier about the excerpt of the beginning of the conflict found in the narrative *LJNDKW*.

The narrative *LJNDKW* in the story of Damarwulan suggests a paradox that is worth investigating. This study is carried out in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the legend of Damarwulan in general and the *LJNDKW* narrative in particular through a review of the positioning of women in the narratives based on a feminist perspective.

The perspective used to view the narrative in the manuscript is based on the ideas proposed by Sylvia Walby in *Theorizing Patriarchy* (1990). Her work comprehensively explains the operation of patriarchy in various systems: culturally, socially and politically (Udasromo, 2017: vii). Walby (1989) defines patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress, and exploit women. The use of the term social structure here is important because it implies a rejection of biological determinism and the notion that every male is in a dominant position and every female is in a subordinate position. Furthermore, differences and inequality of the two sexes are the two elements from which Walby prefers to approach a problem (Holst, 2012: 300; Onetto, 2019: 5). The criticism of masculine domination in the narrative of the manuscript becomes increasingly clear, for example, if we draw on Walby to take notice of the depiction of the subordination of the female body by the hegemonic patriarchal structure represented in the story (Basuki & Hayuningsih, 2015: 128).

Patriarchy is the key to the feminist concept that is proposed here. However, due to its broad scope, it is necessary to specify the form of patriarchal concept which is most suitable to this study. Some of Sylvia Walby's keywords found in *Key Concepts in Feminist Theory* (Walby, 1996: 2-14), such as, among others,

participation, integration, exclusion, marginalization, and segregation that are grouped under the concept of patriarchy are also useful in understanding women's narratives.

To explain the narrative's paradox in the text we are discussing, the question that must be answered first is whether women become empowered or victimized by their entry into the public sphere. There are many examples where women in Javanese history and literature appear to be a heroine with full agency. An example of this is Gayatri Rajapatni, the figure of the queen mother who is said to be behind the scenes of her descendants' success as the prominent rulers of the land of Java during the Majapahit era. In the realm of literature, her figure reminds us of Satyawati, the key figure who governs Hastinapura throne, even though she was never queen. Another example is Dyah Suhita, the last queen regnant of Majapahit, whose narrative in 19th century literature is being highlighted here. In reality, she occupied the throne for almost twenty years ruling the second half of it as sole monarch (Muljana, 2006: 32-33). Nevertheless, how the author creates her narrative in literature appears to limit her greatness in real life.

The change of women's role in Javanese history and its representation in the 19th century Javanese literature relates to Walby's opinion about the shift of women's role from private to public patriarchy where women are still considered as subordinates no matter how the agency of some women can be seen in Javanese old history and narratives. Walby also mentions the changes of gender relation that are resulted from the changes of the structure in economies or politics that sometimes create a new form of patriarchy. This can also be seen in Javanese literature where male organization limits women's access to power by practicing segregation towards women especially in public sphere. Women who can survive from this new form of patriarchy are those who have social positions or status in the society (Udasmoro & Anwar, 2019).

The second example suggests that it is essential to consider male agency in the theorization of gender relations in the narrative of *LJNDKW*. Men are active in building institutions that accommodate more of their needs than those of women. Men who traditionally have had more access to the public sphere are given more opportunities to realize their collective agency than those given to women. Although the protagonist

in the narrative always makes active choices, she does not make them based on her own will, but under conditions determined by institutions and structures created by men in which she has no power.

We return to the question: Does women participation in the public sphere empower them? Some people think that women's involvement in the public sphere is a key to women's emancipation because this can give them a degree of autonomy and independence. In addition, women are more active politically if they enter the public sphere. On the one hand, this has positive implications on the ability of women to participate in higher levels of decision-making. On the other hand, their involvement in the public sphere may cause them to be segregated or marginalized. Thus, what they accomplish will only be a double burden and not a source of emancipation (Walby, 1996: 5).

The next central question is: When does their participation victimize or bring harm and create inequality to women? Needless to say, this has to do with the choices made and their constraints. To answer this, an analysis of the time or period of making choices and the intersection of an individual's life with the period and the intersection of the transformation of patriarchal structures is needed. In this case, the choices women made in the past will affect another set of choices open to them in the future, or in other words will form a set of trajectories that are difficult to change later. The choices made are closely related to structural changes in the gender regime in the form of patriarchy (Walby, 1996: 7-8).

In reality, the form of patriarchal relations at a time when women make crucial life decisions today is different from that of a few decades ago. Women today will have to find a balance between their commitment to education and work and attention and dependence on partners with quite a different pattern from groups of older women (Walby, 1996: 8). This latter group of women has made decisions under a gender regime that is more private, more domestic, than the current public system. Women who have adapted to a system of private patriarchy or domestic gender regimes have a different set of resources and vulnerabilities from women who live in a new, more public form of patriarchy. They have different values, morals, priorities and political agendas.

The positioning of women in the public sphere cannot be perceived from the level of participation

as a whole. Women may participate in an institution but become subordinated in it, for example they are segregated into weaker positions. Walby (Walby, 1996: 12-13) defines segregation as a social practice in which women and men are separated from one another, with the more dominant group occupying a better position. The term 'segregation' referring to a type of patriarchal strategy itself coexists dichotomously with 'exclusion'. In *Theorizing Patriarchy* (1989), Walby uses the term segregation to refer to strategies in public patriarchy while exclusion to refer to strategies in private patriarchy. In private patriarchy, the strategy is exclusive, not including women in the public sphere but confining them to the private world of domestic life, while the patriarchal strategy in public patriarchy, does not prevent women from gaining access to the public sphere but separates them from high positions which results in their subordination in all social spheres.

Gender relations are never static, and it does not change only from domestic to public, but also vary in extent to which public gender regimes are more social democratic (Walby, 2013: 728). The concept of patriarchy that develops is the best way, according to Walby, in theorizing their changes. Women are not passive victims of oppressive structures. Women have gone through the struggle to change the situation and the broader social structure. The struggle achieved by the first wave of feminism has indeed brought success in changing the course of history. However, the elimination of all forms of inequality between men and women has not been fully achieved. As a result, patriarchy changed form by incorporating changes, which posed new challenges for women. However, the idea of patriarchy does not necessarily lead to a fixed and ahistorical analysis. In order to answer the second question in discussion, the intersection of the historical background will also be taken into account.

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

As previously stated in the introduction, the *LJNDKW* narrative begins with the deliberations of the *adipati* confided by the late king in facing concerns over the power vacuum in Majapahit kingdom. In the midst of their confusion, Adipati Ranggalawe then proposed that Kancana Wungu be appointed as queen,

kakang patih Maudara, yen saking pangrĕmbag

mami, susurudnya Sri Narendra, Brawijaya kang kaping tri, kang yogi gumantya nata inggih putraning narpati, nadyan punika putri, jĕr waris yogi jinunjung, ngrĕnggani Majalĕngka (Langĕndriya Jilid I: Lampahan Jumĕnĕngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu, 1935: 7).

O my brother Patih Maudara, in my opinion, after the death of the King Brawijaya the Third, the one who should succeed him as king is the king's daughter. Although she is a woman, her succession to the throne should be secured, to reign Majalĕngka.

Ranggalawe's idea inclines to confer the possibility for Kancana Wungu to appear in public as a ruler. This shows that women are perceived to be entrusted with the protection of the kingdom. In fact, this is not a deviation, because unlike in some parts of the world where a certain law is enforced for example, *loi salique*, which defines the rules of succession to the throne of France, preventing in particular the access of women to power, did not exist in Java. The Javanese history, on the contrary, has recorded the existence of several Javanese queen regnants such as Putri Shima, Tribhuwana Tunggaladewi, or Ratu Suhita. However, this fact invites us to question whether their position as leaders is indeed their own preferences and not merely because of their status, which is closely related to their lineage. Or, whether their succession to the throne is always to support a regime founded on male principles. This skepticism arises because the description of the role of court women in leadership, is found for instance, in the *Nitipraja* manuscript (Wulandari, 2016: 3). Pertaining to this matter, it is still however limited to the status of women being co-leaders and that they are instructed to adopt certain forms of behavior while accompanying the leaders.

Another interesting indication of an indirect and subtle derogation of women is the use of the word *nadyan* or *although* in the translation of the above excerpt. The use of this coordinating conjunction both in Javanese and English is to connect ideas that contrast. The mention of "her succession to the throne should be secured", shows the idea to highlight, the subordinating clause ascertains the reality that "she is a woman". In other words, the idea and the fact that she is a woman naturally do not go along with a guarantee that she will succeed to the throne and have

access to power. This points out that ruling an empire is not normally assigned to women. Even though the court woman is an heir apparent, she still faces obstacles in the succession to the throne. However, it is safe to say that Ranggalawe has opened a dialectical negotiation to this system of sovereignty by proposing such an idea.

Ranggalawe's idea was firmly rejected by Adipati Menakjingga, who strongly disagreed to the idea due to a number of reasons.

...botĕn gampil ratu nyawaning buwana. lamun sang dyah kang gumantya, paran arjaning rat jawi/ sigug kaprabon narendra, tan wande manggung sumĕlang..... sabab kirang prawira, sigugnya ratu pawestri, botĕn sagĕd kulina lan wadyabala// ratu tan kulineng wadya, sayĕkti yen tanpa kering// sadaya ing manca praja, kathah balik mĕjanani (Langĕndriya Jilid I: Lampahan Jumĕnĕngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu, 1935: 8).

...it is not easy to become a king who is also the soul of the world, when a woman succeeds (the king), how about the salvation of the land of Java?/ no matter how brave she is as king, (because) her position as king, shall endlessly raise concerns...because she is not quite chivalrous, no matter how brave the female king is, she cannot be skillful to the army // the queen who is not accustomed to warfare, without being escorted// throughout the country, there will be many who underestimate her.

According to Adipati Menakjingga, it is not acceptable for a woman to be king because she will be the life of the world and she must ensure the safety of the land of Java. Making Kancana Wungu a queen will only raise concerns because the actions of a queen are judged to be less courageous since she is not accustomed to soldiering. In addition, he argued that by upholding the sovereignty of a queen who was not familiar with warfare would bring humiliation upon Majapahit.

In general, this viewpoint is different from other scholars' arguments about the position of court women in Javanese history. In the 18th century, they were considered strong and had political positions in the society. There was even a female warrior

class who took part in constant warfare (Ricklefs, 2018: 208) or known as *prajurit estri* (Kumar, 1980: 5-10). Regardless of this, the citation above shows another narrative. Although the viewpoint is merely a justification of his ambition to become king, the figure of a male leader, in this case represented by Menakjingga, is reluctant to accept women as leaders.

Apart from being appraised as incompetent, in this case, women are not trusted to be leaders politically and socially (Asmara & Kusumaningrum, 2018: 7; Zulkarnain & Wiyatmi, 2018: 112). The arguments are almost always related to female physical characteristics. Women are considered weak and will not be able to confront the masculine world, such as war. They are underestimated because of their physical appearance. This perspective underlines the masculine views usually adopted by the masculine power and political regime.

Menakjingga echoed this view in the narrative, showing objection to an attempt of negotiation by Ranggalawe and other three *adipati*. No matter how great an effort asserted in bargaining with patriarchal structure that has long been implanted in the society, there will still be a long-standing argument codifying superiority of a man to a woman in ancient monarchy. One of its forms is in classic physical comparison that will lead to a subordination of women in exercising certain activities that require physical expertise such as warfare.

In response to Menakjingga's statement, Ranggalawe accused Menakjingga, of failing to fulfil his obligations to the late king. Ranggalawe emphasized that only Kancana Wungu, a descendant of the king, should succeed the king because sovereign power is not in the hands of the common people. They have the obligation to obey their rulers, otherwise it will inflict divine retribution.

"Kakang patih yen mami, tan malih mrĕtĕg awuwus, reh mung dyah trahing nata, pancĕr pakuning rat jawi, pan karaton dede wajibing kawula./ wajibing kula manawang, manĕngeng pada nrĕpati/ yen ta botĕn makatĕna, iba dhĕndhaning dewa di, dhatĕng kakang miwah kula, sri nata kang sampun swargi, tansah among ing dasih, rinĕksa niskaranipun (Langĕndriya Jilid I: Lampahan Jumĕnĕngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu, 1935: 8)."

“O brother as for me, I strongly emphasize, that only a woman who is the descendant of the king, who will become the stanchion of the land of Java, because leadership is not the obligation of the common people/ the duty of the people is to hold in high regard, and to believe that the king will provide for us/ if not, there will be serious consequences from the gods, for you and also for me, for the late king, who always tend to his servants, everything should be protected.”

In this case, Ranggalawe used the spiritual and historical justifications in order to convince Menakjingga. He did not really emphasize on the quality of Kancana Wungu but relate more of his arguments on her father and on the gods' orders. It can be indicated that from this citation of the text, the late male ruler, Kancana Wungu's father, albeit being deceased, did not lose his power as king. In other words, his power is transcendental. Therefore, his child's fate can always be decided by the *adipati*.

Kancana Wungu was then placed in the protectorate of male power. She was defended by Ranggalawe but in the name of the late King and the gods. When she was about to be given a mandate to rule, she was talked about, became the subject of the debate, yet never present in any of the occasions.

Meanwhile, Menakjingga, who strongly opposed to the idea, finally chose to be indifferent. He also refused to be engaged in the suppression of the rebellion that occurred in the country and left the palace. His attitude triggered the anger of Adipati Sindura and Ranggalawe who questioned Menakjingga's loyalty to the kingdom. Together with Patih Maudara, Adipati Sindura and Ranggalawe finally decided to crown Kancana Wungu as the queen without the consent of Menakjingga who had already left Majapahit.

The next part of the narrative is a depiction of Kancana Wungu's coronation day, which is rich in descriptions of the beauty of the throne, nature, the queen's dress, and her female companions upon entering the palace. Arriving at the coronation site, Kancana Wungu was surprised because she did not see the Adipati of Blambangan there. After Kancana Wungu knew that Adipati of Blambangan did not give her his blessings, the other *adipati* tried to comfort her. Witnessed by all the *adipati*, palace officials and the common people, Kancana Wungu was then officially crowned as queen with the title of Prabu

Kenya by Patih Maudara who first read the *srat undhang narpati/narendra*.

After the queen's coronation, Patih Maudara then gave his first advice to the queen.

“Dhuh gusti sri naranata, amba atur pamrayogi, reh sampun juměněng nata, prayogi galih akrami, miliha trah utami, sokur sasaming ratu, ingkang yogi siněmbah, sagung tiyang Majapahit, mrih měwahi arja kartaning prajendra (Langěndriya Jilid I: Lampahan Juměněngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu, 1935: 13).”

“O Your Highness, I would like to give you a piece of advice, you have become the ruler, it is better to think about marriage, you should choose from the best lineage, or better yet an equal ruler, who is fitted to be paid homage to, by all the people of Majapahit, in order to increase the welfare and to keep the peace of the kingdom.”

Basically, Patih Maudara advised the queen to get married immediately by choosing the candidates from the top royal family, or better still among fellow kings who were worthy of the worship of all the people of Majapahit. Both Ranggalawe and Sindura are in agreement about the idea. Referring to this matter, Kancana Wungu is then positioned as a queen who needs a husband to maintain her power. She is not seen as an independent being. This seems to confirm the opinion in the systematized power structure of the monarchy that even though women are in the zenith of dominance, they still cannot be the masters of their own lives. Their existence will always depend on men. True gender equality is difficult to achieve because in the system of marriage as it is represented in the text, women are not equal to men. Their sexuality is regulated by the patriarchal structure because they have to provide heirs to the throne as the ultimate goal. This is also applicable to a king, who would also receive the same advice so that together with his spouse they would bring prosperity and peace to the kingdom.

Nevertheless, in the story, Kancana Wungu has a voice of her own, with which she expresses her objection to the advice of Patih Maudara. She did not follow the structure in which a queen or a king has to get married in order to sustain the patriarchal power.

On hearing the advice, Kancana Wungu said:

“Paman patih Maudara, saklangkung panědha mami, sih marmanta dhatěng kula, nanging kula dereng apti, nguni dewa sung wangsit, tangeh jatu kramaningsun, ing benjang wontěn uga, yen wus cělak mangsaneki, asarana banjir gětih sarah watang./ lumur lalayu bandera, asrang turangga esthi, lawan kang wukir kapala, ngriku paman nuli prapti, neng nagri Majapahit, badhe jatukramaning sun, mila paman andika, ywa dadya rěngating galih (Langěndriya Jilid I: Lampahan Juměněngipun Nata Dewi Kancana Wungu, 1935: 14).”

“O uncle Patih Maudara, much is my request, your love and affection towards me, but I am not yet willing to marry, the gods have bestowed upon me a *wangsit*, it would not yet be possible for me to marry, but if it is destined later in the future, when the time comes, it would be by the means of a flood of blood and carcasses/ a cup with a death flag, horses and an attack of the elephants, along with a mountain in the shape of a head, there you shall come in hurry, to Majapahit, at that time I shall be married, therefore o uncle, do not be offended.”

She was grateful for Patih Maudara’s attention and advice, but she had no intentions to marry yet. The queen added that she was once sent a *wangsit* (divine revelation) by the gods who said that she would not get married before the time came which would be marked by a flood of blood and an offering in the form of a spear, a cup with a death flag along with an attack of horses and elephants and a mountain in the shape of a head. Until then, Kancana Wungu would not get married, for she believed in the *wangsit*. After giving Patih Maudara her answer, the queen immediately returned to the palace. Such is the content of the narrative in *LJNDKW*.

Kancana Wungu’s response to the advice of Patih Maudara contains aspects of masculinity. Masculinity here refers to a set of values embedded culturally in men’s behavior (Connell, 2005: 67-71), such as strength, power, courage, bravery etc. This can be interpreted as one way a queen enforces her power. The objective is to convince the masculine structure that she is able to rule the country like a king.

Kancana Wungu from this standpoint gives the

impression of trying to demonstrate her power, by substantiating that she has her own preferences in choosing her partner. However, this preference was actually based on a *wangsit* or divine revelation. She was indirectly bounded by conditions which were imposed on her. The *wangsit* she received in this context is assessed as a form of divine empowerment created by the author. Hence the *wangsit* in this story describes the author’s narrative that positions Kancana Wungu as the object. Yet this also shows that she is positioned as the chosen one to receive the *wangsit*. *Wangsit* according to Javanese belief is bestowed on the chosen ones, both male and female. In this context, Kancana Wungu consequently holds an equal position with men. Nonetheless, she has no power over the “destiny” created by the author of this narrative. The marriage requirements proposed by Kancana Wungu is not to fulfill her desires but to give way to the emergence of the main character that the story wants to expose more in the succeeding part. It is ironic that her decision to choose her own partner is the main reason for her to be subordinated promptly after the marriage.

Officially, Prabu Kenya was the queen who had a high and dominant position and who was also in charge of all the *patih* and *adipati*. However, after careful examination, it is found that there are statements that are paradoxical in the queen’s narrative which seem dominant but suggest otherwise.

Firstly, it seems that Prabu Kenya was empowered because she was crowned queen which enabled her to participate in the public sphere and take part in the dynamics of royal politics. However, her coronation could not have occurred without the agency and political action of the *adipatis*; all of whom are men and who consider themselves as the “uncles” of Kancana Wungu. The *adipati*, who were the late king’s confidants, were very active in building an institution that accommodated more to their needs in reigning the kingdom than to those of Kancana Wungu, a very young girl who was 14 years old at the time. In a meeting held without the presence of Kancana Wungu, the *adipati* made a unanimous decision that Kancana Wungu should succeed the king. They held a coronation ceremony without consulting Kancana Wungu. All the *adipati*, who traditionally have a high probability to be involved in reigning the kingdom, have the opportunity to realize their collective agency effectively in determining the rules to be applied in the

palace. They do not have to consult Kancana Wungu, who in fact is their queen and who they hold in high esteem.

Secondly, the position of being queen should ideally give Kancana Wungu a degree of autonomy and independence. However, in reigning the kingdom, she was not fully autonomous and independent because her decisions were based on the advice given by the patih or adipati. In fact, the first advice given by the patih was for her to get married. This is one form of control and domination. Nevertheless, the advice is in accordance with the monarchical system that must ensure the successor in line to the throne.

Thirdly, although Kancana Wungu refused to get married on the grounds that she was not ready provides an exemplification of how she was able to actively make her own decision. However, she made the decision not on her own accord, but it was based on the divine revelation of the gods. This means that she is indirectly under conditions determined by institutions and belief structures and “traditions” in which she does not have the power and flexibility in determining her own destiny.

Fourthly, her choice to follow the divine revelation will consequently affect a group of other choices in the future, or in other words it will form a set of trajectories that is difficult to change. When tracing the fragments of the next Damarwulan story, as summarized by (Liaw, 2013: 569-571), shortly after Kancana Wungu was crowned queen, the envoy of Menakjingga came with a letter proposing marriage which was certain to be rejected. It triggered the anger of Menakjingga and the attack on Majapahit by Blambangan. In the midst of the crisis, Kancana Wungu received a *wangsit* saying that Damarwulan was the one who was able to save Majapahit from collapsing. She ordered Damarwulan to defeat Menakjingga. Kancana Wungu, who was attracted to Damarwulan, promised to surrender herself and the whole kingdom to Damarwulan if he could bring her Menakjingga's head. After suffering misfortunes in the war, Damarwulan finally won the battle. He succeeded in bringing both Menakjingga's wives and the confiscated items from Blambangan to Majapahit. Because of his success, Damarwulan married Kancana Wungu and was crowned king of Majapahit. On the one hand, the appointment of Damarwulan has positive implications for Kancana Wungu because she was able to participate in higher levels of decision-

making. On the other hand, it marks the end of her self-accountability causing her to be segregated and marginalized. By marrying Damarwulan, Kancana Wungu had a double burden and was deprived of authority and power. She had to share the kingdom with Damarwulan and she also had to share power despite her position of queen. This ending illustrates the gender regime in the patriarchal monarchy system in the period towards the end of Majapahit which is the setting in the story.

The story was written in a period that is different from the Majapahit era in reality. In the 19th century especially during the time of Islamic Mataram Kingdom, a different patriarchal system was implemented. The Majapahit history as represented in the text is subordinated to a higher, divine power, which is the one that sends Kancana Wungu the *wangsit*. Thus, the gender regime itself is a product of divine power, which may have been imagined by men to ensure their dominance. For this reason, Damarwulan was given a more dominant position compared to Kancana Wungu. From the description above, it can be perceived that the narrative of Kancana Wungu as the queen and the representation of the female character in the extension of the Panji story prototype seemingly “superordinate” becomes paradoxical. Her position, which seems superordinate and empowered, is solely an impression. Kancana Wungu may be said to have participated in the ruling of the kingdom, but she also became subordinated by it. After her marriage to Damarwulan, she was placed in a subordinate position.

This kind of narrative of a court woman figure is possibly prompted by the differences in context and historical situation at the time the work was created. Female narrative in the earlier, for example in *kidung* Harsawijaya, is different from that of Kancana Wungu as queen in the story of Damarwulan. The underlying reason is that both works have different historical backgrounds. In this case, the women figure in *kidung* Harsawijaya, a tribute to the founder of Majapahit, Raden Wijaya (1294-1309), are still confined to private patriarchy whose strategy is still exclusive, not including women in the public sphere but confining them in the private world of domestic life. The narrative revolves around their courtship with Harsawijaya.

Meanwhile, the story of Damarwulan, whose setting is amidst the conflict between Blambangan

and Majapahit, represents a political situation that occurred towards the end of the Majapahit period, but is rewritten in a new era. The conflict that resulted in the weakening of the Majapahit kingdom refers to the events of the Paregreg War between Wikramawardhana and Bhre Wirabhumi (1404-1406) (Ras, 2014). After his death, Wikramawardhana was succeeded by his daughter Dewi Suhita (1427-1447) and it is most likely that she was represented as Kancana Wungu (Muljana, 2006: 20-25; Ras, 2014: 126; Wijanarko, 2018: 2). Kancana Wungu got married to Bhre Parameswara but they did not have any children, so the leadership of Majapahit was then continued by his younger brother, Bhre Tumapel (Coedès, 1975: 261). By analysing the period when Ratu Suhita reigned and how it is depicted in modern literature, it is revealed that there is an interval of several centuries from the time recorded in *kidung* Harsawijaya. All along those periods, it can be said that the representation of the Javanese female monarchs with their court lives is already subordinated to a patriarchy, in which women were no longer prevented from gaining access to the public sphere but were still in Walby's word, segregated from high positions, resulting in their subordination.

CONCLUSION

The complexity of the subordination of Kancana Wungu's position is caused by the already strong established patriarchy, a system that governs Javanese society. It is also induced by other social problems (for example legitimizing Bhre Parameswara, Kancana Wungu's husband who is presented as Damarwulan and is a nobility of lower rank). The author in this case is anonymous and whom we can consider as a collective agent of the *keraton's* literary organization or the *aśrama* community (Ras, 2014:186), a group of royal scribes who produce narratives under the command of royal kings as patrons. His work represents his patron in such a way that the patron king whom he romanticized in his writing is recognized by the people. However, he also carries out negotiations with noble women by still narrating them as subjects who have played a part in determining their lives. This is not an easy task so in the end the author had to choose between the consequences that is inevitable which makes the narrative of the queen end in being paradoxical, both empowering and disempowering.

As a result, he had to segregate the queen from the public sphere by making her the ruler but together with her husband. Even though in practice it is the case in ancient Java that kings were traditionally represented authority together with a queen, it is written in such a way that women are not portrayed superior to their husbands and that they can hand over their superordinate position to them. Therefore, women's struggle to be in superordinate position also requires a strong narrative struggle. The production of this strong narrative is achieved through the theme of women leadership. On the one hand, their leadership is supported by men, but on the other hand, there is a strong structure in which women are actually controlled by men. Of course, this will perpetuate the old patriarchal structure but in a new form.

STATEMENTS OF COMPETING INTEREST

Herewith the author declare that this article is totally free from any conflict of interest regarding the data collection, analysis, and the editorial process, and the publication process in general.

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